

ROUTLEDGE

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HANDBOOKS

An abstract painting featuring vibrant, swirling colors in shades of orange, green, blue, red, and purple, creating a sense of movement and depth. The brushstrokes are thick and textured, giving the artwork a dynamic and energetic feel.

The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies

Edited by Carmen Millán and Francesca Bartrina

The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies

The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies provides a comprehensive, state-of-the-art account of the complex field of translation studies.

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We are grateful to John Benjamin's Publishing Company for permission to use Gideon Toury's representation on Holmes' map of Translation Studies as the basis for the map represented in Kirsten Malmkjær's article. Professor Toury's representation was first printed in *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* 1995: 10. It is reprinted in the Second Edition of the same work (2012: 4).

Introduction

Routes into translation studies: the journey through a discipline

Carmen Millán and Francesca Bartrina

This story of Babel recounts, among other things, the origin of the confusion of tongues, the irreducible multiplicity of idioms, the necessary and impossible task of translation, its necessity as impossibility.

(Derrida 1985: 8)

Lecturers, practitioners and researchers of translation phenomena have to deal, on a daily basis, with the relationship between theory, research methodologies and specialized practice. In fact, we began debating the nature of these connections nearly 20 years ago, when we were both teaching and researching at the University of Birmingham in the UK. Since then, translation studies has developed into an unquestioned academic discipline, with established departments, journals, associations, conferences and doctoral programmes. The journey to institutionalization, however, has not been easy and it is by no means finished, as José Lambert points out in the prelude to this *Handbook*. Similarly there are many other journeys on which to embark when joining this discipline. The territory, however, is quite complex and not always friendly to the uninitiated.

This *Handbook* intends to be like a torchlight which will lead newcomers into the complex array of themes and approaches that currently characterize translation studies. It will provide safe access routes into key areas of the discipline, highlighting not only what is available but also how it is done. From the periphery of academia, the discipline has been growing and spiralling outwards, just like the designs on our front cover, reaching out to other disciplines in order to fulfil its potential, a potential that is marked by the inevitability of interdisciplinarity and globalization. New researchers coming into the field and even more experienced ones looking for a new perspective will find this *Handbook* useful and highly informative.

This *Handbook* is, therefore, addressed to everyone interested in both research and translation studies. It offers an historical and a synchronic narrative route into the key areas and practices. Written by 41 of the world's leading scholars, it revisits the institutional trajectory of translation studies, reviews main theoretical frameworks and methodologies and specialized practices, as well as considering the challenges that may lie ahead.

We have been very privileged to be able to have José Lambert as one of our contributors. His chapter ‘The institutionalization of the discipline’ opens this volume with a detailed and highly critical account of the institutionalization of translation studies as we know it today. As a first-hand protagonist, this is the best introduction possible to a volume of this type and sets the tone for **Part I**. The remaining chapters are organized into five main sections, which represent our main access points into the discipline, cutting through the myriad theories and themes available. The focus is on both theoretical and methodological issues, providing numerous examples and a critical overview of the challenges ahead. A list of commented further reading is provided at the end of each chapter to encourage further study of the topics.

Part I: Translation studies as an academic discipline

Our point of departure, and our first journey into the discipline, is an exploration of translation studies as a discipline, as a research field, from its origins to the present and the future. It was important to us to start this journey looking ‘inwards’ – who we are, where we have been, where we are, and where we are heading. Kirsten Malmkjær opens this first section with an indispensable chapter for an understanding of the past, present and potential future of translation studies. Starting from Holmes’s map, the chapter charts the development of the discipline in its various branches and argues that it happened in response to changes in perceptions in the intellectual climate generally, and in technology. Yves Gambier deals with the position of audiovisual translation (AVT) as an expanding field. He discusses how new technologies are offering not only new types of AVT, but also changing practice. In research, he explains how we are gradually moving away from case studies towards innovative approaches. Franz Pöchhacker reviews the position of interpreting studies within the broader discipline of translation studies, with regard to both its shared ground and its own distinctiveness, in terms of theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches.

Part II: Defining the object of research in translation studies

Our second journey leads us to one of the basic assumptions for a discipline: the identification of the research object. The aim of this section is to reflect on what has been/is/ could be an object of study for a discipline such as translation studies. This exploration will lead us down various paths around three main issues: the definition of ‘translation’; translation and interpreting processes as research objects; and finally education and training, which are also research objects in their own right. There are other sections of this *Handbook* that complement this section. For instance, those chapters where the research is focused on the agent (translator/interpreter), or the context (see for instance Buzelin or Muñoz, this volume). Theo Hermans opens this section with a question that is not at all innocent: ‘What is (not) translation?’ He explores various definitions of translation and concludes that a globalized world will benefit from viewing translation as a cluster concept, which can accommodate cultural diversity and invites a self-reflexive analytical practice. Translating and interpreting processes are also the focus of research, as Gyde Hansen discusses in her chapter. Another area that we have included as an object of study in translation studies is education and training. Mira Kim writes on translation and interpreting education as a research domain that has shown substantial growth, with an increasingly visible shift from experience-based anecdotal accounts to evidence-based experimental studies drawing on

solid theoretical frameworks within translation studies or relevant disciplines. Finally, a chapter dedicated to theory as an object of study: Rosemary Arrojo closes this section and leads the way to **Part III** with a stimulating reflection on the relevance of theory. In her view, theory has been practically indistinguishable from the very discipline of translation studies. Broadly understood as a certain view or perspective on the complex issues raised by the translator's activity, translation theory is what ultimately shapes both the discipline and the profession.

Part III: Theoretical frameworks and research methodologies

This section has a dual focus: to present the main concepts and ideas belonging to each approach, as well as the research methodology that usually accompanies each specific theoretical framework. Unfortunately, there was not enough space to cover every single approach available, so we have decided to track some well-trodden paths (historical, cultural, ideological, linguistic perspectives) together with some newer roads (corpus linguistics, sociology or multimodality). Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar provides an overview of the significance and position of translation history, exploring the different meanings it has adopted over the decades. The chapter discusses the relevance of translation history for translation theory and practice, and presents the ways in which the historical study of translation(s) may contribute to or revise the way in which translation is perceived in our present. In line with historical research, Nitsa Ben-Ari, in two short chapters, traces the trajectory of both Even-Zohar's and Gideon Toury's research careers. Her first chapter focuses on Even-Zohar's work from his early study of literature (and translation as one of the systems interfacing with it), via the development of his polysystem theory and on to the study of culture. The second chapter deals with the explanation of how descriptive translation studies (DTS) evolved as a reaction to normative, synchronic and source system-oriented theoretical frameworks. It traces the development of DTS and describes some new turns in translation studies, emanating from DTS or opposing it.

Leaving historico-descriptive approaches behind, we enter the realm of ideological approaches to translation research. Christi Merrill deals with postcoloniality and starts by pointing out that postcolonial translation scholars address entrenched colonial-era hierarchies in conjunction with theoretical innovations that might lead to an ethical practice of translation. The integration of theory and practice is a hallmark of this approach since it urges practitioners of translation to attend to the asymmetries of cross-cultural exchange, and urges postcolonial theorists to apply metaphorical concerns with 'cultural translation' to examples of interlingual transfer. Pilar Godayol, in turn, writes on gender and translation, starting with how feminist translators in the 1980s began to pay close attention to the concept of identity and to the representation of woman in and through language. This chapter carries out an archaeological investigation along three lines: theoretical origins (gender definitions, metaphors and myths in the feminine); historiographic research ('recovery and commentary' of women translators and feminist authors); and translation practices (feminine affinities and paratextual approaches).

Hélène Buzelin provides an outline of sociological research on translation conducted within and beyond translation studies. She highlights the kind of questions that are explored as well as the main theoretical frameworks and methods that have been used. Various fields of inquiry are presented, such as the translator's agency, translation as profession, the practice of translation in institutions, and the role of translation in the circulation of cultural goods.

Christiane Nord offers first an historical overview of the functional perspectives across history which eventually led to Vermeer's skopos theory and Holz-Mänttari's theory of translational action. Since translation pedagogy was one of the main concerns of functionalist scholars from the very beginning, the author traces the achievements of functionalism for translator training, before concluding with a brief sketch of functionalist research in the twenty-first century and future perspectives.

Adriana Șerban discusses the contribution of linguistics to the development of translation studies research. In particular, contrastive linguistics and the key areas of discourse analysis, text linguistics and pragmatics are outlined, with special reference to the conceptual frameworks that they provide, the research questions that tend to be asked, and the methods deployed to obtain some of the answers. The chapter ends with the position of linguistically oriented translation studies in relation to other research paradigms. Sara Laviosa traces the development of corpus linguistics from its origin to the present day and addresses a number of key issues pertaining to the corpus-based approach to the study of language and translation. Next, the role of corpora in the interdisciplinary and international field of translation studies is explored, with particular reference to research, education, professional practice and technology. Ricardo Muñoz provides an overview of cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches, main concepts, research areas and methods. After a brief historical account of this research area, he considers the impact that psycholinguistic approaches may have in the future on translation and interpreting quality, and on translator and interpreter training.

Klaus Kaindl explains the concept of multimodality in translation studies. After a short overview of the definitions of the term, he provides a full account of the state of research in the field of multimodality in translation and interpretation studies and the methods used in this field.

Part IV: Specialized practices

One of the main contributions of this *Handbook* is the underlining of the importance of theory and research methodology for specialized translation practices. We have asked our contributors to highlight this relationship in their analysis of the specialized field in which they are working, teaching and researching. Our first path leads us to one of the areas that has attracted more attention in the last 15 years: audiovisual translation studies (AVT). Jorge Díaz Cintas opens this section with a chapter on subtitling, where technical issues, space and temporal constraints, spotting and reading speeds go hand in hand with a critical overview of the research being done. Frederic Chaume in turn deals with dubbing. In his chapter he reviews theoretical and professional approaches, highlighting the notion of dubbing norms. The research in dubbing is analysed and future challenges are proposed. Within AVT, there are also areas that have been attracting scholars' attention recently, such as advertising translation. Cristina Valdés provides a comprehensive overview of research on this topic from different angles and reflects on some thoughts for the future in promotional translation. Eva Espasa explores the specificity of stage translation, as well as its connections with related disciplines, such as audiovisual and literary translation. It is for this reason that the chapter has been placed in this section. Espasa offers an overview of recurrent debates in stage translation research dealing with performability, authorship and status, and acculturation, as well as some questions for the future. Robert Holland closes this subsection dedicated to audiovisual translation by discussing the role of translation in the production and dissemination of news. It contains

both academic and professional perspectives and questions concepts such as accuracy and objectivity.

Chan Sin-Wai next discusses localization and its connections with translation studies. Particular emphasis is placed on its practical and theoretical contexts, the main conceptual differences and the future of the localization industry.

In our journey through professional specialized practices, interpreting activities are of special relevance. The specificity of conference interpreting is discussed by Ebru Diriker. She traces the beginnings of this practice and offers a critical overview of the different research paradigms used up to today. Maurizio Viezzi deals with simultaneous and consecutive interpreting in non-conference settings. He analyses the determinants of interpreting quality: equivalence, accuracy, appropriateness and usability. Holly Mikkelson explains the role of the community interpreter in different settings, including professional standards, ethics and relations with allied professionals. The chapter addresses controversial issues such as cultural brokering, market conditions and advocacy. Yvonne Fowler, Eva Ng and Malcolm Coulthard write on legal interpreting, with a focus on courtroom interpreting. The chapter contrasts the idealized principles of legal interpreting with the actual practices in the real world, taking into account the research methodologies used.

Still within the realm of the law, but changing back to the written mode, we take a diversion and arrive at a new specialized area: scientific and technical writing. Deborah Cao, using Holmes's map as a model, reflects upon the current status of legal translation studies, its strengths and weaknesses. Maeve Olohan in turn writes on the roles played by translators in the production and circulation of scientific knowledge.

The route into the translation of literary texts is driven by Emily Wittman. Her focus is on the major trends in literary translation, in the new translations of classic texts and in twentieth-century life writing and literary prose. This chapter is the best bridge to Emer O'Sullivan's chapter on the translation of children's literature, where the specificity of this genre is critically analysed in detail. Key issues such as target culture norms, narratology, the 'internationalism' of children's literature and translating picture books are considered. Lynn Long writes on the translation of sacred texts, taking into account its motives (the migration of religions, displacement of people, missionary enthusiasm and reform movements), and also its specificity (institutional control, varied audience profile and resistance to change). Finally, Jean Boase-Beier closes **Part IV** with a chapter devoted to poetry translation. She reviews the current situation of poetry translation within the discipline and in cultural terms, as well as focusing on the specific issues that characterize poetry translation, from the point of view of a practitioner and a researcher.

Part V: Future challenges

The fifth part of the *Handbook* steps out again to look at the bigger picture. This section is devoted to future challenges in translation studies, and is structured into five main themes: globalization, new technologies, multilingualism, quality and ethics.

Michael Cronin focuses on the dominant paradigm for describing contemporary translation studies: globalization. The major parameters of space and time are explored and the relationship between translation and migration is examined in this chapter. The consideration of the impact of technology on the practice and conceptualization of translation in a globalized world leads the way to Minako O'Hagan's chapter, which provides a critical analysis of the impact on translation of new technologies, ranging from translation technology to crowdsourcing as well as new translation research tools. O'Hagan draws

attention to the lack of true interdisciplinary projects between language, translation technology and translation studies. In her view a technological turn in translation studies will enrich the discipline with a greater insight into contemporary translation as a technology-mediated activity.

A new route opens and a new challenge comes from the beginning of translation studies: multiculturalism, the main topic of Reine Meylaerts's chapter. Her chapter explores how multilingual writers and self-translators create new forms of translation. She also questions how it could be possible to ensure linguistic and translational justice in a world in which the territorial and monolingual principles of the nation state are at odds with the mobility and multilingualism of their populations.

In this section on challenges, the topic of 'quality' could not be missing. Juliane House, one of the key specialists in this topic, discusses key issues relating to translation quality assessment. She critically reviews several approaches to translation quality assessment and presents her own theory. The chapter finishes with the crucial distinction between linguistic analysis and social evaluation in translation quality assessment.

Our last challenge is introduced by Ben Van Wyke, and this is ethics. The chapter addresses the shift from the Platonic tradition to the contemporary post-Nietzschean context in which translators are no longer viewed as neutral mediators who simply transfer meaning across languages, but as active agents who play a fundamental role in shaping exchanges between peoples and cultures. José Lambert finished his prelude with an appeal to the importance of ethics in contemporary translation studies. We also felt that the challenge of ethics should be kept in mind and developed in twenty-first-century research.

Final note

We are very proud to have been able to work with our group of contributors, who represent both the experienced and the new voices within the field, and who also share their time as both academics and practitioners. Their varied origin and institutional affiliation are a testament to the internationalization of the field of translation studies, which as we know is still one of our pending subjects as a discipline. In a volume of this type we have tried hard to provide a broad and comprehensive representation of translation studies. We hope that you find this *Handbook* useful and that you enjoy your journey around the complex and fascinating world of translation studies.

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Prelude

The institutionalization of the discipline

José Lambert

To the different Masters I had in my academic career. They were great in that they cooperated from a distance, long before the Age of eLearning. My First Master opened the gate towards the others.

It is well known that translating and interpreting are among the few activities that date back to Babel, if not the Garden of Eden. It is also well known, at least among insiders, that interpreters have been mentioned by many historians throughout the ages, especially in Middle Eastern cultures. However, the profession of interpreter (and translator) seems to have been recognized only during the twentieth century and mainly in relation to famous (international) trials – after World War I, after World War II, in the South African *Waarheidstribunaal*, etc. (see Diriker, this volume). The institutionalization of translation/interpretation ('translation', from now on, refers to both, unless otherwise noted) is much younger than the activity itself, and it is meaningful that the academic recognition of translation is a topic for twenty-first-century handbooks.

The new world of languages, or academic non-institutionalization

Immediately after World War II, when the so-called international world needed professional support in its multilingual 'services', the creation of training institutes of a new kind began in a number of countries. Universities in these countries rejected the translation task as incompatible with their own mission. Two decades later, when translation theories suddenly looked attractive to academia, a complex internal struggle started within universities, on the one hand, and between universities and the new translation training institutes, on the other, about competencies in matters of translation. The academic issue focused mainly on the dilemma between linguistics and literary studies (i.e. 'Is translation an art or a science?'), but the majority of linguists and literary scholars still tended to forget (or exclude) the translation issue in their everyday lives. There was still no space for translation as a canonized topic until the end of the twentieth century, when it was recognized that internationalization deserved to be taken seriously, under the label globalization (see Cronin, this volume), and that changes outside the realm of academia justified a few reconsiderations

in the world of knowledge. Where exactly to put translation was a peripheral issue. In academic structuring, such spaces might be called ‘shoeboxes’, because their shape and format depend mainly on local options rather than worldviews. Although ‘translation’ was obviously supposed to be part of language departments, the issue was never what ‘language’, ‘languages’, translation and multilingualism were supposed to mean. After all, would there be any departments without language(s)?

The sudden development of communication technologies at least made it clear that there are no departments without communication (technology). The link with language(s) or with ‘the language(s) of university’ (Lambert 2007b) became apparent through e-mail, the Internet, etc. The need for ‘services’ became part of the academic world a few decades after it had become part of the business world. Whether such new needs changed the prerequisites of teaching, research, administration or public relations was not really the issue, not even in the multi-production of multilingual websites.

According to researchers in both organization studies and translation studies, it is clear that particular departments as well as universities (university management) embarrassingly confuse their everyday activities, on the one hand, and the requirements of research, on the other. While mixing up the levels of everyday life/action and research, problems such as where exactly to put given departments in the (closed?) world of academia and what kind of questions and disciplines are involved in a given investigation (or training method) are very different things. Universities seem to ignore such distinctions in matters of management (management as research or as an organizational activity) as well as in matters of language(s) (Lambert 2010). In fact, the academic approach to language (and translation) is dismantled on every academic website because it appears that the world of global (scientific) knowledge does not yet include language.

In terms of social psychology, management studies and language, academic communities are part of society, though they may represent a peculiar kind of half-international, half-local society, which makes them an interesting case as ‘communities of practice’ (see Snyder and Wenger 2000). Given the mobility of societies, research is and will be needed about the exact situation of and approaches within such communities.

One of the new challenges in terms of languages, multilingualism (see Meylaerts, this volume) and translation will be how to deal with languages. It is a ‘how to’ question, but since universities are composed of research communities, the real answer must refer to research-based options. The first academic structure that needs translation and research-based services is the university itself, which is supposed to talk to the whole globe (university), not to mention its various departments. Who are the neighbours of the new discipline (linguistics, literary studies, sociology, theology) is, after all, a very bureaucratic question that seems almost incompatible with research.

Institutional identity and recognition

Translation or translating? Do we really deal with ‘translation’, as such, or rather with *the recognition* of ‘translation’ within academia/higher education? What exactly are the goals of universities/academia in terms of translation: training professional translators or doing research on actual translations from the past and present?

What kind of a discipline do we have in mind? What is it called in the various languages and/or in English, the (more or less) universal language? ‘Translation studies’ sounds like a magic formula, and it has certainly helped to coin a number of neologisms in countries where English is just a good partner language. Or does translation studies exist in English

only? Our title deserves to be read in dynamic terms, as the German romanticists (Friedrich Schlegel: '*die Romantik ist im Werden*') or as systems theorists would put it: institutionalization is en route to being, but is not (yet) a state of affairs. Is it, thus, much different from other academic (would-be) disciplines? We'll have to wait and see. Are we going to examine institutionalization itself and/or its results rather than the *institutionalizing*, if not all three? Where and when, moreover?

Exactly when/whether translating/interpreting became a profession that justified (either) a professional status or a financial position and a clear name for the 'author-producer' is not at all clear, at least until particular moments in the twentieth century. According to a PhD project in progress, the Allied Army used some 6,000 translators/interpreters during World War I.¹ Fortunately, 'translation' has also been established in modern peacetime as 'a discipline', whatever that might mean. Given the Middle Eastern origins of '*Dolmetschen*', we may be naive in assuming that the public function of 'the interpreter/translator' is a privilege exclusive to the so-called Western world. However, there can be little doubt about the current visible status of 'the profession': quite a few communities, including international and national organizations, have institutionalized 'translation' in very particular terms. Is this what we want to analyse: the institutionalization of *professional* disciplines, of *professions*? There are also very different kinds of 'disciplines': do not Olympic events such as swimming and gymnastics, for example, involve distinct sets of skills?

Since the end of World War II (and even a bit earlier, e.g. at the Ecole Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs de La Sorbonne – ESIT – in Paris), another kind of institutionalization has been taking place, i.e. the creation of special centres for translation training (Geneva, Ottawa, Mons, Germersheim, Trieste, and later in Moscow, Prague, etc.).² This has been described in many history-oriented discussions as a striking illustration of internationalization. This very international progress in the institutionalization of translation, however, also illustrates one obvious societal attitude: translation was envisaged as a service and, while planning the organization of training programmes, universities and governmental education departments alike kept 'translation' outside of the world of academia. Only a limited number of centres/countries (Canada rather than the USA, and a limited number of Western European countries including Switzerland) felt obliged to invest in the new 'discipline'.

Nevertheless, any encyclopaedia in any language will teach us that both Saint Jerome and Martin Luther are renowned as heroes in the history of translation. Our history courses repeat their names and analyse their contributions. Long before any international movement (such as the Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs/International Federation of Translators – FIT) claimed to be identified with the cause of translating/interpreting, translation had penetrated universities on several continents as an object of research. In the years after World War II, business companies (IBM, Siemens) as well as the (future) European Union (EU) had started ambitious projects in the very new area of 'machine translation' (in the jargon of linguists, the abbreviation MT has itself become a little institution). The EU installed huge teams of translators and interpreters and claimed to be the most significant employer of translators in the history of mankind (together with the Canadian government?). Language and translation agencies grew and began to multiply, often in connection with *ad hoc* training institutes (such as in Italy) or within universities (such as in post-Franco Spain, which rediscovered languages and translation via dubbing, etc.). Translation training became a national priority in a few exceptional cases like post-Apartheid South Africa, where competencies in interpreting suddenly became a matter of (inter)national justice and truth.

Indeed, one of the most international, and spectacular, events in the humanities appears to have been the gradual establishment of Translation (Studies) somewhere in language departments in at least 150 universities on five continents, and its progressive recognition in very recent years as a PhD curriculum. This has not occurred exclusively in 'the West': Prague and Istanbul preceded many Western European countries, and the USA, unlike Canada, was certainly not among the initiators. Implicit in this statement is that the institutionalization under discussion *hic et nunc* deals with translation studies as a field of scholarship (and not 'translation' as a profession) and that it is fully underway; hence 'institutionalization' should be read in this context more as a process than as a concluded and evident state of affairs. The *dynamics* of the academic history and logic underlying the recognition of the translation phenomenon may well be registered under different labels.

So far, the internal dynamics of translation studies as an academic discipline have been fully left aside: from the very beginning, our assumption is that it already exists and that it has been created somewhere and somehow in recent years. After the spectacular progress of research and publications on translation studies, one of the unavoidable questions becomes how the representatives of the new discipline envisage their future and position among so many departments and disciplines. The truth is that whatever translation may bring into the (very new) picture, academia is itself in serious trouble with regards to the issue of interdisciplinarity and, thus, with its own image as a university (or rather, 'universe-city').

Research success and publications are hardly a sufficient basis for the establishment of new academic fields of study. More support is needed, first of all from the outside world, such as academic authorities in a number of countries,³ and politicians, such as the ministers of education of several leading countries. In the European context, especially since the Bologna Declaration,⁴ such principles have been explicitly formulated by departments of education, partly as a protection against opportunistic initiatives. Both the organizational (political) and the academic (intellectual) arguments look like vicious circles, since for new fields of study to have any chance of developing a future, they must exist already, or rather have a past, and thus an identity, not to mention the necessity for international partnerships. Only those concepts and programmes that already have an identity both locally and internationally have a chance at reproduction. It would seem that this kind of logic echoes Benedict Anderson's analysis of the phenomenon of nationalism (Anderson 1982). Hence it seems that the recognition of new academic disciplines in our global world tends to obey larger cultural 'laws', or at least that it does not escape general principles. Strangely enough, not many academic disciplines have realized so far that they are part of communities and cultures and that they cannot simply coincide with national communities. Besides social psychology and organization studies, this may also be a topic for translation studies.

Institutions

Translation has become a matter of public interest, at least in many cases: many translations may survive well enough in the private lives and offices of particular individuals, but modern societies and communication seem to have created new needs and new functions, which have been very well described in Ong (1982) and McLuhan (1962, 1968), although without any reference to translation or translation studies. Since World War II translation has appeared to be a new kind of service for a new world, and service needs to be planned and organized. In the minds of sociologists (see Buzelin, this volume), institutions tend to be defined *within national environments* and many, though not all, depend on

national governments and the nation state. Nevertheless, most religions illustrate the fact that international institutions have predated the nation state itself. Long before the beginning of the twentieth century, governments also made use of translators and interpreters, which again illustrates how the national organization of translation services (and of nations) cannot be defined without international perspectives or without internationalization. In our contemporary society the largest employers of translators include both national and international organizations (the Canadian government, the EU, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – UNESCO – television channels, etc.). The national/international dilemma appears to have become one of the key issues in both the organization of translation and research about it. The organizational dilemma, however, is not the only one, as we shall see. Thus, the institutionalization of translation is by definition complex or ‘in progress’. As with any such social processes, it is not necessarily linear in its development and could even become erratic and/or conservative:

The study of institutions reveals patterns of **historical change** and **shifting patterns of power in organised society**. Institutions are often believed to be static, but it is worth noting that, etymologically speaking, the term first denoted the action or process whereby something new is instituted. It can follow how certain cultural activities occur in a more individual, informal and unregulated manner before becoming subject to a process of institutionalisation. Conversely, once a structure is established it is likely to become a conservative force (e.g., academies).

(Dirk Delabastita, www.fundp.ac.be/etudes/cours/page_view/LANGB303/)

Discussion of such sociological topics helps us to understand how and why the history of ‘the discipline’ has been, first of all, a concatenation of events in society, politics, international organizations (such as multinational corporations) and institutes for translation training, which have generated new fields of intellectual competence (such as Vinay and Darbelnet’s ‘stylistique comparée’).

One of the first new translation organizations was the FIT (in around 1947), in which individual translators, and not their employers, took the initiative to create a professional and intellectual forum. Many of these translators/interpreters played an active role in the new network of translation training institutes. Their professional framework was also well positioned to represent the new international organizations, both public and private. Sharing a strong intellectual and cultural background, the new generation of translators, rather than their employers, also initiated meetings, societies, symposia, seminars, publications, journals and other forums for interaction about their professional and intellectual world and experience. Since they were many in number and represented a new elite in the world of communication, they more or less held the monopoly of intellectual discourse regarding their occupation. In simple terms and in everyday language, it is easy to explain how and why the first concentration of global knowledge on translation took place in a few countries, centres and languages, and among certain professional and social groups, as well as how and why priorities were given to particular sociolinguistic, sociopolitical and socio-economic levels of communication. Nowadays, sociology and organization studies may help us to understand such historical dynamics in more scholarly terms. The circulation of new ideas about translation and research on translation could even be interpreted as a symptom of the new mobility of people, communication and programmes before any real organization became visible.

The first institutional steps – acceptance

In the 1960s scholarship was certainly not the first priority in the field, nor was it a priority even among the first advocates of translation studies, although they did not exclude it. James S. Holmes presented the first explicit representation ('a map') of an ambitious new construction: 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies' (Holmes 1988), now freely available online (see also Malmkjær, this volume). Ever since the early 1980s, Gideon Toury has been developing this initial construction, as can be deduced from his programmatic texts produced and reworked for more than 25 years: 'The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation' (Toury 1978, 1980a, etc.); 'A Rationale for Descriptive Translation Studies' (Toury 1985, second edn), etc.⁵ However, these position papers were not simply the product of two individual scholars; on the contrary, they were meant to be the start of 'a discipline'.

How exactly new structures can be accepted or even found attractive by the academic world is an interesting question, all the more so due to the obvious links with global events since World War II. Even in Canada and Western Europe not many departments were interested in installing a 'new little brother' department. The potential candidates were mainly limited to Biblical studies, linguistics and literary studies, since their members happened to deal more or less systematically with translation issues. Even the Göttingen phenomenon, where several 'languages' (or literary sections dealing with particular languages) decided to cooperate under the translation umbrella, took an ambiguous final meaning: the end of the research investment in the *Sonderforschungsbereich* also signified the end of the translation research project, and the external investment on behalf of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft was not integrated into the academic structures. Such was the dominant attitude on behalf of almost all departments in most countries and continents. This meant that institutionalization was first of all largely a negative experience: both universities and individual departments where translation was already part of the agenda made clear by their silence that they did not want to introduce translation structures. This is what we meant earlier by 'academic non-institutionalization'.

From the moment translation studies entered into the academic world, several dilemmas may have impacted the (interdisciplinary) structures of that world. The first dilemma is whether the previous core of academic research would be assimilated into the new academic structure or the various departments would continue on their own work as before. The other is in the hands (brains) of the new neighbours of translation studies (communication studies, language departments, etc.), which may or may not redefine their research (priorities) in relation to the new possibilities. The new partnership's failure to generate new projects (in teaching, research or whatever) would tend to imply that the mobility of people, communication and research is rather limited. However, the opposite would tend to imply that new resources generate innovation. In the case of the latter, one possible consequence of the new 'community of practice' would be that the new academic discipline gradually invests in new situations and environments (and 'borderline areas'), and even tends to reformulate the goals and rules of extant disciplines.

It is easy to demonstrate that general linguistics abandons the issue to other (sub-) areas of research: their general theories and handbooks often simply ignore translation. Notwithstanding Georges Mounin's evolution since his book in 1963, many linguists are still fascinated by 'the possibility of translation', which is a 'how to' question, after all, and which implies that a few centuries of worldwide *translation culture* – the entire translation history, in all cultures – are simply overlooked. In the 1960s and 1970s many scholars

belonging to departments of literature and who had devoted articles/books to translation were treated as ‘literary theoreticians’ by many partners, often to this very day and notwithstanding the enormous changes in the general academic landscape of translation (e.g. Peter Hodges, www.translationdirectory.com/articles/article2085.php).

Innovation in the progressive organization of a real field of study is certainly indebted to personal and more or less collective initiatives in which Holmes appeared to be the main architect, at least until the second half of the 1970s. Besides the publication of a few articles that had some manifesto-like features, the combination of meetings of international organizations (FIT, the International Comparative Literature Association – ICLA, and the Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée – AILA) with a few *ad hoc* symposia, including Leuven 1976, Tel-Aviv 1978 and Antwerp 1980, prepared some organizational platforms. These platforms gained an identity between 1980 and 1992, first of all through *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985), then with the creation of *Target* and, more particularly, with the success of new publications such as Mary Snell-Hornby’s 1988 book *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*, which greatly promoted the name of the new discipline. Collective research projects (Leuven 1979–82; Göttingen 1987–2001;⁶ and Istanbul since around 1985⁷), the multiplication of MA and then PhD theses, the planning of handbooks as well as the start of the research training curriculum at the Centre for Translation Studies (CETRA) at the Katholieke Universiteit (KU) Leuven, Belgium, and then in many other places, which was probably an innovation for the entire field of the humanities, extended the networking in intercontinental terms (CETRA has trained more than 500 young researchers from five continents; many among them are now established names who run journals, book series, etc.) (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2010–11).

The birth of a discipline: the name and nature

Although it is not difficult to read good books on translation phenomena, even on the history of the discipline, *without* noticing that Holmes and a few other people from mainly small (and peripheral) countries have played an important role in the (not only scholarly) development of translation studies (Holmes 1988), it seems difficult to provide an historical explanation *without* them. Amnesia is part of history and often of historiography. The author of this chapter is happy enough to have been involved in this process (even before 1976) until today, which may make his responsibility somewhat ambiguous. According to Pierre Bourdieu’s team, the symposium organized at KU Leuven in April 1976 was the founding symposium of the discipline.⁸ They are not at all the only witnesses who say so, although their position, some 25 years later, within a very different situation (they were not involved at all, which is also reflected in their position in Paris, in sociology), may give them a particular authority.

The title of the symposium leaves the impression that not translation studies, but literary studies was at stake: ‘Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies’. The main organizer, who is also the author of this chapter, has contextualized and redefined this title 30 years later: ‘Is Translation Studies too Literary?’ (Lambert 2005). According to the Bourdieu team, among others, translated literature (rather than ‘literary translation’) is one of the keys to the sociological study of society. It is correct that many (but not all) members of the team that met at Leuven⁹ represented departments of literary studies. This did not mean that interdisciplinarity, especially in matters of translation, was not a substantial item in their talks or even in their further cooperation, which is ongoing and had begun before the days of Prague 1968. In the years after 1976 several further symposia were

organized (Tel-Aviv 1978; Antwerp 1980). Though it was obvious, especially for the members of the group, that they were not working like a school (the Manipulation School was coined at other centres, but not by *the Manipulation people*, in the second half of the 1980s), cooperation concentrated around several among them and even intensified immensely at several moments between 1985 (Hermans 1985) and the beginning of the twenty-first century, not least when *Target*, several book series (John Benjamins, St Jerome, Rodopi, Routledge, Multilingual Matters, etc.) and new research projects were started up (e.g. Leuven 1979–82 and the Göttingen Sonderforschungsbereich). Then many handbooks, readers and anthologies kept multiplying in several languages like some kind of metatextual escort system. For decades a core of the participants kept loyal to their initial dreams and projects, and this social component has gradually been transformed into institutional components (such as CETRA, since 1989).

The very first years of the ‘movement’ are somewhat obscure principally because it depended on people and social relations, and possibly because editorial power on behalf of a rather young generation was lacking in those peripheral academic areas and countries. Nevertheless, the lobbying within and between various networks had begun before 1976 and continued after 1980. One of the weaknesses in dissemination was the limited contact with international translation training networks. There were a few important names who were not involved during the initial ‘small symposium’ who were highly respected among the group and often quoted, especially during the discussions (Jiří Levý, Anton Popovič, Katharina Reiss, etc.). Several among the members of the organizing committee were influential in the debates (Raymond van den Broeck, who had defended a brilliant PhD in 1972, Hendrik Van Gorp, and especially Itamar Even-Zohar and André Lefevere). Big contributions were provided by several speakers (they are still often quoted, though the book is no longer available¹⁰), such as Holmes, whose ‘Name and Nature of Translation Studies’ ([1972] 1988) was already well known and used as a model, and Gideon Toury, who participated for the first time in such an international environment with ‘The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation’ (1978). Holmes had already edited a newsletter called *Transst*, and his suggested cooperation with Leuven (Lambert) and Tel-Aviv (Toury) during the symposium indicated his willingness to institutionalize several new initiatives with colleagues.

Several new concepts and projects were formulated, the most fundamental of which was the idea of ‘norms’. It has been said that Toury was only the second or third to take up the conceptualization of ‘norms’, but whoever has followed the activities and publications of this group does not doubt for a moment the whos, wheres and hows of the norms concept, which may have popped up in texts and utterances by Levý or Holmes, but which has been continuously picked up and turned upside down in Toury’s work, papers, websites and interviews. It was the keystone of his new construction, translation studies, which he respected and borrowed from Holmes’s presentation, though reorienting the real goals and priorities, e.g. with a ‘target-oriented’ starting point. He was sceptical, together with Even-Zohar, about some of Holmes’s translator-oriented views. Holmes himself was not entirely convinced by the Tel-Aviv concepts, but why would an air of global harmony have been obligatory? The question of norms and normativity (of the object of the study, not of the discipline!), the new views about the object of study and about research were components of a structure that had never before been written down. Before his first participation in an international conference, Toury forwarded five different abstracts to the organizers that were no less fundamental than his norms paper. In the years following the Leuven (and Tel-Aviv) symposium, the initiator Holmes gradually left the initiative to

other colleagues; he intervened impressively at Antwerp 1980 when some of the initial assumptions appeared to lead to trouble, but did not really complete his historical papers. After a few more isolated and much less fundamental papers, he died unexpectedly in 1986. During these years Toury wrote and discussed his views on ‘the discipline’, which for him became an explicit and official ambition in the introduction of the journal *Target* (1989).

These activities were often rather confidential, even for insiders. The dissemination of the ‘new discipline’ was not really started up before *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985). Strong support came from Mary Snell-Hornby, a well-known name with an image that was less literary than those of Holmes, Even-Zohar or even Toury. She published a kind of academic bestseller entitled *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach* in 1988. Contacts with great names from other sub-areas of the field, such as Katharina Reiss, Justa Holz-Mänttari and Hans Vermeer, occurred intermittently, in most cases during conferences (or before and after), and always in a very candid environment (see Grähs *et al.* 1978, about the reduced contacts with great names from general linguistics, Cosseriu, Enkvist, Malmberg, etc. at Stockholm in 1976). A great moment was the discussion between Hans Vermeer and Gideon Toury about translation studies, including the discipline and the position of translation within universities, which took place at Leuven in August 1990. From the beginning to the end the discussion was fascinating and quite polite. It appeared that even the most sophisticated questions about norms did not lead into conflict. The only real basic difference in position and goals was about translation training, which Toury classified within the ‘applied branch’ of translation studies. It was clear, however, that Toury’s concern with the structures and goals of universities and the treatment of translation and translators separated him from Vermeer as well as Holmes, in part.

Dissemination

Institutions are not only dynamic in terms of time, but also as a result of networking and cooperation. In order to be successful, it is important to look consistent and coherent. Insiders often notice the common grounds much less than the individual differences and contributions. Such considerations clarify at least a few basic features in the progressive development of ‘the discipline’:

- Like any prehistory, the group around Holmes (say until 1976–78), then around Toury (from 1976 onwards) tended to be rather heterogeneous: how could there be one single result, i.e. one single and harmonious discipline, in terms of denomination and of actual programmes (theories, goals, methods, contexts), since almost none among the new advocates of translation studies had an established academic position?
- The organizational movement in the academic world around translation came at a late stage, which makes us assume that there were/are few chances to simply establish a discipline or to provide it with a harmonious or homogeneous ‘content’. Any academic innovation has to struggle against previous neighbours that suddenly become opponents. It is partly due to the dominance of the new lingua franca that many translation scholars around the world now have the impression that academic programmes can only be labelled as ‘translation studies’: *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. Such an impression was and actually is wrong, since several other names are in use (not only ‘traductologie’, but ‘Übertragungswissenschaft’). Diversity also applies to the ‘cartography’ of the new discipline, although globalization and the lingua franca are harmonization factors (Prague has had a PhD programme since 1992, i.e. before many Western European universities¹¹):

between Brazil and Prague, Istanbul and Delhi or Macau, Brisbane and Stellenbosch, there are striking common features, and also enormous differences, as far as the ‘models’ are concerned, i.e. the great books of translation studies.

There can be no dissemination without reorientation. New people take part in the discussion, some of whom have better contact with international (academic) opinion, publishing houses, etc. than others. Although the more recent positions are not necessarily stronger than the older ones, some have better chances. The scholarly market is gradually more and more submitted to the rules of ‘cultural production’, as defined by sociologists such as Bourdieu, which functions, one might say, like a self-analysis of the system.

One of the traps in the – mainly scholarly – proposals from 1975 and until the publication of Toury (1995), is that the goal of descriptive translation studies (DTS) could not and cannot be to acquire monopoly positions, since it is stressed time and again that research is needed before any ‘general theory’ can be formulated. The theories in use here, such as Manuel Castells’ ‘Network Theories of Power’, claim neither to be *true* nor the only *truth*; they are ‘tools for obtaining knowledge through research’, and nothing else (2011, www.youtube.com/watch?v=skcUYhRaEas). Many discussions of the DTS framework are not really compatible with this instrumental view of theories (e.g. the confusion between research and ‘criticism’). The very intention to determine right/wrong in DTS leads us back into the initial trap of the 1950s–1980s, i.e. working out a theory first and *then applying* it. According to Castells, ‘theories are not context-independent’.

It is also embarrassing that such discussions are generally based on theoretical texts and hardly ever on (the still very limited) descriptive research. It would have been strange if the very radical options formulated in the 1970s had not stirred up controversy. What is less understandable is that few researchers and groups have attempted to test the new models with (preferably well-selected) research projects. Any strictly theoretical discussion ‘from a distance’ is in fact incompatible with the research-oriented premises of DTS. The conclusion is that DTS, as well as other research-oriented concepts, must be put into action.

Curricula

What has actually been established from the different attempts to integrate translation into academia? Curricula reveal the more visible face of ‘the institutions’, but they are mainly indicators. How professors talk to their students is still not well known, notwithstanding the titles and descriptions of their courses and notwithstanding the new Internet (and wireless) culture. How real research in different theses is conceived and how projects as well as publications are oriented is a very different story.

In countries where translation training has had a (relatively) long tradition, such as Belgium, the shift between old and new paradigms is reflected in the co-existence and reformulation of labels. In Dutch, ‘vertaalkunde’ (the skill of ‘learning how to translate’) is becoming weaker, but has not disappeared, while ‘vertaalwetenschap’ (‘science’ rather than ‘studies’) is easy and gets domesticated next to ‘literatuurwetenschap’. In France ESIT insists on its Master’s degree in ‘traduction et interprétation’, where ‘traduction’ obviously refers to ‘translating’ rather than to ‘translation’, and where the idea of a PhD is not stressed at all. One of the ‘oldest faculties’, UNIGE (Geneva) confirms the ambiguity apparent in the Parisian terminology with its English translation, ‘Faculty of Translation and Interpreting’. Germany, one of the countries with both a cultural and a didactic tradition, confirms international hesitancy by combining and translating (!) different neologistic

options, among which ‘Übersetzungswissenschaft’, although generally avoided, appears to have the advantages of brevity and polish and is arguably more promotional. ‘Wissenschaft’ is a very common word in German, certainly in matters of education, but happens to be replaced by ‘Didaktik’ in very impressive concepts such as ‘translationswissenschaftliche’ and/or ‘Translationsorientierte Fremdsprachendidaktik’. It also appears in such configurations that lead the insider to wonder about the exact priorities that are being suggested: ‘Willkommen am Fachbereich 06, Translations-, Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft’ (www.fask.uni-mainz.de). It is not astonishing that the academic terminology is made slightly more direct on the website, where Übersetzungswissenschaft-Translatologie becomes www.uebersetzungswissenschaft.de, which necessitates the following explanation for the man in the street: ‘*aber eigentlich studiert man Übersetzungswissenschaft (bzw in Germersheim Sprache, Kultur, Translation)*’.

While noting the hesitation among academic colleagues from Western Europe, it is more or less predictable that academics from a variety of countries on other continents will have no scruples in using the nearest cognate to ‘translation studies’, all the more since most of the books and (Internet) texts will ‘interplay’ between their national languages and the scholarly jargon. This has not yet been systematically examined in view of our discussion of translation studies (worldwide), but the many ongoing international conferences on translation confirm the general willingness to cooperate in research on translation under the label ‘translation studies’. The use of ‘traductology’/‘translatology’ or ‘Translationswissenschaft’ has, so far, not been made explicit in polemical statements/publications. As far as Asian, African and (Latin) American languages are concerned, the international research community can expect alternative proposals in the coming years. Since probably nothing is more predictable than the development of models for establishing a given area of knowledge, little by little, or maybe very suddenly, the formulation and distribution of alternative options will occur.

So far our discussion has concentrated on ‘denominations’, i.e. the names given to new institutional curricula. The expected difficulty is to examine whether such naming games have a real impact on the actual definition of the academic approach to translation phenomena. Forty years ago, the previous sentence would have been simplified as: ‘the academic approach to translation’. What has changed is our confidence in the very name (and nature) of translation, because many phenomena (communication types) that are not at all classified as ‘translation’ (interpretation, etc.) might very well have the features that experts tend to allot to ‘translations’. A formulation of translation studies that actually supports the idea of translation studies is where research needs to start, involving questions such as what should be considered a translation and what should *not*, and this will be arrived at on the basis of what principles? The real beginning of translation studies in the conceptualization of DTS, as Toury called it, was the awareness that ‘we have no general translation theory’ and the redefinition of priorities, such that the goal was no longer to produce more theories (after so many inefficient attempts), but to research translation phenomena in empirical terms. Most discourses on translation phenomena are trapped because they are *normative*, i.e. they tell us how given people would like translations to be or how they would produce translations; hence they deal with phenomena that are yet to be created, and operate on the basis of idealistic (and imaginary) concepts (Toury 1980a).

However difficult and complex the establishment of translation programmes (or of programmes on translation, which is a very different thing) may have been, the recognition has become formal since a large number of universities on five continents have finally created curricula and in a limited group of institutions the highest degree, the doctoral or

PhD degree, has been allowed for translation studies, which has been scheduled, fully in parallel with 'similar' departments that have had official status for many years, such as linguistics, literary studies, ancient studies, etc. The most central question is what kind of options in learning and research are operative within the new curricula? Where they come from exactly (a political question?) is certainly not an innocent issue. As for the future of curricula and universities, it is much more relevant to study the exact orientation(s) of the new curricula and, still more, the premises underlying the actual research (including the exclusion of large borderline areas such as the production and the largely invisible organization of multilingual discourse).

The name of the discipline is not an innocent issue either. Its exact nature and goals, the hows and the whys, are, after all, the heart of the matter. What kind of intellectual expertise is going to be the target of the new university/academia that claims to represent the world of knowledge in this area of communication? In the promotional programmes of the most ambitious governments on our planet, the official goal is global knowledge, but historical wisdom should have taught us that this same ambition was the very origin of the idea of the university (or again, universe-city). While promoting their own future with the aid of global knowledge, universities would be wise to question their own past, but there is, in principle, no reason for doing the opposite, i.e. arguing against global knowledge.

Revising the nature, not the name?

In general discussions about the scholarly specificity of universities and higher education networks in various countries (e.g. the Bologna agreements and their consequences), it has appeared that the applied/fundamental dilemma is one of the ambiguities as such, and is not at all endemic to translation studies: the faculties of law, medicine, economics, engineering and sociology would all be in great trouble if they suddenly decided to skip applied research. All universities would probably be in serious trouble. One of the delicate decisions in the Bologna reforms was related to just such borderline areas regarding the Masters: did we have to opt for a professional-vocation course or a fundamental course? One of the key difficulties is that the EU itself, under the influence of the nation state, tends to reduce research to applied research. Under the given circumstances the chances were almost non-existent that the model, or better, one of the models of translation studies (be it the currently most visible) would be key to the revision of academic curricula and goals, especially when universities were being industrialized worldwide under the umbrella of the *lingua franca*.

It is funny that Belgium (or better, Flanders) is one of the few countries that has maintained a division of labour between universities and translation training since a hybrid division has been created between them: translation training institutes have been allowed to continue their training task, but under the co-supervision of their new partners. This implies, in principle, that universities train neither interpreters nor translators. Under the impact of the new theories, again, universities are supposed (at least the most orthodox ones) not to use 'translating' or 'interpreting' but rather translation or interpretation, and even better, translated discourse, translated literature, translated subtitles, etc. This is funny to the extent that even Israel, the homeland of this strict definition of translation studies, is not too orthodox in its distinctions between basic activities in the new discipline.

The migration of concepts such as 'descriptive' and 'normative' and many others like 'evaluation' and 'criticism' is an interesting illustration of new waves in the institutionalization of this discipline. When intrapolated into new contexts, without their initial function/

position in the original literature (which is not unknown, but simply discarded), their efficiency gets sacrificed to new priorities. In fact, ‘criticism’ cannot be disconnected from discussions about norms/normativity (e.g. between Toury and Vermeer) since they consider how and why translation training needed to be part of the discipline, and thus move to the university, further implying that the translation trainer, in order to justify his/her status, must be able to evaluate. Hence, researcher and teacher coincide, which is exactly what DTS wanted to avoid. The dilemma is serious, and not just for translation studies but for universities and societies. Another remarkable development is that the dynamics of such migrations can be detected and traced on the Internet, which could be seen as a new instrument of institutionalization. In fact, it struggles with the university in that it facilitates the revision of ideas, bibliographies and other selections, i.e. the manipulation not just of literature, but of those concepts that universities used to monopolize.

This is also one of the assets and implications of the multitude of websites and information outlets such as YouTube. The amount of material on translation, languages, etc. accumulated on many sites has at least the potential to compete with excellent curricula in the world of academic knowledge. It remains to be seen how it will be used exactly and how (or whether) universities will respond, since their tendency is to stick to their initial territorial principles. Anthony Pym, for example, has accumulated a rich amount of knowledge and combination of visiting personalities on his site (www.fut.es/~apym/welcome.html). The further intensification of video content can lead to greater pressure on the academic market, as illustrated by the series Doctoral Programs in Translation Studies. The visibility of live and interactive audiovisual sessions provides the entire (global) world with new axes for canonization and institutionalization. Just as in elections, being mentioned or not in such sessions will sooner or later have an impact on the orientation of our intellectual life. While accepting the Internet game (e.g. ranking sites), universities have witnessed greater and greater reductions in their autonomy. Since translation has both a past and a future outside of academic structures, it might become a test case of academic *Weltfremdheit* (alienation).

The recent history of translation studies illustrates how the entire translation and research network has often taken its lead from so-called globalization, especially regarding the cultures and channels that are influential (e.g. the English-speaking world) and/or that lose their impact, as well as the dark spots on the same globe where people believe nothing (really?) happens. However, globalization itself has very ambiguous features in our discipline. Maybe the English label ‘translation studies’ has been so successful because it was English. Many texts have addressed the English-speaking audiences only. It may have to do with the fact that several among the advocates of ‘the new discipline’ also represented the mobility of people and communication as advocates of a globalized world.

Not that the product of ‘translation studies’ has been promoted as a product of the global world. It was rather at a late moment when (most of the) translation scholars realized that their discipline had obvious connections with globalization (Pym, Lambert, Lefevre since the end of the 1980s). Congresses on translation such as Brisbane 2011¹² indicate that our research reflects in many aspects the surrounding trends of culture and communication in general: a Chinese university in Northern Australia attracting experts from five continents and, in particular, from South-East Asia, for a congress in English on translation would have looked more or less utopian ten years ago. For the entire scholarly community, the difficulty becomes rather to what extent such trends from another age are also reflected in our work: in the selection of our topics, in our selection and use of documentation resources (e.g. computers), in our scholarly questions and discussions.

Old and new challenges within academic co-habitation

It is not strange at all that the curricula and handbooks imported *from outside* survive well, worldwide, and that they function as a product of globalization. It would be embarrassing, however, if in the coming years the goals and rules and definitions of ‘the discipline’ were not to reflect new questions on behalf of the interdisciplinary environment or from other environments, including the so-called applied branch. Even more, if new initiatives and questions would not better express a more decentralized worldview, which has obvious consequences for the language issue.

In case it is correct that translation and multilingual strategies tend to play underwater games in order to keep more or less invisible, the entire language *policy* (or rather language ‘management’) of any community, from the nation state and international organizations to communities of practice, deserves to be studied as *globalizing behaviour*. This is a real challenge for translation studies because there is strong evidence that international/globalizing communication cannot work without multilingualism, which almost always implies that the translation component is deliberately ignored. It has been demonstrated within interdisciplinary frameworks that our contemporary world wants to go global (for monetary reasons), although on the basis of traditional nation state-based cultural and communication values (which are reflected in our university curricula).

It seems that:

- there can be no language policy without a translation policy;
- oral, written and electronic translation policies (just like language policies) are largely implicit, if not systematically kept ‘under the waterline’; and
- this is in harmony with budget policies, which help us to ignore approaches to translation by using different names.

The challenge can no longer be where to put translation studies, i.e. between linguistics and literary studies, which is a bureaucratic (academic) issue, but rather what kinds of tasks and responsibilities are waiting in the various kinds of communities (universe-cities, the media world, the world of the Internet, newspapers, the television or the book market, etc.). Shall we abandon history in favour of the new worlds? Let us rather consider that the discovery of new worlds provides us with better tools, techniques and programmes for analysing cultures past and present. One of the many forgotten areas where international communication has been crucial in the past and remains so today is legal communication or, in general terms, legislation and constitutions. It has become obvious that law studies, in most countries, when dealing with constitutions, tends to treat them as monolingual legislative documents. This happens to be very misleading in the case of both Europe as well as the other continents.

Old and new paradigms in research have always been a difficulty in almost all scholarly disciplines. In the area of languages and social relationships, it is difficult to ignore the fact that events and decisions no longer belong to national societies. The impact of the international is also obvious, although not equally so in all areas or circumstances, which implies that we need to live and learn and do research in ambiguous and fragmented worlds, and that we need to take new complexities into consideration. The individual scholar from translation studies or other disciplines does not have the world in his hands: universities and research programmes are also institutionalized, often in such a way that they exclude us from access to the most fundamental problem areas. In our journals and

congresses we may find the use of outdated arguments and hypotheses that are insufficient to interpret our different worlds, for example our treatment of the translator as an individual ‘author’. There is no need to simply substitute all our questions from the eighteenth century with questions from the computer age; rather, translation must be in search of the best functional approaches to particular cultural items.

Several areas of cultural dynamics in our contemporary societies are still explored on the basis of research programmes that could be much more efficient. In the age of computers, when almost all published texts have been stored electronically, it has become possible to analyse large corpora and to analyse them from many different (and partly unknown and unexplored) perspectives. Nevertheless, many keep concentrating on individual translators/authors, on (explicitly) ‘literary’ texts, on so-called typical (national) texts, and very often using inefficient concepts. Descriptive research focusing on the more/less individual features of texts, writers, genres and languages has now become possible with the aid of computers, but our tools need to be updated as well as our ‘mental software’ (Hofstede 1997).

Whether we like or dislike some of the consequences of globalization, i.e. the fact that large-scale research is now an absolute priority if we want to understand our own world, research on communication will have to worry about its own future if the approaches to global communication are not revised in harmony with the object of study, first of all in terms of size. Globalization is principally, but not exclusively, a matter of size, being submitted to the well-known deterritorialization phenomenon. There is now an interaction between oral, written and visual communication, as well as between languages, which involves options that translation scholars do not yet have under control. This is further compounded by the fact that the mobility of electronic communication allows for an almost continuous exchange between areas that used to be hermetically separated (you cannot read five books at the same time). Our top experts in the area of media discourse warn us against a lack of innovation in our research planning: so many years after the worldwide invention of dubbing and subtitling, we still churn out individually focused books on individual movies and channels, and we still do not know what the rules are (Gambier 2009).¹³

Institutionalization is indeed the real problem, and hopefully the solution. The institutional frameworks in which research disciplines are embedded also reflect the world of the past, principally in the traditional subdivisions within the so-called science groups (humanities, life sciences, physical sciences, social sciences). All disciplines are submitted to the rules of their group (on the level of national and intra-university structures) for very simple reasons: the authorities need to have keys, i.e. a means of dividing their budgets between the various units. Such explicit rules were imposed in the middle of the second half of the twentieth century and the consequences have been spectacular, whether pre-planned or not. The keys to the various units have become extraordinarily sophisticated (and hardly revised), which favours, not unexpectedly, all industry-oriented and applied research-oriented disciplines. Independently of particular rules worked out at that particular moment (in large parts of the world), academic managers have now become victims of their own system. Like would-be magicians, they are now committed to their own very sophisticated rules, and any change in their structure would expose them to something like public suicide. They are walled in by their own conventional and artificial shoe box system. The difficulty is hardly whether their system is right or wrong: such difficulties have been excluded from the beginning since the various partners and opponents involved have coordinated their reforms extremely well. Rather, the foremost difficulty was that the entire world could suddenly change – say in 1990 – in a way that no one could predict in

1970, due to the Internet, etc. Second, interdisciplinarity was obviously not the priority of the reform architects in 1970, which makes real-life research difficult, particularly when ‘cognate departments’ such as languages/linguistics and ‘communications’ also belong to different faculties. It was also predictable from the beginning that ‘the humanities’ were going to appear ‘overstructured’ sooner or later, because they contained ‘many (much) smaller departments’.¹⁴ What was less predictable was that the electronic revolution, involving the mobility of both people and communication (e-mail, wi-fi, etc.), was going to affect the entire academic superstructure, which was/is prepared for neither the interaction between dozens of communities and languages, multilingualism (in the world where universities spoke one language: Lambert 2007b), nor multilingual telecommunication on all levels (staff, students, managers, administration). The final difficulty is now that academic managers have so many shoe boxes that they cannot invest any further in the study of the global world, except in those areas where it is really important. It is no surprise that, even for the newly defined university (in terms of budgets), the industry-oriented areas get priority and the ‘soft sectors’ have to make do with rules from the feudal age.

The real drama is, of course, not only that the shoe boxes are too small, but also that political (national) units are supervising them, since in the nation state-based framework international issues are by definition submitted to national priorities. The paradoxes of translation studies lay bare that the international planning of (national/local) universities is biased on structural grounds. The academic authorities will of course reply that individual scholars are responsible for new ideas, and scholars will reply that the institutional framework keeps them from imagining different worlds.

It has been demonstrated that the international institutionalization of research as well as education is not utopian (see the EU, the European Science Foundation), but rather is linked with particular priorities, which holds out little promise for communication/languages/translation. There is strong evidence that internationalization will move into lingua franca communication, under the obvious argument that too much money is involved. This is the other real problem for both the humanities in general and for translation studies: is the core business of the university to make money or to improve intellectual qualities and communication?

It can be assumed that those who initiated the institutionalization of translation studies lived in harmony with their academic status and respective institutions while preparing their concepts. Individual scholars and independent research were supposedly better valued and supported when research on translation was protected against power games. Beyond any colour or religious or social distinctions, the international intellectual world claims to defend human rights against discrimination. Universities and most international organizations have often given their support in battles for human rights. This is reason enough to investigate the double moral standards of universities in one particular case, where the citizenship of two top scholars has been invoked as just cause for enforcing an international scientific boycott, and which so far has not been undone by the competent authorities. This incident refers to the decision taken by a professor at Manchester University to ‘unappoint’ two Israelis from the boards of her journals, after having herself previously invited them to join, based on the following plainly stated argument:

My decision is political, not personal. As far as I am concerned, I will always regard and treat you both as friends, on a personal level, but I do not wish to continue an official association with any Israeli under the present circumstances.¹⁵

Much more than a conflict between high-level scholars, we can see here that international scholarly communities do not necessarily feel obliged to support the independence of scholarship.

Which means a lot in our story of institutionalization.

Notes

- 1 We refer to Franziska Heimburger (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris), a 2010 CETRA participant. Available at: www2.arts.kuleuven.be/info/cetra/alumni/alumni2010.
- 2 Our colleagues from Germersheim explain very well how the creation of their institute was directly linked with the history of political institutionalization: their buildings were used by the Allied Army at the end of World War II, and the political partners from the post-war period supported the functional changeover of their buildings, which from then on fulfilled linguistic and cultural rather than military functions.
- 3 We refer to arguments explicitly used by both academic departments and by governmental spokesmen in their interaction with their academic staff at the beginning of this century.
- 4 The Bologna Declaration represents a simplified reference to several meetings by leading European universities (within the EU and beyond), which resulted in more than one Joint Declaration, the first of which was a Sorbonne Joint Declaration. The most frequently mentioned document is: 'Joint Declaration on Harmonisation of the Architecture of the European Higher Education System', by the four ministers in charge of France, Germany, Italy and the UK (Paris, the Sorbonne, 25 May 1998). In most cases, however, reference is made to the Bologna Declaration. These declarations have been used as a platform for reforming European higher education in view of better harmonization. One might see this movement as parallel to the monetary harmonization policy. These documents and declarations had an enormous impact on the structure of higher education in a number of countries, Asian countries included, which was actually much higher than the EU countries.
- 5 When submitting his future famous paper as a contribution for the 1976 Leuven Symposium, it was one among the five proposals (abstracts) submitted by Toury, which had more or less a similar theoretical backbone. The theoretical and methodological discussions of 1976 were not at all unprepared; they provided the basis for the conceptualization of the discipline, but first in continuity with Holmes, though a few different notes were already visible before the conference.
- 6 The *Göttingen Sonderforschungsbereich 'Die literarische Übersetzung'* (SFB 309) was undoubtedly the most powerful and fundamental academic performance of the last 35 years (except maybe some projects in the machine translation area). It focused on the canonized period of German translation, and attracted the various language departments of the university, together with international experts. Dozens of volumes have been published by this team (e.g. in the series at Erich Schmidts Verlag); the *Handbuch Übersetzungswissenschaft* in the famous series of manuals by de Gruyter is an additional output of this work over decades: see Kittel *et al.* 2004–11.
- 7 Since Saliha Paker started collaborating with ICLA and other international networks (around 1985), a large series of books and PhD theses have been devoted to the history of translation as a part of Turkish nation-building; in later years such initiatives led to basic work on almost all aspects of translation studies, and many Turkish scholars are now disseminating their views on translation phenomena at other centres.
- 8 *Actes de la recherche en Sciences Sociales*, September 2002: 5, Note 5. Available at: www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/arss_0335-5322_2002_num_144_1_2803.
- 9 It was a small symposium with long and heavy discussions, in which there were some 55 participants, speakers included (Holmes, Lefevere, van den Broeck, Even-Zohar, Toury, Bassnett, Lambert, Van Gorp, Tine Barras, Loek van Kesteren, Norbert de Paepe, Marcel Janssens, etc.). A few established experts were in the audience (Karl Maurer, Maurice Pergnier, Jürgen Fechner, etc.) as well as some students who listened well and later got a name and image in the discipline (Theo Hermans, Lieven D'hulst, Kitty van Leuven-Zwart, etc.).
- 10 An online publication is forthcoming.
- 11 There were rather systematic contacts between Prague and the institutes involved in the institutionalization since at least 1968, continuing from 1985 to 1992, including Zuzana Jettmarova

among others, which also explains why the 2nd Congress of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST) took place in Prague.

- 12 International Conference on Translation and Cross-Cultural Communication, 1–2 December 2011, the Confucius Institute, University of Queensland.
- 13 This is at least Yves Gambier's often-stressed perception of the research situation in this area, which he has covered more than anyone else.
- 14 This is a summary of oral statements by the General Manager of a leading European university.
- 15 Further details and the statement can be found at: www.monabaker.com/pMachine/more.php?id=531_0_1_12_M5.

Further reading

- Chesterman, Andrew (2009) 'The Name and Nature of Translator Studies', *Hermes* 42. (The title echoes and seems to argue with Holmes's famous title. True, the concept of the individual translator from the 1960s needs to be updated in the age of computers and the Internet. The question is how 'translator studies' will survive with organization studies: the debate was visible since the initial formulation of 'norms'.)
- Gambier, Yves (2009) 'The development of doctoral programs in Translation Studies. Part 1', part of Anthony Pym's programmes, www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL510A87C18CBA4588; www.youtube.com/watch?v=DwFj3jBEgWw&list=PL510A87C18CBA4588&index=1&feature=plpp_video. (In this video presentation, Gambier reports on the interaction with countries and institutes around the world in view of the institutionalization of PhD curricula. The results seem to reflect extremely fast progresses in globalization, and the lack of interest on behalf of many so-called big countries.)
- Holmes, James S. (1988 [1972]) 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies', in Raymond van den Broeck (ed.) *Translated!: Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*, Amsterdam: Rodopi. Available at: www.4shared.com/office/pyCKbGv3/The_Name_and_Nature_of_Transla.html. (This is the canonical article, the text that has given a name to research on translation from the academic perspective. Holmes distinguishes between (the) various possible perspectives, while being aware of the fact that hardly anything has been achieved. The prophetic perspective has proved to be convincing. Forty years later, the distinctions between disciplines have hardly lost their relevance, which may mean a lot about the various disciplines involved. From the inside, i.e. from within translation studies, many perspectives deserve to be added.)
- Lambert, José (2007b) 'The Language of University and the Idea of Language Management: Before and Beyond National Languages. A Position Paper', in Annemie Boonen and Wim Van Petegem (eds) *European Networking and Learning for the Future. The EuroPace Approach*, Antwerpen and Apeldoorn: Garant, 198–215. (Many translation scholars have wondered about the neighbour disciplines of translation studies. The initial institutional difficulty may be the lack of any basis for the scholarly and social position of academic discourse, somewhere in between other power systems, hence in an ambiguous relation with any lingua franca.)
- Toury, Gideon (1978) 'The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation', in Holmes *et al.* 1978: 83–100; and in Toury 1980: 51–62. (In historical terms this is the counterpart of the Holmes article. However, as a discourse, it is extremely different: in terms of technicality, in terms of concepts also, and in terms of academic goals. The norms concept, which is not mentioned for the first time here, but which is conceptualized on the basis of a sociological basis, becomes fully central: research on translation becomes research on norms. This implies a redefinition of translation in terms of questions and research – and the rejection of a priori definitions (be they linguistic or otherwise). How to do research, with what kinds of tools, etc., is discussed in the final pages. The density of these premises have frightened many (young) scholars, but almost 40 years later it is not easy to deal with any translation phenomena without these (now) key concepts, which have been supported – and revised – in many later publications.)

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Part I

Translation studies as an
academic discipline

Where are we? (From Holmes's map until now)

Kirsten Malmkjær

James Stratton Holmes (1924–86) presented his vision of the discipline that he called Translation Studies to the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Copenhagen, Denmark, on 21–6 August 1972.¹ In this chapter I will examine the development of the discipline from the early 1970s until the first decade of the twenty-first century under the three headings falling under descriptive translation studies, as conceived by Holmes (see [Figure 2.1](#)). Limitations of space and format prevent a discussion under each of Holmes's headings.

Holmes's map

What is known in translation studies as 'Holmes's map' is a representation such as that in [Figure 2.1](#). The tree structure representation is derived from Toury's interpretation of Holmes's map (Toury 1995: 10).

As [Figure 2.1](#) shows, Holmes divided the discipline into a pure and an applied branch. The applied branch has four sub-branches: a pedagogical sub-branch, a sub-branch dealing with translation aids, a sub-branch covering translation policy, and one devoted to translation criticism. Each of these benefits from the findings of descriptive and theoretical translation studies, and of other disciplines. The policy sub-branch is missing from Toury's original presentation of Holmes's vision, and Malmkjær (2005: 19) adds 'translating' as a further node branching off from the node labelled 'applied', on the grounds that a translator might base (some of) his or her translation decisions on understanding gained from translation studies, in which case translating can be seen as an application of translation studies (see Malmkjær 2005: 40, Note 2).

The pure branch of translation studies is divided into a descriptive branch and a theoretical branch, each, again, with its subdivisions. The descriptive branch is divided into product-oriented, function-oriented and process-oriented sub-branches, and the theoretical branch into a general and a partial branch, the latter in turn divided into branches that are 'restricted' to concentrating on one or more of the following topics: the translation medium (e.g. spoken or written; human or machine), the linguistic and/or cultural area of translation, the linguistic rank of translation (e.g. word, phrase, sentence, etc.), text type, historical period and specific translation problems.

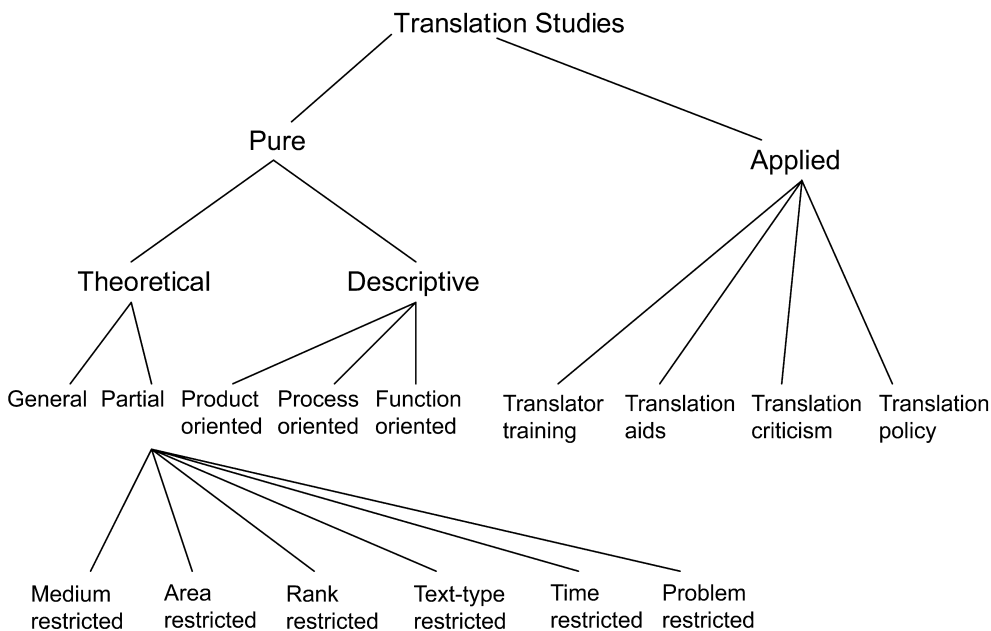


Figure 2.1 Based on Toury's representation of Holmes's map of translation studies
Source: (Toury 1995: 10)

Many developments in the applied branch have drawn on insights derived from more or less pure research; at the same time, however, much research in translation studies has been driven by pedagogical concerns. In addition, research funding has become increasingly dependent on the ability of applicants to predict, convincingly, a significant impact of their projects on both the research and the wider community. Therefore, research in translation studies, as in many other disciplines, has become increasingly application-driven.

Since the late 1970s translation theory has passed through a series of so-called turns (see Snell-Hornby 2006). These have generally been understood as reactions against writings on translation that focused almost exclusively on the language of the texts and were overly preoccupied with degrees and kinds of equivalence between texts and their translations. Some of these 'turns' coincided with and arguably arose from a relocation of translator training courses to universities rather than colleges of tertiary education (see Vienne 1994); others have coincided with the spread of what Chesterman (1997, following Dawkins 1976) calls 'memes', ideas which catch on in several cultures or societies or among sub-groups in cultures and societies and which influence interests and research concentration across disciplines; yet others have grown in response to developments in the more applied side of translation studies, particularly in translation technology and in computer programmes for text storage, search and manipulation.

The earliest of these new ways of thinking about translation to establish itself definitively was skopos theory, developed in the 1970s by Hans Vermeer and Katarina Reiss (Vermeer 1978; Reiss and Vermeer 1984), partly in response to pedagogical and practical concerns (see Nord, this volume) and the target text-focused approach to translation (see Ben-Ari, this volume) developed by Gideon Toury, largely in response to a theoretical conundrum. The first of these focuses on translation functions, the second on the translation

product. Process-oriented translation studies came to the fore slightly later, and will be discussed in [Part IV](#) (see also Hansen and Muñoz Martín, both this volume).

Developments in function-oriented descriptive translation studies

According to Holmes (1988a: 72), function-oriented descriptive translation studies focuses on the description of the functions of translations 'in the recipient sociocultural situation: it is a study of contexts rather than texts'. He thought that a greater emphasis on function in translation theory 'could lead to the development of a field of translation sociology', and the publication of titles such as Callon (1986), Woolf and Fukari (2007) and Díaz Fouces and Monzó (2010) suggests that such a development may be in the offing (see also Buzelin, this volume). Nevertheless, skopos theory, along with a number of more accurately labelled cultural approaches, which will not be discussed here (see Godayol and Merrill, both this volume), has been a much higher-profile movement to date.

Skopos theory arose from functional approaches to translation (see Nord, this volume) adopted by scholars influenced by functionalist approaches to language, as propounded, for example, by Bühler (1933, 1934) and Jakobson (1959). The main effects of these approaches have arguably been in Holmes's applied areas – see, for example, Reiss's (2000) application of functionalism to translation criticism, and Justa Holz-Mänttari's (1984) account of professional translators' mode of acting and interacting with clients, which has had considerable influence on translator training (see Vienne 1994, 2000). However, a functional approach to translation also implies a particular understanding of the phenomenon of translation itself, as each of the publications referred to here illustrates.

Skopos theory places the purpose that the translation is to serve for its new readership centrally among the factors that should influence the translator's translation choices, and this necessitates both a focus on the needs of that readership and a shift away from the traditional focus on the source text as the main determinant of the translation. The approach shares this shift of focus with the second major early re-conceptualization within translation theory mentioned above, Toury's advocacy of a target text-oriented approach to the description of the translation product, sometimes known as the target text turn (Malmkjær 2005: 15).

Developments in product-oriented descriptive translation studies

Toury (1980: 35) is concerned with the issue of 'how a systematic study of literary translation' can be carried out, though there is, in my opinion, no reason why his insights cannot be applied to descriptions of all genres of translation.

Holmes (1988b: 81–2) advocates process-oriented descriptive studies as a prerequisite for product-oriented descriptive studies, believing that 'if the emerging generation of scholars working with translation are to avoid the errors of their forebears, they must develop an adequate model of the translation process before they can hope to develop relevant methods for the description of translation products'. In contrast, Toury dismisses a concentration on the act of translation, which begins from the source text (ST), in favour of a concentration on the target text (TT). He points out that:

most of the theories of translation to date ... are ST-oriented and ... directive and normative in nature. They consider translation from the point of view of its being a reconstruction – in general a maximal (or at least optimal) reconstruction – of ST ...

in TL [the target language], in such a way and to such an extent that TT and ST are interchangeable according to some preconceived definition of this interchangeability. In other words, they concern themselves mainly with *potential* translation ... rather than with *actual* translation, hence with the *act of translating*, which actually proceeds from ST, rather than with *translations* as actual textual-linguistic products.

(Toury 1980: 35, italics in the original)

Toury believes that although ST-oriented studies are suitable for applied activities, they 'are totally unable to supply a sound starting point and framework for descriptive study of actual translations' (ibid.). The reason for this is that the preconceived relationship of translation equivalence that ST-oriented approaches posit between the TT and the ST is unobtainable. The relationship is perceived as near-interchangeability of the two texts, enabled by the reconstruction in TT of nearly all of the features of ST that are considered relevant to ST and its consumers. However, rarely will this be achievable, and nor will what seems relevant from ST's point of view very often coincide with what seems so from the point of view of TT consumers. Therefore, most translations will fail to live up to the ideal posited by ST-oriented theories, so that:

the student finds himself compelled to characterize many existing translations, if not most of them, in terms that are both *negative* and *final*; they allow him to establish only what they are not (namely equivalent), or even what they fail to be (namely equivalents), and bar the way to any additional discussion of their nature and the concept of translation underlying them and expressed by them.

(Toury 1980: 40)

Instead of this unfortunate state of affairs, Toury (ibid.: 42) advocates a TT-oriented approach as able to 'supply a theoretical framework as well as operative tools ... for a descriptive study of translated texts and corpora of texts in their environment'. In this framework, any text that is considered a translation can be compared to its ST to establish the actual, as opposed to the ideal equivalence relationships that obtain between them. It is then possible to study the type and degree of translation equivalence between the two texts and, should clear regularities be observed in such relationships across many texts, it is possible to hypothesize that certain translation norms operate in the TT culture (see also Ben-Ari, this volume).

A great deal of descriptive work on translations has been carried out within this framework. The focus has been not only on the translation of various text genres, but also on the language of translation as such. The latter focus began with what are by the twenty-first-century electronically enabled standards fairly modest projects (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1986; Gellerstam 1986; Lindquist 1984; Vanderauwera 1985), and culminated in machine-aided projects in which vast text databases are trawled through in search of evidence for, e.g. translational equivalence relationships, translation norms, translation universals, and translator styles and habits (see Laviosa, this volume). The findings of the early projects, despite the modest size of their databases, set scholars on the way of one of the most popular types of investigation to develop at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, namely the search for universals of translation. Here, I will not cover that search (see Laviosa, this volume; Malmkjær 2011; and e.g. the papers collected in Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004). Instead, I will concentrate on the notion of the translation universal as such, before moving on to discuss work in process-oriented translation studies, which is where advances towards clarification of that notion may be thought most likely to arise.

By the early 2000s Baker, whose 1993 publication was the lynchpin for the upsurge of interest in translation universals, had begun to wonder whether the term 'universal' was, after all, a happy choice for the phenomenon (see Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004). Similarly, Toury (2004: 17), who had used the term 'universal' in his 1976 dissertation, claims to have 'dropped it right away' in favour of the term 'laws'. Malmkjær (2004, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011) has been less indiscriminate. Attempting to draw a parallel with the notion of the linguistic universal that has been posited within theoretical linguistics, she has speculated about what a translation universal might be, and which phenomena identified in descriptive studies might be evidence for the existence of translation universals. She argues (2011) that just as linguistic universals have been closely linked to the notion of linguistic competence, translation universals, as features of the translating process, might equally be related to translator competence (the term 'translator competence' is used to distinguish the relevant concept from that which tends to be referred to by the term 'translation competence' in translation studies literature on the topic (see Kim, this volume)).

Linguistic universals are located in the language acquisition device, which begins its life in an initial state called universal grammar (UG), which constrains human grammars through a set of principles that restrict the form of languages, and a set of parameters which define the kinds of (binary) variations that languages display (Chomsky 1981). Competence is an unconscious mental state of adult native speakers, which develops as UG interacts with linguistic input, and which allows speakers to judge some stretches of their language as grammatical and others as ungrammatical.

It is difficult to construct a translational parallel to this postulate, because whereas everyone begins their (pre)infancy endowed with UG and reaches adult native competence, obviously not everyone learns more than one language from birth, and nor does everyone, not even every bilingual, become a translator. Among those bilinguals who do become translators, many learn some of their languages formally and much later than the time during which infants acquire their language(s). Therefore, the starting point for the development of translation competence can be neither age-related nor uniform beyond dependence on mastery, which need not be native, of two or more languages.

What is beyond doubt is that the two or more languages must be related somehow, and it is highly likely that translating competence develops by way of interaction between this pair or set of interrelated languages and translational input, including, but not confined to, the kinds of input provided during translators' training programmes, because, as Presas (2000: 19) reminds us, 'the abundance of bad translations ... have shown that bilingual competence, while a necessary condition, is not itself sufficient to guarantee translation competence'. A focus of research for the twenty-first century might be what kinds of exposure to translation-related input successful translators (itself of course a highly contentious notion) have had and should have; we might hypothesize that it will include reading and carrying out translations, as well as having one's translations criticized, and criticizing the translations of others.

Research on the relationships between a bilingual's languages has been derived from two main sources: neurolinguistics (see e.g. Paradis 2004) and the study of bilingual language acquisition (see e.g. de Houwer 2009), and according to Malmkjær this literature suggests that translator competence might amount to:

a translator's knowledge of their languages simultaneously as one system, and as at least separable, and as related (as distinct from their ability to use their languages individually).

(*Malmkjær 2009b: 126*)

According to Paradis (2004: 110), a bilingual has ‘two subsets of neural connections, one for each language, within the same cognitive system, namely, the language system’, and this language system is part of a more general cognitive store:

An individual’s cognitive store contains several higher cognitive systems that represent the sum of that person’s intellectual abilities. The conceptual system is one of them, the language system another. The conceptual system stores *concepts*. ‘Concept’ as used here, refers to the mental representation of a thing (object, quality or event) formed by combining all of its characteristics or particulars. A concept can be acquired through experience, by organizing features of perception into coherent wholes. With the acquisition of language, however, its boundaries (i.e. what it encompasses) may be reshaped, and new concepts may be formed. Features of mental representation are then combined in accordance with (language-specific) lexical semantic constraints to form a (language-induced) concept. The concepts evoked by a word and by its translation equivalent will differ to the extent that their lexical semantic organization differs in the two languages. In fact, some concepts may have a label in only one of the languages and hence are not easily accessible through the other language.

(Paradis 2004: 199)

This understanding of the relationships between terms and between languages in a bilingual mind would explain Tirkkonen-Condit’s (2004) findings of under-representation in texts translated into Finnish of items that are unique to Finnish. Tirkkonen-Condit (2004: 183) explains this finding as evidence for ‘a (potentially universal) tendency of the translating process to proceed literally to a certain extent’, which has the consequence that when terms in the language being translated *into* do not have linguistic counterparts in the language being translated *from*, these items ‘do not appear in the bilingual mental dictionary and there is nothing in the source text that would trigger them off as immediate equivalents’. Malmkjær (2011) suggests that Tirkkonen-Condit has found evidence for the translational version of Davidson’s idea of literal or first meaning: whatever ‘comes first in the order of interpretation’ (Davidson 1986). The translational version is the first response that occurs to you when faced with an item to translate. Even if such a ‘first translational response’ universal may seem rather tame:

studying the responses arising from it, that is, unedited, ‘immediate’ translations ... might tell us a great deal about the bilingual language store (how items in the two languages are connected), about translation competence (how much editing is it necessary to perform after the first response? Do some translators’ first responses require less editing than others?), and about how translational cognitive activity differs from unilingual cognitive activity and from bilingual cognitive activity that is not translational.

(Malmkjær 2011: 92)

This possibility is interesting because it shows that evidence obtained from product-oriented descriptive translation studies may be relevant to process-oriented descriptive studies, to which I now turn.

Developments in process-oriented translation studies

As mentioned above, Holmes considered that an understanding of the translation process was a prerequisite for the development of a proper method for product-oriented translation

studies, because 'the nature of the product cannot be understood without a comprehension of the nature of the process' (1988b: 81). This sentiment ignores the truth that there are many facets of the product that are rather more readily available to empirical observation than is any feature of the process. The several chapters in this volume that deal with the translation of various genres will confirm what the present chapter implies, namely that great advances have been made over the years in descriptive translation studies without any necessary reference to underlying translation processes. In fact, product-oriented descriptive translation studies arguably got into some theoretically muddy water when it ventured into cognitive territory in search of universals of translation. However, in the pedagogical branch of applied translation studies, the need to understand the translation process was felt keenly early on in the life of the discipline, and this need led to the development of a fertile branch of process-oriented descriptive translation studies in the early 1980s, which came to be known as think-aloud protocol studies (TAPs). This data collection methodology is now considered to fall within the broader areas of translation process research, which employs a number of other methods of data collection to cast light on phenomena such as translation strategies, translation revision, translation expertise and translation competence (see also Hansen, this volume).

Data collection methods in processing research in translation studies may be divided into those that rely on translators' self-reports (TAPs, retrospection, journals and diaries, questionnaires and interviews), and those that employ sophisticated technologies to aid researcher observation. Self-report studies are chronologically prior to observation studies, and the most popular type is TAPs, discussed in detail in this volume by Hansen.

Of the concepts that were focal in early TAP studies, translation competence, expertise and the modelling of the translation process as such have remained at the forefront of research interest (see Hansen and Kim, both this volume). These and other concepts falling within the study of the translation process have since the late 1990s been the foci of observational investigations employing keystroke logging, video and screen recording, eye tracking, EEG (electroencephalography), and functional magnetic resonance imaging. Only keystroke logging and eye tracking will be discussed here, because these have yielded more significant insights at the time of writing than the remaining methods. Diamond and Shreve (2010: 311), however, rightly point out that other methods 'offer some tantalizing possibilities for future research'.

The first keystroke logging tool used in translation studies was the software application *Translog* (Jakobsen and Schou 1999), described by Shreve and Angelone (2010b: 5) as 'revolutionary'. The documentation describes the program as follows:

Translog is a computer program which records the way in which a text is written on a computer. The program creates a log of all keyboard activity ... Subsequently, these data can be used to create a dynamic replay of the writing event ... It is also possible to print the logged data ... with codes for cursor movements, pauses, etc. Pause length or time delay is indicated with an accuracy of 10 milliseconds.

(*Jakobsen and Schou 1999: 4*)

The program has been used to investigate pausing, directionality effects and time-pressure effects, often in conjunction with think-aloud or retrospective reports (Göpferich and Jääskeläinen 2009: 173). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, eye tracking became the favourite technique for studying translating translators' behaviour, as evidence for underlying processing, usually employing the Tobii device (see www.tobii.com; Göpferich

et al. 2009: 2). This method was often combined with keystroke logging and also sometimes with retrospective or concurrent self-report. So-called triangulation, the use of more than one data collection method, is often felt to provide extra assurance in translation processing studies, where the conceptual distance between the evidence (translator behaviour) and its processing correlates is wide (see Jakobsen 2009). The method has been used to explore the relationship between reading and writing in translation, sight translation, creativity, translation units, shifts, readability of controlled language texts, metaphor comprehension and the processing of fussy matches in translation memory (TM) tools (see the papers collected in Shreve and Angelone 2010b and in Göpferich *et al.* 2008). All of these findings feed into work on translation competence and expertise, and as Shreve and Angelone (2010b: 2) put it, ‘process studies ... are now rightly seen as a necessary foundation for the future evolution of other important disciplinary concerns, including interpreter training, translation pedagogy, translation tool design, and translation quality assessment’. I turn now to a final section in which advances in translation aids will be discussed. This is the applied area in which developments have been particularly spectacular since Holmes’s map was presented.

Translators’ tools and resources: the technological turn and the user participation turn

Translators’ tools and resources traditionally included dictionaries and glossaries. The IT revolution first made it possible to store and search such resources electronically and to develop machine translation (MT) and TM tools. New technologies have also aided audio-visual translation (see O’Hagan, this volume), and a large literature exists on all of these innovations. Without a doubt, though, the new developments that have had the greatest effect on our understanding of translation, and therefore on the nature of the discipline of translation studies, are those that have allowed for global information and text (I use ‘text’ broadly here) distribution and for user participation in the production of translations.

Effective and fast distribution globally of information and texts (sometimes associated with more physical products) may be promoted by first internationalizing and then localizing them (see Chen, this volume). As Esselink notes, there are many definitions of ‘localization’, but ‘generally speaking’, it and the term from which it derives, ‘locale’, can be defined as follows:

the translation and adaptation of a software or web product, which includes the software application itself and all related product documentation. The term ‘localization’ is derived from the word ‘locale’, which traditionally meant a small area or vicinity. To date, locale is mainly used in a technical context, where it represents a specific combination of language, region, and character encoding. For example, the French spoken in Canada is a different locale to the French spoken in France.

(Esselink 2000: 1)

The process of internationalizing the text, prior to localizing it, involves removing from it any culture-specific features, so that ‘translation problems are actually avoided before they occur’ (Pym 2011). To this neutral text, local colour and culture-specific elements can then be added for each locale in which the text is to be used. In addition to language, the following elements are localized (*ibid.*): formats for dates, times, currencies, numbers, addresses, names, telephone numbers, units of measure, paper sizes for print-outs; connotation-rich elements such as colours; iconic conventions for indicating things like exits, lifts, restaurants, toilets,

etc.; songs and music; legal conventions; contents, such as locally relevant news like the opening of a new outlet; and slower connection speeds may mean that some animated elements cannot be used in all locales. An Internet search for the websites of large, international concerns will illustrate many of these phenomena, and see also Moustén (2008), who examines and compares the websites of the Danish company VELUX in Danish- and in English-language websites in the UK and in Ireland in 2005.

As Pym (2011: 414) points out, although '[s]ome of these adaptations would be included in print-media conceptions of translation ... not many notions of translation would include all the technical and marketing decisions that are encompassed by the concept of localization', so new vistas for translation and translators have been opened up by the new, web-based media and the technologies available for dealing with them. Interestingly enough, the de-contextualization that happens through the automatic extraction from other website elements of those elements to be translated (known as translatables) has also forced a return to the kinds of literalist strategies that were despised by the proponents of the turn away from the perceived literalism of translation pedagogy and practice in the 1960s. As Pym (*ibid.*) puts it, 'Thanks to the technologies, the localization industry commonly requires its translators to work at the level of quite restrictive phrase-to-phrase equivalence, with constant respect for pre-established glossaries'.

Another facet of the new technologies is that they allow (encourage general users, or enable sophisticated 'hackers' to engage in) user participation in various kinds of translation and in the (potential) enhancement of machine translation systems.

Effective user influence on and participation in cultural practices – usually practices within the so-called popular as opposed to high cultures – requires a critical mass of users with zeal and sufficient buying power that their opinions can influence the producers of the cultural practices in question. It is greatly helped by the availability of modern technology, although the efforts by fans of *Star Trek* in the 1960s to pressure NBC into returning the series to the air is often identified as the first manifestation of an organized media fan culture (Jenkins 1992: 28).

Bey *et al.* identify two main types of online volunteer translator community:

- (1) *Mission-oriented translator communities*: ... strongly-coordinated groups of volunteers ... involved in translating clearly defined sets of documents. Many such communities translate technical documentation.
- (2) *Subject-oriented translator network communities*: individual translators who translate online documents such as news, analyses, and reports and make translations available on personal or group web pages.

(Bey *et al.* 2006: 49, *italics in the original*)

O'Hagan (2009: 99) identifies fan groups as among the early adopters of these practices, with substantial implications for fan culture. Being a fan of a translated genre, such as the Japanese animation genre, anime, or the cartoons known as manga, changed from the relatively passive state of consuming the subtitles to the far more active state of being a (co-)producer of the subtitles, creating 'fansubs' (*ibid.*), or of the cartoon texts. The latter is often known as scanlation because of the practice of scanning the whole cartoon including the pictures and then translating the text (*ibid.*: 100).

As O'Hagan (2009: 107) notes, anime and manga share their Japanese origin with another genre that has received much fan attention, namely video games, and Japanese has become a second main source language of localization along with English. Video game manipulation

by fans can take many forms, prominently including so-called poaching (de Certeau 1984), the reuse by fans of video game content in new contexts to create their own ‘fan art’ or ‘fan work’ (O’Hagan 2009: 102), and ‘modding’, ranging ‘from a light cosmetic touch to a complete overhaul of the original game’ (ibid.: 106). Both activities, O’Hagan points out, border on the plagiaristic, but tend to be ‘not only condoned but ... endorsed by the game industry as a way to enhance the appeal of the original game and gather wider gamer community attention and extended engagement in the game’ (ibid.). Translation hacking is a third form of translational manipulation by fans of video games. It ‘involves a hacker and a translator working together to extract the relevant text from the ROM [read-only memory] and to replace it with a translated script’ (ibid.: 108).

It is only a small step from these semi-legal, semi-ethical, more or less endorsed activities to the phenomenon known as crowdsourcing, the exploitation of fan/amateur translating by translation tool providers. The term was coined by Howe, who writes:

distributed labor networks are using the Internet to exploit the spare processing power of millions of human brains. The open source software movement proved that a network of passionate, geeky volunteers could write code just as well as the highly paid developers at Microsoft or Sun Microsystems. Wikipedia showed that the model could be used to create a sprawling and surprisingly comprehensive online encyclopedia. And companies like eBay and MySpace have built profitable businesses that couldn’t exist without the contributions of users.

(Howe 2006)

An early example of the use of this method to enhance translations was Facebook Translations, launched in 2007 (O’Hagan 2009: 111–12), and SDL Trados 2007 users have been able to gain direct access to its in-house MT facility since October 2008. Multicorpora’s Systran plug-in was announced in January 2009, and the Google Translator Toolkit (GTT) was released in June 2009 (Garcia 2010: 7–8). Garcia describes the revolutionary nature of the latter as follows:

The Google Translator Toolkit ... is not addressed to the professional translator working in localisation, but to ... any web-enabled and motivated bilingual.

The traditional focus has been on ... [machine translation (MT)-assisted translation memory (TM)], and the GTT is the first tool to fall into the opposite category of TM-assisted MT. While in the former case the translator still uses a TM editor, the GTT ... actually involves working on a[n] MT editor.

(Garcia 2010: 8)

The ‘web-enabled and motivated’ users of this tool are, in effect, proofreading MT to the benefit of the tool provider. As Pym notes:

When users operate through the free web-base translation-memory Google Translator Toolkit, released in June 2009, their modifications of the automatic output feed back into the database by default, thus improving future automatic output. This combination should eventually offer reasonably acceptable machine translations free online. This in turn should change the nature of professional translation services, with many of today’s translators becoming tomorrow’s technical writers (pre-editors) or reviewers of machine translations (post-editors).

(Pym 2011: 421)

User participation and crowdsourcing raise important and engaging ethical issues, and the ethics of translation is an area of research and comment which has come to the forefront of attention in translation studies since Holmes outlined the discipline in the late 1970s, and which cuts across all of the activities described above (see Van Wyke, this volume).

Translation studies has come a long way, then, since Holmes conceptualized its range. It has reacted to new developments in other disciplines and adopted many new research methods and tools from them, and in this interdisciplinarity it is well prepared to comply with demands for larger, more wide-ranging research projects that look set to characterize the early to mid-twenty-first century.

Related topics

development of translation studies; 'turns'; descriptive translation studies, translators' tools

Notes

- 1 The most accessible written version is Holmes (1988a: 66). The full publication history of this important contribution to the evolution of the discipline is described as follows:

'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies' is an expanded version of a paper presented in the Translation Section of the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics, held in Copenhagen, 21–26 August 1972. First issued in the APPT series of the Translation Studies Section, Department of General Literary Studies, University of Amsterdam, 1972, presented here in its second pre-published form (1975). A slightly different version appeared in *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 13 (1987), pp. 9–24. A Dutch translation was published under the title 'Wat is vertaalwetenschap?' in Bernard T. Tervoort (ed.), *Wetenschap & Taal: Het verschijnsel taal van verschillende zijden benaderd* (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1977), pp. 148–65.

(Holmes 1988a: 66)

Further reading

Each of these works below provides entries or chapters that chart the development of the discipline of translation studies:

- Gambier, Yves and van Doorslaer, Luc (eds) (2010) *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volumes 1 and 2*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Malmkjær, Kirsten and Windle, Kevin (eds) (2011) *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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The position of audiovisual translation studies

Yves Gambier

In the last 20 years audiovisual translation (AVT) has come into its own as a recognized form of translation and also as an academic field of research. It is mainly concerned with the transfer of multimodal and multimedia speech (dialogue, monologue, comments, etc.) into another language/culture. While two to four years are needed to produce a film (from scriptwriting and the search for financial support through to release and broadcasting), very often only a few days are given to provide the translation. Thus, it is hardly surprising that most people consider AVT as a ‘problem’, or as a ‘loss’, rather than as a creative solution to the problems of international distribution.

A rather short story, an expanding field

AVT has become more familiar and more frequently discussed in translation studies since the 100th anniversary of the cinema (1995), which also coincided with the booming of the so-called new technology. However, translation has always been a challenge in the history of cinema, in opposition to the myth of universality of films, defended by J. Renoir, Ford, S. Eisenstein, R. Clair, K. Vidor, Murnau, Chaplin, etc. Even silent movies were not silent: there were sounds (piano music, sound effects, a narrator¹ behind the curtain telling a story, translating intertitles, etc.). Then came the talkies, between 1926 and 1931. Because cinema was perceived right from the very start as an art and a business, very quickly the issue of languages was raised. How does one export, and where to, if audiences do not understand French, English, etc. (Vasey 1997)?

In 1928–30 all the film industries adopted a soundtrack, hence changes in the shooting script, in the way of directing and in framing. To satisfy the new demands, film directors made second versions where actors performed in their own language, sometimes including different shots in order to better target a certain audience (Barnier 2004). This anticipates the current final cuts, adapted to specific viewers. In the beginning the different versions were shot in the same setting in the USA: local actors were imported from France, Germany, etc. With the accumulation of monolingual versions, especially between 1929 and 1932, language differences and translation were concealed, but because of the costs of so many different yet similar versions, the shooting was outsourced; Hollywood built

studios in Germany, France, Italy, England, etc. In the 1930s dubbing (see Chaume, this volume) appeared. From then on the linguistic challenge was not taken up by the production companies but by the distribution firms and the importing countries (Higson and Maltby 1999).

Another solution was also developed in the 1930s: the remake – a kind of appropriation by changing the language and also to a certain extent the plot, with all its values and assumptions, the characters and the cultural context. If, during the years 1930–50, most of the remakes were US *films noirs* recontextualized in and for Europe, since the 1980s the move has been reversed: successful European films are remade in the USA.

Multilingual films (performed in several languages) are not completely new in the history of cinema: from *Allô! Berlin? Ici Paris! Hallo Berlin? Hier Spricht Berlin!* (J. Duvivier, 1931–2) to *Socialisme* (J.L. Godard, 2010), cinema has repeatedly been able to represent language diversity, language contacts and conflicts, language identity, and also to represent translator and interpreter as characters, in direct opposition to the cliché that Hollywood would create only a monolingual universe (Cronin 2008). Multiple monolingual versions and multilingualism in films are two different strategies to face language ‘problems’ in cinema.

Very early on (1934), subtitling (see Díaz Cintas, this volume) and dubbing became opposed, though with different arguments. It is not always clear why one was selected in one case while the other was preferred in another. Selection between the two forms was determined by various economic, ideological and pragmatic factors but not necessarily rapidly and permanently: for instance, the long and hard competition between France and Hollywood explains the hesitation between the two forms that took place in France for more than two decades (Danan 1994). One relevant feature of the AVT landscape is that most of what are called ‘subtitling countries’ have a so-called less-used language, whereas most of the ‘dubbing countries’ have an ‘international’ language (English, French, etc.) and a bigger audience. However, today the digital technology blurs this opposition.

The terminology used to discuss AVT reflects partly the changing situation, especially with the contribution of technology, and partly the expansion and increased specialization of AVT practice and research. Initial publications on AVT, from the mid-1950s and 1960s, were placed under the label *film translation*. The term failed to cover television and then video, and types of programmes other than feature-length films (e.g. talk shows and documentaries). In the 1980s–90s *language transfer* became common, but by focusing on language it ignores the complexity of audiovisual (AV) texts – using audio, visual and verbal signs. The introduction of the term *audiovisual translation* around 20 years ago brought to the forefront the multisemiotic dimension of all broadcast programmes (TV, cinema, radio, DVD). It is today the most commonly used term in the field. It has to be said here that within the profession, *versioning* is sometimes preferred as a generic term that encompasses subtitling, dubbing, etc. *Screen translation* is also used in academic circles, covering all products distributed via a screen (TV, cinema or computer screen): it does not include surtitling for the stage, but includes localization, which is not a form of AVT. *Translation for the media* was used sometimes for both AV and printed media. As for *multimedia translation*, it refers explicitly to the multitude of media and channels now used in global and local communication for different purposes (information, entertainment, education, advertising, etc.). Clearly, the list of terms is not closed because of the developments within technology, the vitality of the research domain and the diversity of practices (see ‘Impact of technology’, below). In fact, this variety of terms reflects the difficulty in delineating the AVT domain.

A complex object of investigation

An AV product or performance consists of quite a number of signifying codes that operate simultaneously in the production of meaning. The viewers, and the translators, comprehend the series of codified signs, articulated in a certain way by the director (framing and shooting) and the editor (cutting). The way all these signs are organized is such that the meaning of the film, documentary or series is more than the simple addition of meanings of each element or each semiotic code. All the non-verbal and verbal means are used to achieve coherence, intentionality, informativity, intertextuality, relevance and the maxims of conversation (avoid ambiguity, be orderly, be informative as much as necessary, etc.): different semantic models and different models of interaction can be applied to moving pictures – from those proposed in text linguistics, in pragmatics, to those proposed in discourse analysis and semiotics (Mason 1989, 2001; Hatim and Mason 1997; Perego 2003).

One of the key challenges for AVT research is to identify the types of relationships between verbal and non-verbal signs. In AVT many scholars carry out their analysis as if the different signs were running along parallel lines, almost independently. First they claim that a film is a multisemiotic entity and then they analyse the linguistic data separately – forgetting the complexity and the dynamics of the meaning process. Different factors might explain this attitude, which reflects why subtitling and dubbing were sometimes not regarded as translation since it was felt that translation ‘must’ or ‘should’ deal exclusively with words! The situation is changing, but there are still strong methodological problems regarding how to tackle the multiplicity of signs – the multimodal approach (Taylor 2003) being one possible solution.

So, how does one define the term audiovisual? In other words, what can be the way of mapping the object of study of AVT? There are at least two main clines: verbal and non-verbal and audiovisual (Zabalbeascoa 2008). The importance and amount of certain signs are always relative: the importance of sound can outweigh visual semiotic forms in certain sequences; the film code can outweigh language signs in other sequences. Film genres and types of AVT can be classified according to this flexible scheme (Chaume 2004). [Table 3.1](#) sums up the 14 different semiotic codes that are active to different degrees in the production of meaning.

How can we describe AV communication and the functions of language in this type of communication? The answers to these questions have an impact on what will be translated and on the translation strategies. For instance, in subtitling, since one needs to condense and select the linguistic material, would one translate or omit terms of address, swear words, cultural items, etc? It all depends on their function at a given time, in a specific shot, in relation to other semiotic signs. The answer cannot be that terms of address must always be omitted!

In AV communication characters speak to each other, with side participants listening and able to interfere at any moment. To these people others are added (bystanders), at a certain distance (in a street, a coffee house, an office); they have an effect on the speaking characters: the volume of their voices, their pauses, their gazes, their gestures, etc. Sometimes there are hidden people, such as the use of canned laughter in sitcoms. Then we have all the viewers (eavesdroppers); in fact, the characters and the bystanders ‘speak’ indirectly to those viewers who cannot interact but are both the first and the final addressees (Bell 1984). The scriptwriter, the producer, the film director, the actors and the editor all act with a certain target audience in mind. Nevertheless, one certain type of viewer is not necessarily addressed at this stage: the foreign one who will need a translation. Two

Table 3.1 The semiotic codes in the production of meaning

	Audio channel	Visual channel
Verbal elements (signs)	<i>linguistic code</i> : dialogue, monologue, comments/voices off, reading <i>paralinguistic code</i> : delivery, intonation, accents <i>literary and theatre codes</i> : plot, narrative, sequences, drama progression, rhythm	<i>graphic code</i> : written forms such as letters, headlines, menus, street names, intertitles, subtitles
Non-verbal elements (signs)	<i>special sound effects/sound arrangement code</i> <i>musical code</i> <i>paralinguistic code</i> : voice quality, pauses, silence, volume of voice, vocal noise such as crying, shouting, coughing, etc.	<i>iconographic code</i> <i>photographic code</i> : lighting, perspective, colours, etc. <i>scenographic code</i> : visual environment signs <i>film code</i> : shooting, framing, cutting/editing, genre conventions, etc. <i>kinesic code</i> : gestures, manners, postures, facial features, gazes, etc. <i>proxemic code</i> : movements, use of space, interpersonal distance, etc. <i>dress code</i> : including hairstyle, make-up, etc.

worlds conflict in movies: the diegetic one created by the fiction and the ‘real’ one. Most of the viewers are not fooled by the ‘illusion’ and representations offered by the art of filmmaking, but they do not want this illusion to be shattered because of crude editing, poor dubbing or irrelevant subtitling – the latter because the subtitles are barely intelligible, demand too much cognitive effort or are poorly legible.

The relationship between sound, pictures and verbal content can be of:

- redundancy (one sign repeats or emphasizes another one);
- complementarity (the music announces a certain tension);
- autonomy (a zoom on an ashtray has nothing to do immediately with the current utterance);
- contradiction (a certain gesture can be opposed to what is said);
- distance (in order to be humorous or to create a sign of complicity);
- criticism (forcing the spectator to take a stand);
- help (the picture aids understanding of why things are said in a given way).

As to the verbal element in the AV process, it can have different functions:

- explicative (offering, adding a piece of information, not shown in the pictures);
- performative (helping to do something);

- allocative (giving linguistic features in order to identify a character);
- demarcative (organizing the film narration, facilitating the progression of the plot, differentiating between dream and real, past, present and future);
- selective (directing the interpretation of a shot, a sequence).

With this complexity of signs and functions in mind, we can now turn to the different types of AVT.

Types of AVT

What was challenging a few years ago, e.g. audio description, could be today's current practice, at least in some TV channels or AVT companies. Therefore, the different types of AVT are classified here according to two main groups: translation between codes (oral/written codes, picture code), mostly within the same language; and translation between languages, which also implies changes in codes. Certain types can be intra- and interlingual and could be placed within either of the two groups.

Between codes, within the same language

Intralingual subtitling (see also Díaz Cintas, this volume), sometimes called same language subtitles (SLS), is a shift from the spoken mode of the verbal exchange in a film or TV programme to the written mode of the subtitles. There are two main different purposes in using intralingual subtitles:

- For language learning (young people, migrants): TV5 in French, BBC4 in English, STV4 in Swedish are examples of channels that make it possible to learn a new language or to improve the command of it, and to reinforce the reading skills of all the viewers.
- For accessibility, defined as the right for certain groups to have access to AV texts, in this case the deaf and hard-of-hearing.

Intralingual subtitling is often a teletext option on TV. It is also called, particularly in the USA, 'closed captions', as opposed to 'open captions' (i.e. subtitles that cannot be turned off). However, closed captions are not quite synonymous with intralingual subtitles, since such captions also can be used on DVDs and TV channels for interlingual subtitles.

The two types of intralingual subtitling are partly different in the way they are processed: the first one (for language learning) does not mention signal noises, telephones ringing, doors slamming, angry voices, shouting, etc. This a tool for social, or better sociolinguistic, integration. Such subtitles tend to translate everything (verbatim) while interlingual subtitles select, condense and reformulate.

The second type (for the deaf or hard-of-hearing) usually renders verbal and non-verbal audio material into text. It is, like interlingual subtitling, subject to norms of exposure times, reading speed constraints and subtitle density. However, in contrast to interlingual subtitling and closer to dubbing, it respects a certain degree of synchronization, following to a certain extent the lexis and syntax of the original speech – because many hard-of-hearing people use lip-reading as an additional source of information. The hearing-impaired are not in fact a homogeneous group: the extent, type and the age of onset of deafness varies widely among individuals. The language and communication needs of the congenitally deaf are not the same as the needs of a deaf viewer because of a degenerating process or age.

Live subtitling, sometimes called respaking, is commonly used for intralingual transfer, but it can also appear in interlingual form. Carried out in real time, for live broadcasts (e.g. sporting events, TV news), it needs technical support: sometimes a special ‘Velotype’ keyboard (with syllables and not letters) to speed up typing, and more often today the use of voice recognition software. The subtitler repeats or rephrases what is said on screen and the software ‘translates’ the short utterance into written lines. The time lag is very, very short. An interpreter might also translate and cue what is said and his or her shortened sentences become subtitles. Obviously, such work is stressful, and the quality of the end product is questionable, since there is hardly the time – or resources – to proofread the output of the software before it is broadcast.

Audio description (AD) gives access to films, art exhibitions and theatre performances, etc. to the blind and visually impaired. It can be intra- or interlingual. It involves the reading of information describing what is going on on the screen (action, body language, facial expressions, costumes, etc.), information that is added to the soundtrack of the dialogue, or to the dubbing of the dialogue for a foreign film, with no interference from sound and music effects. Making the visual aural is only possible if films do not contain too great a load of aural information, e.g. rapid dialogue, frequent sound effects, etc. This kind of sight interpretation or double dubbing is more effective for certain genres, such as drama, movies, wildlife programmes and documentaries, than for news or game shows which in any case have sufficient spoken content to be followed by the vision-impaired. AD can be live for operas and drama plays, or recorded for domestic and foreign films, audio-guides in museums, etc.

Like the deaf, the community of the blind is not homogeneous: people born blind have no visual memory to draw upon, whereas elderly people with visual impairment or sick people with a progressive degeneration of sight remember TV and films, and may even know some cinema terminology. The former have little or no interest in the colour of someone’s hair, description of clothes; the latter might understand terms like long shot or back angle.

Audio subtitling is useful for dyslexic people, elderly people, the partially sighted and anybody who cannot read fast enough. A text-to-speech software ‘reads’ the subtitles out loud. It is a service that could improve the accessibility of AV media.

Between languages

Seven types of AVT will be briefly described here. These are in a way more conventional or better known. However, their practice is changing, too.

Script/scenario translation is needed in order to obtain subsidies, grants and other financial support for co-production, or for searching for actors, technicians, etc. In the first case the translated text must be short and to the point. In the second case the readers want to know, for instance, the content of the plot or the originality of the characters in order to be able to decide whether to spend a few months, somewhere, with what might end as a possible success story or a fiasco (Cattrysse and Gambier 2008).

Interlingual subtitling (see Diaz Cintas, this volume) involves moving from oral dialogue in one or several languages to one or two written lines. The task is more and more frequently carried out by the same person: translating, spotting (or cueing, time-coding) and editing, thanks to *ad hoc* software. The work used to be divided between a translator, responsible for the written translation from a post-production script or a dialogue list, and after watching the film (or not), and a technician spotting and timing the subtitles,

with or without a command of the source language. Interlingual subtitling adds a semiotic channel of information, whereas dubbing (for instance) replaces an existing channel.

Within interlingual subtitling, bilingual subtitling, as practised, for instance, in Finland and Israel, is usually offered in movie theatres, but not on TV. Simultaneous or sight translation, from a script or another set of subtitles already available in a foreign language (pivot language), is used during certain film festivals and in film archives (cinematheques).

Dubbing (see Chaume, this volume), or adapting a text for on-camera characters, cannot be reduced to lip-synchronization. It may be also time-synchronized or isochronic (the length of the dubbed utterance should match the length of the original one). Not all viewers have the same degree of tolerance towards visual/lip dischry and gesture and facial expression/voice dischry. Where subtitling is dominant, dubbing can be found in films, TV programmes for children, cartoons and computer-animated feature films.

Dubbing is also sometimes intralingual: for example, the Harry Potter films have been dubbed in the USA, or films shot in Italian dialects (from Palermo or Bari) have been dubbed or subtitled into standard Italian. Intralingual dubbing can also take place after the filming of the scenes – in this case, it is more appropriate to talk about post-synchronization – the ‘replacing’ of dialogue, otherwise identical to the ‘replaced’ dialogue recorded in a noisy environment, ensures a better sound quality: there is neither language transfer nor change of code.

Free commentary is one of the oldest forms of revoicing. It is clearly an adaptation for a new audience, with additions, omissions, clarifications and comments. Synchronization is done with on-screen images rather than with a soundtrack. This is used for children’s programmes, documentaries and corporate videos.

Interpreting takes several forms on screen. It can be consecutive (usually pre-recorded), simultaneous (the original voice being turned down to a low level of audibility after a few seconds), or using sign language. Important elements in media interpreting are voice quality and the ability to keep talking. A major distinction can be made between interpreting in a TV studio-based communicative event, with or without the presence of an audience (interviews and talk shows), and interpreting for broadcasts of events occurring in a faraway location (political speeches, press conferences, royal weddings, funerals, etc.). The psychological pressure, especially when working in bidirectional mode, the unusual working hours, recruitment at short notice (e.g. for live coverage of disasters and sudden crisis situations) are rather typical of media interpreting.

Voice-over or ‘half dubbing’ takes place when a documentary, an interview or a film is translated and broadcast approximately in synchrony by a journalist or an actor who can half dub several characters. The target voice is superimposed on top of the source voice, which is almost inaudible or incomprehensible.

Surtitling is a kind of subtitling placed above a theatre or opera stage, or in the back of the seats, and displayed non-stop throughout a performance. The surtitle file is not released automatically since actors and singers do not perform twice in the same way, or at the same rate. The surtitles appear when the translator, also a member of the audience, inserts them during the show.

To sum up: the various types of AVT do not translate in the same way, using the same codes. Some emphasize the oral dimension (dubbing, interpreting, voice-over and free commentary); others are a switch from oral to written (interlingual, intralingual, live subtitling and surtitling), or from written to written (scenario translation), or from pictures to oral (audio description), or from written to oral (sight translation, audio subtitling). This raises the interesting question of whether we can say that certain types of AVT are more

domesticating modes of translation than others. It is true that dubbing, free commentary, even interpreting and audio description, allow the manipulation of the linguistic material in order to please dominant expectations and preferences, sometimes censoring dialogues or changing parts of the plot to conform to target culture ideological drives and aesthetic norms. The history of AVT sheds light on the use of those types of AVT as instruments of linguistic protectionism and language purism, violating ethical principles to some extent by erasing traces of the Other – including his or her voice and his or her speech. However, the powerful role of AVT is not only based on such assimilation or subordination; it is also, in its way, working to solve the problem of international distribution, of opening up cultures to each other, and of making possible a large circulation of AV products and performances. This, however, involves facing specific challenges.

Challenging issues

Three aspects will be tackled in this section, namely professional practice, technology and training.

Professional practice

AVT applies not only to fictional products but also to non-fictional ones: all sorts of documentaries (history, science, nature, archaeology, etc.), current affairs, investigative journalism, docudramas, reality shows, talk shows, sports events, etc. In addition, we have infomercials or promotional materials, advertising, corporate videos and websites, etc.

Whatever the nature of the product to be translated, working conditions and constraints are of prime importance to obtain quality. We must notice first of all that translation of a wide range of AV products is, in many places, outsourced to an AVT company which generally commissions the work to a freelance translator, selected (or not) according to certain criteria and through (or not) an examination or a test. The translator is given (or not) a script, a dialogue list, a tape or instead must download material from the Internet. The deadline is often very tight.

Cooperation with the commissioner (be it a private local or multinational agency, a public TV broadcasting company, a businessman, a non-governmental organization (NGO), an association, a festival organization, etc.), with the sound engineer and the actors (for dubbing), with journalists, and with domain experts varies widely: working traditions and preferences, quality expectations, modes of payment, technical tools, and the status and responsibility of the translator are all factors that determine such cooperation.

Working directly from screen, with only a script, or working from a script without the image are two different working situations. However, the difficulties in both cases are quite similar, though of different weight if one translates a film, a documentary or an interview: language rewording, difficult dialects, slang, translation of proper nouns, terminology, text-image synchronization, an actor's accent, speaker's errors, narrator's style, delivery speech, documentation process, etc. Of course, working exclusively from a script, i.e. the absence of visual reference, implies the necessity of solving different types of ambiguity. Proofreading and revision are seldom regularly practised.

One of the key problems in professional life is translators' rights, for instance when their work is reused in another support format, e.g. from cinema → TV → DVD → website, or it is broadcast or released on another occasion. Such rights are in turmoil now that digital technology has changed the situation so rapidly: economic and legal deregulation

still dominates the business; the AVT market is under ferocious competition; and fees have been cut heavily in the last few years. One of the first AV translators to raise the issue was M. Krogstad (1998), who then created one of the first *ad hoc* associations of AVT translators, in his own country (Norway).

Impact of technology

What about the impact of technology? Five interconnected aspects will be considered here.

First, digital technology has changed and is changing AV production (scriptwriting, production of sounds, pictures, costumes, as well as special effects, shooting, and editing, etc.), distribution and projection. This evolution will have consequences for the architecture of cinema theatres, the types of places in which one watches films, the quality of the takes, piracy, film archiving and restoration, even on investments and marketing, as well as the style and aesthetic of AV products. The relationships between producers, distributors, broadcasters, TV owners and public authorities have been radically transformed in the last 20 years. The exact role of languages and translation in determining the strategies of all these stakeholders is still unclear; it is not at all certain that the future of global media lies in the use of a lingua franca.

Second, new technology (video-streaming, video and TV on demand, podcasting and portable players such as the mobile phone and portable video) is modifying the meaning of broadcasting and the usual concept of audience. New demands and needs are emerging, such as new formats, e.g. very short films, such as ‘mobisodes’, a series made for mobile phones lasting for one or two minutes. These new formats give greater emphasis to the role of close-ups and sound tracks, and thus more importance to dubbing. Two quite different processes are happening. On the one hand, technology offers a better and more versatile range of services and programmes. The diversity of TV channels, through cable and satellites and via relay and networking (pay TV, transfrontier and local TV, and thematic TV channels on history, sports, finance, geography, cartoons, etc.) indicates the end of a centralized model of the media (mass media) – from broadcasting to narrow-casting: more viewers with more varied educational and language backgrounds switch from non-specialized to specialized channels and have different kinds of expectations and needs. On the other hand, in a globally connected world the audience is becoming global: a video on YouTube or a film on the Internet are available for all. It seems to be nonsensical to wait more than a few days to watch something that in other parts of the world is already being viewed. As a result, TV broadcasters and film distributors are reducing the time difference in release in order to avoid a reduction of potential audience because a number of fans are downloading, for instance, the TV series and/or looking for the subtitles in their own language. Translation meets more and more speed (see Chaume, Díaz Cintas and O’Hagan, this volume)!

Third, thanks to technology, Internet communities have appeared with the aim of creating (Italian, Spanish, Finnish, etc.) subtitles for American AV productions in order to allow them to have immediate access to new episodes of popular series or new films. Two kinds of groups can be distinguished:

- ‘Fansubbers’ who translate various Japanese anime productions for non-Japanese viewers (O’Hagan 2006; and also this volume). These fans have been in existence since the late 1980s, despite their dubious legal status. They usually continue beyond one production, improving their translation skills and gaining experience in a non-profit perspective.

Many fansubbed products contain a warning message, asking the viewers to destroy them once the official version becomes available.

- Amateurs who can subtitle want to popularize recent film productions, making them accessible to local viewers who can watch illegally copied films in a language other than English. They may do subtitling once and disappear. The quality of their work is conditioned by how much they understand of the original² and by how well they know the freeware or shareware computer program in order to create subtitles and to superimpose them on the film. In such subtitling there is no strict limit as to the number of lines per subtitle, of characters per line, and the font size can be large. Amateurs tend to be closer to the original, wordier, more word-for-word, making the reading time shorter, breaking norms and conventions applied to professional subtitling. Text files with amateur subtitles for many recent cinema releases are relatively easy to find on the Internet. The question remains whether movies available online can compete against the big screen and DVDs, in other words pose a threat to professional subtitlers.

‘Fansubs’, ‘fandubs’ and amateur subtitling use methods that challenge not only how we think about subtitling, but the very process of AV translation itself, defined as a loss with very little intervention by the translator. They are a part of communities of activists, ‘non-translators’ (‘fantrad’) engaged in networking and exploiting their collective intelligence (crowdsourcing), despite some legal implications. The new technological platforms, the open source software, could have a formidable impact on translation (not only in AVT), on professional ethics and norms, and the formal training of future translators.

The fourth aspect of digital technology is the emergence of certain forms of AVT, such as audio description, surtitling, live subtitling and audio subtitling (see ‘Types of AVT’, above).

Finally, the last aspect worth mentioning is that automation is changing the working process. With digital subtitling software it is now possible to pre-cue, translate subtitle by subtitle, and simultaneously view the video file; cueing is easier and more effective. The next step would be increased digitization.

With regard to dubbing, digitization would improve sound quality and allow analysis and re-synthesis of the actor’s voice. Today, certain software programs can clone original voices, so the dubbed voice is assimilated to that of the original actor, irrespective of the source language. This raises an important and new issue: voice rights.

With a combination of software, one can automatize the making of interlingual subtitles – using software for voice recognition in order to obtain a written transcription, another program for automatic compression to generate condensed utterances, and possibly a translation memory program or a statistical machine translation system to produce subtitles. Thus, it is easy to consider cost and productivity from another perspective, to see revision and editing in another way.

Two questions must then be asked here: does the future of translation lie between full (or almost full) automation and amateurs transferring words through different e-tools with free access? Where can the job satisfaction lie if the work is merely to replace words mechanically, in a more verbatim approach to translation?

Training

The last challenging issue is training. We need to acknowledge that the profile of the translator is changing quite rapidly. What are the competences of an AV translator? In addition

to the basic skills of any translator (translating skills, information mining competence, aptitude for work under pressure, language skills, etc.), we can mention:

- the ability to analyse the needs of the intended audience, to match the verbal to the visual;
- the ability to comply with deadlines, commitments, interpersonal cooperation, team organization;
- the ability to express oneself concisely and succinctly and to write with a sense of rhythm (in order to provide an accurate AVT one must understand the rhythm of the actor's speech, the rhythm of the images as defined by the shot changes, and the audience reading rhythm);
- the ability to adapt to and familiarize oneself with new tools; and
- the ability to self-evaluate in order to revise and assess the quality of the output.

Opening the training of the AV translators in a direction towards the training of journalists would be appropriate. Both professions work on oral and written forms, have a sociocultural responsibility that exceeds the immediate production of texts, develop strategies for documentary and terminological research, need to work with other people, and must have a strong aptitude for making rapid decisions. Knowing how to know is more important than accumulating knowledge. In any case, journalists are more and more frequently requested to sight translate (mostly from English), to summarize, whereas AV translators need to draft, rephrase, restructure, condense and edit rapidly and well within time and space constraints.

What has been discussed above about non-professional translators adds to the challenge: training is becoming further complicated by technological advancements resulting in new types of content and in new tools to facilitate the translation process. Fan translation forms a potentially highly effective learning environment.

Implications of AVT for translation studies

Certain concepts of translation studies should be revised, extended and rethought when they are applied to AVT. For example:

- The concept of *text*: 'screen texts' are short-lived and multimodal; their coherence is based on the interplay of the images and the sound (see 'A complex object of investigation', above). From the conventional text as a linear arrangement of sentences, or as a sequence of verbal units to the hypertext on the Internet (with hyperlinks), the concept becomes ambiguous, if not fuzzy. Do literary translators, subtitlers, conference interpreters and localizers refer to the same concept of 'text'?
- The concept of *authorship*: in literary studies and translation studies the author is often perceived as a single individual. In AVT the issue cannot be overlooked, since a number of groups or institutions are part of the process (screenwriter, producer, director, actors, sound engineers, cameraman, editors, etc.).
- The concept of *sense*: in AVT sense is produced neither in a linear sequence nor with a single system of signs. Moreover, there is interaction not only between the various agents involved in creating the AV product, but also between them and the viewers, even between different AV productions (visual references, allusions). The organization into a hierarchy between original and translation, between production and reproduction, between initial broadcasting and a rerun, is damaged in AV, knowing that a film, for

instance, can be edited for different purposes and in different ways (final cuts), for TV, DVD, a flight or specific audiences (politically correct projection, versions, bowdlerization of swear words, etc.). The globalization of the film industry does not necessarily mean the standardization of meanings, narratives and public feedback.

- The concept of *translation*: the very concept of translation highlights a lack of consensus, overlapping as it does those of adaptation, manipulation, transfer and remake. Above, we saw that translation encompasses changes in codes and in languages.
- The concept of a *translation unit*: the issues of text, authorship and sense entail questions regarding the translation unit in AVT.
- The concept and types of *translation strategy*: strategy varies at the macro- and micro-levels, and with respect to the sociopolitical and cultural effects of AVT.
- The links between translation *norms* and technical constraints: amateurs (see ‘Impact of technology’, above) are introducing typographic variations, adding glosses or commentaries, or changing the position of lines, etc. To what extent does technology imply certain new norms?
- The relationships between *written and oral* (Gambier and Lautenbacher 2010), between written norms, and between ordinary speech and dubbing are another relevant issue. What is the sociolinguistic role and responsibility of the subtitler, for example?
- *Accessibility* is a key word in AVT, not only as a legal and technical issue but as a concept that shakes up the dominant way of assessing the quality of a translation, the aim being to optimize the user-friendliness of AVT, software, websites and other applications. It covers a variety of features, including:
 - acceptability, related to language norm, stylistic choice, rhetorical patterns, terminology;
 - legibility, defined (for subtitling) in terms of font, position of the subtitles, subtitle rate;
 - readability, also defined for subtitling in terms of reading rates, reading habits, text complexity, semantic load, shot changes and speech rates, etc.;
 - synchronicity, defined (for dubbing, voice over and free commentary) as appropriateness of the speech-to-lip movements, of the utterance in relation to the non-verbal elements, of what is said to what is shown (pictures), etc.; and
 - relevance, in terms of what information is to be conveyed, deleted, added, or clarified in order not to increase the cognitive effort involved in listening or reading.

AVT can thus ‘disturb’ translation studies. Translation studies could in turn help AVT research to develop more fully in the future. Although scholars have produced a wealth of material in the last two decades, they have tended to limit themselves to a small range of issues, with a certain degree of prescriptivism. Even if interdisciplinarity increasingly characterizes AVT research today, with methods and concepts borrowed from literary studies, sociology, experimental psychology, film studies, reception studies, history and didactics, the frameworks within which much AVT analysis has been and is being conducted remain mainly linguistics, including pragmatics, discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics, as if the verbal component of AVT were sufficient to describe and understand AVT as a process and a product, with its social and ideological impact. True, research is gradually moving away from case studies and specific issues towards corpus-based approaches and systematic theorization.³ More generally, digitization and Internet access facilitate research by increasing the availability of AV products and their components (e.g. scripts) and furthering the circulation of affordable AV(T) software for training, production, analysis and publishing. However, at present, we have contributions focusing on:

- certain ‘problems’: how humour, swear words, terms of address, politeness, discourse markers, language register, cultural items are translated or must be translated;
- certain ‘constraints’: what is the specificity of AV texts according to its mode (oral, written, iconic, mixed)? What are the different ‘genres’? Nevertheless, transcription and analysis come up against the semiotic complexity of such AV texts and their meaning constructed from the conjunction of images, sounds and words; and
- certain ‘effects’: what does the reading/watching of new genres and new types of text suppose for the target culture? This kind of research is shared by the studies of an historical perspective (political issues, reasons for censorship, e.g. in Spain under Franco).

For research based specifically on translation studies, and searching for what is at stake in AVT, we have works inspired by polysystem theory, functional approaches and descriptive studies (What are the AVT norms? What are the strategies when the translator is confronted by certain semiotic signs and/or certain linguistic features?). In addition, we can mention models and analyses in a didactic perspective: they are usually an attempt to describe the AV texts as much from a professional viewpoint as from the technical aspects, and from ideological and cultural frames (i.e. policies), all of which are aspects that condition the translation act. The didactic studies are also very often an opportunity to define competences.

Overall, we still have piecemeal research, with mainly fragmented studies on inter- and intralingual subtitling and isolated studies on other AVT modes. There is a long way to go towards achieving a coherent field of research, combining all the different semiotic codes, including the influence of those codes on the linguistic one. What is also needed is more experimental studies on the viewer’s processing habits, reading strategies and reception patterns – differentiating between three types of reception (the three Rs), at least for the written types of AVT: *response*, or the perceptual decoding (lisibility), investigated so far by few experimental psychologists such as d’Ydewalle in Leuven in the 1980s–90s; *reaction*, or the psycho-cognitive issues (readability); and *repercussion*, understood both as an attitudinal issue (what are the viewers’ preferences and habits regarding the mode of AVT?) and the sociocultural dimension of the non-TV context which influences the receiving process. Different methods are now available for such studies, e.g. keystroke logging and eye tracking (Gambier 2003: 184–7, 2008: 29–30).

The increasing ubiquity of screen-based texts in everyday life and the ongoing fragmentation of audiences call for a better understanding of the viewers’ needs and the articulation of time-space correlation and mediation priorities for AV translators.

Conclusion

The AVT subfield is developing rapidly within translation studies, at least in terms of the number of monographs, articles and conferences. AVT can be characterized by:

- its semiotic composition, with more or less redundancy between the different systems of signs;
- audience comprehension and perception – making it difficult to change the dominant form of AVT, e.g. moving from voice-over to subtitling (people like what they are used to);
- the professional commission; and
- translation competence.

However, other subfields, such as localization of software, websites and video games, can be brought together. At least, they have four features in common. First, both types of translation are the results of team work. Second, the work is on volatile and intermediate texts (production script, dialogue list, online documents in progress, software under construction and texts regularly updated), exceeding the traditional dichotomy between source text and target text, and requiring the questioning of the concept of an original. Third, the criteria of quality are not only of acceptability, but comprehensibility, accessibility and usability are also to be taken into account. Then all these three features have implications for training, blurring to a greater and greater extent the gap between academia and working life, between written and oral forms, between the linguistic code and other semiotic codes. Such convergence may well change sooner or later both the name and the position of AVT.

Related topics

audiovisual translation (AVT); pluri-semiotic communication; AVT and translation studies; AVT and technology; training

Notes

- 1 A narrator called a *bonimenteur* in France, *spieler* in the USA, *benshi* in Japan, *byensa* in Korea, etc.
- 2 The amateur translator might lack linguistic competence in the source language, the source text might be incomplete, or the sound track might be of poor quality.
- 3 For an overview of the developments in AVT research and for references, see Gambier 2008.

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The position of interpreting studies

Franz Pöchhacker

The question to be addressed in this chapter is largely answered by the way the editors have chosen to position this contribution within the *Handbook*. Clearly, interpreting studies as a field of research is envisioned as a sub-domain of the broader discipline of translation studies, which is by now reasonably well established, if still subject to dynamic developments. What is at issue, then, is not so much the position of interpreting studies per se but the way it distinguishes its object of study, and its shared ground, or distinctiveness, in terms of theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches. These will be the focal points of the present chapter.

Even so, what is now largely taken for granted was still a matter of great uncertainty some four decades ago, when translation studies as a discipline could not yet be said to exist, and interpreting constituted an object of research at the interface of a number of disciplines. These roots of the field will be briefly summarized in the following section so that subsequent and modern-day developments, as discussed in the main sections of this chapter, can be appreciated against this historical backdrop.

Where we come from

One succinct way of identifying the roots of interpreting studies is to say that research on interpreting was initially promoted by psychologists and educators. The very first academic publication, by Jesús Sanz (1930), conjoined these two orientations in a unique manner: Sanz, whose main interest was in school reform in Catalonia, had conducted observations and interviews with conference interpreters in Geneva and subsequently presented his findings at the 1930 Congress of Applied Psychology in Barcelona. Though simultaneous interpreting was already within his purview, research interest in this mode was not rekindled until the 1960s, when a few experimental psychologists (e.g. Oléron and Nanpon 1965; Gerver 1969) carried out their pioneering studies.

The ‘educators’ in those days were conference interpreters who taught in university-level interpreting schools and sought to pass on their professional expertise to the next generation. Chief among them was Danica Seleskovitch, whose book on conference interpreting ([1968] 1978) could be used to show that the essence of this activity has remained

largely unchanged. However, when interpreting as a profession and an object of research came into its own, the focus was on one particular manifestation, that is, simultaneous interpreting between spoken languages as practised in soundproof booths with electro-acoustic equipment at international conferences. The traditional, 'primitive' mode of interpreting, which has been practised by bilingually proficient persons for thousands of years and is now referred to as short consecutive or liaison interpreting (see Mikkelsen and Viezzi, both this volume) was given little, if any, attention. Not until the final decades of the twentieth century did interpreting in community-based, institutional settings come to the fore.

These shifts regarding the nature of the activity and the object of study have had major implications for the disciplinary sources, theoretical models and methodological approaches of interpreting studies, as described in more detail further on.

To summarize the disciplinary evolution of the field, one must acknowledge in particular the momentum generated by the pioneering work of psychologists in the 1960s and 1970s, giving the field some of its classic models and findings (e.g. Gerver 1976) and, at the same time, spurring the emergence of a research approach *sui generis* as advocated by Seleskovitch in Paris. On the basis of her 'interpretive theory' and transcripts of authentic interpreting recorded in the field, the so-called Paris School harboured the first 'paradigm' of interpreting research, as manifested by the founding in 1974 of a doctoral research programme in interpreting (and translation) studies at the University of Paris.

Subsequent disciplinary developments proved considerably more diverse in terms of theories and methods as well as the make-up of the research community and the phenomena under study. In a search for more scientific rigour, promoted in particular by Daniel Gile (e.g. Gile 1990), the shared concern with cognitive processes in (conference) interpreting was taken up by scholars in various countries, enlisting, where possible, the involvement of scientists in other disciplines. This was epitomized by the collaboration between neurophysiologists and interpreting scholars at the University of Trieste, where psychological experiments were used to elicit findings regarding the cerebral organization of language in the (bilingual) brain. Studies based on the notion of expertise (e.g. Moser-Mercer *et al.* 2000), as well as more text-based, linguistic investigations similarly served to achieve a deeper understanding of the cognitive process of (conference) interpreting. As a result, by the late 1990s an increasingly international community of conference interpreting researchers had emerged (see Diriker, this volume).

Even more diverse is the sub-community of interpreting scholars whose focus is on interpreter-mediated dialogic communication, often in a specific social (institutional) context such as the law, medicine, education and social services. Compared to the cognitive process-oriented (CP) paradigm and its orientation towards the cognitive sciences, the dialogic interaction-oriented paradigm (DI paradigm) has drawn on an even wider panoply of interdisciplinary sources, from language philosophy and anthropology to social theory, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. Moreover, interdisciplinarity in this domain is all but built into the object of study, given the way community-based interpreting is embedded in social contexts with their own particular institutional traditions and constraints, from courtroom discourse to police interviewing (see also Fowler *et al.*, this volume) and doctor-patient communication. In all these settings, community interpreting scholars have also taken account of communication in the signed modality, which adds yet another dimension to this variegated domain of study (see Mikkelsen, this volume).

The various developmental pathways that have given rise to interpreting studies as an academic (sub)discipline, or cluster of paradigms, are also reflected in the way interpreting as the shared object of study has been conceptualized and modelled. This makes it

imperative to first understand the concept of interpreting, or rather the way in which interpreting has been understood, before proceeding to a review of the field's theoretical and methodological approaches and, on that basis, considering its relative position in the concert of scientific disciplines.

How we think about interpreting

Interpreting can be described most broadly as a type of communication in which someone says what another person has said in another language. As will be seen in the following review, this basic definition has been elaborated on along various lines, yielding increasingly specific ways of thinking about (conceptualizing), and studying, interpreting.

Definitions

Rather than a unique activity and phenomenon *sui generis*, interpreting has been viewed more often than not as a particular manifestation of human efforts to enable communication across languages and cultures, that is, of translation in the wider sense, defined, for instance, by Brislin (1976: 1) as 'the transfer of thoughts and ideas from one language (source) to another (target), whether the languages are in written or oral form ... or whether one or both languages are based on signs'. The choice of viewing interpreting as a form of translational activity in general shifts the basic problem of definition to the task of specifying the boundaries between interpreting and other forms of translation. If no such boundaries could be identified, then interpreting would not exist as a unique concept and object of study. The way such boundaries are drawn clearly shapes the nature of the field of study.

The most commonly used distinguishing feature that has been applied to this task is the language modality (spoken vs. written), leading to the characterization of interpreting as 'oral translation'. However, this common definition fails to account for the use of signed languages, as mentioned in the quotation from Brislin above. This problem is resolved by focusing not on language modality but on temporal constraints, as proposed by Kade (1968). His definition of interpreting as a form of translational activity in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language accommodates both signed-language interpreting and cross-modal variants such as sight translation and live interlingual subtitling.

The proposal to see interpreting as a form of translation, in the broader sense, is an act of theorizing, if at a very fundamental level. As suggested by Chesterman (2009), it is an 'interpretive hypothesis' that claims that something can be usefully seen as something else. In a similar vein, further interpretive hypotheses can be formulated for interpreting, and complemented by descriptive hypotheses, ultimately leading to representations of the object in the form of models.

Conceptions

In their attempt to gain a better understanding of their object, interpreting scholars have proposed a number of ways in which interpreting might best be seen. In early publications, in the 1950s and 1960s, a concern with language was prominent, and interpreting, like translation, was seen as a process in which words and structures in one language were converted into corresponding words and structures in another. This view of interpreting as

essentially a linguistic transfer process can be gleaned, for instance, from Glémet's (1958) early description of simultaneous interpreting, according to which the interpreter takes 'a leap in the dark ... in a syntactic maze', while 'engaged in the task of word-translation'. Early psycholinguistic experiments, too, investigated the (simultaneous) interpreter's time lag as a function of grammatical constituents, and interpreting from German was identified as a special challenge on account of the sentence-final position of the verb.

An alternative view of the interpreting process that tended to play down differences in linguistic structure was promoted in particular by Seleskovitch. Central to her account, in particular of consecutive interpreting, was the cognitive construct of 'sense', which was said to be formed by integrating fresh perception with prior knowledge. While the two conceptions of the interpreting process – linguistic transfer vs. making sense – have evidently been shaped by the mode of interpreting under study, these two ideas apply to interpreting as a whole. What sets them apart is the degree to which the interpreting process is seen as language-pair-specific. Whereas the focus on (presumably 'language-free') sense renders a concern with linguistic constraints largely irrelevant, the verbal-transfer view would highlight the contrastive differences in a given language pair as a relevant focus of study.

Another influential conception of interpreting was developed from a psychological perspective, particularly in the work of Gerver, who characterized interpreting as 'a complex form of human information processing involving the perception, storage, retrieval, transformation and transmission of verbal information' (Gerver 1976: 167). This information-processing view of interpreting, which capitalizes on advances in cognitive science, represents a separate theoretical and disciplinary perspective from that of the Paris School, but shares with it a concern with the cognitive process. Both Gerver and Seleskovitch – to mention the leading representatives of the two schools of thought – aspired to give a psychological account of interpreting; where they differed was in the choice of disciplinary framework and methodology.

Yet another theoretical framework for the study of interpreting emerged from what was then, in the late 1980s, the budding field of translation studies, which had in turn received a boost from a more communication-oriented approach to the study of text and discourse. The focus of interest shifted from the conversion of a source text, implying linguistic or psycholinguistic procedures, to the target text and its features and functions. Interpreting was thus viewed as a goal-oriented, text-production activity largely constrained by the communicative situation and sociocultural context.

As suggested by the distinction between 'text' and 'discourse', the conception of interpreting as a text/discourse production activity gave rise to two separate strands of development that were again shaped by the mode of interpreting under study. With more and more attention devoted to interpreting in dialogic interactions, the focus shifted from the 'text' as a rather static entity to discourse as a dynamic process. Insights drawn from sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz, Hymes) and sociology (Goffman) served to underpin new analytical approaches, all of which centred on the notion of discourse and the interpreter's role in relaying and managing it, as epitomized by the work of Wadensjö (1998). The concept of mediation, which is a deeply rooted semantic constituent of interpreting, proved closely related and relevant to the view of interpreting as a discourse management process and was used to highlight the interpreter's position 'in between' languages, cultures, ideologies and power structures.

Without doubt, none of the different conceptions of interpreting – as a verbal transfer, a sense-making process, a cognitive processing skill, a text/discourse production activity and as mediation – exist as exclusive points of view; rather, interpreting has many facets, and various scholars have chosen, often in response to the mode or type of interpreting

under study, to foreground one aspect of it or another. This is no less true of the various models of interpreting that have been proposed to describe and explain the phenomenon.

Models

Interpreting scholars have devised a variety of models to capture what they regard as essential features of the phenomenon. Some of these may aspire to the status of a ‘theory’, but most models of interpreting are of a descriptive nature, highlighting significant components and relationships with little claim to predictive power.

Given the radically different viewpoints presented above, it would be unrealistic to hope for an all-encompassing model of interpreting. Rather, a number of dimensions, or levels, of modelling can be discerned. These range from an account of interpreting (and interpreters) in the history of human civilization – in such fields as diplomacy, trade, conquest and missionary work – and the status of the interpreting profession in a given society, to the focus on discourse in interpreter-mediated interactions in a given institutional context, and on the cognitive and neurolinguistic processes underlying the communicative practice. While a detailed review of models is beyond the scope of this essay (see Pöchhacker 2004: [Chapter 5](#)), a few examples can serve to illustrate the breadth of modelling efforts to date.

In a broadly historical dimension, Cronin (2002) has posited two alternative systems of interpreter provision, identified as autonomous vs. heteronomous. In the latter, recourse is taken to presumably proficient members of the linguistic and cultural group with which one wishes to communicate, whereas autonomous provision implies more direct control by the commissioning party or power; examples include imperial authorities training and retaining their own presumably loyal subjects to serve as interpreters. The fact that throughout history there have been shifts from heteronomous to autonomous interpreter provision highlights the issues of loyalty, trust and assured proficiency that are central to the position and status of interpreters.

In a more contemporary sociological approach, Inghilleri (2005) models the habitus of interpreters in UK asylum proceedings within a Bourdieusian framework, locating interpreters in ‘zones of uncertainty’ in complying with fluid translational norms. By the same token, the recognition of interpreting as a professional occupation, or the lack thereof, has been analysed in models of the professionalization process for various countries and domains (e.g. Tseng 1992). Such models of interpreting reflect the principal stakeholders (e.g. training institutions, professional bodies, legislative authorities) and the various mechanisms for influencing the occupation’s professional status and autonomy.

Efforts to model interpreting at the socioprofessional and institutional levels, however, are relatively rare. Most authors have chosen to foreground the micro-social process of interaction and, even more so, the cognitive processes involved in the task.

Interaction models, in their most basic form, seek to reflect the constellation of interactants and the communicative relationships between them. Where the focus is on dialogue interpreting, this usually yields a tripartite, or triadic, arrangement (e.g. Anderson 1976: 211), whereas accounts of interaction in conference-like settings would include speakers and listeners in the source and target languages as well as the interpreter, other team members and the client (e.g. Gile 1991: 189). In either case, the constellation models can be enriched by specifying, for instance, the contextual roles, sociocultural backgrounds and intentional orientations of the various agents (e.g. Pöchhacker 2005: 689).

In a more fine-grained analysis of interpreters’ discourse management, Wadensjö (1998) used Goffman’s notion of the participation framework to propose different kinds of

listenership for an interpreter (reporter, recapitulator, responder), combined with Goffman's notion of 'footing', that is, a speaker's choices for aligning with a given utterance – in the speaker roles of animator, author and principal. Other modelling efforts have sought to account more comprehensively for contextual and situational variables, for instance by characterizing the nature of the interaction by such criteria as the degree of social distance, formality, equality or shared goals (e.g. Alexieva 1997).

Another set of interaction models can be identified by their focus on communication, that is, the use of language in interpersonal interaction. Some of these, in the 1960s and 1970s, were inspired by the information-theoretical model of communication, with encoding and decoding and transmission via a noise-prone channel. As a more cognitive conception of language use emerged in the 1970s, the emphasis shifted towards text-based (or discourse-based) comprehension and production processes, often including also the dimensions of contextual and sociocultural background knowledge (e.g. Stenzl 1983; Kohn and Kalina 1996). With communicative interaction thus conceived as a dynamic, cognitively based process, these models of interpreting could also be classified as processing models. The latter, however, typically foreground mental operations rather than texts or human agents in their situational environment.

One of the most basic – and at the same time most powerful – processing models of interpreting is that of the *théorie du sens* (Seleskovitch [1968] 1978), which posits 'deverbalized sense' as the pinnacle of a triangular process leading from one language to another. Rather than direct verbal 'transcoding' (between languages), interpreting proper, according to this model, or theory, has a cognitive foundation and requires the interpreter to grasp a speaker's intended message (*vouloir dire*) before re-expressing it in another language.

This core model of the interpreting (and translation) process, which is now largely regarded as axiomatic, has been elaborated on by various authors, mainly on the basis of psycholinguistic and psychological insights into the processes of language comprehension and production. Among the latest and most comprehensive of such models is that by Setton (1999), who draws on the state of the art in language processing and mental models for a cognitive pragmatic account centred on the notions of context and relevance. Like in earlier models that envisage a series of processing steps and procedures (e.g. Moser 1978), the phenomenon of interest here is simultaneous interpreting, even though the principal stages of reception and production would apply also to the consecutive mode.

Distinctly mode-specific processing models were proposed in particular by Gile (1997), whose Effort Models focus on the concurrency and coordination of receptive, productive and short-term memory operations within the limits of available 'processing capacity', or attentional resources. In line with Gerver's (1976) original idea of a 'fixed-capacity central processor', the activity of which can be distributed over several tasks, these multiple-task models can draw support from recent advances in research on working memory, as reflected in the experimental study by Liu *et al.* (2004).

The list of models reviewed above is by no means complete, but it should serve to illustrate the diversity of perspectives and focal points in coming to a richer understanding of the phenomenon. What is of special interest in the present context is the degree to which models of interpreting are distinct from, or similar to those proposed for other forms of translational activity. While such common ground has not been previously explored, it is easy to see how some of the models designed for interpreting could also be applied to translation. Cronin's (2002) notion of autonomous vs. heteronomous provision, for instance, should be of particular interest when it comes to translating into or out of languages of limited diffusion; likewise, Tseng's (1992) professionalization model could equally account

for the socioprofessional status of translators in a given domain, and Gile's (1991) account of participants in the overall communication process was conceived as a generic model to begin with. At the level of interaction, an example of particular interest is the model by Kirchhoff (1976), who used a scheme developed by Reiß for translation and adapted it to interpreting, retaining the assumption of two separate situational and sociocultural contexts (of source and target languages) that is typical of written translation. In a similar vein, Stenzl (1983) adapted translation-theoretical models that foregrounded texts, socio-cultural background knowledge, communicative intentions and functions, with little need for unique or interpreting-specific components.

In contrast to models reflecting the conceptual proximity of interpreting and translation, mainly at the socioprofessional, institutional and textual levels, cognitive processing models and accounts of the micro-process of interaction tend to be more clearly tailored to interpreting. Leaving aside Seleskovitch's (1962) triangular vision of the sense-based translation process, such models would centre on the co-presence and simultaneity of participants and processes in real time, which is after all the defining feature of interpreting as a form of translational activity. Examples include Gile's Effort Models (e.g. Gile 1997), the models by Feldweg (1996), designed in a communication-theoretical framework, and the innovative attempt by Fernando Poyatos (1987) to model the production and reception of communicative signals, both verbal and non-verbal, in different modes of interpreting.

On the whole, models of interpreting can be said to reflect both the uniqueness of interpreting as a cognitive and interactive process in real time, and the common ground shared by interpreting with other forms of translational activity. Thus, not all, but some models of interpreting can claim to be specific to the phenomenon and bring out its distinctive features.

Theories?

What has been observed about models of interpreting (vs. translation) also relates to the fundamental question of whether there is a theory of interpreting distinct from theories of translation – surely a fundamental issue when reflecting on the position of interpreting studies.

Complicating this issue, to say the least, is the fraught relationship between models and theories, and it would be impossible here to do justice to the relevant debate in the philosophy of science. Assuming that models are preliminary theories (rather than complementary to or independent of theories), one can conclude from what has been said above that there is a considerable degree of synergy between models of interpreting and of translation. What, then, about theories, viewed as a set of true statements about the phenomenon to be understood and explained? Is there a theory of interpreting, or a set of distinct theories of interpreting?

The classic proposition by Seleskovitch (1962), that interpreting does not consist in transferring words but in grasping and re-expressing non-linguistic sense, was indeed formulated as a theory of interpreting and would be acknowledged as such by most scholars in the field. Over the decades, however, the *théorie du sens* came to be more appropriately understood as a general theory of translation (in the wider sense) rather than as a theoretical account unique to interpreting. Conversely, general theories of translation that had originally been conceived with an eye to the written modality – such as Toury's translational laws or Vermeer's skopos theory – were tested for and applied to interpreting (e.g. Pöchhacker 1995; Shlesinger 1989), yielding theoretical insights into interpreting that are

actually derived from theories of translation in general. More recently, the search for universals of translation, such as explicitation, has been extended to interpreting, taking advantage of corpus-linguistic approaches.

As pointed out in connection with models, the search for an interpreting-specific theory is most promising for analytical efforts foregrounding interactional co-presence and cognitive simultaneity. In the former case, Wadensjö's (1998) use of concepts from interactional sociolinguistics has yielded the basic insight that interpreters perform not only discourse relaying functions but also discourse management, adopting various speaker roles in the process. In the cognitive realm scholars applying theories of working memory developed in the cognitive sciences (e.g. Liu *et al.* 2004) have concluded that interpreting, especially in the simultaneous mode, consists in the appropriate management of attentional resources, coordinating and balancing the demands of receptive, productive and storage processes. These efforts to theorize interpreting are therefore of an applied nature, drawing on theories of interpersonal discourse-based interaction and theories of cognitive multitasking, respectively. In either case the main challenge lies in further developing basic theoretical insights by testing deductively derived hypotheses against sets of empirical data. Indeed, the central concern of interpreting scholars seems to have been not the development of abstract theories but the collection and analysis of empirical data for more specific descriptive and explanatory purposes. This makes methodology a key domain in which the specific nature of interpreting research within translation studies needs to be explored.

How we study interpreting

As with models and related theoretical approaches, the type of interpreting under study has largely shaped the methods used by interpreting scholars in empirical research. Generally speaking, simultaneous conference interpreting in spoken languages has been investigated in particular on the basis of experiments, whereas dialogue interpreting in institutional settings has been associated with observational research. This has been linked to different research topics – cognitive processes in the former case, and interpreters' behaviour in real-life settings, in the latter. However, the array of methodological approaches used in interpreting studies has become impressively broad and goes far beyond the basic distinction between experimental and observational studies (cf. Gile 1998).

Ever since the 1960s, experiments involving interpreting or related complex tasks such as shadowing have been conducted to test the effect of different input variables on the (simultaneous) interpreting process and its output. The studies by Gerver (1976) on the impact of source-speech rate, noise and intonation are a case in point. Using professional interpreters (or students) as subjects, these designs typically involve the manipulation of the input variable of interest in a controlled interpreting task, and output measurements relating to some aspect of professional performance, such as accuracy or completeness. As acknowledged already by Gerver (*ibid.*), this kind of experimental design suffers from several weaknesses, including the lack of available subjects in a given language combination and the challenge of quantitative performance assessment as the dependent variable. In addition, there is the problem of individual variability in small groups of subjects, and the concern that experiments outside of an authentic communicative context risk losing the very essence of the task, though this can be ameliorated by appropriate simulation (e.g. Ahrens 2005). At any rate, it has proved difficult for interpreting researchers to engage in controlled experimentation for hypothesis testing using inferential statistics, prompting some to turn to 'softer' methods involving qualitative data, such as interpreter subjects'

post-task verbalization. Interestingly, the use of so-called retrospective protocols seems to have been inspired by translation research based on think-aloud protocols, or TAPs, and a number of studies involving some form of post-task recall have been carried out.

A similar extension of methods first used by translation researchers can be observed for corpus-linguistic methods. Thanks to the availability of large quantities of recordings, not least from the European Parliament, and the use of software-assisted transcription, questions of modality, strategy and style in interpreting have come to be investigated in relatively large machine-readable corpora (e.g. Shlesinger and Malkiel 2005; Russo *et al.* 2006). Needless to say, such quantitative analyses are founded on the calculated neglect of situational and contextual variables, despite attempts at documenting as many of these as possible. Massive corpora will indeed eliminate the effects of some contextual constraints, but the failure to fully account for prosodic features, which are particularly laborious to transcribe and document, remains problematic and places the focus of corpus-linguistic interpreting studies on verbal features rather than the paralinguistic components that are unique to the interpreter's spontaneous production.

In contrast, studies using smaller, manually analysed corpora have typically been presented as case studies (e.g. Diriker 2004), showing what may occur rather than aspiring to claims of quantitative significance or representativeness. This approach is commonly taken in studies of dialogue interpreting, where the relationship between textual data and interactional dynamics is considered to be so close that the former cannot be explained without consideration of the latter. Whether in legal, health care or social service settings, studies of interpreter-mediated encounters therefore rely on ethnographic data as well as on recordings of what has been uttered. This amounts to a fieldwork approach that can be seen as the opposite end of the methodological spectrum *vis-à-vis* controlled experimentation in the laboratory.

Over and above the distinction between fieldwork, usually in the form of case studies, and experiments is the use of surveys to collect data from larger numbers of data sources. This strategy has been employed especially for the study of professional issues, and across occupational domains. In spoken-language conference interpreting, AIIC, the International Association of Conference Interpreters, has been the target population of studies on such topics as working conditions and stress, quality and role perceptions, with web-based questionnaires emerging as a valuable tool for survey research among interpreters (Pöchhacker 2009).

Most of the research approaches mentioned so far have placed the focus on interpreters or their products and performance. An alternative vantage point is that of the user of interpreting services. Here again, the use of survey techniques – in the form of self-administered questionnaires (e.g. Kurz 1993; Mesa 2000) or interviews (e.g. Moser 1996) – is prominent, but there is also a significant line of experimental research to canvass user judgements and responses. The work of Collados Aís (1998) on user expectations vs. quality judgements, is particularly noteworthy for the field of simultaneous conference interpreting, whereas Hale's (2004) matched-guise experiments on the perception of interpreted witness testimony are a good example of such work in the legal domain. Going one step further, such experiments have been conducted, especially among users of signed-language interpreters, not only to elicit judgements but also to test the cognitive effectiveness of the interpreter's performance for the target-language receivers. The study by Napier *et al.* (2009) on the comprehensibility of judicial instructions for deaf jurors, is a particularly consequential piece of research along these lines.

The present sketch of methodological approaches in interpreting studies is not intended as an exhaustive overview, either of specific research techniques or of relevant examples.

Its purpose, rather, is to highlight overall trends and focal points so as to reflect on the degree to which interpreting researchers are unique in their endeavours, particularly in relation to scholars studying other forms of translational activity. On balance, the uniqueness of interpreting studies with regard to its methodology appears rather limited, at least regarding the present state of the art.

Over the half-century or so that research on interpreting has been carried out with some consistency, there have certainly been fundamental differences and opposite trends. In the 1960s, when interpreting researchers were engaged in using experimentally generated corpora of interpreted output to measure temporal variables such as pauses and input rate, translation scholars were busy discussing questions of equivalence by looking at linguistic (verbal, textual) data, and the two approaches – from psycholinguistics and (text) linguistics, respectively – suggested little, if any, shared ground. By the 1980s and 1990s, however, translation scholars had moved into process research (e.g. using TAPs) while interpreting researchers had begun to study the interpreter's output as a textual product. This movement in opposite directions resulted in a greatly increased area of interface and common ground. Indeed, few methodological approaches have remained an exclusive domain of interpreting researchers. This even applies to neurolinguistic studies on the cerebral lateralization of languages in interpreters and other bilinguals that would have seemed at such a remove from translation studies in the late 1980s. Recent neurolinguistic experiments using imaging techniques such as PET (positron emission tomography) or fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) have been designed with (visual) translation tasks as much as with interpreting, not least in order to avoid the artefacts created by speech production.

In all, the few methods reserved exclusively for interpreting scholars seem to be laboratory experiments targeting (simultaneous) interpreters' working memory and real-time processing skills, on the one hand, and discourse-analytical studies of interpreter-mediated interactions in real-life (institutional) settings, on the other. The fact that these two approaches are central to two major paradigms in interpreting studies, however, does suggest that the subdiscipline has a methodological core area of its own despite significant convergence in theory and method within translation studies.

Where we stand – and where we are headed

In endeavouring to situate the discipline of interpreting studies within the wider field of translation studies and explore its shared ground and unique territory, the discussion so far has been of a binary nature, relating research on interpreting on the one hand to translation research on the other. This is of course an undue simplification, and it should be pointed out that interpreting has some interesting overlaps with other subdomains that can in turn be differentiated from the rest of the discipline. A particularly relevant example is audiovisual translation, which includes broadcast interpreting and respeaking-based subtitling, both intra- and interlingual, as relevant modes of language transfer. In this sense, research on interpreting is part of the subdiscipline known as audiovisual translation studies (see Gambier, this volume). Another significant area of study that includes interpreting and is rather clearly delineated against the rest of the discipline is machine translation (MT). Speech-to-speech translation has made some significant progress, and where the focus is on the verbal component, there is little difference between MT systems dealing with written or spoken language. Moreover, research into translational activity in history also includes interpreting (e.g. Deslisle and Woodsworth 1995), and except for Bible translation or the translation of literary texts, the two may have been more closely

intertwined than in our modern age, vindicating Schleiermacher's dictum that interpreting is any translational activity that has to do with transacting some business.

Mention should also be made of hybrid phenomena that may come under the heading of translation as well as interpreting. Sight translation, as its name suggests, has to do with written texts but involves cognitive processes that are more akin to interpreting. Likewise, respeaking for speech recognition-based subtitling involves a set of skills that is also required for interpreting, as does the written real-time translation of online chats. Such areas of overlap are likely to foster cooperation between specialists in translation and in interpreting, healthily blurring the boundaries between various subdomains.

With this acknowledgement that the substructure of translation studies – and the position of interpreting studies within it – is much less rigidly defined than labels such as interpreting studies or audiovisual translation studies may suggest, I shall now attempt to summarize where we, as interpreting scholars, stand and where we may be headed.

As indicated in the discussion of models and theories, the field of interpreting studies has come to enter into an ever-closer union with translation research in general (see also Schäffner 2004). From the ultimately shared interest in cognitive process-oriented research to corpus-linguistic analyses based on large machine-readable corpora to the sociological focus on the agent, similar models and methods have been employed to study translation and interpreting alike. This growing synergy of theoretical and methodological approaches notwithstanding, some of the shared topics, such as power, ethics and the role of technology, manifest themselves in interpreting in specific ways. Whereas information and communication technologies, for instance, have undoubtedly revolutionized translation practices, the phenomenon of remote interpreting, in different modes, modalities and settings, constitutes a unique object of study and is likely to become a defining theme of interpreting research that is unlike any other in translation studies. By the same token the sociocultural impact of translational activity is of a fundamentally different nature in interpreting than in translation. Interpreters, with the exception of those working in the mass media, are clearly more limited in their reach. Unlike translators of written texts, theirs is a local, on-site role in shaping social processes such as legal proceedings, police actions, healthcare and educational services. Again, this makes real-time interaction a focal point of investigation, while the impact of interpreting activities at a broader societal level remains more difficult to trace.

In terms of social impact, research into translation and interpreting should ultimately help us to understand the role of translational activity in social and cultural processes. For the interdisciplinary study of such phenomena as postcolonial power shifts, globalization and mechanisms of cultural production, there has been talk of a translation turn in a number of relevant disciplines. Maybe, though at a more limited social scale, one might envisage an 'interpreting turn' in the study of social processes within increasingly multicultural societies – that is, a keener awareness and theoretical treatment of the role of interpreter mediation in the key arenas of institutional interaction.

Related topics

research paradigms, methods, models, conference interpreting, dialogue interpreting

Further reading

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Part II

Defining the object of research in translation studies

What is (not) translation?

Theo Hermans

Nothing could be simpler. You want to know what translation is? Close this book, go out into the street and ask. Since translation is all around us all the time, surely we know? Indeed we do. To the question ‘What would you say translation is?’ the majority of your interviewees are likely to respond with something like: translation is putting what was said in one language into another language; or, it is saying the same thing again in another language; or, it is conveying meaning from one language to another.

All these definitions are perfectly good, and they reflect valuable truths. They are also incomplete, and they do not always tell us what translation is *not*. In that sense they fall short of the requirements of a formal definition, which should be both inclusive and exclusive. A definition should account for all the individual tokens under its purview but demarcate a borderline shutting out everything else.

Should we then try to improve on the impromptu responses above and seek to arrive at a proper definition? Many serious and informed attempts along these lines have been made, and all, in one way or another, have fallen by the wayside. This is partly due to the wide range of phenomena that need to be covered and the difficulty of drawing a distinct line separating translation from what is not or no longer translation. Another reason is that definitions are inevitably written from a certain point of view, reflecting particular theoretical assumptions. The underlying theoretical framework will highlight some aspects or dimensions of translation and remain indifferent to others. The very multiplicity of attempted definitions and the diverse angles they bring to the issue suggest that translation is a complex thing and that a comprehensive and clear-cut view of it is hard to obtain. Sampling and criticizing individual definitions is therefore unlikely to be a fruitful exercise.

Definitions

In his *Introducing Translation Studies* (2001), and more recently in the introduction to *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies* (2009), Jeremy Munday acknowledges several meanings of the term ‘translation’. It can refer to a process, i.e. the act of producing a translation, as well as to a product, i.e. an actual text, and, beyond these, to an unspecified number of related phenomena. Translation occurs in written and spoken form, the latter

also being called interpreting. Its extent is indicated with reference to Roman Jakobson's famous 1959 essay in which he explained that 'the meaning of a linguistic sign is its translation into some further, alternative sign', adding that we can 'distinguish three ways of interpreting a verbal sign: it may be translated into signs of the same language, into another language, or another, nonverbal system of symbols'. Jakobson labelled these three kinds of translation as intralingual translation or rewording, interlingual translation or translation proper, and intersemiotic translation or transmutation (1959: 231–2).

Jakobson was talking about gaining access to the meaning of a verbal sign; he was not offering a definition of translation. Nevertheless, his semiotically inspired categorization of kinds of translation can serve as a reminder of the sheer difficulty, if not the futility, of attempting a straightforward definition. If interlingual translation is the prototype, how peripheral are the other two? How to define language if rewording, too, is translation? What language does transmutation speak?

It could be argued that Jakobson was identifying metaphorical extensions of translation, and that the word 'proper', which he employed with reference to interlingual translation, suggests as much. According to the Aristotelian view of metaphor, words have their 'proper' literal meaning in normal, everyday use, while metaphor is an unnatural use of words, alien and rarefied. Metaphor, which thrives on similarities and striking resemblances, can always be converted back into current, ordinary, familiar speech if we shear away its extravagance and bring it down to earth again (Aristotle 1965; Cheyfitz 1991: 35–7). With respect to Jakobson's categories, however, this conversion would only compound the problem. Similarity and resemblance underpin most ideas of translation, interlingual or not. The conversion from the metaphorical to the literal plane would itself be a form of translation, but of the intralingual and therefore not the 'proper' kind. The English word 'translation' itself is heavily metaphorical, as shown by both its derivation (the Latin rhetorical term *translatio* means metaphor and translates a Greek word meaning 'transfer') and its relation to the 'literal' meaning of transporting the bones of Christian saints from one location to another.

However, this is only the beginning. 'Every language act is a translation', writes George Steiner in the very first sentence of the first article in the largest encyclopedia of translation currently available (2004: 1). If intersemiotic translation is a legitimate if possibly peripheral or questionable form of translation, what about other usages of the term, beyond the domain of language and communication? The term translation is used with very specific meanings in genetics, in physics and in mathematics. It has a different meaning again in the thought of Michel Serres (1974), from whose work it passed into the sociological actor-network theory (Latour 2005: 106ff).

The search for an overall definition leads only to bewilderment, and we have barely moved beyond contemporary English; however, we have made some headway. For one thing, pursuing the term 'translation' beyond the sphere of language and communication requires such specialist knowledge and expertise that it would be foolish to try and incorporate all those meanings. For another, we may want to distinguish between, on the one hand, the word 'translation' and comparable words in other languages, and on the other, the concepts these various terms denote. If we can gain a sense of the kind of things that are covered by a given term, we can explore similar concepts and phenomena elsewhere and consider the names attached to them in the relevant languages. In lexicological terms this would be an onomasiological endeavour, one that starts from the meaning of a particular term or the concept covered by it. The alternative is a semasiological study, which looks at the words first, in different languages, and then asks what they mean (Wierzbicka 1992). Either way,

as we will see, translation bedevils the search, since a cross-lingual understanding of translation requires us to translate, and thus to perform the very operation we are trying to grasp.

Preconditions

If we restrict ourselves to translation as it operates in the domain of culture and communication, we could do worse than to ask about salient elements and assumptions in various descriptions of it. The aim in doing so is not to compile a composite definition based on those features that existing definitions share. That would mean assuming that translation is an objective reality that exists independently of any observer, and that we can identify the various features that are the necessary and sufficient conditions for translation to be recognized as such (Halverson 1999a: 5). We can take a different route. The search for salient elements and assumptions is akin to the way the concept of literature, for instance, has been approached.

Students of literature gave up trying to define literature a long time ago. Today definitions of literature tend to be functional and contingent rather than formal or essentialist. Two introductory but influential textbooks will illustrate the point. Terry Eagleton's *Literary Theory* (1983) opens with a chapter entitled 'Introduction: What is Literature?', which argues that literature is best thought of as 'a highly valued kind of writing' and goes on to stress the social and ideological conditioning of values and value judgements. No actual definition emerges; perhaps there is no real need for one. Jonathan Culler's *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction* (1997) has more to say on the subject. Culler adopts a two-pronged approach. The designation 'literature', he argues, serves as 'an institutional label' denoting 'a speech act or textual event that elicits certain kinds of attention'. For historical reasons, attention of the literary kind has been focused on texts displaying certain features, notably – the list is not meant to be exhaustive – such things as the foregrounding of language, the interdependence of different levels of linguistic organization, the separation from the practical context of utterance, and the perception of texts as both aesthetic objects and intertextual or self-reflexive constructs (1997: 27–35). The label and the features tend to correlate, so that the recognition of formal traits will trigger the institutionally appropriate kind of attention and vice versa. Note that the correlation, and the salient features, are a matter of historical contingency. They reflect the way literature has come to be understood within a particular cultural tradition. That has consequences, but let us ignore this aspect for the time being.

If we follow the example of literature, we might seek to understand the word 'translation' as little more than a label around which various assumptions and practices have accrued over time in certain traditions. We may then be able to get a sense of the concept of translation by considering those assumptions together with their characteristics and preconditions.

Many students of translation would probably agree that translation is concerned with communication, and that it tends to be called for in certain cross-cultural communication situations, where it can act as a problem-solving device. Why should cross-cultural communication present more, or more acute, problems than intracultural communication? Because it is riskier, in several respects. Anthony Pym has described cross-cultural communication as characterized 'by a relatively high degree of effort required to reduce complexity, by relatively high transaction costs, by relatively low trust, and by relatively narrow or restrictive success conditions' (2004a: 5). By the effort required to reduce complexity Pym means the effort needed to make sense of communicative acts or texts. Not only is there a

considerable risk of things going wrong in cross-cultural communication, but the costs are high because it takes significantly more effort to achieve understanding than is the case in intracultural communication. If, in extreme cases which are nonetheless very common, we do not understand the cross-cultural other's language at all but still want to understand or communicate, we have to invest either in learning the other's language or in recruiting a translator. Translation is one means of overcoming an intelligibility barrier of this kind (Hermans and Koller 2004).

How translation goes about overcoming intelligibility barriers in practice is one thing. A prior question concerns the very possibility of translation. Ubaldo Stecconi has developed an interesting, logico-semiotic angle on this question. Approaching it through the semiotics of C.S. Peirce, Stecconi (2004: 478–82) suggests that what enables translation, before it ever takes place in actual fact, is the combination of three things: similarity, difference and mediation – in that order. The kind of sign-action in which translation engages presupposes and requires the possibility of things being perceived as similar or being made to seem similar, whatever precise form this similarity will eventually take in reality. No translation, of any kind, would be possible if some sort of similarity could not be invoked. However, similarity needs difference as its logical condition and backdrop; it is also difference which creates the practical need for translation. Mediation, finally, is the overcoming of difference by means of similarity but without abolishing difference. Mediation achieves matchings across difference. The kind of mediation in which translation engages typically generates a discourse in which two voices intermingle, one speaking on behalf of the other and representing it. Representation demands similarity of one kind or another, while the co-presence of interlocking utterances serves as a reminder that difference remains.

An approach along these lines can provide a sense of what preconditions translation, or what translation entails, while sidestepping a definition. There are other such approaches, closer to the world of actual occurrences and events than Stecconi's Peircean evocation of potentialities. As early as 1953 John McFarlane, the harbinger of the descriptive line in translation studies, urged researchers to accept that 'translation is as translation does' and that the frame of mind informing the study of translation should be 'diagnostic rather than hortatory' (1953: 92–3). Gideon Toury put this injunction into practice when he took the suspension of a definition of translation as the basis for empirical studies. For Toury, a translation was 'any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds' (1985: 20). The claim remains vulnerable – merely 'presenting' a text as a translation may not be enough for it to be recognized by others as a translation – but it launched case studies and research programmes (see Malmkjær and Ben-Ari, both this volume).

Descriptivism in translation studies has a theoretical arm, but its primary thrust is empirical. Its diagnostic outlook draws it to actual translations and their immediate environment. This is both its strength and its limitation. Whereas Stecconi's three characters (similarity, difference, mediation) sketch the semiotic conditions of existence of translation without saying anything about how translations will actually be done or turn out, descriptivism works the other way round and tangles with the cultural and historical conditioning of translation as it occurs in real time and space. Going beyond this has proved problematic, as is shown by the three postulates that Toury (1995: 33–5) claimed were able to account for a language-independent notion of translation. In brief, the postulates say, first, that for every translation there is a corresponding prototext; second, that some kind of transfer must have taken place from prototext to translation; and third, that the

resulting relationship between the two texts may be termed one of equivalence, whatever the meaning assigned to this term in particular cases.

In particular, the second and the third postulate present problems. The transfer postulate begs the question of what exactly is transferred in translation and how we should envisage the transfer process. It requires the separation of signifier and signified that Jacques Derrida, among others, has derided (2002: 18–22). It also projects what Michael Reddy (1993) called the conduit metaphor of communication, according to which meanings are devised in the mind, encrypted in language and dispatched to a receiver who unpicks the code and is then able to inspect and store its content intact. While this communication model underpins some very influential accounts of translation, from Eugene Nida to Peter Newmark, it is by no means generally accepted. Relevance theory, social systems theory, skopos theory and Anthony Pym favour an inferential model, according to which communication is a matter of stimulus and inference: signals are emitted and receivers make sense of them as best they can, using their own mental make-up. Nothing is transferred and there can be no question of an invariant signified being bundled from one location to another on the back of a signifier. The point of this criticism is that it seems hard to base a postulate about a language-independent notion of translation on a contested theory of language, a theory, moreover, that has grown out of a particular Western philosophical and linguistic tradition.

The third postulate Toury claimed, which concerns the relationship between a translation and its prototext, is vulnerable because of the infelicitous reference to equivalence. The starting point is excellent: translation generates an intertextual link, the precise shape of which remains to be determined from case to case. Subsequently jumping the gun by speaking of equivalence is unfortunate. The term equivalence itself, a relative newcomer in Western discourses on translation, suggests an equality of value and hence an equitability and interchangeability that translation, as understood in these Western discourses, has not possessed – just as the languages and cultures between which translation moves have not usually been equal. In day-to-day parlance translations and their prototexts may be treated as equivalent, but this is a fragile, pragmatic sort of equivalence that can be challenged at any time ('I've been reading Plato in English, but what did he *actually* write?'). In those institutional and legal contexts where a translation can in fact be declared fully equivalent with its source (as happens in multilingual treaties, for instance, or in international organizations like the European Union and the United Nations), a translation that has been formally 'authenticated' in this way is no longer a translation but becomes a version on a par with its source – and therefore as equally original and authentic. In all other contexts equivalence remains beyond the reach of translation (Hermans 2007: 1–25). True, Stecconi at one point claimed that equivalence was 'the unique intertextual relation that only translations, among all conceivable text types, are expected to show', but no sooner had the ink dried on this sentence than he corrected himself and replaced 'equivalence' with 'similarity' (2004: 479) – for which, surely, no such claim of uniqueness can be made.

Since the attempt to draw an outline of the concept of translation by postulating necessary features and relations runs into problems, we should perhaps remind ourselves of the way literary theorists approached the concept of literature as a combination of a mere label with a set of historically contingent characteristics that had grown up around it. In translation studies the line of thinking that most closely resembles this model, and has been explored by functionalists and descriptivists alike, is norm theory. Less essentialist than the approach through postulates, norm theory has the added advantage that it can be married to prototype theory, as we will see.

Norm theory

The concept of norms entered the study of translation as part of the endeavour to account in social and historical terms for the choices translators made (Toury 1995: 53–69; Hermans 1999: 72–90; Schäffner 1999). The starting point was the underdetermination of translation. By and large, an original text can give rise to different translations, as alternative choices present themselves to the translator at every turn. Differences from one version to another are therefore to be expected, but why do translators' choices tend to form patterns rather than being random and idiosyncratic? Historically, certain fashions or styles or schools of translation can easily be discerned, suggesting a degree of coordination among translators, and between translators and their audiences, without this conformity being due to totalitarian regimes imposing their exclusive will by fire and sword.

If individual translators, working in conditions where they can exercise their own judgement, can be observed as recurrently preferring certain options while rejecting alternatives that are also available, we can ask what prompts these preferences. Norm theory provides an answer to questions of this kind. The theory links individual behaviour with collective expectations. The reasoning is, roughly, that a translator's preferences – provided they are neither purely wilful nor the result of necessity or compulsion – reflect shared expectations binding translators and their clients together. The expectations concern the nature of the translated product, and they can be either probabilistic or normative. Probabilistic expectations, or conventions, are merely predictive. If the expectation is disappointed because another choice is made, the only consequence is that the expectation will be adjusted in preparation for the next occurrence. Normative expectations are more assertive than this. They do not only predict the likelihood of certain choices being made, but they hold that these choices *should* be made because they are the correct or the proper choices. If the expectation is disappointed, it is kept intact regardless, counterfactually, and action may be taken to bring the misbehaving translation into line and persuade the translator to mend his or her ways. If the expectation is met, praise or reward might follow by way of encouragement.

Conventions and norms constitute the outward aspect of correctness notions. In the case of translation these correctness notions are ideas that are alive in a community about what translation is and what will be recognized as a proper, correct or acceptable translation. Normative expectations in particular function as instruments that keep certain local concepts of translation in place. They regulate the practice of translation and, in so doing, continually update and reinforce the distinction between what is and what is not translation, and between what is an exemplary and a merely tolerable translation. Because normative expectations uphold abstract correctness notions by promoting what is regarded as good practice and reprimanding deviant behaviour, they are relatively stable and possess a certain durability despite the vagaries of individual translators' decision-making and the critical responses to them. To the extent, then, that the interaction between expectations about translation and the production of actual translations is articulated in the form of comments (praise, blame, polemics), commissions (demands, requests) and other communicative acts (making payments, awarding prizes, taking punitive measures), the outlines of translation as understood in a particular community come into view.

The key strength of norm theory lies in its simultaneous appeal to social and psychological domains, the collective and the individual. The study of translation norms and everything they entail, including conflicts, challenges and changes over time, yields insight into concepts of translation held by particular communities at certain periods. A study like

this does not set out to determine what translation is in any absolute or immanent sense, but what translation means to certain groups located in time and space. The focus of attention also shifts from the ontological to the interpretive, since what is at stake is not something inherent in the nature of translation that needs to be recovered but the way in which evidence is marshalled to build a picture of translation as the researcher reckons a particular community conceives of it.

Many of the standard elements that are taken for granted when we speak of translation are in fact distilled from the contemporary Western understanding of the term, or from the way the term is used in modern English, and they are valid in this restricted sense. Translation as representation fits this mould, as does the expectation of a close semantic correlation between translations and their antecedents. The correlation may be expressed in the strong form of pragmatic equivalence or in the more cautious form of 'relevant similarity' (Chesterman 1996) or relevance theory's 'interpretative resemblance' (Gutt 2000).

It may be possible to go a little further in this direction. Anthony Pym (2004b: 70ff), for instance, has argued that translation, in the sense just indicated, involves at least two specific maxims of representation: 'quantity' and 'first-person displacement'. The former maxim says that translations will be of roughly the same length as their prototexts. The latter means that the 'I' that speaks in a translation is held to be the 'I' of the anterior text and not that of the translator, despite the knowledge of two voices being in play. Both are maxims in the Gricean sense, which means that challenging them triggers implicatures suggesting the text in question is not a translation as routinely understood but, say, more of a gist translation or a paraphrase or whatever. The large majority of translations observe both maxims.

Quantity is relative; there is no telling exactly when a translation begins to transgress against the maxim of quantity. With first-person displacement the switch is turned either on or off without there being an in-between state, but even here vagueness persists. It is perfectly possible to imagine an amateur interpreter translating consistently in the third person using indirect speech and thus without first-person displacement ('She says she was going out, she was crossing the street when she saw this man', etc.), just as an entire novel may be written in indirect speech (indeed Antonio Tabucchi's *Declares Pereira* (1994), is written in this vein). The implicature may be that we are then dealing with paraphrase or with non-professional interpreting, but both would still be understood as forms of translation, albeit not mainstream translation. Maxims, that is, have more in common with contingent and contestable norms than with necessary conditions of the kind demanded by formal definitions or postulates.

Prototype theory

If this suggests that translation may be a concept covering a range of ideas and practices, some of which are regarded as more central and others as more peripheral, we are entering the domain of prototype theory. The theory helps the definition of translation by accommodating diversity and blurred edges. It reflects the awareness that, on the one hand, translation is not a uniform concept and lacks a clear boundary separating it from everything that is not translation, and that, on the other, there is nonetheless a measure of agreement concerning what a term like 'translation' means in present-day English. The basic assumption in prototype theory is that, by and large, people who use a word like 'translation' share an idealized cognitive model of the concept, against which, in day-to-day usage, each person's individual idea of translation can be tested. The prototypical concept

of ‘translation’ can be thought of as embodied in a number of works that are unhesitatingly accepted as translations, with, ranged alongside them, various notions and expectations that are, again without hesitation, associated with translation. Beyond this core lies a large grey area in which there may be less certainty and even a good deal of disagreement about what still pertains to translation or falls outside it. Graded membership (some translations are more prototypical than others) and fuzzy boundaries (disputes about borderline cases will occur) are the hallmark of prototype theory (Snell-Hornby 1995; Halverson 1998, 1999b).

Prototype theory has intuitive appeal. Jakobson’s threefold division, as we saw, posited interlingual translation as its central term and arranged the other two types around it as somehow less obvious and more peripheral. Historically, a classification like John Dryden’s proceeds in similar fashion. Dryden’s middle term is paraphrase, ‘or translation with latitude’, which he approves of as the gold standard, and to the left and right we find metaphrase, which he admits only grudgingly (it is ‘a foolish task’ and like ‘dancing on ropes with fettered legs’), and imitation, which is barely recognizable as translation (‘if now [the translator] has not lost that name’) (Robinson 2002: 172–3). The hierarchies implicit in many binary divisions of translation (formal versus dynamic; semantic versus communicative; overt versus covert; domesticating versus foreignizing) tell a similar story, as one term is invariably privileged over the other and thus held to be more ‘proper’ or prototypical.

The metaphorical load carried by the word ‘translation’ and its cognates in other languages also fits a prototype approach quite well in that the metaphors highlight pervasive conceptual schemas. However debatable some of the implications of these metaphors may be, they underpin common perceptions. The etymology of the current English term ‘translation’, as we saw, suggests displacement and relocation, and hence a whole string of entailments and inferences: the conduit metaphor of language, semantic stability and invariance, the separation of signifier and signified, the primacy of authorial intention, in short everything deconstruction has summed up as the ‘metaphysics of presence’. Very different ideas and images might have gathered around the concept of translation if the word for translation had been different, but, as Kathleen Davis (2001: 18) has pointed out, it is no accident that the philosophical tradition of the West spawned precisely the notion of translation as transport encapsulated in the word’s historical derivation. There is also a second widely distributed set of metaphors, which caters for translation as representation and figures it as imitation, assimilation, replication, reproduction, recasting and transformation (Martín de León 2010; Chesterman 1997). The amount of variation and overlap that these sets permit makes them eminently compatible with a prototype concept of translation.

The relevance of the metaphorical loads encrusted on the word ‘translation’ may be twofold. They are, in the now well-worn phrase, ‘metaphors we live by’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). However, they go beyond reflecting and in turn fostering a particular idea of translation. Because they are so ingrained, they seem not just obvious, but natural and true. That is, they seem to capture the nature and essence of translation, not just here and now, in this idiom and its history, but across time and space. Do they?

Cluster concepts

There are at least two problems with this – and in fact with everything that has been said so far, including the casual use of the personal pronoun ‘we’. One problem is minor, the other major. The minor problem is called Walter Benjamin. All the perspectives on translation reviewed in the previous pages assume that translation is a matter of communication.

Benjamin's essay of 1923, 'The Task of the Translator' (1996: 45–57), rejects that perspective out of hand and builds a theory of language and translation on radically different foundations. Of course, we can dismiss Benjamin's musings as 'mystical vagaries', as André Lefevere (1977: 94) did at a time when only he and George Steiner had read Benjamin, but this nonchalance sits uneasily with the fact that the essay, however out of this world it may seem, nevertheless grew out of the Western tradition and is now one of the most celebrated and most quoted texts in modern translation studies. Perhaps we need to be prepared for more diversity than even a prototype approach can encompass.

The major problem, however, has to do with the multiplicity of languages and cultures in the world, something to which Western translation studies have only recently woken up. If translation, as understood in modern English, can be regarded as a prototype concept, other languages and cultures, including those in the past, must be assumed to possess similarly wide-ranging and diffuse concepts of translation (as indeed Chesterman and Arrojo 2000 suggest). This raises several questions. Is it likely that these different concepts can be gathered up in a superordinate prototype? Can we use a term like 'translation' as a touchstone to gauge alternative concepts? How do we map individual concepts onto those of other languages in a global, inclusive and cross-cultural discipline of translation studies? Questions like these may have some urgency at the present time. Forms of translation are proliferating due to new technologies (see O'Hagan, this volume) and new modes of production and distribution, throwing up new vocabularies in the process. In the academic world the geopolitics of international translation studies favour the dissemination of Anglophone terminology and Eurocentric concepts of translation, at the risk of either marginalizing alternative practices or crudely assimilating them to 'translation' as understood in English and related languages.

Several recent discussions of concepts of translation beyond the Western world (Chesterman 2006; Prasad 2010; Trivedi 2006; Tymoczko 2007: 68–77; Tymoczko 2010) have trailed through a range of languages and come up with terms that seem comparable to 'translation' but evoke very different images and associations, and appeal to diverse domains of meaning and experience. There is to date, in English, only a very limited number of studies offering in-depth analyses of non-Western concepts of translation in their historical complexity (Cheung 2005, 2007 for Chinese; Paker 2006 for Ottoman Turkish; Wakabayashi 2009 for Japanese). Even though explorations of this kind have barely begun in earnest and remain tentative, they have already, through their sheer diversity, queried many of the assumptions taken for granted in translation studies as currently configured in the West. Maria Tymoczko (2006, 2010) has listed a number of these assumptions and presuppositions. Here is a sampling: translation mediates between linguistic and cultural groups, typically between language associated with nation states and monolingual individuals and cultures; it involves decoding and recoding, mostly applied to texts fixed in written form; the principal text types have been defined and categorized; translation can be taught and learnt to a professional standard; key issues in translation are authority, fidelity, equivalence and the primacy of the original.

Many of these current assumptions in translation studies dovetail with the prototypical concepts of translation prevalent in the Western tradition. This is not surprising, but the uncomfortable consequence is that the discipline, with its historical and ethnocentric baggage, may be poorly equipped to deal with ideas and practices outside the Western orbit. If the study of translation is to transcend these traditional confines and become cross-cultural on a global scale, it may need to reinvent itself. For that to happen, at least two things would seem to be required initially: a flexible, non-reductive approach to diverse concepts of translation; and critical self-reflexivity in engaging with these concepts.

As for the former, the most promising line of enquiry may well be that sketched by Tymoczko (2007: 54–106) in terms of understanding translation as a cluster concept. The idea of cluster concepts goes back to the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1953), who suggested that in order to understand concepts and categories we may want to look at partial similarities across a wide range of exemplars. Instead of trying to define ‘language’ or ‘translation’, we seek to establish their meaning by tracing what Wittgenstein calls ‘family resemblances’, open-ended series of similarities, analogies, overlaps and relationships that can be observed in varied practices in different contexts. In contrast with prototype theory, the search does not aim to identify a pool of traits which most, or the most representative, members of the category have in common. Instead, the process depends on recognizing resemblances linking phenomena wherever they occur, even if they go under different names. Whereas prototype theory assumes a hierarchy of centre and periphery, with a privileged hard core of representative cases and more tangential zones with fuzzy edges, a cluster concept approach remains decentred and rhizome-like, moving from case to case and, in the process, accommodating divergent and even incommensurable instances and practices. It engages in close, localized observation and puts the onus on the observer to demonstrate linkages with related phenomena elsewhere. In this sense it seems well suited to exploring translation concepts in a global context and across historical periods.

Whatever the language and culture being investigated, and in whatever language the investigation is conducted, the report needs to be phrased in a metalanguage. The meta-language may be a disciplinary jargon, but it will still be couched in a natural language such as English. Here lies the irony alluded to earlier in this chapter. The cross-cultural study of translation cannot escape having to translate, but the meanings, concepts and practices being traced across diverse cultures and time frames will not be readily translatable, for they tell specific, local stories that have often remained untold in other tongues. It is therefore worth asking what kind of translation, in and on whose terms, the cross-cultural study of translation wants to perform. Whether or not we assume English as the vehicle, the reporting idiom will come with values, histories and taxonomies already inscribed in it, and this has hermeneutic, ethical and ideological implications. How to represent otherness in familiar terms – an old translation problem, but rendered acute by the politics of languages and intellectual disciplines.

One solution may be found in the idea of ‘thick translation’. The phrase was coined by Kwame Anthony Appiah (2000), who grafted it on the ethnographer Clifford Geertz’s notion of ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973), which in turn was borrowed from the philosopher Gilbert Ryle (1971). Thick description, which Geertz deployed in order to counter the reductiveness of a structuralist anthropology that subsumed otherness under its own pre-conceived categories, lavishes detailed, personalized attention on complex lifeworlds in an effort to find both similarities and differences within and across cultures. It is a self-conscious mode of representation, and indeed some of Geertz’s celebrated ‘thick descriptions’ helped to trigger the crisis of representation in anthropology known as the ‘Writing Culture’ debate of the 1970s and 1980s (Clifford and Marcus 1986). Applied to cross-cultural translation studies, and more particularly to the cross-cultural exploration of concepts of translation, the practice of thick translation could likewise revel in the detail of individual cases and histories, and in so doing bring about a double dislocation: not just of the foreign terms and concepts, which are probed by means of a methodology and vocabulary inevitably alien to them, but also of the investigator’s own terminology, which must be wrenched out of its familiar shape to engage with both similarity and alterity (Hermans 2007: 150). Such an academic practice can only be self-reflexive. It must, as Tymoczko (2007) calls it, ‘enlarge

translation' for the sake of an inclusive discipline, but it must also query its own conceptual apparatus and lineage, and therefore its own positioning and agenda.

Related topics

definition of translation; norm theory; prototype theory; cluster concept; thick translation; cross-cultural translation studies

Further reading

- Baker, Mona (ed.) (2010) *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge. (A wide-ranging collection of theoretical and critical texts from the 1980s onwards, with an emphasis on ideological aspects of translation.)
- Gaddis Rose, Marilyn (ed.) (2000) *Beyond the Western Tradition. Translation Perspectives XI*, Binghamton: Centre for Research in Translation, State University of New York. (A set of critical and theoretical reflections seeking, as the title indicates, to go beyond Europe and North America, with contributions from and about the Middle, Africa, Asia and Latin America.)
- Hermans, Theo (ed.) (2006) *Translating Others*, two vols, Manchester: St Jerome. (A collection of some 30 essays focusing primarily on translation in Asian and African contexts, past and present, but also on marginalized European cultures and forms of translation.)
- Hung, Eva and Wakabayashi, Judy (eds) (2005) *Asian Translation Traditions*, Manchester: St Jerome. (Papers from the first in a series of workshop conferences aimed specifically at exploring historical and contemporary aspects of translation in Asia.)
- Pym, Anthony (2010) *Exploring Translation Theories*, London and New York: Routledge. (A readable and informed if curiously old-fashioned account of recent translation theories.)
- St André, James (ed.) (2010) *Thinking Through Translation with Metaphors*, Manchester: St Jerome. (The collection offers linguistic, historical and literary reflections on a range of metaphors associated with translation, mostly with reference to Western traditions.)
- Shuttleworth, Mark and Cowie, Moira (1997) *Dictionary of Translation Studies*, Manchester: St Jerome. (A short and handy inventory of the terminology of Anglophone translation studies.)
- Wakabayashi, Judy and Kothari, Rita (eds) (2009) *Decentering Translation Studies: India and Beyond*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (Based on a conference in the Asian Translation Traditions series, the papers in this collection focus mainly on India but also take in Japan, Korea, South Africa and the Arabic-speaking world.)

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The translation process as object of research

Gyde Hansen

The translation process, which includes a realistic translation brief, can be defined as everything happening, from the moment the translator starts working on the brief and the source text until he finishes the target text. It is all-encompassing, from every pencil movement and keystroke, to the use of all kinds of aids, and the entire process that is involved in taking decisions, solving problems and making corrections (Hansen 2003: 26).

Translation process research has developed into one of the most active fields within translation studies. With other sciences of the mind like cognition research, consciousness studies and brain research, translation process research shares the interest in mental processes and actions. Better knowledge about the structure of individual translation processes and personal translation styles is important for translator training and the recruitment of professional translators within international organizations, companies and translation agencies; key requirements that professional translators have to meet are the excellence and efficiency of workflows and optimal cooperation between colleagues with respect to revision processes and quality management. Looking for precise knowledge and deeper understanding of what is going on in the translator's mind during a translation is relevant for the development and improvement of computer-aided/-assisted translation and also for machine translation.

Empirical translation process research started about a quarter-century ago with several attempts to investigate translators' cognitive processes. Krings (1986), one of the pioneers, wanted to know what was going on in translators' minds, 'Was in den Köpfen von Übersetzern vorgeht'. Krings used an introspection method from experimental psychology, think aloud (TA), in combination with direct observation of the subjects. TA is still the most applied introspection method but since the end of the last century, several kinds of electronic tools and software applications have become available, like keystroke logging, screenshot recording, eye tracking and different kinds of imaging and scanning. In translation process research, several disciplines, methods, tools, data and results are combined in multi-method designs.

Empirical translation research

In an empirical study the researcher can focus on special parts of a phenomenon or try to carry out a more holistic investigation. Studying cognitive processes during a translation process

implies that many findings are based on subjective observations in complex situations, with a multitude of variables and data. In empirical translation research an overall aim is ‘ecological validity’, i.e. the naturalness of the investigated processes, but we have to cope with the fact that translators’ profiles, their processes and the resulting translation products comprise a complex network of aspects from the translator’s individual background, the conditions of the experiment, the text and also the observer/researcher, who may have special interests.

Depending on the research issue, the study can be carried out as an observational study in natural settings or as an experimental study in controlled settings. In experimental studies the goal is obtaining results on at least an inter-subjective level that can be compared, replicated and generalized, and developing theories that can be confirmed and further developed. However, what characterizes experiments with human translation processes is that, due to their complexity, they cannot be replicated in exactly the same manner. The actual situation, especially conditions of time, translator and text, can never be kept exactly the same because of the influence of either personality features or the retest effect.

Research methods and tools

Empirical research is based on data systematically derived from the perception and observation of aspects of reality. In a research project data collection, analysis and interpretation entail choices with respect to the adequacy of the methods and tools in relation to the overall research question and the underlying research steps. In translation process research, qualitative and quantitative methods are used in a variety of combinations and triangulations.

Qualitative research is research not by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It is interpretations of first-person approaches, i.e. people’s reports on their lives, their experiences and observations, interactions and emotions. The assumption is that a person who experiences a phenomenon also can give the most precise description of it. Qualitative research is an attempt at in-depth understanding of a phenomenon, taking many variables into consideration. It is exhaustive study, interpreting phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them and looking for causal relationships and explanations.

Quantitative research, in contrast, is based on and proceeds from the researcher’s ideas and hypotheses about observed dimensions and calculable and measurable categories. Often one phenomenon is isolated and investigated in large samples. An important quantitative method for the analysis of process data involves statistics.

The choice of qualitative and/or quantitative methods and decisions regarding combinations of methods is taken in relation to the particular research issue under study. However, as qualitative data can be coded and counted, and as quantitative data and results *always* need to be interpreted, both aspects will always be present.

Introspection methods

In empirical translation process studies, qualitative methods often employed are surveys and TA, a concurrent verbal report. Retrospection (R) which is a report taking place *after* the process has been used only a few times. The same is the case with concurrent collaborative translation protocols (CTP), where a pair or a group of translators talk together when translating the text.

With TA protocols (TAPs), it is expected that perceptions, thoughts and feelings during the process are verbalized. Introspection was introduced by the founder of experimental

psychology, Wilhelm Wundt (1911), and from the beginning, the reliability of the methods has been discussed. The questions asked were: do such reports really reflect mental processes and do they have an impact on these processes? In consciousness studies it is argued that first-person approaches (from the subject's perspective) provide data that cannot be obtained from a third-person perspective (the observer's), and that both are needed as they are complementary and irreducible (Velmans 2000: 334).

Regarding introspection, in translation process research, researchers usually rely on the standard work by the cognitive psychologists, Ericsson and Simon (1993), about verbal reports as data and about the advantages and disadvantages of various methods. Their claim is that, 'think-aloud and retrospective reports do not influence the sequence of thoughts' (ibid.: xxii). In the studies with TA, during the experiments researchers try to eliminate social interaction between subject and observer as far as possible, because if the two interact, the subject will try to adapt the verbal report to social norms and this could distort the actual mental data. As Ericsson and Simon (ibid.: xiv) say, 'social verbalizations may be quite different from the sequences of thoughts generated by subjects themselves while solving problems, performing actions and making evaluations and decisions'. The observers should be present during the TA experiments, but they should remain invisible. To enhance the production of verbal data, Ericsson and Simon (ibid.: 83, 256) propose the use of prompts or reminders to make the subjects speak, with expressions like 'keep talking', or 'what are you thinking about?' Their opinion is that, 'reminders to verbalize of the "keep talking" variety should have a very small, if any, effect on the subject's processing'. There is still doubt about the impact of TA on the translation process. For many translators it does not appear natural to have to talk during their translation. As observed by Hansen (2005: 513), personal features like the translator's linguistic background and the translation direction have an impact on the applicability of TA and the quality and richness of the data.

Dialogue protocols, whereby pairs of translators talk together during the translation process, or 'joint translation protocols', when groups work in teams, are concurrent verbal reports. House (1988), Kussmaul (1995) and Séguinot (1996) introduced this kind of process research. They observed that the dialogic situation increases the amount of verbalization and that the data were more natural and richer than with individual TA. Kussmaul (1995: 11ff) also reported some disadvantages of this method, mainly because of social and psychodynamic interaction problems. Recently this method was applied by Pavlović (2007, 2009), who carried out a project on directionality using collaborative translation and video recording with subjects who had been trained in team work. It is Pavlović who proposed the term 'collaborative translation protocols' (CTP) for protocols obtained from this kind of task.

Retrospection, a report taking place *after* the process, was traditionally regarded as less being reliable. Subjects can have forgotten their problems, strategies and decisions, and they tend to distort the observations of their own process (Krings 1986: 68). As translation processes consist of many simultaneous thought processes, after the task has been finished it can be difficult to recall distinct thought episodes. The risk of forgetting, distorting and incomplete data increases proportionally to the length of the interval between the task and the retrospective report. With the replay function of software, where whole processes can be shown like a film, the retrospection method has become more reliable (see 'retrospection and replay' (R+Rp) in the next section). Lately this method has also been called 'cued retrospection'.

The integrated problem and decision report (IPDR) by Gile (2004) is another introspection method. Translators are asked to report *every* problem that they encounter during

the translation process, how they attempted to solve it, and why they decided on the solution that they adopted. They are also asked to indicate specifically the full references of all the outside sources that they have used in order to solve their problems. Gile describes several advantages of this method in translator training. With respect to IPDR for research purposes, he is more guarded (*ibid.*: section 2.4.3), especially because reporting takes time and effort, and students cannot always be relied on to do it thoroughly. A comparison of the two introspection methods, IPDR and R+Rp, is given in Hansen (2006b), where they were tested and compared systematically in terms of their applicability, their influence on the processes, and the richness of information about problems and decisions they provide.

The questions in relation to the choice and application of introspection methods that have been raised repeatedly are: what is it we actually discover from using these methods; how can we observe the translation process under *natural* conditions; and how can we enhance the ecological validity of the experiments?

Software and quantitative data

Introspection is often combined with observations via computer keystroke logging like, for example, Translog (Jakobsen and Schou 1999), PROXY (PACTE), and Inputlog (Van Maes and Leijten 2006). With software like Translog, the translation process – or better, the writing process – can be monitored without much impact on the translator's usual behaviour. The software provides quantitative data about the process, i.e. all cursor movements, changes and corrections, as well as the position and length of phases and pauses. These observation data are registered on a log file. They are generally considered to be 'objective' data. They can be counted and evaluated, but they still have to be classified, coded and interpreted. A further advantage of software for process research is that it makes it convenient to carry out experiments under different kinds of time pressure (see Hansen 2006c).

Through software with a 'replay function' the writing process can be shown dynamically on the screen. As mentioned, in earlier process research, *retrospection* was regarded as being less reliable. A combination of retrospection with the replay function (R+Rp) has made the retrospection method more reliable because now the effect of *recognition* (Ellis 1995: 220) can be employed. As soon as translators see their own writing and revision processes on the screen, they begin to comment on them. An advantage of R+Rp is that it seems to be non-invasive. The replay has an even better effect than the retrieval cues with TA, and prompts like 'keep talking' are not necessary. As control experiments have shown (Hansen 2006b: 4), the observer can leave the room during R+Rp.

On log files, it is primarily aspects of time, i.e. pauses and phases (like the preparation phase, the drafting phase or the revision phase), that are shown in addition to changes and revisions. There is no or very little information about the translators' cognitive processes, i.e. what they are reflecting upon during the pauses and phases, or what resources or aids they refer to (especially if it is printed matter). It is still impossible to get to know what is really going on in the subjects' minds. In many studies TA is expected to fill this gap, at least approximately, but the question whether TA affects the naturalness of the translation process is not solved. This has been discussed by, among others, Jääskeläinen (2002), Jakobsen (2003), Hansen (2005) and Göpferich and Jääskeläinen (2009). In addition to TA and keystroke logging, other methods have been applied, like video recording (Lorenzo 1999), and a method from the field of psychology, one-way screen with audio link (Livbjerg and Mees 1999).

More recently several invisible, less invasive tools have become available for screen logging, a useful supplement to keystroke logging. Screenshot recordings register all the

changes taking place on the computer screen showing the participants' use of the Internet and electronic dictionaries. Screen logging is a considerable improvement. Without this software it had always been difficult to register the participants' use of electronic aids.

A newer method in translation process research is eye tracking, a method from psychology and brain research. Eye tracking provides information about gaze activity like eye fixations at millisecond intervals. Monitoring the fixations and movements of the eye, observers try to infer what word, or part of a text on the screen a person is attending at any particular moment. What researchers are interested in is, for example, the gaze time, mean fixation duration, text segments with 'longer-than-average' fixation, text segments that get the first fixation, the number of refixations. In process research, eye tracking is combined with keystroke logging and sometimes with screen logging (e.g. Eye-to-It 2006; Dragsted 2010). Other methods like pupillometrics, i.e. the study of the pupil size and pupil dilation when carrying out a task, are also applied (O'Brien 2008; Caffrey 2008). Eye tracking registers brain processes and the assumption is that eye movements and the pupil size are expressions or indicators of cognitive activity. At present in most projects, eye tracking is carried out using the Tobii 1750 eyetracker combined with the ClearView analysis software, or the Gaze-to-Word Mapping Module (GWM) developed by Špakov (2007), for the purpose of combining eye gaze and text automatically (Jensen 2008: 158). Data from eye tracking can be visualized and analysed by computer software as described by the international project Eye-to-It (2006). The objective of the project is an integration of several technologies like eye tracking, keystroke logging, EEG (electroencephalography), and the planning system ERP (Enterprise Resource Planning), a business management system which can handle a large variety of different data.

EEG is a tool which in combination with eye tracking and keystroke logging was expected to optimize the performance of professional translators (Eye-to-It 2006). EEG is the measurement of electrical activity produced by the brain as recorded from electrodes placed on the scalp. In fact, electrodes are placed on the scalp over multiple areas of the brain to detect and record patterns of electrical activity.

Ecological validity

Methods and tools can be classified according to the degree of their effect on the ecological validity of experiments. Qualitative methods like pre- and post-process questionnaires, pre- and post-process interviews and dialogues, and R+Rp can be regarded as being less invasive. Also software providing quantitative data like keystroke logging, screen logging and eye tracking do not absolutely affect the process, because the translator does not realize that the software is present. Concurrent verbalization like TA, individually or collectively, has an impact because, with some exceptions, it is not a natural situation. The same is the case with IPDR. With video recording researchers have different experiences. It can have an impact on the process because some subjects feel uneasy. EEG is a highly intrusive method that cannot be used if the goal is ecological validity.

Missing links and challenges

Although we have tools and techniques for logging, recording, tracking, imaging, scanning and measuring, and though pauses, phases, cursor movements, changes, revisions, eye movements and fixations, pupil dilation, neurophysiological processes and the electrical activity of the brain can be registered, it is still crucial to establish the *connection*

between all the observations and the translator's thoughts, intentions, attitude, problems, strategies and decisions – and the quality of these decisions. With other sciences of the mind we share the condition that we still do not have direct access to the human mind.

Research involving human beings and their cognitive processes requires that we go beyond the exercise of registering measurable data. This we try via introspection methods, but they are not totally reliable. In process research with the purpose of improving translator training and professional translation, there is another important aspect: the research gains relevance as soon as observations and analyses of processes are combined with evaluations of the *quality of the translation products* resulting from these processes. If we want to know which of the observations during the translation processes display promising behaviour in terms of a useful final product, the target texts and the revisions during the process (different intermediate versions of the product or changes on a micro-level) have to be evaluated, but evaluations are not always reliable either (Hansen 2007).

A challenge in process research is that all the data obtained still have to be categorized, analysed, coded, interpreted and evaluated separately and/or in relation to each other, in a kind of integrative network of observation and description. Table 6.1 gives an overview of the combinations of methods and tools mentioned and the observed phenomena.

Key studies in empirical translation process research

Projects in the field can be divided into investigations of students' and/or novice or professional translators' processes, and overviews and discussions of methods and tools. In overviews, methods have been discussed by, among others, Jääskeläinen (2002), Krings (2005), Göpferich (2008) and Göpferich and Jääskeläinen (2009).

Projects

Several larger projects have been carried out. Translation, an action of high complexity, depends, among other aspects, on the translator's individual background, experience and

Table 6.1 Methods, combinations and observed phenomena

<i>Some method combinations</i>	<i>Kinds of data</i>	<i>Observed phenomena in</i>
Surveys (pre- and/or post-process) Keystroke logging + screenshot recording + TA + eye tracking Current and final product evaluation	alternately:	Profile (Process + verbalization) Product
Surveys (pre- and/or post-process) Keystroke logging + screenshot recording + TA + eye tracking + retrospection with replay Current and final product evaluation	QUAL + <i>quan</i>	Profile (Process + verbalization) Product
Surveys (pre- and/or post-process) Keystroke logging + screenshot recording + (R+Rp) Post-process interview/dialogue Current and final product evaluation	QUAN + <i>qual</i>	Profile Process Product
Eye tracking/pupil dilation + video analysis (processing speed) + post-process survey		Process with translation memory tools (TM)

linguistic and communicative competence, as well as psychological aspects and training and also the cultural, sociological, ethical and ideological conditions in the respective speech communities. In some of the earlier projects, researchers attempted to investigate the complex translation processes naturally and holistically, which means that if not all aspects, as many aspects of the translators' processes as possible and additionally the translators' profiles and the quality of their products were taken into consideration and combined. In most process studies the behaviour, competences, problems and strategies of students and professionals are investigated and also compared. In some experimental studies the focus is on more special aspects, like the subjects' degree of awareness, decision-taking, creativity, use of aids, or revision.

The first large-scale investigations were carried out by, among others, Krings (1986) and Lörcher (1991), who used TA. Their subjects were groups of students and/or professionals. The aim of Krings' project involving eight advanced learners of French was gaining insight into the translators' mental processes, their skills, translation problems and strategies when translating into their L1 (native language) and L2 (non-native language). Krings identified primary and secondary indicators of translation problems (Krings 1986: 121). In his analyses of the TAPs, he registered five strategies: the reception strategy, the strategy of finding equivalents, the reduction strategy, the evaluation strategy, and the decision-taking strategy (ibid.: 480ff). Many of Krings' observations are still valid, like, for example, his observations regarding inferencing, i.e. 'good guessing', as a strategy to solve reception problems (ibid.: 231); regarding the strategy of *reduction* where he observed that his subjects feared to leave out information 'Wiedergabebzwang' (ibid.: 456); and regarding his observations of the strategy of 'Entmetaphorisierung', a reverbalization where metaphors are neutralized (ibid.: 355). Many of these observations were confirmed in later projects, for example Hansen (2006a).

Lörcher (1991) investigated translation strategies and patterns of combined strategies in translation processes – also in both directions of translation. He worked with students and professionals. One of his findings was that experiments with TA are useful for translator training because they improve students' ability to solve translation problems (ibid.: 279).

Early studies where specific issues were investigated with TA were, for example, Jääskeläinen (1999), who compared translation processes of students and professionals into their L1, Finnish. Jääskeläinen looked at the effect of the individual translator's *attitude* on the translation task. Because of small samples, her results were preliminary. In this early study Jääskeläinen already tried to trace the influence of TA on the translation process.

Tirkkonen-Condit (2000) describes a research project where she tried to find patterns of *uncertainty management*. She used the TAPs of six professional translators. Her preliminary result was that professional translators can tolerate uncertainty, and that tolerance of ambiguity is a personality feature. She points out that translators' personalities would deserve more empirical research. Recently, uncertainty management has been again the objective of an explorative study described by Angelone (2010: 18ff), who applies a 'dual methodology' of TA and screen recording.

Several large projects using software have been carried out. In her explorative study, *Expertise and Explicitation in the Translation Process*, Englund Dimitrova (2005) investigated the complexities of the translation process. She combined aspects of task performance, a macro-perspective, with an investigation of certain explicitations from a textual and process perspective, a micro-perspective. She studied the translation process of participants with varying experience and expertise, i.e. two senior professionals, two junior professionals, two translation students and three language students at university, who

translated from Russian into their L1, Swedish. Research methods and tools applied and combined were TA and computer logging. The purpose of the study was gaining insight into aspects of the competence and expertise of professional translators via a comparison of the processes of the groups of participants with different experience. One of the results of the study was that the expertise and competence of the two senior professionals became apparent during the initial planning of the task and in their way of merging text generation and revision during the process.

Translation competence is also the issue of a large-scale experimental research project carried out the PACTE group (2003, 2005, 2007). The group of 10 researchers seeks to get a better understanding of the psycholinguistic aspects of translation competence. They work with six languages and with translations into L1 and L2. The participants in their experiments are professionals working with foreign languages: expert translators and teachers of foreign languages, all with at least six years of experience. PACTE apply computer logging via PROXY and direct observation in order to collect data about the translators' behaviour, and additionally questionnaires and retrospective interviews with the replay of PROXY recordings. The PACTE group analyses both processes and products. They define different aspects of translation competence as proposed in their TC model (see PACTE group 2005: 610; PACTE group 2007: 330).

In a holistic longitudinal study, *From Student to Expert*, Hansen (1997, 2006a, 2008, 2010) investigated translation and revision processes from Danish into German and vice versa. In 1997 the participants were final-year students at the Copenhagen Business School. In 2007 the same participants – now professionals – participated in new experiments, carried out in their workplaces. An assumption was that every translator has his/her 'individual competence pattern' (ICP) and that this pattern 'can be recognized and identified in both (a) *her translation products* and (b) *her behaviour in the course of the translation process*' (Hansen 1997: 207). The objective of the study was via an observation of intra-individual and inter-individual variation over time, and comparisons of groups to discover factors that constitute success in translation, and thus improving the quality of translator training programmes (1997). Felicitous translation processes are defined in Hansen (2006a: 20). The first part of the project (1997–2005) consisted of five series of experiments and control experiments with Translog, with altogether 80 participants. The experiments, which were carried out individually, showed themselves to be quite useful in translator training because they had an excellent effect of awareness raising. Theoretically the study is based on inter-disciplinarity and several methodologies and tools are employed. The following profile, process and product parameters proved to be relevant. Profile parameters define the subjects' individual, cultural and educational backgrounds, habits, life stories and self-evaluation of their processes, as well as ten years later, their professional careers, working conditions and experiences. This information was obtained via surveys and interviews. Process parameters are in both parts of the study management of time, actions and revisions during the translation processes (via Translog), the use of aids, and comments during an immediate R+Rp and a post-process dialogue that was transcribed and classified. Product parameters are the results of an evaluation of the final target texts and additionally the results of the participants' revisions during their processes. All data were combined and the results were triangulated. First comparisons of the results of the longitudinal study seem to confirm the assumption of 1997 that each translator has his or her ICP, an individual translation and revision style, which does not change considerably over time.

A project using eye tracking, which seems especially relevant with respect to the interests of the translation industry, is O'Brien's study, 'Processing fuzzy matches in Translation

Memory tools'. With five participants, students of translation, O'Brien (2008) investigated translators' interaction with TM tools and especially their cognitive load involved when translating different levels of 'fuzzy matches'. Fuzzy matches are segments that appear in a translation memory but cannot be used and require a new translation in the new text. As O'Brien (*ibid.*: 80) argued, 'Since the introduction of Translation Memory (TM) tools in the mid-to late nineties, there has been an increasing downward pressure on the rates paid for translating words'. She then tried to find out whether reduced rates for translations with TM with 'exact matches' are justified. In order to measure the participants' cognitive effort, she used both quantitative methods, processing speed (calculated via the software for video analysis, ClearView) and pupil dilations recorded by the eye tracker, and she added a qualitative investigation via a post-process survey where the participants were asked to rate their perceived editing effort for each match. O'Brien's results show no clear correlation between the mental effort measured via processing speed and the survey, and the results from measurements via pupil dilations. Further research with a larger number of participants and with professional translators would be necessary. However, as O'Brien points out, it is difficult to recruit participants with totally equal competences – this is important in order to eliminate effects from other parameters than the level of the fuzzy matches.

Lately, two new large-scale, long-term projects have been started, 'TransComp (The Development of Translation Competence)' at the University of Graz, and 'Capturing Translation Processes (CTP)' at Züricher Fachhochschule (ZAHW).

The 'TransComp' project, which is chaired by Göpferich (see Göpferich 2009), is an experimental study exploring the development of translation competence. Methods and tools applied are keystroke logging via Translog, screenshot recording, and TA or retrospection using the replay of the recordings. Partly also eye tracking will be applied. Participants in the study are 12 students who will be observed over a period of three years, and ten experienced professional translators. Some of their translations will be compared. The overall goal of the study is to improve and develop research methodology and to improve methods of translator training. For the transcripts of introspection data an XML annotation system has been developed. The materials and data used in the 'TransComp' project as well as the XML transcripts will be made available to the scientific community in an asset management system, an open source-based storage, administration and retrieval system for digital resources (see *ibid.*: 35).

The Zürich project, 'Capturing Translation Processes (CTP)', is chaired by Ehrensberger-Dow (see Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey 2008). It is a large-scale, longitudinal study investigating the development of the translation and revision competences of students, novice translators and experienced professionals at different points in their careers. The experiments with the professionals will be carried out in cooperation with an industry partner, who will place staff members at the disposal of the project on a regular basis. One of the goals of the project is to gain insight into the translators' genuine workplace practices – they will be observed in their workplaces. Also 'CTP' is a multi-method project in both naturalistic and also controlled settings, where translations within individuals and between groups, different kinds of processes with and without TM, translations of different types of texts and several language combinations and directions will be compared. The methods applied are: ethnographic observations (profile), interviews, keystroke logging via Inputlog, S-notation and progression graphs, screenshot recordings (Camtasia), and eye tracking (Tobii T66). Cue-based retrospective verbalizations will also be used and they will be transcribed and then coded and analysed with the support of Hyper RESEARCH, which is a qualitative data analysis software program. The objective of the study is the

improvement of translator training at universities, an optimal training of workflow efficiency and output quality at all levels of proficiency. The data, transcriptions and texts from the ‘CTP’ project will be made available in an asset management system.

Weaknesses: how to add rigour to process research

What makes translation process research fascinating is the complexity of the research object and the work with the participants. Not only are the processes complex, but the human beings carrying out the processes are complex, and the texts and situations differ. That is why shortcomings in process research cannot be totally avoided but they can be controlled and described.

A weakness that is typical of translation process research is that samples are small and personal features of the subjects like their individual backgrounds have been neglected. Results of process research with students (Hansen 2004: 91) have shown that at least every third participant has significant individual characteristics that have an impact on their processes.

The question of ecological validity is not solved. Though a method, software or technical tool is regarded as non-intrusive, like, for example, the pre-process surveys, keystroke logging and screenshot recordings, participants have to be informed about the experiment and the methods used before it starts. This is a general ethical requirement regarding research with human beings as participants. Knowing about the experiment and feeling observed may have an impact on the results because nervousness or stress changes the participants’ mental processes and the intensity of this impact cannot be measured precisely.

The reliability of single methods and the credibility of elicited data is an often-discussed issue (Hansen 2004, 2005, 2006a: 33ff; Göpferich and Jääskeläinen 2009). Potential problems of borrowing or adopting tools and methods from other disciplines or of an adoption of theoretical paradigms in empirical process research are dealt with by, for example, Malmkjær (2000: 165) and Muñoz Martín (2010: 181).

The advantage of investigations with several different methods and tools is that they can complement and/or corroborate each other. For example, if via keystroke logging a pause is registered during the translation, the stop appears at a special part of the text, where the participant may have a reception or production problem – the use of aids can be registered via eye fixations (screen recording) or observation of the use of dictionaries. After the pause the observer can register what happens on the screen, i.e. if it is just that writing continues or if changes or revisions occur perhaps immediately after the pause (as to what happens in the non-pause, see Hansen 2006a: 206). The observer can combine all these data derived from the pause (position, length), eye fixations (e.g. from checking the Internet) and actions after the pause. All the results triangulated may give an idea as to what the translator’s thoughts and decisions during the process may have been. However, these are observations from the third-person perspective and they are still assumptions. The results of these observations can be complemented and confirmed by observations from the first-person perspective, i.e. via the reports of TA and/or retrospection.

Adding rigour via control experiments

Categories and findings are affected primarily by (i) methods, (ii) observers, (iii) set-ups (also the direction of the translation), and (iv) texts. These effects can be controlled and minimized by manipulating factors.

The effect of a method applied can be controlled via experiments with the same source texts, the same participants but different methods/tools in a kind of criss-cross design (see Hansen 2006b). In such control experiments it is important that all the other parameters are kept equal, for example, that the same direction of translation is used with both methods.

In addition, the results of surveys and interviews can be controlled. Useful methods from psychology and social sciences are, for example, the test-retest method, which is used to estimate the consistency and reliability of participants' answers by correlating first results with the results of a second survey with the same questions, sometime later (usually 1–2 months later). In order to check the reliability of the results of interviews or post-process dialogues, the participants can be asked to confirm and correct the written protocol of the interview.

Observers' effects can be partly controlled via similar criss-cross experiments with the same source text, the same participants, at first with presence and then absence of an observer during the experiments. As mentioned, R+Rp can be carried out without the presence of an observer in the room. The effect of teaching is a relevant aspect, but also this effect can be partly controlled. The same experiments can be carried out under identical conditions, at first with subjects whom the researcher has taught and then with subjects the researcher does not already know. However, the teaching effect will always be present, even in experiments with experienced professionals.

As mentioned in Hansen (2003: 34), with introspective methods like TA and retrospection, participants need concepts and terms with which to express their thoughts. Most likely, participants only mention phenomena they have learnt to talk about at some point in their lives. Different traditions regarding language learning and translator training in different speech communities have an impact on the translation processes and the phenomena mentioned during introspection. Such differences will have to be described and taken into consideration, especially when applying an asset management system for international comparisons and explanations.

Looking to the future

New research tools and new methodological challenges will show up. Interesting software that may be applied in process research in combination with other methods and tools is, for example, FaceReader. The software is capable of automatically analysing facial expressions while a person carries out a task (see Noldus Information Technology 2010). As they say on their website, 'Combining facial expressions with other data offers researchers a wealth of opportunities for gaining new insight into human behavior'.

In many areas of translation and especially in professional translation, computer-aided/-assisted translation (CAT), translation memory systems (TMS), electronic databases and machine translation (MT) is used. These electronic tools are rapidly being improved and new issues will be investigated regarding the interface between MT and human translation. Text revision will become increasingly important, especially as machines can never be made liable for translation errors.

A challenge will be the multitude of variables and the integration of the elicited data and results in relation to the main objective(s) of the study. Some projects may become oversized in relation to their purpose, or they may be difficult to manage and lack transparency. With the tendency towards large-scale, multi-method approaches with multiple techniques, software and modern researchware, research logistics, i.e. planning the track of the study from start to end, will be crucial. As a procedure to overcome these difficulties,

Hansen (2004, 2006a, 2010) proposes *integrative description*, which is a dynamic process of, on the one hand, precise in-depth analyses, categorizations and descriptions of isolated observations and data of relevant parameters, and on the other hand, synthetic integrative descriptions of the results in relation to each other and the main objective of the study.

Related topics

translation process, empirical research, quality, process research, research methods

Further reading

Copenhagen Studies in Language (CSL): Since *CSL* 24 (1999), the translation process has been the special issue of several publications. The articles reflect the development of cognitive translation process research with different introspection methods and software like Translog – lately also combined with eye tracking.

Meta 2005–2, which is devoted to the special issue of processes and pathways in translation and interpreting is a collection of key articles addressing translation process research from different angles.

The PACTE group have meticulously investigated psychological aspects of translation competence, with software, different methods and several language combinations. Based on their results they developed a translation competence model.

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Research on translator and interpreter education

Mira Kim

The first decade of the twenty-first century has witnessed substantial growth in the area of translator and interpreter education in both research and institutional education. There are numerous factors that have contributed to this growth. Over the last few decades increasing mobility and globalization have inflated the demand for translation and interpreting services and an urgent need to train future translators and interpreters has been felt in a great number of countries. The number of translation and interpreting programmes offered at university level around the world is close to 400 according to the Intercultural Studies Group website (isg.urv.es). This number, however, does not seem to reflect the size of actual growth, as the website does not contain up-to-date information on a number of countries. For instance, the website includes only eight translation and interpreting programmes in China but Youyi Huang, Vice Chairman of the Translators Association of China, reported that there were 31 BA programmes and 158 MA programmes in the country in his keynote speech at the Sixth FIT (Federation of Translators and Interpreters) Asian Forum in November 2010. Therefore, it is plausible to estimate that the total number is over 600, which shows monumental quantitative growth from about 250 in 1994 (Caminade and Pym 1995).

While social changes have boosted the growth of institutional education, the significant development of translation and interpreting studies as a fully fledged academic discipline has contributed quantitatively and qualitatively to the advancement of research in the field of translator and interpreter education as a whole. This chapter will introduce the theoretical frameworks that have influenced translator and interpreter education in terms of research and practice and then discuss main issues explored in recent data-driven studies focusing on the data and research methodologies used in such studies. It will also suggest research directions and methodologies for future studies.

Translation studies and translator and interpreter education

Although translation theories appear to be more broadly integrated in translator education than interpreting theories in interpreter education, both of them provide solid frameworks within which various questions about translator and interpreter education have been

studied. In fact, it is not immediately clear or easy to draw a line between research on translator and interpreter education and research on translation and interpreting. This is because research on translation and interpreting has been undertaken in many cases with questions raised in the context of teaching and many researchers are themselves involved in teaching translation and interpreting in one way or another. Thus it is only natural that theories and research findings in translation and interpreting studies have been applied to translator and interpreter education.

In addition, scholars in the field of translator and interpreter education have been actively involved in interdisciplinary research and have drawn on adjacent disciplines such as education and foreign language learning and teaching (e.g. Vygotsky 1994; Schön 1987; Dewey 1938; Nunan 1993) in proposing meaningful approaches as will be discussed below. At the same time they have urged the field to reflect the rapidly changing work environment of translators to prepare future translators better for the reality of professional work. Kiraly recommends that the focus be extended beyond *translation* competence to also include *translator* competence, which ‘entails being able to use tools and information to create communicatively successful texts that are accepted as good translations within the community concerned’ (Kiraly 2000: 13–14). Thus education, which ‘recognizes the need for students to acquire a wide range of interpersonal skills and attitudes (“translator competence”) in addition to the purely technical skills’, is preferred in the title of this chapter to ‘training’, which ‘is associated with the (mostly linguistic) skills needed to produce an acceptable translation (“translation competence”)’ (Pym 2011: 482).

As a consequence, a large volume of publications on translator and interpreter education have appeared. The list of relevant publications includes internationally refereed journals *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* (published since 2007) and *International Journal of Interpreter Education* (published since 2009), and a number of monographs (e.g. Kiraly 2000; Colina 2003; González Davies 2004; Sawyer 2004; Kelly 2005) and edited books (e.g. Hung 2002; Schäffner 2002; Baer and Koby 2003; Zanettin *et al.* 2003; Malmkjær 2004a; Tennent 2005a; Roy 2006; Kearns 2008b; Cintas 2008). Some of them are intended as teachers’ guides addressing a wide range of issues related to translator education (Colina 2003; Kelly 2005), while others focus on specific topics such as teaching methods (Kiraly 2000; González Davies 2004), discourse analysis (Schäffner 2002), translation corpora (Zanettin *et al.* 2003), and audiovisual translation (Cintas 2008).

The increase in the number of publications and the variety of topics that are dealt with in the literature are encouraging developments, but what is even more encouraging is the fact that research has moved away to a certain extent from experience-based anecdotal accounts to evidence-based experimental studies drawing on solid theoretical frameworks within translation studies or relevant disciplines.

Theoretical frameworks

Starting in the late 1980s, various theories that describe or explicate the phenomenon of translation were put forward within the framework of cultural studies. Rejecting linguistic approaches to translation, a number of translation scholars (e.g. Lefevere and Bassnett 1990; Snell-Hornby 1988) including German functionalists suggested new approaches to translation on the basis of cultural studies (see Nord, this volume) and their influence on translation teaching is obvious in the literature and in practice. In particular, skopos theory, which presupposes that translating is a cultural activity rather than a rigid linguistic one, has had a significant impact on the way translation is taught. Nord (1988, 1991), for instance, proposes

a model for translation training that encompasses professional reality and translation-oriented text analysis on the basis of skopos theory.

Although linguistic approaches ‘were coming under fire’ and were ‘considered inadequate’ to translation studies (Kenny 2001: 1), such criticism does not do justice to the large volume of distinguished translation and interpreting studies that drew on discourse-based text linguistics such as House (1977, 1997), Hatim and Mason (1990, 1997), Bell (1991), Munday (2000), Taylor (1998), Shlesinger (1995), Mizuno (1999, cited in Pöchhacker 2004), Tebble (1999), Pöchhacker and Shlesinger (2007). Their view on translation is that it is not a process of transferring words but a process of creating a text that fulfils its functions in the target culture on the basis of meanings of the source text, which is shared with culturally oriented translation scholars. This discourse-based linguistic approach continues to be found applicable in translator and interpreter education (e.g. Newmark 1988; Taylor 1989; Baker 1992; Trosborg 2002; Hatim and Munday 2004; Kim 2007a, 2007b, 2009). Among different schools of text linguistics, Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics (cf. Halliday 1967, 1978, 1994; Halliday and Hasan 1976) in particular has been widely accepted as a theory that is applicable to translation studies, as acknowledged by a number of scholars (e.g. Newmark 1987; Steiner 2005; Snell-Hornby 2006). This is precisely because the theory shares the same view that the text cannot be viewed in isolation from its context. Furthermore, it provides an analytical tool that links grammar, meaning, discourse and context.

Considering the significant contribution of text linguistics to translation and interpreting studies and the advent of electronic resources over the last few decades, it is not surprising that corpus-based research is growing in the literature (e.g. Shlesinger 1998; Anderman and Rogers 2008). Researchers can build their own corpora or use a ready-made corpus (cf. Kenny 2001). Corpus linguistics has been found relevant by the scholars in the field as a tool to collect a large volume of text-based data (see Laviosa, this volume). Its application to translator education is particularly noticeable. For instance, Bowker (2000) proposes a corpus-based approach to evaluating student translations and argues that it can significantly reduce subjectivity in translation assessment on the basis of an experiment that involved six participants and five texts. Baer and Bystrova-McIntyre (2009) focus on the importance of assessing textual features in students’ translations and discuss how they have developed an assessment tool designed to evaluate textual features on the basis of data collected from comparable English and Russian corpora. *Corpora in Translator Education* (Zanettin *et al.* 2003) contains ten contributions that report work in progress discussing various ways of building and using appropriate corpora for translator education. Stressing the use of corpora as resources for translator education to ‘help future translators increase their autonomy and flexibility’ (*ibid.*: 9) and encourage their ‘creativity and inventiveness’ (*ibid.*: 11), it suggests that ‘the greatest pedagogic value of the instrument lies ... in its thought-provoking, rather than question-answering, potential’ (*ibid.*).

Another area of translator and interpreter studies that has an impact on translator and interpreter education is research on the cognitive processes involved in interpreting (e.g. Gerver 1976; Moser 1978; Gile 1997; Setton 1999), which is ‘the dominant theme of empirical research’ in interpreting studies (Pöchhacker 2004: 114), and in translation (Király 1995; Jääskeläinen 1998; Hansen 1999) using a think-aloud protocol (TAP) (see also Muñoz Martín, this volume). Gile (1995) emphasizes the importance of process in teaching translation and interpreting, as opposed to the earlier approach, which entailed focusing on translation as a product. Their findings led to the process-oriented approach in teaching translation, which has become a major approach that translation teachers continue to find applicable for translation and interpreting teaching (e.g. Wakabayashi 2003).

Building on earlier empirical studies (see Hansen, this volume), recent observatory studies that are concerned with the acquisition of translation competence tend to adopt mixed methods of research involving the analysis of translation, a TAP and a computer program such as Translog to uncover more reliable and objective findings through triangulation (e.g. contributions in Alves 2003). For instance, the PACTE group (2003, 2008) has conducted a long-term research project using different types of data-collecting methods and from both translation process and product perspectives to study how translation competence is acquired, and presents a number of insightful findings that need to be reflected in translator education. Based on her data, O'Brien (2006) suggests that the combination of eye-tracking data and retrospective protocols be a promising methodology for future research into translation processes. In addition, approaches that seem to have been in a parallel relation have married in a study conducted to enhance the translation competence of novice translators (Magalhães and Alves 2006). Using text analysis based on systemic functional linguistics, they analysed data collected by means of Translog. These are excellent examples that show that such a mixed approach would move us forward to understand the question concerned better, rather than bog us down in the debate over process vs. product.

Main debates and research methodologies

Paradigm shifts

Since the beginning of the century, the field of translator and interpreter education has experienced the most significant paradigm shift from teacher-centred transmissionist approaches to learner-centred approaches, being influenced by widely accepted concepts in general education, higher education and foreign language pedagogy (e.g. Vygotsky 1994; Schön 1987; Dewey 1938; Nunan 1993). There are two pedagogical approaches that propelled the shift: one is a social constructivist approach (Kiraly 2000), which sees the role of teacher as a facilitator who provides scaffolding and fosters a favourable learning environment in which students are empowered to take ownership of their own learning by constructing their own knowledge. Kiraly recommends that the focus be extended beyond *translation* competence to also include *translator* competence, which 'entails being able to use tools and information to create communicatively successful texts that are accepted as good translations within the community concerned' (Kiraly 2000: 13–14). The other is objectives-based instruction (Hurtado Albir 1999; González Davies 2004), which 'emphasizes the consistent use of carefully structured syllabi with stated aims and objectives that take into account specific stages of learning' (Davies and Kiraly 2006: 83). While Kiraly has drawn on concepts from educational psychology and philosophy, Davies has drawn on teaching approaches in second and foreign language teaching. Although the approaches they propose are not identical, their call for the shift away from teacher-centred approaches has been well received among those involved in translator and interpreter education, as evidenced by the large number of participants in translator and interpreter teacher training seminars and certificate programmes in various venues including the Monterrey Institute of International Studies, the universities of Vic and Ramon Llull (Spain), and a large number of citations in recent papers and books on translator education (e.g. contributions in Kearns 2008b).

Apart from these two approaches, Colina (2003) demonstrates the need for and feasibility of a research-based approach drawing on findings from second language acquisition,

language teaching and translation studies. Kelly (2005) has brought together research findings from higher education and curricular studies to promote reflection by and involvement of translation teachers in various issues of translator education. All the approaches introduced above complement each other, forming a strong pedagogical foundation for the education of would-be translators and/or translation researchers.

Curriculum reform

One of the long, heated debates in terms of curriculum is over theory and practice. As translation and interpreting studies have established themselves within the academy, the consensus view holds that theory is an integral part of any translation and interpreting programme. This has also been made clear in translator and interpreter education (cf. Tennent 2005a). However, this view also holds that it should be taught with reference to practice as a means of ‘encouraging informed reflection on the translation process’ (Shuttleworth 2001: 505). However, the balance between theory and practice still varies from country to country. This seems to be inevitable considering that pedagogical decisions such as the contents of curricula have to be made considering individual variables as well as the social and institutional context in which education takes place (Kelly 2005: 1).

Meanwhile, voices for the inclusion of innovations and developments are strongly present in the literature (e.g. Cintas 2008; Malmkjær 2004a; Tennent 2005a). In addition, ethics and social responsibility are also highlighted as critical aspects of translator and interpreter education in the twenty-first century. Arrojo argues, ‘if any use of language implies the performing of actions, translating cannot be, by any means, an innocent activity, merely at the service of a client or of the languages and cultures involved’ (2005: 243).

There are a few empirical PhD studies (e.g. Kearns 2006; Kasandrinou 2006; Hostench 2007) and collaborative studies (e.g. Rico 2010; Slatyer *et al.* forthcoming) that have investigated various curricular issues faced within their individual contexts. In the European context, where universities are adapting their curricula to meet the requirements of the Bologna Declaration (1999), Rico (2010) presents a case study of curriculum reform in the Department of Translation and Applied Languages at the Universidad Europea de Madrid (UEM), which has been training translators and interpreters for 15 years. She explains that a working group responsible for the process consulted a number of stakeholders through: ‘(i) a survey of European translator training programmes; (ii) a survey of UEM’s alumni; (iii) input from professional associations; and (iv) views expressed by an external panel of specialists, consisting of freelance translators and interpreters, translation company managers and clients, and a representative from the Spanish Translation Service at the European Commission’ (*ibid.*: 97), and argues that the new pedagogical principles of the Bologna Declaration are compatible with the contemporary pedagogical trends in translator and interpreter education including social constructivism (Király 2000) and task-based learning (Hurtado Albir 1999; González Davies 2004).

A similar curriculum reform project is also under way in Australia. This study, initiated by the Linguistics Department at Macquarie University in 2007, is an extensive data-driven, research-embedded review to evaluate its nine postgraduate programmes that have evolved since the programme’s inception in 1993. Drawing on multifaceted and collaborative models of evaluation, the review project was set up as a funded research project embedded within an action research framework, which has been adopted extensively in curriculum research in education in general and TESOL in particular. It aims to develop a best-practice model of programme review and evaluation (Slatyer *et al.* forthcoming).

Macquarie University also started to offer an MA programme in Translation and Interpreting Pedagogy in 2010, responding to the need to train teachers of translation and interpreting voiced by many scholars (e.g. Kelly 2005).

Language teaching in translator and interpreter education

Another issue that has a long history of debate is how to address the imbalance in students' language competence in their working languages (cf. Malmkjær 1998). Many translator educators seem to share the view that it is not reasonable to assume that students have equally high proficiency in their working languages. Although this has been considered as an issue for a long time, little experimental or classroom-based research has been undertaken in this area to date. A report of a recent conference on translator and interpreter conference says that 'a recurrent theme ... was the inadequate linguistic competence of translators-to-be and how it hampers the translator training process, as it makes trainers focus on foreign language teaching instead of translation-related issues. The question of proficiency in foreign languages seems to be particularly salient in the case of languages of limited diffusion' (Chmiel and Szarkowska 2010: 144). Discussing the same issue in Hong Kong, Li maintains 'translation programs must provide effective, tailor-made language courses for translation students' (Li 2001: 343). In relation to this issue, the assumption that it is more efficient to focus on the development of translation competence only after the students have acquired a native speaker-level of proficiency of their two languages is also being challenged (Schäffner 2000; Bernardini 2004). Pointing out that 'given the prominence in translating of language skills, relatively little has been written about language teaching for translators', Malmkjær (2004b: 4) calls for research to 'mold language teaching in such a way that the needs of prospective translators are catered for directly'. Meanwhile, the suggestion that translation could be a legitimate activity for language learning classrooms has been forwarded (e.g. Kim 2007a; Zanettin 2009).

Teaching translation and interpreting into L2

It is still a general policy that interpreters are required to interpret into their native language (L1) in large organizations such as the United Nations (UN), but the widely held view that translators should translate and interpret into their native language has been challenged (cf. Campbell 1998; Stewart 1999; Grosman *et al.* 2000). In countries with languages that are not of major diffusion, the demand for translating into major languages exceeds the number of translators whose mother tongues are the major languages (Ahlsvad 1978; McAlister 1992). Apart from the issue of the availability of such translators, there is little empirical evidence that translators and interpreters perform better when they work from their L2 into L1. In fact, student interpreters actually prefer in some cases to interpret from L1 to L2 (Gile 1990, cited in Williams 1995). A recent empirical study that analyses 315 translation passages done by 105 translators has found that 'the difference between native Chinese-speaking experienced translators and native English-speaking experienced translators exists only in a few aspects of their overall textual competence and command of cohesive devices' (Dong and Lan 2010: 76). Because the study has looked into textual aspects of translator competence only, its findings cannot be used to generalize native and non-native translator competence. However, findings from such a study could provide useful insights into students' linguistic needs, which was discussed earlier.

The validity of a similar issue that translation teachers should always teach translation courses into their L1 is also questioned. Pokorn (2009) recorded a 90-minute translation class from Slovene into English taught by each of four teachers (two native speakers of English and two native speakers of Slovene). The study analysed their typical features of teaching strategies and gathered further data from the teachers by means of retrospective questionnaires. Discussing different teaching patterns of both groups (e.g. the native speakers of the TL (target language) tend to resort more often to their intuition while the native speakers of the SL (source language) rely on aids and resources such as parallel texts, dictionaries and other electronic tools more often), the study suggests that teachers who are native speakers of the TL and those who are native speakers of the SL can contribute to students' learning of translation skills at different stages.

Assessment methods

It is true that assessment is an area in translator and interpreter education where little progress has been made in spite of the fact that it requires the most rigorous research considering its essential, formative and summative functions, in the education of future translators. One reason for the lack of research can be found in the fact that although there are a number of pioneering approaches such as response-based (e.g. Nida 1964; Carroll 1966), linguistically oriented (e.g. Hatim and Mason 1990; Baker 1992), and functional-pragmatic (House 1977, 1997, 2001), existing approaches 'have not achieved a middle ground between theoretical sophistication and applicability' (Colina 2008: 103) and none of them 'addresses the "how to" of effectively and accurately measuring quality' (Angelelli and Jacobson 2009b: 2–3).

Over the last decade or so, however, issues in translation assessment such as subjectivity and interrater reliability have been explored in more experimental studies, which compare results produced under different conditions. From a pilot experiment that involved 40 raters and three target texts in Spanish, Chinese and Russian, Colina (2008) reports that her componential-functional approach provides a tool that increases interrater reliability and can be used easily by raters who are not familiar with translation theory. Her findings have been confirmed in her second experiment, which analysed four to five translations by 30 raters in the three languages (Colina 2009). The validity of different methods of summative assessment has been investigated in a few studies. Waddington (2001) investigates the validity of four different methods of assessing student translations that are used in universities in Europe and Canada. The methods include: error analysis; error analysis plus its impact on the rest of the translation; the holistic method; and a combination of error analysis and the holistic method. On the basis of an analysis of data consisting of 64 students' translations of a 330-word Spanish text into English marked by five different assessors, he found that all four methods are equally valid despite the considerable differences between them. Similarly, Turner *et al.* (2010) compares assessment outcomes from two assessment methods used for large-scale translating and interpreting accreditation testing: error analysis/deduction used by the Australian National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI), and the descriptor-based translation component of the UK Institute of Linguists Diploma of Public Service Interpreting (DPSI). Some 36 NAATI exam papers into four different languages from English were marked by a marker in each language using the two methods. They found that there was a high correlation between the outcomes of the two assessment systems.

Although different methods have proved to be valid for summative assessment in the studies, they are of limited use as a formative assessment tool to be used to give detailed feedback for student translations in class. Kim (2009) criticizes that the criteria used for NAATI error deduction assessment have critical drawbacks as a formative assessment tool: the lack of clear description of each criterion and an overly narrow view of translation and meaning. In spite of the limitations, the summative method is used in a number of translation and interpreting programmes in Australia because many students want to pass the NAATI exam in order to have the necessary professional qualification to work as translators in industry. Against this background Kim has developed meaning-oriented formative assessment criteria on the basis of systemic functional linguistics and argues for its pedagogically efficacy on the basis of both qualitative (i.e. students' journals) and quantitative data (i.e. percentages of NAATI-accredited students and surveys) collected over several semesters. Given that the necessity for professional qualification bodies to work closely with universities increases, she calls for collaborative research efforts to design assessment methods and criteria that reflect on current theories and research findings in translation studies because it is inevitable that the way for qualification bodies to grant professional qualification does have an impact on future translators' views of translation and the profession.

Reflecting the new learner-centred pedagogical paradigm discussed earlier and the prominent authentic assessment movement in the 1990s in the USA, Johnson (2003: 115) introduces a portfolio approach, which she claims 'offers students a more coherent and empowering academic experience through which they can gain the authority, confidence, skills, tools, and sample products'. This holistic approach has been proposed as a tool to assess translator competence. It is interesting that generic professional skills such as problem-solving skills and communication skills are included as essential aspects of translation competence although different studies take different approaches (e.g. Way 2008; Kelly 2008).

Admission testing in interpreter education

As in translator education, empirical studies have also been carried out to address the issues of interpreting quality assessment (e.g. Riccardi 2002; Sawyer 2004; Lee 2008). However, an issue that has been discussed at some length in interpreter education but seldom in translator education is admission testing. A number of interpreting scholars have pursued this line of research (e.g. Gringiani 1990; Moser-Mercer 1985; Timarová and Ungeod-Thomas 2008, 2009), but they have essentially come to the same conclusion that the admission tests investigated have low predictive validity. The common method employed in such research is to compare the students' scores in the admission tests and their scores in the examination at the point of programme completion. In Bontempo and Napier's (2009) study, only 55 per cent of sign language interpreter students admitted through an admission test based on models suggested for spoken languages successfully completed the programme, which is very similar to the finding of Timarová and Ungeod-Thomas (2008), which reports that only 56 per cent of those admitted to 18 spoken-language interpreter education programmes actually completed them. Timarová and Ungeod-Thomas (2009) urge for more data-driven studies on this issue, saying that 'admissions tests for interpreting courses present a challenging line of research, but also one with very immediate effects for applied practice' (ibid.: 243), and suggest the text-based tests employed by Gerver *et al.* (1989) as a potentially viable method for future research in this field.

Looking into the future

As the discussion has demonstrated so far, consensus views have formed on a few crucial issues that have been under debate for a long time. Now few people question the necessity of translator education and the role of theory in translator education (cf. Kearns 2008a; Séguinot 2008). The literature also shows that there is a common goal to be achieved in translator education in the twenty-first century: education for autonomous, creative and responsible translators. The progress has been possible thanks to theoretical development in translator and interpreter studies and its integration in translator and interpreter education as well as inter-disciplinary research. At the same time, however, scholars in translator and interpreter education have raised questions about some widely held perceptions which lack empirical supporting evidence (teaching translation and interpreting into L2, for instance). It would be only a step forward to face the issues and explore them in data-driven research drawing on a solid theoretical framework.

There are also a number of essential and urgent issues that future research needs to address. Being able to use the new technologies and e-learning tools can no doubt serve as a substantial advantage although they may be counterproductive if they are not well managed pedagogically. This is an increasingly important area that requires collective research efforts (e.g. Pinto 2008; Kenny 2008; Secară *et al.* 2009; Nebot 2008). Education for community interpreters is certainly another area that needs urgent scholarly attention considering the social contributions that community interpreters make in a number of settings. Training for community interpreters is often provided by ‘interpreting agencies or user organizations like hospitals’ during a limited period of time ‘from one-day orientation workshops up to some 100 hours of basic-level training’ (Pöchhacker 2004: 179). Hale (2007) maintains that the lack of recognition for the need for education results primarily from ‘the lack of understanding of the complexity of the task’ and ‘poor institutional monetary support for interpreting services’ (*ibid.*: 164–6). They are also sources of difficulties in finding qualified educators and students, which presents particularly serious challenges in training community interpreters in languages of limited diffusion in multicultural societies like Australia. Fortunately, a few major contributions on community interpreting have been published recently (e.g. Hale 2007; Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2007; Valero-Garcés and Martin 2008) and should serve as a framework to encourage research on education for community interpreters (e.g. Slatyer 2006).

It is a promising sign that various research and data collection methods have been adopted in translator and interpreter education. Clearly the development of corpora has already begun to make superlative contributions in exploring various issues faced in translator and interpreter education. If the field is to make further major steps forward from here more efforts need to be made to improve the validity and reliability of research by developing pilot studies with small-scale data into full-fledged ones with expanded data, repeating the same experiment with different subjects and data, or using multiple research methods and different types of data-collecting methods as shown in the contributions in Alves (2003).

Out of all the questions and issues discussed above, the most fundamental question might be how to address the social responsibility of translators and interpreters in the course of their education. Perhaps it is a topic that can be most efficiently and critically explored in a collaborative multi-method research project drawing concepts from cultural studies and text linguistics in the framework of participatory action research. Kiraly suggests classroom research urging translation teachers and students ‘to turn our classrooms into experimental

laboratories’, and ‘get involved in the process of bringing change to translator education’ (Kiraly 2003: 245). Hale also calls for ‘a united commitment to improve interpreting research, training and practice on the part of all parties involved: service providers, education institutions, policy-making and interpreters themselves’ (Hale 2007: 194). No matter what theoretical framework and research methodology one might take, it is critical to bear in mind that ‘the primary aim of theory in translator/interpreter training should be to enable trainees to evaluate their decision-making, raise the level of consciousness about their practice and about the range of choices available to them and contribute to a growing awareness that translation is a linguistic, social and cultural practice that takes place in a particular moment in history’ (Tennent 2005b: xxii).

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Related topics

translator and interpreter education; theoretical frameworks; research methodologies; pedagogy; assessment

Further reading

- Angelelli, C. and Jacobson, H.E. (eds) (2009a) *Testing and Assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (For those interested in translation and interpreting assessment.)
- González Davies, M. (2004) *Multiple Voices in the Translation Classroom. Activities, Tasks and Projects*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (A useful reference full of activities for translation teachers and foreign language teachers.)
- Kiraly, D.C. (2000) *A Social Constructivist Approach to Translator Education*, Manchester: St Jerome. (This is one of the major contributions that initiated the paradigm shift in translator and interpreter pedagogy in the early twenty-first century. It is absolutely up to teachers to adopt the social constructive approach in their individual educational settings, but it will serve as stimulus to reflect on what they believe about teaching and learning.)
- Sawyer, D.B. (2004) *Fundamental Aspects of Interpreter Education*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (This is a good starting point for those who are interested in research on interpreter education.)
- Tennent, M. (ed.) (2005a) *Training for the New Millennium: Pedagogies for Translation and Interpreting*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (This covers a nice range of important issues that translator and interpreter educators need to take into serious consideration in the twenty-first century.)

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The relevance of theory in translation studies

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An important consequence of the expansion of translation as a professional activity in the aftermath of World War II has been the institutionalization of translation studies as the new academic field formally devoted to translation scholarship and translator training that began opening up spaces in universities worldwide in the 1970s. As the scholarly foundation for the study of translation and broadly understood as a certain view or perspective on the complex issues raised by the translator's activity, translation theory is not merely relevant for the area, but practically indistinguishable from the very discipline of translation studies.

Traditionally, the far-reaching implications of the translator's activity for cultural contact and the insights it brings into the workings of language, as well the relationships it fosters between originals and their versions, authors and readers, or the foreign and the domestic, have attracted the attention of several fields such as rhetoric, literary studies, linguistics, theology, anthropology and philosophy. In the West, and over the course of at least 20 centuries, this interest in translation and its dilemmas has produced a substantial assortment of theoretical statements that have been considered more or less relevant in different contexts and circumstances. Furthermore, the wider dissemination of non-essentialist, anti-Platonic views of language and their re-articulation of the relationship usually imagined between subject and object, which began re-orienting the humanities in the last decades of the twentieth century, has brought new perspectives on the work done by translators and their role in the actual construction (and not mere reproduction) of texts, authors, identities, traditions and paradigms. Due to the increasing awareness of the productive role of translators, translation theory has become pivotal for the humanities in general, producing groundbreaking scholarship in interfaces with areas such as cultural studies, postcolonial and subaltern studies, gender studies, philosophy, sociology, comparative literature, and history (see, for example, Bachmann-Medick 2009).

At the same time, just as translation scholarship has gained relevance within these areas, a relevance that has made it increasingly difficult to maintain traditional academic boundaries, the richness brought about by the new theoretical developments cannot be ignored by translation studies, particularly if we consider its mission to train professional translators. To the extent that theory and practice are traditionally viewed as clearly

separable opposites, the incorporation of theory into teaching is certainly a major challenge, one that is complicated by the fact that translators are not usually required to have any formal academic training in order to become professionals and, thus, often tend to see theory as irrelevant. In this scenario it is fundamental that we rethink the opposition and find ways to bridge the usual gap that separates practice from what is generally called theory.

Constructing theories and their relevance

As Douglas Robinson observes in the editor's preface to *Western Translation Theory: From Herodotus to Nietzsche*, his anthology has come out in the midst of 'an astonishing translation theory boom', which has not only 'revolutionized the field ... but has generated a spate of English-language translation theory anthologies where there were none before' (1997: xvii). Before the 1990s there were just three anthologies available in English, all of them released by European presses: Thomas R. Steiner's *English Translation Theory, 1650–1800* (1975) and André Lefevere's *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig* (1977), both by the Dutch-based Van Gorcum; and Andrew Chesterman's *Readings in Translation Theory* (1989), published in Finland. In the 1990s, as issues of translation began to attract a larger audience, a few more anthologies appeared, this time put forth by publishers with a broader international reach: Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet's *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida* (1992) by the University of Chicago Press, and a second collection edited by André Lefevere, *Translation, History, Culture: A Sourcebook* (1992), this time for the Routledge series on translation studies, the general editors of which were Lefevere himself and Susan Bassnett. By 2000, when the first edition of Lawrence Venuti's *The Translation Studies Reader* was released, the study of translation had already become an internationally recognized area of scholarship.

The expansion of translation studies as an international discipline would not have been possible without the strategic selection and wide dissemination of a repertoire of documents addressing translation issues from different ages and perspectives that could serve as its historical and scholarly basis. By briefly following a few paths through the maze of anthologies mentioned above, we can gain some access into the actual construction of translation studies as a discipline, of which they have been an important part. As André Lefevere remarks in the preface to his 1977 anthology, traditions do not merely 'arise', but are, in fact, 'consciously shaped and established by a number of people who share the same, or at least analogous, goals over a number of years, decades, or even centuries' (1977: 1). Lefevere refers, of course, to the assortment of documents produced by an array of intellectuals from different ages and backgrounds who shared the same mother tongue and an interest in questions of language and translation, an assortment that we now associate with 'the German tradition'.

If we radicalize Lefevere's view of tradition as an historical construction that does not simply 'arise' on its own, we can also argue that his early anthology has played a fundamental role in establishing what is now known as German translation theory throughout the Anglo-American academic world and in the contexts that have had access to and been influenced by his work. It is also important to note that his anthology was one of the first books to appear in the first series devoted to the then brand new discipline, and which was published by Van Gorcum under the leadership of James S. Holmes, almost unanimously recognized as one of the founding fathers of translation studies. The fact that the same publisher released Lefevere's anthology just a couple of years after T.R. Steiner's

English Translation Theory 1650–1800 (1975) also suggests that the series and those associated with it were not only determined to build a scholarly basis for the discipline, but also inclined to identify it almost exclusively with Western European literature and thought.

Both as the editor in charge of selecting and introducing the pieces for the anthology and as their translator, Lefevere was instrumental in transforming into canonical translation theory documents that had not necessarily been designed as such, and in incorporating them into the repertoire of relevant readings for the discipline, at least in the Anglo-American academic context of the 1970s. In order to catch at least a glimpse into this process, we can look briefly, for example, into Lefevere's choice of Martin Luther as the figure that opens his anthology. After a brief introduction, Lefevere offers his reader a short compilation of fragmented excerpts from Luther's 'Circular Letter on Translating', published in 1530, and originally written as a response to two questions he had received from a friend who was a priest in Nuremberg and to whom he addressed his responses: why he had added a word to his translation of Paul's discourse in Romans 3:28, and whether the dead saints pray for us or not (1977: 2). The few fragments from the 'Letter' included in the collection are obviously from Luther's answer to the first one of those questions, but what Lefevere chooses to emphasize about them in his comments is actually more revealing than the excerpts themselves. For Lefevere, Luther's relevance for the discipline seems to be mostly associated with his historical role as the widely known Bible translator who, nevertheless, has something to say to those interested in translation in the 1970s, such as the bringing up of 'the perennial ills that the translator is heir to: he is badly paid, his work can easily be stolen from him ... and passed off as someone else's, and he is beset by ignorant and irrelevant criticism' (1977: 7).

A decade and a half later, Lefevere published his second anthology, *Translation, History, Culture: A Sourcebook*, which was released by Routledge as part of its translation studies series edited by Lefevere himself together with Susan Bassnett. In comparison with the first one, the scope of this collection is much broader as it includes texts produced 'over centuries of thinking about translation in Western Europe in Latin, French, German, and English' (1992: xiii). At the time of its publication, translation studies had already achieved considerable visibility within academic institutions: a variety of new translation programmes had been created worldwide and specialized publications in the area had begun to multiply everywhere. The discipline, 'a success story of the 1980s', as Bassnett and Lefevere refer to it in their 'general preface' to the series, was finally beginning to fulfil its promise, and both Bassnett and Lefevere were among its leading figures. In fact, in Lefevere's treatment of Luther in his 1992 collection's opening chapter – on 'the role of ideology in the shaping of a translation' – we will find a significant reflection not only of the growth of translation studies as a discipline but, also, of Lefevere's own influence as a scholar, theoretician, translator and editor.

Considering the second collection's wider scope and the range of texts involved, this time Lefevere has even less space to devote to his selected authors, a constraint that makes what he chooses to emphasize about each of them even more revealing. The two excerpts from Luther's 'Letter' included in the second anthology are slightly different versions of the translations Lefevere had published in the first, but the main difference involving them lies in what they are supposed to illustrate. In the 1992 collection the focus of his gloss is Luther's description of 'a successful attempt at ideological control', a description Lefevere finds in the short extract from the 'Letter' in which Luther explains how his version of the New Testament was banned and then stolen by a 'scribbler' who nevertheless managed to have it published under his own name with the help of powerful allies (Lefevere 1992: 14).

As Lefevere clarifies in his succinct introduction to the chapter, Luther's 'Letter' exemplifies how ideology is 'often enforced by the patrons, the people or institutions who commission or publish translations' (ibid.). While in the 1977 anthology Luther's text is discussed in much broader terms, which are compatible with the framework of Lefevere's modest goal – an attempt 'to outline the development of the tradition of translating literature in Germany' (1977: 2) – in the second collection its function is apparently to epitomize key theoretical notions that are often directly associated with Lefevere's own work, such as patronage, rewriting and manipulation.

In fact, these same notions, which are the object of another book Lefevere also published in 1992 (Lefevere 1992a), are treated as *the* general paradigm that defines and guides translation studies in the Routledge series headed by Lefevere and Bassnett. As they make explicit in their editors' preface, 'through the concepts of rewriting and manipulation', this series 'aims to tackle the problem of ideology, change and power in literature and society and so assert the central function of translation as a shaping force' (1992: xi–xii). To the extent that it is also interested in the discipline's own 'genealogy', the series will 'publish texts from the past that illustrate its concerns in the present, and will publish texts of a more theoretical nature immediately addressing those concerns, along with case studies illustrating manipulation through rewriting in various literatures' (ibid.). Clearly, the discipline to which Lefevere and Bassnett refer above is a much stronger institution than it could have been in the 1970s when he published his first anthology, and these differences are both a consequence and a reflection of the authority that by then had already empowered its leading figures to reconstruct and re-evaluate past theories, define what was relevant in the present, and even try to influence the future, often in the name of the discipline itself.

In spite of attempts such as Bassnett and Lefevere's to define and establish a single leading paradigm for the discipline, the growing proliferation of translation scholarship that began to gain visibility at the turn of the century has both produced and reflected an increasing diversity among the theoretical perspectives put forth and disseminated worldwide, a diversity that is a welcoming symptom of the area's vitality and the wide interest it has summoned. However, in spite of the multiplicity of approaches that have been associated with translation studies in recent years, one of the many theoretical trends pursued in the area has mobilized an increasing number of scholars in the last two decades, producing a wealth of scholarship both inside and outside the academic boundaries of the discipline. I refer to the cluster of theoretical developments that have been proposed on the basis of what Lefevere and Bassnett call 'the central function of translation as a shaping force' in the preface quoted above, and which can be directly related to non-essentialist notions of language and the subject usually associated with post-Nietzschean thought. Lawrence Venuti's writings on the translator's (in)visibility are probably the best-known examples of such developments (see, for example, Venuti 2008).

Appropriately, once again, in order to illustrate this theoretical trend, we can return to Luther's 'Letter' for yet another glimpse into the complex process of theory and discipline building outlined above. This time we will be paying a short visit to Robinson's introduction to Luther in *Western Translation Theory: From Herodotus to Nietzsche* (1997), in which he enthusiastically highlights the seminal role played by Luther's Bible translations in the shaping of German as a literary language. For Robinson, this role is directly associated with Luther's 'reader-orientation' – his 'most important contribution to translation theory' – which reveals a conception of language that seems to have a lot in common with contemporary views. As Robinson claims, when Luther formulates 'the standard principle'

that translations should use the everyday language of the people on the streets, ‘he doesn’t idealize or objectify language ... Instead he personalizes it, humanizes it, blends it with the vitality of his own sense of self’ (1997: 84–5). This approach is precisely the ‘principle’ Robinson adopts in his version of the long excerpt from the ‘Letter’ he selects for the collection, recreating Luther’s text in a contemporary brand of lively, informal American English that relies heavily on slang and colloquialisms, and which constitutes a powerful illustration of the translator’s undeniable visibility in the process of translation. This lesson on the interventionist power of translation as a textual practice that recreates and redefines the original in a different environment, triggering new developments that cannot be simply attributed to the force of the original is what seems to be viewed nowadays as Luther’s most important contribution to translation scholarship. Further evidence can be found, for example, in the terms in which Luther’s relevance as a translation theorist is presented in the Wikipedia entry devoted to him, according to which his translations of the Bible caused ‘a tremendous impact on the church and on German culture ... fostered the development of a standard version of the German language, added several principles to the art of translation, and influenced the translation into English of the King James Bible’.

As this brief incursion into a few comments on the ‘Letter’ shows, what is considered to be relevant about Martin Luther’s work for the study of translation cannot be dissociated from the context and the circumstances that have made it possible for his ‘Letter’ to be read and accepted as a piece of scholarly theory, and then disseminated through the channels that constitute the network of power and influence that supports and is also supported by the discipline and the institutions where it thrives and gets validated. Therefore, the selection of texts considered as pertinent theoretical statements in each of the anthologies mentioned above will reflect not only their editors’ goals and interests, but also their vision regarding translation scholarship, the direction it should take and, ultimately, what they find to be relevant about theory in general and the role it should play in relation to practice. At the same time, to the extent that such selections are widely disseminated, what they deem to be relevant will play a fundamental role in shaping the field and in establishing the canon. As Venuti points out in the introduction to the second edition of *The Translation Studies Reader*, ‘edited volumes always work to define a field, a body of knowledge, a textbook market, and so they create as much as satisfy institutional needs, especially in the case of emergent disciplines’ (2004: 1).

As the discipline grows and as the community of scholars invested in its development becomes stronger and more articulate, the relationship between the creation and the satisfaction of these ‘institutional needs’ tends to become more symmetrical and the editors of such volumes may not be the only ones involved in the decision process regarding the choices of relevant theoretical statements in the area. As Venuti clarifies in the introduction mentioned above, the ‘image of the field fashioned’ by his anthology ‘reflects the contemporary scene all the more closely because it has been produced in consultation with many leading writers and translators, theorists and scholars’ (2004: 3). The general scope of the anthology, though, is still its editor’s sole responsibility also because he is the one who selects those with whom he will consult and what recommendations he will accept. Again, as Venuti candidly reveals in the introduction just mentioned, although the *Reader* was originally designed as a project that he would share with Mona Baker, the well-known scholar whose interests within the discipline are quite different from his, their ‘significant’ differences led him to decide to work alone on its second edition. Venuti’s comments are, thus, further evidence that the texts and trends that will be considered relevant within the discipline will change as the discipline changes and develops different branches and sub-areas. As he

seems to have learned from his collaboration with Baker, their different views ‘reflected the institutional divisions of academic labor’, showing that ‘many interdisciplines are possible in translation studies, and that even if disciplines do not share conceptual paradigms and research methods, they might nonetheless be joined together to advance a project on translation’ (2004: 4).

The promises of theory as utopia

One of the supporting pillars of the essentialist thinking that has defined Western culture at least since Plato is the belief in the possibility of clearly separating what belongs to those who theorize – their history, circumstances, context, preferences and allegiances – from whatever defines and constitutes the objects being theorized. In the history of translation studies, such a belief has recurrently manifested itself as the conviction that it would be possible to arrive at a definitive theory for translation which could transcend the circumstances of its formulation and, thus, be successfully applied elsewhere and at different times. Among so many examples, an appropriate illustration can be found in the way in which tradition has tended to evaluate the role of John Dryden in the history of translation theory. As the leading figure of the group of English writers, scholars and translators associated with the intense flourishing of translation activity from the Roman and Greek classics that took place between the second half of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth centuries, Dryden has been known as ‘the lawgiver of English translation’, mostly for having ‘curbed much of the license of his predecessors’, something he supposedly achieved by establishing ‘the earliest exhaustive division of translation – into metaphrase, paraphrase, imitation’, and by prescribing that the correct way to translate should be found between metaphrase and paraphrase (Steiner 1975: 28).

In another period of intense translation activity, this time much closer to us, in the late 1950s and the 1960s, the conception of translation theory as an idealized form of law-giving that could discipline translators and legitimize the field began to find fertile ground in the promises of objectivity suggested by post-Saussurean linguistics. Hailed as the scientific approach that would finally provide us with a rational understanding of the mechanisms of language, linguistics seemed to offer translators and translation specialists the possibility of formulating theories or, better yet, a single, general theory that could go beyond what seemed to be indeterminate, precarious and local in the reflection practised in the area. According to Peter Newmark, for example, translation theory’s ultimate goal should be ‘to determine appropriate translation methods for the widest possible range of texts or text-categories [... and to provide] a framework of principles, restricted rules and hints for translating texts and criticizing translations, a background for problem-solving’ (1988: 19).

In the 1970s the growing interest in opening up more academic space for the study of translation began to find expression in the project of creating an independent discipline fully devoted to the area, a project that is the central topic of James Holmes’s ‘The Name and Nature of Translation Studies’, first published in 1972, and to this day one of the discipline’s most recognizable early documents. According to Holmes, the theorist’s ‘ultimate goal’ should be the development of ‘a full, inclusive theory’ that would ‘serve to explain and predict all phenomena falling within the terrain of translating and translation, to the exclusion of all the phenomena falling outside it’. Since, for him, most of the known theories are merely ‘an array of axioms, postulates, and hypotheses’, which tend to be ‘both too inclusive (covering also non-translatory acts and non-translations) and too exclusive (shutting out some translator acts and some works generally recognized as translations)’, they can

only serve as ‘little more than a prolegomena’ to the kind of general theory he envisions for the area (2000: 186).

His justification to propose the development of an empirical discipline for translation is, thus, largely based on what he sees as the failure of previous attempts from a variety of academic fields, including linguistics, to achieve a coherent, rational body of scholarship that could provide us with a consensus on how translations should be approached and studied, regarding, for instance, ‘the types of models to be tested, the kinds of methods to be applied, the varieties of terminology to be used’. In fact, it is this failure to reach a consensus that he deems responsible for the situation of ‘great confusion’ in which he finds the area, as there is ‘not even like-mindedness about the contours of the field, the problem set, the discipline as such’ (Holmes 2000: 181). In other words, the relevance of theory as the basis for this new discipline would be directly associated with its potential ability to provide the firm foundation that could unite and unify the field, including the profession and translator training, through the elaboration and implementation of guidelines, methods and criteria, the objectivity of which would be guaranteed by carefully conducted academic research.

For Holmes, as ‘a field of pure research’, the new discipline should have two main goals: the first, which he associates with ‘descriptive translation studies’, would be ‘to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience’; and the second, associated with ‘theoretical translation studies’ or ‘translation theory’, which would be ‘to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted’ (2000: 184). Even though he is aware that the study of translation could not adopt the kind of scientific model followed in areas such as ‘mathematics, physics, and chemistry, or even biology’, Holmes believes that in the new discipline rigorously objective observation and description would lead to the elaboration of a comprehensive theory that could be appropriate for the systematization of translation as an area of academic investigation and, ultimately, also as a profession. In this framework translation theory would be fundamental as an academically organized, rational basis for what Holmes calls ‘applied translation studies’, which would directly address the practice of translation in all its aspects. Supported by the legitimacy of unbiased descriptions and theoretical models, the applied branch of translation studies would determine the goals and the roles of translations and of those involved in the process, a process that Holmes divides into four areas: translator training, translation aids, translation policy and translation criticism (2000: 190).

Holmes’s disappointment with what he finds available in the area and his expectation that universally valid definitions and principles could indeed be achieved seem to be often shared by translators as well. Emma Wagner, a translator and translation manager at the European Commission in Luxembourg, for instance, has expressed her disappointment with available theories in *Can Theory Help Translators? A Dialogue between the Ivory Tower and the Wordface*, the book she co-authored with Andrew Chesterman for St Jerome in 2002. Wagner finds it frustrating, for example, that translation specialists have not managed to produce ‘clear guidelines’ that could discipline the profession across the board: ‘on how to select people for translator training, how to assess a translation, how to specify the purpose of a translation, how to measure and thus ensure reader satisfaction’. She also finds it frustrating that theorists have not ‘even coined a comprehensive language in which we can talk about translation’, a language that, for her, could be ‘the first step in moving [translation] up from faith-healer status’ (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 5).

For Wagner, as for Holmes, the path to the elaboration of sound guidelines should start with descriptive research. Thus, scholars should observe and map ‘all the types of translation

through history', 'distil a few generalizations out of all the observation', and then define 'translation and main categories constraints' in order to finally 'set out the underlying principles and doctrines of the craft' (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 3). Like Holmes, Wagner sees the opposition between theory and practice as clearly hierarchical: the basis for practice should come from objective research and theory, and it should be the specialist's task to establish guidelines not only for the translator, but for the user as well, guidelines that should ultimately save translators from having to do 'all the work of observing and analyzing for themselves'. According to her, in order for this goal to be reached, theorists should 'coin a common language' that should be shared by translators, users of translation and translation theorists, setting 'tentative standards' and providing 'some guidance as to what can reasonably be expected of a [translation], depending on the intended function' (ibid.).

In short, for Wagner, translation theory would be relevant provided that it could furnish 'concrete advice and guidelines, even doctrines, as long as they [were] practical and realistic' (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 4), and this is an opinion she claims to share with fellow translators working in different contexts and whom she quotes in the book's opening page. One of them is Lars Berglund, a technical translator in Germany, according to whom we need 'more orientation toward the needs and interests of practicing translators and their clients', an orientation that cannot be found in 'the kind of translation studies developed at West German universities', which produces 'few results of interest to people outside the community formed by the translation scholars themselves'. Another is Graham Cross, a British translator, who recognizes the Routledge *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, for example, as 'a remarkable storehouse of interesting information', but who has doubts about the book's goals: 'Will it help one to become a better translator? I doubt it ... Does it help to give the translation profession a feeling of self-esteem and worth? Hardly ... From the point of view of my working life, it is interesting but irrelevant' (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 1).

Redefining the relationship between theory and practice

While it is clear that the study of translation theories, present and past, has been widely recognized as fundamental for the establishment and the strengthening of translation studies as an academic discipline, the question of whether theory is or should be relevant for the actual practice of translation still divides those whose conceptions and expectations rely on the possibility of an objective, clear-cut division between theory and practice, a reliance that is intimately connected to the acceptance of an even broader pure opposition: the one that could allegedly separate subject from object in two unequivocal categories. Regarding translation, the possibility of these oppositions would imply, for example, that translators could actually neutralize their circumstances in order to achieve the appropriate level of fidelity to the texts they translate and, also, that they could choose whether or not to count on theory as guidance for their practice, a choice the possibility of which presupposes, as Nietzsche would argue, that there could be, on one hand, 'an actual drive for knowledge that, without regard to questions of usefulness and harm, went blindly for the truth', and, on the other, 'separate from this, the whole world of practical interests' (1968: 227). Within this framework, theory would only be relevant for translation practice if it were a reliable source of purely objective prescriptive guidelines that could be successfully applied without any subjective involvement on the part of translators.

In order to entertain the possibility of these clear-cut distinctions one must ignore the fact that both theorists and translators inescapably have an agenda as they do their work,

which is always conducted from a certain perspective, within a given context and at a certain time in history. Even those translators who deny or repress their agency in the process of translation still have to make basic decisions regarding, for instance, their choice of words or to what in the source text they should be faithful, decisions that will reflect the circumstances and motivations associated with the translation and, thus, also shape the object/text to which they devote their efforts. Similarly, theorists of translation cannot even begin theorizing unless they have some specific goals and at least a certain preliminary conception of the object they plan to investigate and of how such an investigation should be conducted. If we consider, for example, that etymologically, 'theory' is directly related to the notion of viewing or beholding and that, originally, 'to theorize' literally meant 'to see', a theory could be broadly defined as the outcome of the relationship between 'an observing subject and the object of scrutiny' (Ball 1977: 3), that is, as the observing subject's take on the object being observed. From this perspective, both translating and the production of theory are practices which are inescapably also theoretical, that is, they are always the outcome of a certain viewpoint, whether what is under scrutiny is the original text (for the translator), or the process of translation itself (for the scholar or theoretician).

As the above discussion of Martin Luther's work illustrates, his translation practice was the result both of what he saw in and as the original, and of how he considered it should be conveyed best to his contemporaries. Similarly, the reception of his 'Letter' as a theoretical document illustrates that whatever counts as theory cannot be disengaged from the goals of those who reflect on it within a certain framework, and in the name of a given project, discipline or field. After all, without the often explicit interest in examining a certain trend or pursuing a given target in the name of a certain institution or activity, there would be no research or scholarship on translation or on any other topic. Just as translations are necessarily constructed by their translators' implicit and explicit choices, translation theories represent powerful shaping forces that can potentially redirect the field as well as the ways in which translations will be done and evaluated, regardless of what they explicitly promise or claim to do. Thus, behind any methodology, model, or research statement presented in the name of translation or translators, there will always be a certain theoretical conception defining its allegiance to certain principles that ultimately guide the direction it should take. In this sense, one can conclude that no matter how hard they try to be objective and rational, both translators and translation theorists cannot help but appropriate and reshape the objects with which they work: translators recreate originals in their translations just as theorists re-articulate conceptions of translation in their theories.

In this scenario, in which translators and theorists are recognized as agents whose work has an impact on the contexts in which it circulates, any theory will always be relevant even if it is simply for supplying a path to the interests informing the trend or paradigm with which it is affiliated. At the same time, since both theory and practice are reckoned as forms of practice, which are marked by the explicit or implicit theoretical outlook of those who produce them, the hierarchical opposition they usually constitute in traditional approaches has to be thoroughly rethought. Thus, the relevance of theory for the practice of translation would no longer be simplistically associated with its ability to provide reliable guidelines and principles that should be adopted by translators determined to be invisible and neutral. In fact, it is to what is implied by this kind of 'invisibility' that a non-essentialist approach to translation would call special attention by showing, for example, how conceptions such as Holmes's deny any agency to translators while placing all the power involved in the process in the hands of scholars and theorists, even if it is in the name of objective scholarship.

It is also in the name of supposedly rational, non-biased scholarship, the alleged mission of which is to develop theoretical models that could neutralize differences and achieve a universal consensus, that Holmes's utopian project intends to change 'the situation of great confusion' with which he identifies the area. Appropriately, as discussed above, on the other extreme of this hierarchical opposition one generally finds willing partners: translators who claim to cultivate their 'invisibility' as a form of ethical behaviour and who seem to expect theorists ultimately to relieve them of the agonizing process of decision-making without which they could not do their job. Such an expectation is also obviously manifested in their apparent reluctance to recognize their own power. The Chesterman/Wagner dialogue discussed above shows, for example, that Wagner is not interested in examining the implications of power issues for her work as a translator and for the 'objective' criteria and guidelines that she is so interested in obtaining. In her exchange with Chesterman, who mentions that translation scholars have been interested in examining how 'translators and translations manipulate power, and also how they are influenced by power relations', Wagner admits that she does not exactly 'care' about the topic and that there are more urgent 'basic problems' for translators to handle such as 'translation quality', which, for her, are completely unrelated to power issues (Chesterman and Wagner 2002: 80). Therefore, for her, as for many self-declared 'invisible' translators, the 'problem' of translation quality ideally should be settled by translation specialists, whom she sees as endowed with a kind of power comparable to the divine and who could hopefully devise, for instance, 'fair and objective ways of measuring readers' satisfaction with translation quality' (ibid. 2002: 81).

Challenges

The notion that translators shape the texts they translate, no matter how invisible or powerless they would like or claim to be, has been the most groundbreaking insight to emerge from translation studies in the last few decades. It is directly associated with the increasing dissemination of non-essentialist notions of language and the subject that are indebted to Friedrich Nietzsche's conclusion according to which language does not merely represent meanings and concepts, but constructs them (see, for example, Nietzsche 1999). In the wake of Nietzsche's thought, twentieth-century thinkers such as Jacques Derrida have theorized on the transformative power of translation (Derrida 1987), bringing the translator's activity to a privileged site within the general reflection developed in philosophy and the humanities at large. As Andrew Benjamin has aptly summarized this movement, 'within contemporary philosophical work there is preoccupation, if not fascination with translation. It provides the "concept" in terms of which the possibility, if not the actual practice, of philosophy is discussed' (1989: 9; see also Arrojo 2010). Furthermore, the notion that translators and translations do have the power to transform originals and rearticulate the foreign according to domestic interests and, therefore, to construct and reconstruct national and cultural identities, has produced a wealth of scholarship in areas that have both enriched and been enriched by translation studies. I refer, for example, to the scholarship developed in productive interfaces between the study of translation and fields such as gender studies, history, postcolonial and subaltern studies, anthropology, cultural studies, comparative literature, law, and global studies (see, for example, Simon 1996; Rafael 1993; Venuti 1998; Bermann and Wood 2005; and Cronin 2003).

Considering that most of this important theoretical material is still basically restricted to the realm of academic scholarship, the biggest challenge faced by the discipline of translation studies today is the construction of a more symmetrical relationship between

theory and practice, a relationship that would make theory more available and, it is hoped, more relevant both to practising translators and to those in training. The theory in question, though, is not the kind that would promise universals and ready-made answers to practical problems of translation, but one that could convincingly argue why such promises are questionable and counterproductive and, thus, empower translators by raising their awareness regarding the authorial nature of their work and the decisive role they play as productive mediators between different languages and cultures. In this sense, a relevant theory would succeed in persuading translators that the appropriate exercise of their profession requires them to build a solid theoretical basis which could inform and guide them in the difficult process of decision-making that is a fundamental part of what they do. At the same time, such a theory would convincingly show them that knowledge and power are inextricably connected and that they should not rely solely on theoreticians to improve the status of their profession.

In order to begin constructing a bridge that could at least put theorists and practitioners in contact, just as translators need to re-evaluate their work and be more open to theories that are not merely interested in lawgiving, theorists need to be more sensitive to and better informed about the concerns of actual translators and how they view the challenges of their profession. This attempt to achieve a more symmetrical relationship between theory and practice would be particularly appropriate in the flourishing area of translator training, an area that offers a unique opportunity for students and instructors to explore the relevance of theory for practice and vice versa and, consequently, also to begin reshaping the future of the discipline, in which both translators and specialists could find a welcoming environment for a productive, well-balanced dialogue on the pivotal role they play in negotiating the limits between the domestic and the foreign.

Related topics

theory of translation; theory and practice; translator's power

Further reading

- Arrojo, R. (1998) 'The Revision of the Traditional Gap between Theory and Practice and the Empowerment of Translation in Postmodern Times', *The Translator* 4(1): 25–48. (A detailed critique of some of the basic assumptions and expectations usually associated with the traditional opposition between theory and practice in translation.)
- Chesterman, A. and Wagner, E. (2002) *Can Theory Help Translators? A Dialogue between the Ivory Tower and the Wordface*, Manchester: St Jerome. (A revealing dialogue between a scholar and a translator which effectively illustrates that the gap between theory and practice can be bridged, offering important insights into both the world of academic theory and that of the professional translator.)
- Davis, K. (2001) *Deconstruction and Translation*, Manchester: St Jerome. (A competent introduction to some of the most relevant insights Jacques Derrida's deconstruction has brought to translation studies. Section II ('Implications for Translation Theory') is particularly useful to those interested in further exploring the fundamental role of theory for the practice of translation from a post-Nietzschean perspective.)
- Tennent, M. (ed.) (2005) *Training for the New Millennium: Pedagogies for Translation and Interpretation*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (Section III ('The Relevance of Theory to Training') specifically addresses the relevance of theory for the training of translators. See, for example, Bartina's and Arrojo's essays.)
- Venuti, L. (2008) *The Translator's Invisibility – A History of Translation*, second edn, London/New York: Routledge. (This book is already a classic in translation studies. The first chapter, on 'Invisibility', is a persuasive defence of the relevance of theory for translation in general.)

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Part III

Theoretical frameworks and research methodologies

Translation history

Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar

‘Only the past explains why we are here and why we are the way we are.’

(Munz 1997: 833)

It is clear that both as a field of research and a mass of knowledge accumulated through the work of individual researchers and collective projects, translation history cannot be explored exhaustively within the confines of a few pages. Therefore, the present chapter will exclusively deal with translation history as a subfield of the larger discipline of translation studies and focus on its emergence, growth and the possible trajectories it may follow in the future. Translation as a product, process and concept has recently been subject to a great deal of attention, with the result that researchers in many parts of the world and in various cultures set out to ‘write’ the way translation played a role in the evolution of culture, arts, science, political ties and even wars. The methods and tools adopted by these researchers have varied and so have the historical perspectives they have offered. Nevertheless, interested readers can find a lot to learn (and criticize) in these works, only a small fraction of which is offered in the list of references in the present chapter.

The present state of our historical knowledge on translation is extremely fragmented, which not only stems from the shortage of available historical data and the diversity of approaches and methods adopted by the existing studies but also from the very diffuse nature of the concept of translation (see Hermans, this volume) when seen from an historical perspective. Maria Tymoczko’s (2006) call for treating translation as a ‘cluster’ concept, instead of a singular, unitary one is even more justified when historical studies on translation across cultures and periods are juxtaposed and the complexities of translation, as product and activity, become strikingly evident. These complexities make the historical study of translation(s) all the more interesting and deem translation history relevant for the way we think about and practise translation today.

Translation history vs. translation historiography: conceptual and practical differences

The challenges and complexities inherent in the concept of ‘translation history’ stem from the ambivalence of the concept itself, for it has been employed in two different senses in

translation studies. The first of these refers to the actual ‘history’ of translation, i.e. historical findings about the way translation was practised, utilized or conceptualized in the past. The second sense in which the term translation history has been used is to denote the study of the way translation history has been written, i.e. translation historiography (Woodsworth 1998: 101). The present chapter is specifically involved in the latter meaning of translation history. Although the distinction between these two senses has been criticized (D’hulst 2001: 23; D’hulst 2007: 1063), when I use the term translation history, it should be understood in the sense of historiography. Lieven D’hulst (2010) has recently introduced a third subfield to complement history and historiography under the term ‘metahistoriography’ which comprises methodological and epistemological reflections on the writing of history. For the purposes of this chapter, this last term will also be tackled under translation history. As mentioned earlier, the intention here is not to offer any historical findings pertaining to translation, but rather to focus on some of the ways in which these findings have been gathered, assembled and mobilized in the writing of narratives about translation.

My employment of the term ‘narrative’ is not coincidental. The postmodern/poststructuralist perspective on history and the recording of historical events is by now well known.¹ Basing itself on the notion of a ‘disbelief in meta-narratives’, this perspective suggests that there is no history with a capital H, and that historiography’s task is to reflect the plurality of ‘truths’. So, in history ‘there should be stories, lots of them’ (Bentley 1999: 144). Admitting that the historian (as storyteller) is constrained by a number of factors and his/her story is artificial, but not arbitrary (Munz 1997: 839), philosopher and historian Peter Munz (1997: 848) writes, ‘The past is real enough. But the stories we tell about it are constructions.’

Lieven D’hulst argues that the narrative mode is one of the discursive modes adopted by historians of translation in their efforts to create a ‘reality effect’. This type of a discourse is inevitable as the historian defines his or her object of study, identifies the actors involved and presents a chronology of events while, according to D’hulst, it needs to be differentiated from ‘analytical’ historiography. Unlike the narrative mode, ‘analytical’ historiography studies the discourse on translation, including its axioms, presuppositions, terminology, cognitive and argumentative structures, and relations of intertextuality (2007: 1071). A critical outlook on historiography suggests that the analytical mode also needs to be tackled with caution, especially with due consideration of the researcher’s subject position.

A more critical stance belongs to Lawrence Venuti, who has taken the idea of history as narrative further in the context of translation history. Venuti refers to Hayden White’s ‘emplotment’ idea whereby historical events are arranged to reflect different ways of understanding and representing history. White defines the different arrangements of historical facts in traditional narrative genres: romance, comedy, tragedy and satire (Venuti 2005: 812). Venuti adapts White’s view on history to translation history and remarks that, ‘a history of translation, then, like any history, endows translation practices with significance through a specific narrative form or mixture of forms’ (Venuti 2005: 812). Venuti offers examples for the different genres in which translation history has been told by different scholars, ranging from Goethe’s romantic account of German translation methods to Pym’s satirical narration of the place of translation in the Barcelona Olympic Games in 1992 (ibid.: 813–15). Although they alert us to the inevitable constructedness of historical accounts, one should also view cautiously the attribution of genres to historical translation narratives. While generic distinctions are becoming more and more diffuse in contemporary literature, the very existence of distinct genres in any type of literature is also being questioned (see various contributions in *New Literary History*, summer 2003).

Therefore, a sounder approach would be to view translation histories as mixed forms of discourse, blending various genres and including personal interpretation in the ‘emplotment’ of historical events, thus bringing together factual and fictive elements.

The relevance of translation history

Historical findings have undeniably contributed to recent shifts in translation studies and the formative role of translation history is recognized by all. Antoine Berman (1984: 12) has suggested that research into translation history is the first task of a modern theory of translation, while José Lambert (1993) has argued that the writing of translation history is necessary to legitimize the new discipline of translation studies. Georges Bastin expresses the transformative force that translation history has had within the field in the following terms:

En effet, l’histoire est responsable du virage culturel de la traductologie au cours des dernières années; c’est à elle que l’on doit le passage de l’invisibilité à la visibilité, des approches fondées sur les textes à celles fondées sur les sujets traduisants. Plutôt que déformant, il faut voir le prisme de l’histoire comme multiplicateur de points de vue; ses innombrables facettes sont autant de fenêtres ouvertes sur les réalités – et aussi les rêves – d’une profession, d’un art et d’une herméneutique.

[Indeed, history is responsible for the cultural turn in translation studies during recent years; we owe it the transition from invisibility to visibility, from text-based approaches to those focusing on the translating subjects. Rather than a deforming force, we must see the prism of history as a multiplier of points of view; its innumerable facets are windows opening to the realities – and dreams – of a profession, to an art and to a hermeneutics.]

(Bastin 2005: 797)

There seems to be general agreement regarding the importance of historical studies but the specific reasons for engaging in translation history vary from one researcher to the other, which also determines the topics they take up and the methodologies for which they opt. In fact, there are few translation scholars who can be considered ‘pure’ historians of translation. Most scholars use historical research as a means of exploring general translation-related phenomena or elaborating on translation theories that apply not only to history but also to contemporary translations (studies on translation norms or the translator’s visibility are two prominent examples). The list of translation historians featured on the International Directory of Historians of Translation, available online, is a telling indication of this fact (http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~jdelisle/fit_index.htm). Of approximately 200 researchers registered in the directory, a considerable number have expressed an interest in a variety of issues outside of the historical field, such as media translation, research methodology or terminology. One can then claim that for most translation researchers history is not an end in itself, but rather a means towards obtaining information about more general translational phenomena.

The problematization of reasons for carrying out historical research is not unique to translation studies; the same concern reflects in the discourses of historians from all fields. Munz expresses the fundamental reasons why individuals become interested in history:

There are a good many reasons why people are interested in the past. At one end of the scale there is idle curiosity and the fascination of the exotic; in the middle, there

has always been the desire to learn from other people's experiences; and at the other end there is the assumption that one's past defines one's identity and that the perception, even though it may be spurious or imagined, of a shared past promotes a sense of community. In addition to these various aesthetic, didactic and political reasons, there is the fact that we are the products of the past ... only the past explains why we are here and why we are the way we are.

(Munz 1997: 833)

What is to be gained from learning about past translation practices, translators or ideas on translation? How has translation history managed to make the impact claimed by Bastin (2005)? The drive to study the history of translations and translators is inevitably connected to a wish to understand and promote current issues about translations. In other words, historical studies on translation originate from present concerns and not from any 'idle' curiosity about past peoples and their lives. Translation historians have offered different perspectives in their arguments about the relevance of translation history and have considered the implications of historical findings from various vantage points.

D'hulst has attempted to cover a large array of functions that may be served by translation history. He offers a list of potential reasons why research on translation history has recently gained momentum:

- History is a practical eye-opener for translation studies.
- Insight into history gives the scholar the intellectual flexibility which he or she needs when regularly adapting his or her ideas to new viewpoints.
- Insight in history prevents the scholar from blind adherence to one single theory.
- Insight into history is maybe the only way to understand the structure of the discipline, by showing the underlying relationships between divergent approaches and practices.
- Insight into history helps to develop 'culture of translation'.
- Insight into history may inspire translators in search of problem-solving techniques.

(D'hulst 2001: 22; D'hulst 1994: 12–13)

Although many of the points upon which D'hulst touches are in need of further elaboration (for instance, why is history an eye-opener for translation studies?), they manage to show the present-day concerns that this particular translation historian associates with translation history. According to D'hulst, knowing about the past of translation will help virtually everyone engaged in the study and practice of translation today: Scholars will learn from translation history in their search for flexibility and wider viewpoints while they will also use their insights from translation history to build a better and stronger vision of the discipline. Practising translators can learn from history quite pragmatically in finding solutions to actual translation problems, while historical knowledge will help to create a culture of translation that will encompass scholars, translators and readers alike, which will, in turn, strengthen the profession of translation.

In the first and only book-length study on issues of method in translation history, Pym (1998: x) suggests that 'we do translation history in order to express, address and try to solve problems affecting our own situation'. Pym links the methodology he proposes in his book to the notion of interculturalism and his vision of the place of translation history is culturally and socially motivated. Pym offers three reasons for 'doing translation history'. The first reason Pym mentions regards the way in which translation history can contribute to other humanistic disciplines in their efforts to describe the evolution of individual

cultures by revealing the external forces that have interfered in the culture in question through translation. Pym's second reason for undertaking historical research in translation is to provide ideas for policy-makers in the field of language and culture since 'greater knowledge of the past can give us wider frames for assessing the future' (ibid.: 16). Finally, Pym argues that translation history can help intercultural intermediaries, including translators, to affirm their intercultural specificity. Unlike D'hulst, Pym does not envision a practical role in which translation history can help translators in their everyday translational decisions, but asserts a specific place in history for people who have made intercultural exchanges possible. In fact, Pym's ultimate goal for translation history is to facilitate the integration of translation studies with the larger field of intercultural studies (2009: 45).

Venuti approaches the relevance of translation history from the perspective of the time- and culture-boundness of translation and translation-related concepts. He introduces his argument by emphasizing the relative autonomy of translation, i.e. its autonomy from the source text and other indigenous texts written in the target culture. He maintains that translations owe their autonomy from the source texts to time since the source and the target languages and cultures will develop differently through time. He notes that 'a translation reveals historical continuities and divergences between the two languages and cultures that it brings into contact' (2005: 801). This points at the way translation history can serve as a tool for tracing the different ways in which cultures develop through time. Venuti further points out that changing methods of translation (and their tracing through historical studies) also indicate changing standards of accuracy. He maintains that 'what constitutes an accurate translation in one period may later come to be regarded not as a translation at all, but as an adaptation or even as a wholesale revision of the foreign text' (ibid.: 801–2). This means that ideas on what translation is, i.e. the definitions of translation, change through time and the historical vision is necessary in order to question modern views on translation and understand their roots and evolution.

The three translation scholars taken up above demonstrate the diversity of the motifs in historiography. It is clear that the choice of the object of study and the perspective adopted by the researcher will inevitably result in the production of a different type of history and historiographical methodology while 'each historian draws their own boundaries' (St André 2009: 134). Therefore, it is sounder to refer to 'histories of translation' rather than a single and uniform History of Translation – this approach is especially backed up by the recent use of alternative methodologies in translation history such as microhistory (Zarrouk 2006; Adamo 2006), oral history (Ben-Ari 2009), or gender-based approaches (Işıklar Koçak 2007), which display diverse theoretical frameworks justifying their methodologies and their objects of study (Adamo 2006).

Key areas in translation history

Like many other fields in translation studies, literary translation (see Wittman, this volume) and the translation of sacred texts (see Long, this volume) have dominated the agendas of translation historians (St André 2009: 135). However, until recently most work on translation history has dealt with historical aspects of translation theory and less with translators and translated texts of the past (Pym 1998: 10).

Early work in general translation history dates back to the 1960s, namely to 1963 when Edmond Cary published his history of 'great French translators' (1963). Works of a general nature followed this publication throughout the 1970s and 1980s (see, for instance, Steiner 1975; Kelly 1979; Berman 1984; Ballard 1992; Vermeer 1992; and Robinson

1997). Woodsworth (1998) and St André (2009) present comprehensive surveys of major works published in translation history to date.

Since the 1980s a number of developments have enabled an increased focus on the history of translation practice, rather than translation theory. This has partly been due to the development of the polysystem approach to translation (Even-Zohar 1978, 1979; and see also Ben-Ari, this volume), followed by the emergence of descriptive translation studies (DTS – often referred to as historical-descriptive translation studies), which triggered work on a series of cultures and the position of translation within them (Tourey 1995; see also Ben-Ari, this volume). DTS accepted all texts assumed as translation by the target culture as its legitimate objects of study, broadening the scope of translation studies to include pseudotranslations or concealed translations, which offer valuable data about a culture's perceptions of and expectations from translation. These texts were considered as marginal or outside of the field of translation studies in the past. Furthermore, DTS brought about a methodology for investigating operational norms in a given time or place through a study of translated texts and extratextual materials. This led to an increased interest in historical case studies of translation.

The survey offered by Judith Woodsworth (1998) introduces historical studies carried out until 1995 under a few useful categories: histories that are limited in space and time; histories focusing on types of translation; and histories dealing with great moments in the history of translation. To this classification one now needs to add histories focusing on translators, or 'translator history' (Milton *et al.* 2001).

Histories that are limited in space and time carry a geographical or period focus. The nation state has been a major (practical, yet problematic) tool of geographical delineation as translators dealt with the history of translation in countries such as Canada (Delisle 1987), Ireland (Cronin 1996), India (Niranjana 1992), China (Cheung 2006) Turkey (Tahir Gürçağlar 2008), among others. A smaller number of works have entailed the translation histories of alternative localities such as regions (Simon 1989), or continents (Bastin 2004; Bandia 2005). Largely triggered by the challenges raised against Eurocentric thinking in the humanities and social sciences, a recent development has been to broaden the geographical reach of translation history and to turn to the translation histories of non-Western cultures. Various attempts have been made to translate or introduce the historiographical writings on translation in these cultures for the English-speaking readership (St André 2009: 134). The history of translation in the west itself is being challenged by researchers. A recent volume introducing a fresh look at the history of western translation has helped problematize the notion of a singular grand narrative about the evolution of translation in the west (McElduff and Sciarrino 2011).

Histories focusing on types of translations take departure from various text types or major texts or authors. Examples include translations of sacred texts (Noss 2007; Pezzini 2008; Cheng 2003), Shakespeare translations (Delabastita and D'hulst 1993), or children's literature (Shavit 1997). Histories dealing with great moments in the history of translation pertain to those occasions, often called 'schools', when translation activity gains specific intensity and importance. Studies on the Toledo School (Foz 1999; Burnett 2009), the Abbasid period (Gutas 1998), and in the case of Turkey, the *Tanzimat* period (Paker 1991) are a few examples. During the past decade, the emphasis on the translator and the notion of agency in translation has started gaining ground. In line with this rising interest, various studies on individual translators have been published. Among those, the pioneer is *Translators Through History* (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995), followed by works by Pym (1998, 2000), who called for, and practised, a 'translator history' where translators, not

texts or institutions, are the main agents of history. Various contributions in Milton and Bandia (2009) and Kinnunen and Koskinen (2010) show that translators and other translational agents (such as editors, publishers or patrons) have now become the preferred objects of study for many translation historians, which indicates that Pym's call for 'humanizing translation history' has been favourably met (Pym 2009).

There are two major collections consisting of the translation histories of various cultures and periods. These are the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* and *Übersetzung, Translation, Traduction: An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. The two editions of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (1998 and 2009) offer a glimpse of the historical translation activities in various regions of the world. Most of the categories are based on the nation state, while there are also entries that reflect traditions, which are spread over larger regions, such as the African tradition, Arabic tradition and the Hebrew tradition. The editor, Mona Baker (1998: xiv), admits that 'not all traditions could be represented, and the divisions in terms of linguistic and/or geographical communities are inherently arbitrary', yet since the first edition the historical section that makes up half of the encyclopaedia has become a major source of reference for many historical translation traditions which are otherwise under-represented in historical research.

The historical part of the *International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* provides extraordinary wealth and scope. The section (which takes up nearly all of volume two) opens with an article by Lieven D'hulst on major issues and challenges in translation historiography. The entries, each written by experts in the particular field, are organized according to both a chronological division (the Ancient World, the Middle Ages, Renaissance, the Era of World Literature, Modern Times, Globalization) and a geographical division (the Near East, Central Asia, Europe, the German-speaking area, Great Britain and Ireland). The provisional list of titles for the forthcoming third volume indicates that the editors wish to broaden the geographical reach. The trilingual language policy of the encyclopaedia is both an asset and a shortcoming. There are entries written in French, German or English with no translations available.

Methodologies and methodological challenges in translation historiography

Pym complained about 'a lack of history in translation histories' back in 1992 and indicated four epistemological shortcomings in translation history: '(1) archeological accumulation of data that responds to no explicitly formulated problem; (2) dependence on anecdotal evidence; (3) arbitrary periodization; and (4) reluctance to see translations as possible agents rather than expressions of historical change' (1992: 8). Each of these shortcomings continues to pose a challenge for translation historians and these are the very points that translation historians have attempted to address in their search for various methodologies in historical research.

In what follows, I will focus on a few essential methodological proposals made by three translation scholars, which address the issues mentioned by Pym. The first of these comes from Anthony Pym himself. In his *Method in Translation History*, Pym (1998) divides translation history into three areas which are both interdependent and separate at the same time. These areas are translation archaeology (discourses created to answer the questions of 'who translated what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect?'); historical criticism (discourses assessing the way translations help or hinder progress); and explanation (dealing with the 'why' question) (ibid.: 5–6). Pym suggests that all translation

history has parts of all three categories, but for the purposes of organizing research, they can be tackled in isolation by different individuals, or better, by teams of researchers. He maintains that ‘the divisions could become guidelines for exchange, collaboration and teamwork’ (ibid.: 8). As mentioned previously, Pym’s (2009) goal is to ‘humanize translation history’. Although he refrains from presenting ‘humanization’ as a methodology, Pym recommends a translator-focused approach in formulating questions about translation history and argues for two main principles: translation historians should first study translators and then texts, and translators need to be seen as operating in professional intercultural contexts.

D’hulst has offered an array of possible areas of research for translation historians. He admits that ‘this list of questions does not constitute a research programme, neither does it want to be exhaustive; it wants to *show* what should be covered by a historiography of translation and translation studies’ (2001: 31). Nevertheless, the set of questions D’hulst asks identifies a series of study objects as well as ways of approaching them. In that sense, D’hulst’s list can be of practical use for researchers planning to launch historical inquiries about translation. Proper framing and exploration of these questions can remedy some of the shortcomings mentioned by Pym. The questions asked by D’hulst (as a series of questions used to formulate rhetorical questions in Latin), which also chart a map of historical research (past, current and potential), are as follows: Who? What? Where? With whose help? Why? How? When? With what effect? (2007: 1071; 2001: 24–30). Although his questions seem to overlap with Pym’s ‘translation archaeology’ category, D’hulst’s questions include all three aspects mentioned by Pym and go further than compiling lists or catalogues and also require an interpretive framework. Under each of the questions, D’hulst offers examples to the type of research that can be undertaken and also mentions methodological and theoretical approaches that can be used to investigate the answers to the questions. For instance, he mentions Simeoni’s work inspired by Bourdieu in exploring the intellectual biography and norms of translators under the ‘who?’ question, or the patronage concept as developed by Lefevre in revealing the social context enabling (or discouraging) translations under the ‘with whose help’ question. D’hulst’s list may not be exhaustive, but it is certainly instrumental as an introductory tool in any historical research.

Bastin has revisited the need for integrating subjectivity into translation historiography and seems to find the solution in emphasizing interdisciplinarity. He suggests that a major concern in recent translation historiography is to strike a balance between the notion of subjectivity and the need for rigour in historical work (2006: 111). Bastin argues that translation history can borrow from ‘applicable’ models from history, anthropology and sociology in developing a specific and subjective vision and offers a series of guidelines for importing a new paradigm into translation history in an effort to bring a new vision to the study of the history of translation (ibid.: 121). Bastin (ibid.: 120–5) argues that history must become non-evenemental, with room provided for more marginal forms of literature and neglected translators in a broad vision of history where translation should never be homogenized or straitjacketed. For Bastin, one way of achieving this is to observe rigour in research in translation history. This includes, among others, a careful investigation of original documents and primary materials, caution while using secondary and tertiary sources and awareness of the fallibility of resources on the Internet. The second major way to create a broad vision of translation historiography is to integrate subjectivity into the historical framework.

Much of what has been done in translation history has been produced by eclectic methodological approaches that developed under the influence of DTS. As mentioned earlier, the major milestone for historical translation research has been the emergence of DTS.

Toury formed his conceptual and methodological framework regarding translations based on his historical work on Hebrew literature. He offered his notion of translations as facts of the target culture in the form of a series of historical case studies which dealt with literary translation and pseudotranslations dating back to the nineteenth century (1995). The methodology he offered for studying translations, including the study of translation norms, constituted a framework adopted by many researchers throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1990s and 2000s various reservations were voiced regarding the formalist roots of the polysystem theory and the DTS approach. Various critical historical studies that were based on the DTS framework managed to expand the scope of this approach, integrating significant questions regarding past concepts and definitions of translation, which helped relativize current thinking on translation (Tymoczko 1999; Paker 2002; Trivedi 2006).

In the meantime, some researchers set out to supplement the analytical descriptivist rigour of DTS with tools and concepts from sociology, leading to a focus on interdisciplinarity in translation history. Although this interdisciplinarity, which mainly involved the neighbouring fields of sociology, history and ethnography, led to a healthy form of eclecticism in research throughout the 1990s and 2000s, it is difficult to argue for the emergence of a strong and unified subdiscipline of translation history.

The 'sociological turn' in translation studies (see Wolf and Fukari 2007) underpins the emergence of a socio-translation history which may be considered a natural consequence of the joining of forces of sociologists and historians (Simeoni 2007). Translation researchers have turned to three major names in sociology in their search for better means of accounting for translational phenomena: Pierre Bourdieu, Niklas Luhmann and Bernard Latour (see Buzelin, this volume).

There are various methodological issues that still need to be addressed by translation historians. One such issue is periodization. Some historians work according to political or social periodizations, which largely reflect a Western bias, while some others introduce chronological divisions based on diverging approaches to translation (Foz 2006). Creating a universal periodization for translation history would be an impossible and undesirable task, so each historian is faced with two challenges in deciding on a periodization: his/her subjective vision of the particular historical phenomenon under study and the particularities of the relevant period and culture.

Overemphasis of institutional translation history is another methodological issue that needs to be addressed. For various reasons, including the availability of historical data, researchers find comfort in the field of institutional translation history, which studies the translation activities of a 'school', 'government' or 'patron institution' and links them to an underlying ideological context. This risks explaining a complex context through a simple causation model, which undermines the role of individuals in the institution and overlooks deviant or erratic behaviour and resistance. The solution is to integrate causational models, which emphasize structure, with the notion of agency. As Koskinen suggests, 'This kind of theoretical dialogue might fruitfully enhance our understanding of both agency and causality in translation studies' (2010: 184).

Another methodological challenge that can be linked to the issue of periodization stems from a very simple question and pertains to the scope of translation historiography: When is history? Is there any time limitation for a study on translation to be considered historical? Can recent or contemporary translational phenomena be tackled by translation historians? Furthermore, how does the period chosen dictate the choice of methodologies? These are some urgent questions which have so far been problematized very little. To these one also needs to add a call for self-reflexivity in translation historiography. Are translation

historians aware that with each statement they make on translation history, they themselves become a part of it?

As the search for alternative methodologies in translation history continues, researchers now have a bigger range of possibilities in their practical, 'archaeological' work on translation history. The availability of electronic sources has made historical research on translation history both easier and more challenging. Most libraries and historical archives now offer their catalogues electronically and readers can have access to them online. This has reduced the time required for library and archival research tremendously. In the meantime, many libraries have scanned hard-to-find material such as articles from the periodicals of previous centuries and made them electronically available, which has facilitated the arduous task of going through newspapers and journals trying to spot important articles. For those researchers involved in the study of the current discourses on translation history, online bibliographies of translation studies, such as Translation Studies Abstracts (TSA) by St Jerome, Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) by John Benjamins, and BITRA (Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation) by the University of Alicante, provide instant information resulting from simple searches based on numerous criteria such as subject, title, author, keyword, publisher, etc. The website of the research group working on the history of translation in Latin America (HISTAL) offers a bibliography of works on translation history, not limited to the history of Latin America (Bastin 2004). The CD-ROM on translation history launched by Jean Delisle is a database on translation history as well as a teaching tool. The CD-ROM is commercially available (<http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~jdelisle/projets.htm#Multimedia%20Software>).

An international resource for tracking translations published worldwide and tracing international translation flows is *Index Translationum*, also available online. The index was created in 1932 and comprises around 2 million titles. Data since 1979 are available online. *Index Translationum* also reveals the challenging aspects of carrying out research aided by technological tools. Like most published or online bibliographies, *Index Translationum*, compiled and published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) offers inaccurate information for many languages.² Thus, electronic resources bring great comfort and speed to researchers, but they also need to be assessed with caution.

Potential areas and tools for translation historiography

Despite the recent increase in the interest in translation history there is still a vast terrain waiting to be explored by researchers. In a highly perceptive article, Santoyo (2006) lists fields of translation history that have not been addressed enough. He mentions interpreting, the daily practice of translation, pseudotranslations, self-translations, forgotten texts, translations that have survived their originals, historiographical mistakes, and the role played by translation in history. To these I would like to add the reception of translations by lay readers, regional histories of translation, translation activities in border areas, translations among smaller cultures/languages, histories of non-literary translation, translation and journalism, biographical studies on interpreters, female translators and female readers of translation, retranslations and mediated (relay) translations.

As for emerging methodologies in translation history, a series of methodological approaches borrowed from the field of history are worthy of mention. Among these, *histoire croisée* (Wolf 2009), oral history (Torikai 2009; Ben-Ari 2009) and microhistory (Adamo 2006) are likely to attract greater attention in the future.

Related topics

translation history; translation historiography; cultural history; method in history

Notes

- 1 For the impact of deconstructionism on translation historiography, see Bandia 2006.
- 2 For example, according to the *Index* only 26 translations were published in Turkey in 2005. This figure is obviously wrong for a country where around 35 per cent of all published books are translations.

Further reading

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- Pym, Anthony (1998) *Method in Translation History*, Manchester: St Jerome. (A pioneering work tackling both epistemological aspects of translation historiography and offering a set of methodological tools for the empirical study of translation history.)

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An open system of systems

Itamar Even-Zohar and the polysystem theory

Nitsa Ben-Ari

In the early 1970s Itamar Even-Zohar developed his polysystem theory, on the basis of his research into translation (Even-Zohar 1971), and the relations between different textual activities ('literatures'), maintained by the same community, often in a state of diglossia. In addition to concepts borrowed from linguistic work on language interference (*Sprachinterferenz* in Prague Structuralism; Weinreich 1953), or works by historians (such as Américo Castro 1954; and Fernand Braudel 1966, 1967), he was greatly inspired by the conceptual framework offered by late Russian Formalists, which provided a combination of structural thinking integrated with the historical dimension. Yuri Tynyanov, Boris Ejkenbaum, Roman Jakobson and Pëtr Bogatyřev, to mention but a few, developed versatile system thinking, while Jakobson and Tynyanov suggested (in a short and hardly ever cited paper from 1928) the innovative view that a system is always 'a system of systems' (Tynyanov and Jakobson 1928). Against this background, the polysystem concept, an 'open system of systems', was suggested by Even-Zohar to capture the aspects of versatility and heterogeneity in time and place. This allowed one to view 'literature' not only as a codified collection of texts but as a set of factors governing a large range of procedures ('behaviours') that stretched from the production of texts to the promotion of models of life.

Polysystem studies

A polysystem, viewed as a hierarchized aggregate which interacts to bring about an ongoing dynamic process of evolution, can in fact be postulated to account for phenomena existing on various levels simultaneously (Shuttleworth 2001: 197).

Sociocultural systems are heterogeneous, versatile, dynamic networks. They are hierarchized and in a constant state of tension between factors that strive to access and control resources. Thus, a literary system is a dynamic sociocultural structure, in which centre and periphery fight over which 'norms' or 'models' will be dominant and shape the centre. In this context, the notion of 'canonized' literature is no longer an evaluative one, but a term for 'those literary norms and works (i.e. both texts and models) which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage' (Even-Zohar 1990: 15).

The fact that certain features tend, at certain periods, to cluster around certain statuses does not mean that these features are essentially pertinent to some status. In order for these notions to be applicable, one must take into account the interplay of the diachronic and synchronic dimensions of a sociocultural system.

Literary texts cease to be a quest for the 'literary'; they cease to be evaluated for their inherent 'artistic' or 'poetic value'; they are viewed as products of a man-made industry that provides what Even-Zohar would later describe as 'life images'. According to Even-Zohar, one of the major achievements of the so-called Russian semioticians – such as Lotman, Uspenskij or Ivanov – was their analysis of literature as a major contributor of 'potential models of life'. They have shown us the way to conceive of the literary activity as a major industry capable of providing tools for both understanding and operating in actual life. That is, products such as fiction and poetry texts provide not only explanations, justifications and motives, but also – or sometimes in the first place – plans (or 'scripts') of action. The people who read or watch these products not only get from them conceptions and coherent images of what is supposed to be 'reality', but can also extract from them practical instructions for daily behaviour. Thus, the texts propose not only how to behave in particular cases, but how life should be organized: whether to execute, and in what ways, various options. For example, fall in love, eat profusely or lightly, get married, have children, work or avoid working, feel happy for dying for the fatherland (as formulated later in Even-Zohar 2002: 75–83; Even-Zohar 2005a: 13).

In the course of the 1970s Even-Zohar moved from the study of literature (and translated literature as a system interfacing with it) to the study of culture. During that phase, the polysystem theory was developed in order to elucidate the dynamics and heterogeneity of culture. The object of study moved from the conditions of texts and text-dependent activities, to the conditions of repertoires of models in society (Even-Zohar 1997). The theory of models became part of Even-Zohar's larger theory of repertoire, deeply inspired by both Russian Formalism and Soviet semioticians such as Lotman, Ivanov, Toporov, Uspensky and others (see Segal 1974).

Translation, or 'concepts of complexity and heterogeneity in translation studies'

Since his 1971 PhD dissertation, *An Introduction to a Theory of Literary Translation*, Even-Zohar has developed the polysystem's theoretical and methodological framework and has, for a time, concentrated on the application of this framework in the study of translation seen as a complex and dynamic activity governed by system relations rather than by parameters of comparative language capabilities fixed a priori.

Having been part of the nuclear 'group' that developed modern translation studies, Even-Zohar indeed provided young translation scholars with a new theoretical framework of research, opening many avenues to researchers in translation studies, and allowing all kinds of questions to be asked which had previously seemed insignificant (Bassnett 1993: 142). True, this framework could have emanated from other sources as well. That this is so can be illustrated from the example of the Russian attitudes to translation studies. The Russians did not have the polysystem theory, and yet Russian theorists strove to locate regularities in translation behaviour and to identify transfer between cultures. Even theoreticians such as Jiří Levý spoke about 'decision-making' in terms of pre-existing instructions acquired by the translator, regardless of the specific text with which he was dealing (Levý 1967: 1171–82). Yet it is Even-Zohar's systemic approach that has

transformed translation studies from a marginal philological specialty to a focus of intercultural research.

His two main contributions to the discussion of translation studies are *Papers in Historical Poetics* (1978), and *Polysystem Studies* (1990). His 1978 dissertation was never published, although he had a publisher: as he explained to interviewer Dora Sales Salvador in 2002, when he was formulating it in English, he realized that a powerful and adequate explanation of translation could not be achieved within the framework of ‘translation theory’ of the type developed in his initial work. Translation (interlingual and intercultural) has always been a major way for contact between peoples and one of the procedures with which new cultures modelled themselves after more established ones. Yet in the narrow sense of rewriting texts between languages it is not the only, sometimes not even the major channel for inter-group communication. Contacts and subsequently interferences use various channels, and translation is only one parameter of what Even-Zohar calls ‘transfer’ (1979, 1981, 1990).

In his early studies of translation, Even-Zohar already established that translated literature was a sub-system within the literary polysystem, not just a chance conglomeration of translated texts. By the way they interrelated, and especially with the literary polysystem that imported them, it was clear that they were neither randomly selected nor randomly hierarchized.

I use the term ‘translated literature’ not just as ... the group of translated literary works, but as a denotation for a body of texts which is structured and functions as a system ... I conceive of translated literature not only as a system in its own right, but as a system fully participating in the history of polysystem, as an integral part of it, related with all the other co-systems.

(*Even-Zohar 1978: 117–18*)

Moreover, Even-Zohar’s research into ‘minor’ literatures (Hebrew, Icelandic, Swedish or Dutch) illustrated that translated literature was not ‘secondary’ per se. On the contrary, it could, under certain circumstances, function as a ‘primary’ force – that is, supply innovative options. This could happen in three cases: when the polysystem is (i) young, (ii) peripheral or weak, and (iii) when it is in a state of crisis, vacuum or petrification. However, these are transitional phases: ‘no system can remain in a constant state of weakness, “turning point,” or crisis’ (1990: 50). Consequently, the ‘normal’ hierarchical position of translated literature is indeed ‘secondary’, in which case it often employs conservative forms, adhering to norms already considered obsolete by the more advanced primary forces.

The subsystem relates to the polysystem along two lines: the selection of texts to be translated and the way the translated texts adopt functions and models of writing from the dominant norms in the polysystem. Selection is always done according to the needs of the receiving polysystem. As for the way existing norms are adopted/rejected, this depends on the position of translated literature in the said period and, consequently, on the position of the main translation agents involved. In the case where translated literature has a secondary position, it will adopt existing norms and the translator will look for ready-made models. When it enjoys a primary position, it will dictate norms, enriching the local polysystem with new models. In such cases the boundaries between translation and original literature will be diffused, and the term translation will expand to include adaptations or imitations (Even-Zohar 1990: 50).

The main advantage of Even-Zohar’s translation theory is that it is not text-specific, and does not analyse literary texts isolated from their cultural context. Moreover, a basic

aspect of the polysystem theory is a rejection of value judgements of cultures and culture production: a text does not reach the apex of hierarchy due to some inherent ‘beauty’ or ‘verity’, but because of the nature of the target polysystem, and because of the difference between certain aspects of the text and current cultural norms. ‘The literary polysystem includes all sorts of literary and semi-literary texts as an aggregate of systems’, he argues in his early work already (Even-Zohar 1978: 119). Literary systems will always strive to be stratified, with centre and periphery combating for domination of symbolic and material goods. The whole idea of the ‘literary’ existing independently is wrong; ‘literature’ is not an ahistorical ‘given’, but a sociocultural institution, a people-made industry that managed to produce, at least in some periods of history, valued goods as well as models for organizing or managing life that far transcended the ‘reading’ of the written text (Sales-Salvador 2002: 7). With values such as equivalence and adequacy varying according to the historical situation, the polysystem theory freed the discipline of translation from constraints that traditionally limited its previous theories (Gentzler 2001: 123).

Above all, the polysystem theory contributed to research in translation studies, providing the legitimization to deal with translation as a central activity in culture and as a central component in the various text industries, such as literature. The theory presented the possibility that part of the sources of heterogeneity was created by contacts with other cultures, either initiated or infiltrating by ‘osmosis’.

Transfer, model, repertoire

Translation theory, however, preoccupied Itamar Even-Zohar for a short period only. A polysystemic theory of translation, i.e. designed to account for translation as a complex and dynamic activity governed by system relations rather than by a priori fixed parameters of comparative language capabilities, has subsequently led to the study of cultural interference and intercultural relations. From the study of translation and its norms (which Gideon Toury took up and developed), Even-Zohar soon proceeded on to the study of the transfer of repertoires. Contacts between cultures, and subsequently interferences, use various channels, and translation became one parameter in what he suggested to call ‘transfer’ (1979, subsequently published in 1981 *Poetics Today*, and in the 1990 collection of his papers in the thematic issue of *Poetics Today*). Transfer, both export and import, of products and models for organizing life has been a major process of all human societies since time immemorial, and literary models, as models or as institutions, have been only one such instance of transfer. Transfers could be multidirectional, bidirectional, or unidirectional in various periods and in various territories.

If Even-Zohar’s 1990 *Polysystem Studies* was in any way a revision of his 1978 *Papers in Historical Poetics*, around 2005 he prepared a new electronic volume of updated works. Although the polysystemic (dynamics-heterogeneity) principles are still an indispensable basis for it, they are no longer a central topic. The new volume, for one, does not figure literature as its main character. It was a major basis for the need to integrate the cultural context in which a literary work is produced, without forgetting the literary work itself. The polysystemic descriptive framework is a very profitable integrative stage from which the scholar and critic of literature is able to analyse the functioning of the literary system as well as the literary products of this system themselves. Yet, since 1993 Even-Zohar has moved on to dealing with a project where literature is not even present (see from the papers posted at www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez), tackling the issues of the relevance of heterogeneity as a motoric impulse in the dynamics of culture. ‘The problems of the limits of heterogeneity

and its repercussions for the survival and success of groups is in fact one of the most burning practical problems of modern sociopolitical entities today', he says in a paper, the title of which reflects the new fields of interest ('The Making of Repertoire, Survival and Success under Heterogeneity', 2000: 48). Culture is thus perceived as a life-management programme, not just a set of elite commodities (Even-Zohar 1997, 2005a). For this purpose Even-Zohar launched himself into research of cultures in the process of shaping or defining themselves, since topics such as the relationship between the nature of a culture and the prospects of the collective entity that lives by it to survive, can naturally be conceived of and analysed in the broad parameters of the dynamics-heterogeneity perspective, but new projects must supply the tools for dealing with it. Focusing on deliberate culture planning in the development of new sociopolitical entities, he has been carrying on research in Galicia (north-west Spain), Catalonia (north-east Spain), Iceland, Quebec and Newfoundland (for instance, 2005b, or 2008: 277–92). Even-Zohar's innovative analysis of the emergence and crystallization of native Hebrew culture in Palestine (for instance, 1996: 726–44) has become one of the most cited contributions to the history of modern Hebrew culture and a model for paradigmatic analysis of other emerging cultures.

Initially, the benefits of the polysystem theory lay in the fact that it supplied a framework for analysing literature (and translation as a subsystem within it) within the sociohistorical context, without formulating any prescriptive notion of 'the literary'; indeed, it illustrated the temporal nature of aesthetic presuppositions. However, much more than that, with its concept of dynamics on the one hand and heterogeneity on the other, and its basic notion of interdependencies ('systemicity'), it is a methodology for dealing with the large range of complexity in culture; in fact, for the kit of tools people need for managing their lives.

Related topics

polysystem theory; complexity; heterogeneity; transfer; model; repertoire

Further reading

The following represent the multifocal interest of Even-Zohar's scientific work as well as its development from the study of literature and translation into repertoire, transfer, and finally the making – and maintenance – of cultural entities.

Even-Zohar, Itamar (1978) 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', in J. Holmes, J. Lambert and R. v. Broeck (eds) *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, Leuven: Acco, 117–27. (This is the basic text, still pertinent today for translation studies, that presents translated literature as a system within the literary system, within the larger context of the cultural polysystem. It explains why literature should be viewed as a system, with translated literature as a subsystem within it, and analyses the status of translated literature as a complex and dynamic activity governed by system relations rather than by parameters of comparative language capabilities fixed a priori.)

Even-Zohar, Itamar (1990) *Polysystem Studies, Poetics Today* 11(1), Durham, NC: Duke University Press. A special issue of *Poetics Today*. (This book is the result of years of study of the polysystem theory. The polysystem concept, as an 'open system of systems', allowed one to view 'literature' not only as a codified collection of texts but as a set of factors governing a large range of procedures ('behaviours') that stretched from the production of texts to the promotion of models of life. The book first introduces the theory as applied to literature, with notions such as interference, translation and transfer, then analyses test cases, or polysystem studies, then probes deeper into system and repertoire in culture.)

- Even-Zohar, Itamar (1997) 'The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer', *Target* 9 (2): 355–63; also included in *Papers in Culture Research* (2005). (The purpose of this paper was to suggest a set of hypotheses for handling the processes and procedures involved with the making of repertoire on the one hand, and import and transfer of cultural 'goods' on the other. The culture repertoire is viewed as the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people, and by the individuals in it, for the organization of life.)
- Even-Zohar, Itamar (2000) 'The Making of Repertoire, Survival and Success under Heterogeneity', in Guido Zurstiege (ed.) *Festschrift für die Wirklichkeit*, Darmstadt: Westdeutscher Verlag, 41–51. (A further step into the analysis of cultural repertoire is this study of the possible survival/collapse of a sociocultural entity, depending on its openness to the making of new repertoires, enabled only by heterogeneity, especially in times of intensive involvement with sociopolitical change.)
- Sales Salvador, Dora (2002) 'In Conversation with Itamar Even-Zohar about Literary and Culture Theory', *CLCWeb* 4(3) (September) Article 2, Purdue University Press, docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol4/iss3/2. (A further, more personal insight is provided by Dora Sales Salvador, in her interview with Itamar Even-Zohar.)

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Taking up the challenge of a non-prescriptive approach to translation

Gideon Toury and descriptive translation studies

Nitsa Ben-Ari

There is a tendency to see a direct link between the polysystem theory and descriptive translation studies (DTS),¹ which I would like to refer to here briefly. The main, and perhaps sole, connection lies in the fact that the concept of DTS developed on the background of understanding translation as a part of textual activities or textual industries, and so justified looking at the way that translations function as textual products in a culture that uses translation. At best the link is ‘translation as a legitimate activity in culture’. The context could have been the polysystem theory, as well as any other conceptual framework formed on the basis provided by Russian Formalism. It was, of course, no coincidence that Even-Zohar developed this conceptualization at Tel-Aviv University and that Toury selected certain items from it when he formulated his DTS theory, since Toury wrote his PhD dissertation under Even-Zohar’s supervision and so was exposed to his thinking in more than one way.

However, Tynjanov and Ejxenbaum were the first to have initiated the discourse on texts (or rather models for writing) moving from culture to culture, not as ‘influence’ but rather as the inner function suited to a target culture. Indeed, as mentioned in the previous chapter, it was from Tynjanov and Jakobson that Even-Zohar borrowed the notion of ‘a system of systems’. Literary traditions formed systems, so did genres and so did the single literary work itself, all interrelated and interacting within the entire social order, and conditioning how specific formal elements would function. Without this concept of sameness, or familiarity, or ‘systemicity’ it would be impossible to determine that which was new, different, deviating, defamiliarizing.

The only way descriptive translation studies is ‘descriptive’ is in contrast with the primitive context of the period, where a great deal of translation theories were ‘prescriptive’. However, the approach is not descriptive but analytical, based on relational thinking that compels one to consider not the products but the relations between them. In this way

translation is seen as part of the general heterogeneity of culture/society, and the question is how it functions in a given context. Hence the basic concept that translation activity has to be seen as first and foremost within the target culture. This principle applies not only to translation of texts, but to all procedures and processes involved in cultural transfer, and as such there is no principle difference between transfer of food, furniture, or texts. Only in this way can the polysystem theory be connected to translation studies, for it is a theory of cultural heterogeneity (even if it was first a theory on literature). Thinking in terms of heterogeneity necessitates multilinear and not linear thinking.

Descriptive translation studies: the beginnings

DTS evolved as a reaction to normative, synchronic and source system-oriented theoretical frameworks focused on the process of source text typology and linguistic theories. It stemmed from a series of meetings between a group of scholars from Tel-Aviv and the Low Lands, including Itamar Even-Zohar, José Lambert, André Lefevere, James Holmes, Raymond van den Broeck, Gideon Toury, Theo Hermans and Lieven D'hulst (the latter three being students at the time). Susan Bassnett occasionally joined in after the Leuven Conference of 1976. Most of them were not English-speaking, and brought different traditions together which, in fact, triggered changes occurring as a result of the ongoing process of contact and interference. Some, like Toury and Holmes, had had practical experience in translating literature, yet they all shared a fervent interest in translation studies and a mutual frustration at not being able to teach or research it in their various academic affiliations. It was clear to them all that time was ripe for a change of paradigm, and that translation scholars were ready for one brand or another of systemic thinking, with the notion of norms built into it (Hermans 1985). They adopted Even-Zohar's systemic theory of viewing translation as a legitimate activity in culture (see Ben-Ari, this volume), as a system within the literary system, a stratified system, with tension between centre and periphery, with internal struggles for domination of the centre.

The first 'modern' book in translation studies preceded the 'group'. It was edited by Holmes *et al.* (1970), following a conference on the Nature of Translation. However, the true turning point came in 1976, with the Leuven conference where Even-Zohar presented his historical paper on 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', and Toury presented his first paper on his norms theory, and – not incidentally – where he later finished writing his PhD. A second conference was held in Tel-Aviv (1978) and a third in Antwerp (1981). A significant moment in the history of the field was the founding of two channels of communication between translation scholars: the scientific journal *Target* and the newsletter *TRANSST* (both initiated around 1977).

James Holmes had already in 1972 formulated a tripartite paradigm for translation description, comprising descriptive translation studies, theoretical translation studies and applied translation studies (see Malmkjær, this volume; Holmes 1988). Gideon Toury, at the time Even-Zohar's PhD student in the department of Poetics and Comparative Literature at Tel-Aviv University, knew he wanted to partake in the theoretical discussion provoked by Even-Zohar and his predecessors, be it Russian Formalists or Czech Structuralists (see Interview with Toury by Ben-Ari 2006: 147–8). As a result of these brainstorming meetings, Toury took up descriptive translation studies, with its three main aspects: product-oriented DTS, function-oriented DTS and process-oriented DTS.

Toury's work began with a sociocultural study of the product: literary translations into Hebrew during the years 1930–45. This work, in fact his PhD, was accomplished within

the framework of a larger initiative involving the study of ‘The History of Literary Translations into Hebrew’ at Tel-Aviv University. The work already made it clear that translations are facts in one system only: the target system (Toury 1980a: 28; Toury 1985: 19); this is where the agents of translation are active, where they obey/dictate translation norms, and where the text to be translated is selected, then translated, according to current needs of the domestic system/culture. Surprisingly enough, as Toury found out, these needs of the domestic culture were mostly ideological, not stylistic or ‘literary’. Comparing a translated text with its original in order to establish the degree of its adequacy or equivalence – by trying to reconstruct all the ‘relevant’ functional features, be they linguistic or literary – proved insufficient. Toury’s theory opposed theories based on a single unified and abstract identity or a proper interpretation of ‘equal’ performance (see Kenny 1998: 77–80).

Key concepts of DTS

Norms

DTS took up and developed the concept of norms as a predominant factor in the process of literary translations, a concept Even-Zohar (1971: 137–9) and Jiří Levý (1969: 68–72) had introduced, rather than linguistic/textual constraints. Toury found it necessary to apply to sociological theories in order to better understand the nature and function of norms (Toury 1977; see also the elaboration in Toury 1980a: 51; Toury 1998: 15).

Norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group – as to what is conventionally right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension (the famous ‘square of normativity’, which has recently been elaborated on with specific regard to translation, e.g. in De Geest 1992: 38–40).

Norms are part of what culture supplies as ‘toolkits’ of habits, or skills and styles from which people construct ‘strategies of action’ (Toury 1998: 15–16). They are operative at every stage in the translating process and at every level in its products, which is the translation itself (1980: 53). The ‘initial norms’ categorize the translator’s choice to subject himself ‘either to the original text with its textual relations and the norms expressed by it and contained in it, or to the linguistic and literary norms active in the TL [target language] and in the target literary polysystem, or a certain section of it’ (ibid.: 54). ‘Preliminary norms’ determine the translation ‘policy’, i.e. which text/author/genre/period/culture would be selected for translation, and whether or not the texts would be translated directly. It is responsible for questions such as: Is an intermediate (second-hand) translation permitted at all? In translating from what (primary) source literature/literary systems/periods and the like is it permitted/prohibited/tolerated/preferred? What are the permitted/prohibited/tolerated/preferred intermediating languages? (ibid.: 53–4). ‘Operational norms’ affect the actual process of translation, and include matricial norms, determining whether and to what extent the formal structure or form of the source text would be observed, whether it would be translated fully or not, as well as textual norms, determining stylistic decisions undertaken in the translation process. ‘Whereas adherence to the norms of the original determines the adequacy of the translation, as compared to it, adherence to the norms of the target determines its acceptability in the target linguistic and/or literary polysystems as well as its exact position within them’ (ibid.: 55). In polysystem terms, the initial norm, the translator’s attitude toward the source text, is affected by the text’s position within the

source culture's literary polysystem, while in adhering to the operational norms, all decisions are influenced by the position – central or peripheral – held by translated literature in the target culture system.

Theoretical and methodological considerations

Defining translation

Defining a text as a translation must not come at the beginning but rather at the end of the research process. A text or phenomenon that has a reason to be regarded as a translation is an assumed translation, and a legitimate object of research. Translations will thus be 'all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on no matter what grounds' (Toury 1995: 32). As the most outstanding illustration of assumed translation, Toury indicated pseudotranslations, i.e. texts that pretend to be translations although actually written in the domestic language, to which he devoted a significant and highly innovative part of his research. One of the functions of pseudotranslation is to introduce innovation 'in disguise' to a system disinclined to accept innovation, for most cultures manifest less opposition to translated texts than to original ones (see also Wittman, this volume).

A general theory?

Toury's attempt was to formulate a general theory that would be applicable to all translation phenomena. In his *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (1980a) he was looking for a theoretical framework that would allow him and other 'students of translational phenomena – be they entire texts or their constituents, corpora bigger than one text, or, finally, phenomena which have no direct textual realization – to account for them in a systematic way, within one unified framework' (1980a: 7). The mechanism he described did not pertain to literary translation only, 'but to translation in general, as a type of semiotic activity and product' (ibid.). Regularities observed in the performance of translators, explains Toury, are not the norms themselves; they are only external evidence of the existence of norms, from which the norms themselves are still to be extracted. Only then does one go on to extract the underlying motives for the behaviour/regularities described. This was the methodology offered by the descriptive-explanatory approach: for the researcher, norms emerge as explanatory hypotheses of observed behaviour rather than entities in their own right (1985: 17).

Above all, however, the descriptive approach underlined the ineffectiveness of a source-target comparison of texts without first considering the norms under which the translation was done. Translation equivalence is not a hypothetical ideal, but an empirical matter. Says Toury: 'Since the object-level of translation studies consists of actual facts of "real life" – whether they be actual texts, intertextual relationship, or models and norms of behavior – rather than the merely speculative outcome of preconceived theoretical hypotheses and models, it is undoubtedly, in essence, an empirical science' (1985: 16). He adds, 'no empirical science can make a claim for completeness and (relative) autonomy unless it has developed a descriptive branch' (ibid.).

Deviation from the original or the standard is norm-dependent, not the outcome of a postulated abstract relationship. Toury's theoretical project, rejecting prescriptive approaches, was unified by the acceptance of translated texts without a judgement of their solution as correct or incorrect. In polysystem terms, it dealt with translation of 'high'

and ‘low’ literature, in the centre and in the periphery, synchronically and diachronically. In the next phases it became evident that it was applicable for non-literary translation as well; by the late 1980s Toury’s former students had put the study of norms to the test in other fields as well, not only the literary. An attempt to show that the theory of norms had universal applicability was, for instance, made by Shlesinger (1989), and Harris (1990), resulting in the gradual integration of the new modern branch of interpreting studies within translation studies.

Development of DTS

Toury’s PhD was published in 1977, in Hebrew, and though it was not translated into English, it supplied him with a sociohistorical view of the function of translation norms in a culture, as well as a basic corpus for his further conceptualization of DTS. Had the book been translated, it would have been known that DTS did not become gradually more ‘cultural’: it had been that way from the start, and needed no ‘cultural turn’ to specify it. The PhD findings on the role of norms were taken up in the second phase of Toury’s work, and led to a series of articles summarized in his 1980 *In Search of a Theory of Translation*. By then it had become clear to Toury that translation was basically a sociocultural, and hence a norm-governed activity. A third phase occurred in 1995, perhaps following Even-Zohar’s *Polysystem Theory* (1990), the latter having summed up years of research in looking for a theory that could explain and predict cultural systemic behaviour. Even-Zohar’s contribution to DTS in this stage was mainly in the formulation of the laws (previously ‘universals’) of literary interference (1990: 53–72). In 1995 Toury published *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, where he, too, strove to formulate a set of coherent laws that could be used to explain and predict translation behaviour, and would state the inherent relations between all the variables found to be relevant to translation (1995: 16). One of the aims of translation studies, he argues there, ‘should definitely be to bring the results of descriptive-explanatory studies executed within DTS to bear on the theoretical branch ... Descriptive studies are actually the best means of testing, refuting, and especially modifying and amending the underlying theory, on the basis of which they are executed’ (1995: 15–16). If translation studies is to be at all prescriptive, it is in combining theoretical translation studies with applied translation studies, on the basis of the empirical findings of DTS: applied translation studies ‘are not intended to account either for possibilities and likelihoods or for facts of actual behaviour, but rather set norms in a more or less conscious way. In brief, to tell others what they should have done/or should be doing, if they accept these norms and submit to them’ (ibid.: 19). In his 1995 development of the norm theory, Toury proposes two laws of how translators translate (Pym 2007: 311): the law of increasing standardization, and the law of interference from the source text. The first posits that translations have less internal linguistic variation than non-translations, that they ‘convert textemes into repertoremes’ (Toury 1995: 267), that ‘textual relations obtained in the original are often modified ... in favor of (more) habitual options offered by a target culture’ (ibid.: 268). The other law suggests that translations tend to carry over structures of their source texts: ‘In translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text’ (ibid.: 275). There seems to be an inner contradiction between the two, yet, Toury elaborates, the ‘make-up’ can also come from ‘the normal, codified practices of the target system’ (ibid.); only then does it make sense to say that the transfer may be negative (when the translation deviates from what is normal in the target system) or positive (when it does not). Anthony Pym

(2007) appreciates the inner contradiction, explaining it in the correlation hypothesis (referring back to Even-Zohar 1978), maintaining that the law is subject to social conditions: ‘the more peripheral [the status of translation], the more translation will accommodate itself to established models and repertoires’ (Toury 1995: 271). The law of interference, too, depends on sociocultural factors: ‘tolerance of interference ... tend[s] to increase when translation is carried out from a “major” or highly prestigious language/culture’ (ibid.: 278). Pym (2007: 311) suggests that the tendency to standardize and the tendency to channel interference are both risk-averse strategies, and that their status as possible laws thus depends on the relative absence of rewards for translators who take risks. If translators are rewarded (financially, symbolically or socially) for taking risks, then they are likely to take risks, rather than transfer them by either standardization or interference (ibid.: 19). If in a vast number of cases the translator’s activity is not subject to any reward structure that can justify a risk-taking disposition, he will be less inclined to do so. It follows that future possible laws might be found in the dynamics of risk management (ibid.).

Critics argue that Toury’s 1995 work was mostly an attempt to refine and redefine previous research. Several chapters, they objected, remained largely intact, while the ‘Beyond’ part comprised only 20 of the book’s 300 pages (Hermans 1999: 14, quoted in Gentzler 2001: 139). Anthony Pym rejects this: to him, Toury’s defining and redefining theories, presenting them as ‘questions’ is done in the true spirit of science. ‘Enfant terrible of his age, to an extent that we sometimes fail to appreciate, he [Toury] formed our discipline by turning opinion on its head’ (2007: 314).

DTS and new turns in translation studies

From the polysystem point of view, the discourse of ‘norms’ can only be relevant if it opposes a type of thinking that doesn’t accept regularities and thinks that there is a direct connection between a one-time single product and a one-time translation. According to the norm theory there is no one-time product except for the fact that its combination may be special, but the principal options, the various alternatives at the disposal of the agent in the translation field, repeat themselves, therefore being ‘norms’. They can result from generations of repetitive activities in a certain industry, or from forces intentionally active in the industry: institutions and ruling power. Norms, however, were an initial stage before the theory of repertoires or models was developed more clearly. Models of translation actually make the concept of norms redundant theoretically. Toury continued to phrase phenomena in terms of norms even when there was already an option to describe them in more dynamic terms with the help of concepts such as models and repertoires.

The Manipulation School of the mid-1980s branched out from DTS with the more explicit claim that, ‘From the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a certain degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose’ (Hermans 1985: 11). In their joint *Translation, History, and Culture* (1990) Bassnett and Lefevere took it further to what they called a ‘cultural turn’, insisting that the move of translation studies is from text to culture, reflecting a shift from a more descriptive form of translation towards the idea that translation occupies a seminal position in the development of culture. This claim does not necessarily clash with DTS, which, as mentioned, had been socioculturally oriented from the start.² Yet culture, in their sense, involves innovative contributions in the postcolonial field, in feminist discourse and on ideological misreading in translation (Snell-Hornby 2006: 50). According to Toury (in Ben-Ari 2006: 157), postcolonial theories were perhaps a legitimate attempt to correct historical wrongdoing, but within the context

of the translation studies power game they were a political attempt at shifting the centres from Europe to America. They introduced a split in a field that had barely gained recognition, when the ideas had been potentially embedded in DTS as candidates for explanatory hypotheses within translation studies. For Toury, ‘turns’ such as the ‘sociological turn’ or the ‘psycholinguistic turn’ or finally the ‘fictional turn’ are conceived of as a ‘relapse’ that may endanger the field (Toury, in Ben-Ari 2006: 159): they risk ‘opening the gate for endless chatter about translation, instead of research of the kind we have been doing and promoting in the last few decades’.

Related topics

descriptive translation studies; norms; Manipulation School; turns

Notes

- 1 See, for instance, Gentzler 2001: 106–9. In fact, numerous works find a so-called connection between translation and the polysystem theory. Montserrat Iglesias Santos (1999) elaborated on such a connection in her introduction to her book on the polysystem theory.
- 2 In fact, Even-Zohar’s and Toury’s former students, like myself, took up research on ideological interventions in translation without associating them with a cultural turn. See, for instance, Zohar Shavit, Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, Nitsa Ben-Ari, Hannah Amit-Kochavi, Rachel Weissbrod, Mahmud Kayyal and others.

Further reading

- Holmes, James S. ([1972] 1988) ‘The Name and Nature of Translation Studies’, in *Translated: Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 67–80. (This is a basic paper for readers interested in the history of translation studies. Holmes formulated here a tripartite paradigm for translation description, comprising descriptive translation studies, theoretical translation studies and applied translation studies.)
- Pym, Anthony (2007) ‘On Toury’s Laws of How Translators Translate’, in Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger and Daniel Simeoni (eds) *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 311–27. (This relatively late discussion of Toury’s theory of norms offers a clear retrospective view of the field, including critical approaches of Toury’s theory and a thorough discussion of its scientific contribution.)
- Toury, Gideon ([1978] 1980) ‘The Nature and the Role of Norms’, in *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, Tel-Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, 51–62. Available at: www.tau.ac.il/~toury/works/GT-Role-Norms.htm. (This essay presents Toury’s basic norm theory, within the context of his search for a theory of translation. It is a major stepping-stone in the study of norms, as opposed to lingual/textual constraints, which determine/explain/predict the ‘behaviour’ of translations.)
- Toury, Gideon (1995) *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (Following Toury’s well-known book on translation theory, *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (1980), this book makes a case for descriptive translation studies as a scholarly activity as well as a branch of the discipline, having immediate consequences for issues of both a theoretical and applied nature. Toury very thoroughly moves from methodological discussions to an assortment of case studies of various scopes and levels, always emphasizing the need to contextualize whatever one sets out to focus on.)

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Postcolonial translation

The politics of language as ethical praxis

Christi A. Merrill

Scholars in the interdisciplinary field of postcolonialism investigate how the hierarchies institutionalized in colonial administration continue to shape epistemologies today. In the late 1980s and early 1990s scholars such as Eric Cheyfitz, Lydia Liu, Tejaswini Niranjana and Vicente Rafael castigated translation for its historical role in so many degrading colonial projects, while more recently others such as Homi Bhabha (1994), Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000) and Robert Young (2003) have championed translation as a heuristic for confronting difference in this increasingly globalized world. By the end of the 1990s translation studies scholars versed in issues of postcolonialism such as Susan Bassnett, Carol Maier, Sherry Simon, Paul St-Pierre and Harish Trivedi had more successfully married such well-founded scepticism with practical-minded optimism to theorize the ways that a literary innovation might be a political act in its own right, and to posit ways in which the theoretical interventions of postcolonialism might lead to an ethical practice of translation – as both production and reception.

The integration of theory and practice is crucial here since there has been an abiding (albeit whispered) mutual suspicion between postcolonial theorists and translation studies scholars: the former charge that practitioners of translation do not attend sufficiently to the asymmetries built into cross-cultural exchange, and the latter contend that postcolonial theorists do not sufficiently understand the complexities of linguistic crossings, even if they undertake to work cross-linguistically in the first place. At its most unproductive, such discussions assume that political concerns are at odds with aesthetic concerns. Yet it becomes clear when reading the work of an attentive postcolonial theorist and translator such as Gayatri Spivak that aesthetic triumphs can recalibrate a political equation and that political awareness can sharpen dull aesthetic tools. At its best, postcolonial translation learns from the past but looks more to the future and as such seeks to engage with the ethical dimensions of translation praxis (see Van Wyke, this volume) by using it to reconfigure the underlying bases of translational exchange.

For example, the prominent postcolonial Kenyan writer and literature scholar Ngugi wa Thiong'o (now director of the University of California-Irvine's International Center for Writing and Translation) was one of the first postcolonial theorists to write persuasively about the politics of language as an ongoing issue of future-oriented praxis. He opens his

1986 manifesto *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* with a dramatic ‘farewell to the English language as a vehicle of my writing plays, novels and short stories’, declaring that ‘From now on it is Gikuyu and Kiswahili all the way’. He adds that he would only ‘continue dialogue with all’ through what he calls (with part affection and part consternation), ‘the age old medium of translation’ (Ngugi wa Thiong’o 1997: xiv). In the essays that follow, he scarcely touches on the issue of translation explicitly, but he does describe his experiences growing up in colonized Kenya in the midst of a vibrant storytelling culture at home, listening and repeating stories of cunning and wit in Gikuyu, and then being punished (‘three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks ... or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY’) for speaking that same mother tongue in the vicinity of the English-medium school where he was sent (ibid.: 11). His forays into the imaginative worlds of Chaucer, T.S. Eliot and Graham Greene were thus mixed, since ‘language and literature were taking us further and further from ourselves to other selves, from our world to other worlds’ (ibid.: 12). His contention is that a Kenyan child can only have a whole sense of himself and his community when the world of Gikuyu has a thriving literary tradition on par with the English world of letters. Postcolonial translation thus makes us aware of the implicit hierarchies operating between cultures, and asks how those involved in the production and reception of translation might challenge those disparities.

Understanding the legacies of orientalist translation: a brief historical review

More generally, postcolonialism signals a self-reflexive, critical perspective on our institutions of knowledge dissemination, in the tradition of Edward Said’s foundational 1979 polemic *Orientalism*, which was groundbreaking in English for the fundamental – and certainly necessary – query it posed to the implicit assumptions of oriental studies. For Said, a British colonial translator such as William Jones (1746–94) is a telling example of one of the ‘pioneers in the field’ who produced a ‘mass of material ... shot through with doctrines of European superiority, various kinds of racism, imperialism, and the like, dogmatic views of “the Oriental” as a kind of ideal and unchanging abstraction ...’ (Said 1979: 8). Said mentions Jones’s facility with Arabic, Hebrew and Persian only in passing, and focuses instead on the project (begun by Charles Wilkins) to translate the *Institutes of Manu* from Sanskrit via Persian to fulfil the Governor-General of India’s well-intentioned but misguided aim that ‘Indians be ruled by their own laws’ (ibid.: 78). Said notes that such an endeavour was ‘a more enterprising project than it appears at first glance since the Sanskrit code of laws existed then for practical use only in a Persian translation and no Englishman at the time knew Sanskrit well enough to consult the original texts’ (ibid.). The example is revealing in the way that it calls into question the very notion of a stable original that has anchored so much translation criticism in European languages.

Said, however, focuses less on such comparisons. For him, translation is an integral part of a larger project ‘to rule and to learn, then to compare the Orient to the Occident ... to codify, to subdue the infinite variety of the Orient to “a complete digest” of laws, figures, customs, and works’, in an effort to – in Jones’s words – ‘know India better than any European ever knew it’ (1979: 78). Even though Said’s discussion draws on examples of translators, he pays little attention to specific translation strategies adopted by these orientalists, and has left many readers with the unfortunate impression that any translation of Asian material undertaken by people of European descent is bound to be orientalist (in

the pejorative sense). Fortunately, an entire generation of scholars (see in particular Niranjana, Spivak, Maier) has responded to this implicit challenge and reassessed the reception and production of translated texts so that we can be more attentive to the underlying disparities on which our interpretive traditions are founded, and the attendant attempts to use translation to ‘fix’ (that is, to isolate and make static) stereotypical aspects of source cultures. A lively field has emerged centred around issues of translation and postcoloniality that opens up broader questions about the ideological underpinning of translation acts.

Tejaswini Niranjana’s 1992 *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism and the Colonial Context* was one of the first monographs to follow directly from Said’s work on the effects of colonialism on translation, and is more concerned with theoretical concerns than with the implications for practice. She opens and closes with examples of translations in the Indian context, reconciling them with Said’s critiques and the theoretical musings of Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida and Paul de Man on translation. She too finds Jones’s attitudes towards his subject matter particularly abhorrent, specifically, in her words:

- a) the need for translation by the European, since the natives are unreliable interpreters of their own laws and culture;
- b) the desire to be a lawgiver, to give the Indians their ‘own’ laws; and
- c) the desire to ‘purify’ Indian cultures and speak on its behalf.

(Niranjana 1992: 13)

Helpfully, in the process of delineating the effects of Jones’s attitude on specific strategies, she makes it clear that she is more interested in the translator’s strategies than in his essential features or position. By implication a ‘postcolonial’ (i.e. a citizen of a postcolonial country living at home or abroad) is just as likely to replicate orientalist translation practices as someone of European ancestry. As a remedy, Niranjana draws on the work of Homi Bhabha (in particular his essay ‘Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817’, published subsequently in *The Location of Culture*) to offer what she calls a ‘nonessentializing’ model of reading that she claims ‘points toward a new practice of translation’ (ibid.: 46). In the closing chapter of *Siting Translation* she compares various colonial and postcolonial versions of traditional Kannada *vachana* verse – including her own – to address the basic problem: ‘How does one represent difference without privileging the role of the Western intellectual or the post-colonial intellectual? How can we extend the meaning of representation while calling it into question?’ (ibid.: 169). Her solution is to engage in a ‘disruptive’ approach to translation, one which she explains ‘shatters the coherence of the “original” and the “invariable identity of sense ...” in a practice in which we constantly interrogate ourselves and our right to speak *as* and to speak *for*’¹ (ibid.: 170). Most obviously she tries addressing this crucial conundrum by retaining syntactical constructions and key words in the source language with no ready equivalent in the target language, so as to invite readers to reflect on the difference between the two languages and cultures. For instance, her ‘disruptive’ translation of a few lines of a *vachana* reads:

I gazed in wonder
at the lightning’s creepers playing.
Guhesvara, if you are become the *linga* of light
Who can find your figuration.

(Niranjana 1992: 175)

As a contribution to postcolonial translation, such a strategy has done much to delineate the previously unacknowledged problems facing readers and producers of translated work even if the solution itself is of limited value and does not successfully offset the intensity of her strident critique.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has grappled independently with similar problems of representation when dealing with different cultures, but has done more to bring together her substantial knowledge of feminist, poststructuralist and postcolonial theory with her own practice as a translator (of Jacques Derrida's *Of Grammatology* from French in 1974 and of Mahasweta Devi's *Imaginary Maps* from Bengali in 1995, most notably). In her much-cited article, 'The Politics of Translation', she puts particular emphasis on the intimacy of the act of translation, and offers several sensible observations about translation that speak equally to translators as to readers (including publishers). 'To be only critical, to defer action until the production of the utopian translator', she offers crisply, 'is impractical' (Spivak 1993: 182). While she does not cite Said specifically with regards to translation, a concern for systemic disparities has clearly informed her thinking. In 'teasing out' what she calls 'the politics of translation', she singles out an aspect of translation that has become crucial to postcolonialism: 'The status of a language in the world' (ibid.: 191). If a translator does not find a way to take into account the specific contours of the literary landscape on both sides of the translation exchange, she complains vividly, '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' (ibid.: 182). Such an approach allows her then to inquire specifically into the fraught question of 'accessibility'. (She asks pointedly: 'What is it that you are making accessible?' (ibid.: 191).) In other writing, she takes issue with the notion that there exists any straightforward equivalence between languages. In her prefaces to both *Of Grammatology* and *Imaginary Maps*, for example, she insists most particularly on allowing the translation to play with the differences of language. She quotes Derrida's own comments on translation in her 1974 translation of his work from the French to introduce (and insist upon) a more subtle approach to the interpretation of translated material:

Within the limits of its possibility, or its *apparent* possibility, translation practices the difference between signified and signifier. But, if this difference is never pure, translation is even less so, and a notion of *transformation* must be substituted for the notion of translation: a regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another.²

While the notion of translation as 'transformation' has been accepted as common knowledge among poststructuralists, the term itself – unlike so many other Derridean neologisms – has not come into vogue. In substance, Spivak makes a similar point in a more straightforward manner in her 1995 preface to her translations from Bengali, quoting the South African writer J.M. Coetzee:

It is in the nature of the literary work to present its translator with problems for which the perfect solution is impossible ... There is never enough closeness of fit between languages for formal features of a work to be mapped across from one language to another without shift of value ... Something must be 'lost'.³

This is a particularly daring declaration to include given her warning earlier in the same preface against 'the myth of pure difference' – that is, the gesture of commodifying a

writer like Mahasweta Devi as part of what she admits might be ‘a migrant academic’s desire to museumize a culture left behind’ (1995: xxiv). Like Niranjana, she makes it clear that any translator might run afoul of such essentializing translation practices. As a corrective, she suggests that, ‘if you are going to bludgeon someone else by insisting on your version of solidarity’, you should at least pay close attention to ‘the intimacy of cultural translation’ (1993: 192). Rather than assuming that you have something in common with another, she urges that at the very least you should try to learn the person’s mother tongue as a first step towards understanding the particularities of the context in which she writes. Especially useful is the balance Spivak espouses between the two extremes of ‘the myth of pure difference’ and a ‘with-it translatese’. She has distinguished herself as one of the few scholars working in postcolonial translation to successfully combine theory and practice, and to show how an awareness of the politics of language might lead to the formulation of a more ethical translation praxis.

Postcolonialism’s emphasis on ‘cultural translation’

If anything unites those working in the field of postcolonial translation, it is their commitment to investigating the cultural context of any act of translation, and to dispelling the romantic – and especially in the colonial system, elitist, even hypocritical – notion that literary exchange might somehow exist in a rarefied vacuum. Unfortunately, however, Spivak is one of the few postcolonial studies scholars to discuss the cultural aspects of translation specifically in terms of language transfer, and to challenge her English-speaking readers to learn lesser-taught languages. More generally, the phrase ‘cultural translation’ is used figuratively to think about the negotiation of hierarchical difference separate from the politics of language, and has found its most popular usage of late in the work of Homi Bhabha, especially in his 1994 essay, ‘How Newness Enters the World: Postmodern Space, Postcolonial Times and the Trials of Cultural Translation’. In this essay Bhabha disrupts the notion that translating involves moving across from one homogeneous culture to another and shows that cultural translation might take place even within a single metropolitan locale such as England. Like so many of the essays in his groundbreaking 1994 collection, *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha relies heavily on the trope of translation to understand the complexities of what he calls ‘the act of living on borderlines’, focusing on ‘the disjunctive rewriting of the transcultural, migrant experience’ (1994: 226–7). In ‘How Newness Enters the World’, Bhabha compares fictional examples of translated figures – the British sea captain Marlow in Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* with the South Asian migrants in London of Salman Rushdie’s *Satanic Verses* – to write movingly of the ‘liminality of the migrant experience’ in order to insist on ‘the “foreignness” of cultural translation’ as a larger issue of living in the ‘midst of the incomprehensible’ (at least, from the perspective of the majority culture).⁴ Bhabha goes on to mention obliquely Ayatollah Khomeini’s charges against Salman Rushdie of committing ‘blasphemy’ in his writing of *The Satanic Verses* as a way of exploring what Bhabha terms interstitial spaces, ‘where difference is neither One nor the Other but *something else besides, in-between*’ (1994: 219, emphasis in the original). One of the most important contributions of Bhabha’s work is that it challenges the notion that the ‘carrying across’ from ‘original’ to translation is a straightforward and linear movement between two static entities. Instead, he works from Walter Benjamin’s ‘Task of the Translator’ essay to emphasize ‘the performativity of translation as the staging of cultural difference’ (ibid.: 227). The question of moving across languages is not considered in any detail, however, leaving the unfortunate impression that the ‘performativity

of translation' is effected primarily by the bodily identity (as race or ethnicity) of global actors in non-speaking parts.

For the next decade, there is tension in postcolonial translation circles between those postcolonial theorists addressing issues of cultural translation (who, ironically, enjoy more status in academic circles) and those (more obscure scholars) in translation studies working on the politics of language and interlingual transfer, even in a postcolonial context. For example, in 2003 the prominent postcolonial theorist Robert Young takes up Bhabha's approach in *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction*, adopting the metaphor of cultural translation to think in broader ethical terms about the global flows of migrants. In the final chapter, 'Translation', he states emphatically that 'Nothing comes closer to the central activity and political dynamics of postcolonialism than the concept of translation' (Young 2003: 138). Like Bhabha, he discusses shifts between languages only as a vague phenomenon, but does offer an insightful meditation on what he terms the 'links' between 'the apparently neutral, technical activity of translating a text from one language into another', and 'the highly charged political landscapes of the postcolonial world' (ibid.). He observes that, 'No act of translation takes place in an entirely neutral space of absolute equality', a generalization that applies as readily to the relationship between a European language such as English and a classical language such as Latin as it does to the modern colonizer/colonized exchange. Particularly helpful is his succinct discussion of the relationship between an original and 'an inferior copy' as a metaphor for the relationship between colonial power and colony (ibid.: 140). The analogy becomes more complex when he mentions examples where the 'original' is written in an indigenous language of the colonized, and is therefore less powerful. Young explains:

Languages, like classes and nations, exist in a hierarchy: as does translation itself ... Under colonialism, the colonial copy becomes more powerful than the indigenous original that is devalued. It will even be claimed that the copy corrects deficiencies in the native version. The colonial language becomes culturally more powerful, devaluing the native language as it is brought into its domain, domesticated, and accommodated.
(Young 2003: 140)

Like Spivak, Young uses the word 'transformation' to invite readers to think carefully about the acts of systemic violence but also of potential 'resistance' that are written into any project of translation (ibid.: 139–41). His emphasis on the conceptual aspects of translation helps to highlight these larger political and ethical issues. Likewise, subaltern studies historian Dipesh Chakrabarty's paradigm-shifting 2000 monograph, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, relies on the trope of translation to posit a less Eurocentric approach to historiography, one that might reformulate what he calls 'the problem of capitalist modernity' so that it is no longer 'seen simply as a sociological problem of historical transition (as in the famous "transition debates" in European history) but as a problem of translation, as well' (Chakrabarty 2000: 17). Drawing on Naoki Sakai's nuanced discussion of the politics of incommensurability in *Translation and Subjectivity*, Chakrabarty contends that:

what translation produces out of seeming 'incommensurabilities' is neither an absence of relationship between dominant and dominating forms of knowledge nor equivalents that successfully mediate between differences, but precisely the partly opaque relationship we call 'difference'.

(Chakrabarty 2000: 17)

While it might seem obvious to practising translators that the differences between source and target cultures are highlighted rather than dispensed with in the process of translating, Sakai and Chakrabarty in turn successfully theorize the ethics of these issues of representation in a manner that has made them relevant to a range of scholars. More clearly than other theorists, Chakrabarty persuasively argues that translation should be viewed as an instructive problematic rather than a straightforward exercise in finding simple solutions. As such, his writing testifies to the productive interdisciplinarity of these conversations around postcolonial translation.

A few years earlier, the prominent anthropologist James Clifford uses the metaphor of translation to address what he calls a ‘crisis’ in the field of anthropology; he focuses on the notion of translation as fraught epistemological location to posit instead ‘an emerging transnational cultural studies’ that might reflect metacritically on the ‘process of locating oneself in space and time’ (1997: 8, 11). He acknowledges that ‘the kind of situated analysis I have in mind is more contingent, inherently partial’, since ‘it assumes that all broadly meaningful concepts, terms such as “travel” are translations, built from imperfect equivalences’ (ibid.: 11). Clifford uses the term translation to signal the incommensurability inherent in global dialogue as, again, a productive problematic, and admits, ‘There is no cure for the troubles of cultural politics in some old or new vision of consensus or universal values. There is only more translation’ (ibid.: 12–13). The questions with which he closes his prologue point to an ethical praxis as scholarly dialogue rather than in the sense of interlingual writing: ‘What attitudes of tact, receptivity and self-irony are conducive to nonreductive understandings? What are the conditions for serious translation between different routes in an interconnected but not homogeneous modernity?’ (ibid.: 13).

Such issues are not new to anthropology, however. Talal Asad reminds us in his important 1986 essay, ‘The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology’, that the phrase ‘cultural translation’ has been used in ethnographic writings since the 1950s to describe not so much ‘linguistic matter per se, but ... modes of thought’ unfamiliar to the target audience.⁵ Asad expresses concern over the facile assumption that an anthropologist’s primary job is ‘making the coherence primitive thought has in the languages it really lives in, as clear as possible in our own’.⁶ The problem with such an approach, Asad explains, is that ‘this call to transform a language in order to translate the coherence of the original’ ends up with ‘an absurd-sounding translation’ that makes it seem as if ‘the original must have been equally absurd’ (Asad 1986: 157). His critique has important implications for translators working from non-European languages in particular. Part of the problem, he offers, is the pressure put on the source language to display the difference in thinking between the two. He suggests that instead of asking ‘how tolerant an *attitude* [emphasis in the original] the translator ought to display towards the original author’ (which he helpfully and parenthetically calls ‘an abstract ethical dilemma’), Asad would have her ‘test the tolerance of her own language for assuming unaccustomed forms’ (ibid.). That is, he would have her consider carefully the limitations of ‘one’s habitual usages’ by ‘breaking down and reshaping ... one’s own [target] language through the process of translation’ (ibid.). Some might charge that such an approach ends up being focused once more on the European, hegemonic cultures. Asad, however, notes that this process ‘depends on the willingness of the translator’s *language* [again, his emphasis] to subject itself to this transforming power’, and startlingly insists that ‘because the languages of Third World societies ... are “weaker” in relation to Western languages ... , they are more likely to submit to forcible transformation in the translation process than the other way around’ (ibid.: 157–58). Even though he is not addressing the issue of translation in the conventional sense, Asad’s

article is remarkable for the cogency with which he describes the difficult historical forces a translator must work with and against when writing between cultures and the emphasis he places on the critical reception such a translation receives. Rather than blaming the translator – as so much postcolonial theory does – Asad very carefully holds the dominant target culture responsible, showing how the hierarchies that exist between Third World and First World languages might influence the representation of those complicated crossings.

Cultural translation in practice: the dilemma of language hierarchies

The central question driving much postcolonial translation has been as simple to posit as impossible to answer: What might constitute an ethical translation praxis in the face of the historical disparities wrought by (or perhaps evidenced by) colonialism? On the whole in the 1990s the field seemed to be divided: on the one side there were postcolonial theorists who strove to reveal the underlying power imbalances at work in any translation event; on the other side there were translation studies scholars who tried to defend translation practice in the face of such trenchant critiques. Translation became the key term through which scholars from a range of disciplines (including history, anthropology and even law, in addition to literary studies) debated the possibilities of a more equitable cross-cultural conversation. For example, the postcolonial (literary) theorist Lydia Liu opens her 1995 study, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity – China 1900–1937*, by citing approvingly Asad's critique of cultural translation (which she asserts has 'major implications for comparative scholarship and for cross-cultural studies' (1995: 3)), and then focuses entirely on the ways in which these endeavours of 'cross-cultural understanding' necessarily force us to address 'certain entrenched ways of thinking about cultural difference in the Western academy' (ibid.: 1). While Liu examines very specific language crossings, her definition of translation is quite broad: Liu considers any 'comparative scholarship that aims to *cross* cultures' translation, but warns that in her study – as in any project of translation – 'much more is involved ... than what is commonly known as an interlingual transaction between a source language and a target language' (ibid.). She warns that she aims to go beyond the deconstructionist stage of trying to prove that equivalents do not exist and look, instead, into their *manner of becoming*. She is intent on formulating a future-oriented praxis because she is so acutely aware that it is the making of hypothetical equivalences that has historically enabled the *modus operandi* of translation (in the unsavoury sense) and its politics (ibid.: 16).

The concept of 'hypothetical equivalence' or 'perceived linguistic equivalence' is a key concept in Liu's work. She claims that hers is not a task of condemning the translator *tout court*. If anything, she explains that a lesson of Asad's essay is that, 'It warns us that the business of translating a culture into another language has little, if anything to do with individual free choice or linguistic competence' (ibid.: 3). She explains:

If we have learned anything useful from Foucault, it should be clear that we must confront forms of institutional practices and the knowledge/power relationships that authorize certain ways of knowing while discouraging others. One familiar way of producing knowledge about other people and other cultures is to construct the terms of comparison on the ground of perceived linguistic equivalence. Yet that ground of equivalence itself often goes unexamined.

(Liu 1995: 3)

In one of many revealing examples, she analyses an exchange in Heidegger's 'Aus einem Gespräch von der Sprache' (Dialogue on Language) with a Japanese interlocutor in which Heidegger 'insists on having a Japanese equivalent of the European concept of language', and in the process 'makes the nonexistence of an equivalent unthinkable without its being interpreted as a "lack"'.⁷ Equating the Japanese '*koto ba*' with '*Sprache*' (in the German dialogue and with 'language' in English translation) is for Liu 'a remarkable moment of *mise en abyme*' in which 'Heidegger's language acts out the appropriation that it speaks about, by illustrating the predicament of translation in the very act of translation' (ibid.: 6). For her, these endeavours of 'cross-cultural understanding' necessarily force us to address 'certain entrenched ways of thinking about cultural difference in the Western academy' (ibid.: 1). In these and other examples, Liu calls into question the notion that 'the crossing of language boundaries' is only 'a linguistic issue', for, she writes, 'words are easily translated into analytical (often universal) categories in the hands of scholars who need conceptual models for cross-cultural studies' in a manner that contains 'a subtle or not to subtle bias' (ibid.: 6–7). She advocates strongly for the need to approach the study of translation as a cultural project, and vice versa. Unlike previous postcolonial scholars, her work inquires into specific translation moves using an approach that combines the scope of cultural studies with an attentiveness toward linguistic detail, and with a deftness that has come to serve as a model in the field.⁸ Unfortunately, however, her study is another example in the field of postcolonial translation that has not found a way to be in dialogue with the ongoing work of translation studies.

Even before Liu, Vicente Rafael scrutinizes specific crossings between languages – in this case Tagalog, Castilian and Latin missionary discourse in colonial Philippines – to think in broader terms about the colonizer-colonized exchange as an ongoing, exceedingly lopsided dynamic. His seminal 1988 monograph, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*, uses literary texts such as José Rizal's Spanish-language novel *Noli me Tangere* to analyse the missionary presence in the Philippines as a way of understanding, in his words, 'the conjunction between translation and conversion' and thus 'the role of translation in articulating the relationship between Christianity and colonialism' (Rafael 1993: xvii). While he too emphasizes the 'hierarchy of languages' that forms the underlying basis for such encounters, his approach is innovative in that he considers the relationship between Latin and Castilian in addition to that of the indigenous colonial language of Tagalog, as part of a colonial belief that 'all languages in the world were seen to exist in a relationship of dependency on God's Word, Christ' (ibid.: 27). That is, rather than assume rigid hierarchies between colonizer and colonized, Rafael asks 'whether translation consolidated as much as it altered differences between ruler and ruled' (ibid.). Unlike other scholars, who discuss the 'incomprehensible' from the perspective of the more powerful, he opens *Contracting Colonialism* by focusing on a hilarious scene from Rizal's novel in which a European preacher drones on in Castilian and Latin – languages Rafael tells us were 'largely incomprehensible to the great majority of natives throughout the centuries of Spanish rule' – while the 'unlettered natives ... fished out' words that helped create in their minds a sermon featuring runaway bandits and a recalcitrant lieutenant now being publicly upbraided.⁹ Rafael suggests that this scene reveals more than a parody on Rizal's part of 'the more blatantly inept manifestations of a priest-ridden society', but signals a strategy on the part of Tagalog society that 'short-circuits the linkages among the priest's message, the language in which it is put, and the intended effects of both on the congregation' (ibid.: 2–3). He uses this scene to illustrate the ways in which the ruled successfully turned the tables

on the rulers by reordering the very rules of ‘mastery’.¹⁰ While he does not announce explicitly the implications for postcolonial translation, his study successfully calls into question what might be at stake on a number of levels in the ways we might assess ‘fidelity’ in such asymmetrical exchanges.

Eric Cheyfitz’s influential *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan* (first published in 1991) brings together legal and literary examples in the Americas to discuss – in his words – ‘the central function of translation in the history of Anglo-American imperial foreign policy’ (Cheyfitz 1997: xi). He looks specifically at the history of translation (from Aristotle to Locke to the present day) in terms both ‘literal and figurative, that is to say, material and ideological’, as an act of appropriation in the sense of, for example, translating property (ibid.). Especially insightful is his exploration of phrases such as ‘right of possession’ or ‘legal title’, as they move between English and Native American languages like Algonquian: such an approach allows him to question the very notion of property as enclosed space (versus held in common) as a sign of the civilized and thus of distinct legal personhood (ibid.: 48–50). Just as valuable is his investigation of the term cannibal (in Montaigne’s essay of that name, or the character Caliban from Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*), which he argues was ‘cut off from its proper (cultural) meaning in Native American languages’ (Arawak/Carib) and in the process:

becomes a purely political figure in European tongues, a figure that tries to erase its own rhetoricity by claiming a proper or ethnographic referent – the ‘fact’ of cannibalism – which, even if it could be proved, would not justify or explain the colonial/imperial process of translation that displaces the original native term.

(Cheyfitz 1997: 42–3)

His attention to the wider legal implications of these literary tropes makes it clear how the institutions of colonialism might depend on an ongoing loop of misunderstandings he intriguingly calls ‘a translation of a translation of a translation’ (ibid.: 43). While he is well versed in poststructuralist debates on translation, particularly in the work of Derrida, he too does not engage in conversations with translation studies scholars.

Fortunately, by the late 1990s well-respected scholars in translation studies such as Carol Maier and Susan Bassnett began making efforts to reconcile the critiques of postcolonial theory with the concerns of translation studies. For one, Maier collaborated with the postcolonial theorist Anuradha Dingwaney to edit the 1995 collection *Between Languages and Cultures: Translation and Cross-Cultural Texts*, a volume that adroitly approaches the reading and writing of translation as an act of productive engagement. They pay particular attention to what they call:

the more complex tension that results when a translator confronts what is alien and struggles to achieve the familiar in the face of otherness, without either sacrificing or appropriating difference.

(Dingwaney 1995: 8)¹¹

Dingwaney describes the space of translation as both ‘fertile’ and ‘disquieting’ because ‘if explored fully, it proves to be a sphere (or zone) in which one both abandons and assumes associations’ (ibid.). Carol Maier likewise thinks of the “‘translating subject” as one who works deliberately between cultures, enabled by an understanding of identity as a learned or constructed allegiance rather than an innate condition’ (Maier 1995: 31). In a particularly

insightful critique, Maier suggests that the ‘loss’ often associated with translation practice ‘prove[s] not to lie in the impossibility of transferring a given “meaning” from one language to another’, but instead with the expectation that the ‘rendering must be offered as absolute, many times without even a nod to the disquieting but potentially enabling flux implicit in all signification’ (ibid.: 21–2). The various contributions to their collection maintain a similarly productive tension between practice and theory, knowledge of cultural and translation studies, and as such include a range of contributions from prominent translators such as Agha Shahid Ali and important literary theorists such as Mary Layoun and James Boyd White, as well as a useful essay by the editors thinking about translation pedagogy in the teaching of Rigoberta Menchu’s controversial *testimonio*.

Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi likewise collaborated on a 1999 collection called simply *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, which has become foundational in the sub-field. It includes contributions by eminent scholars such as Maria Tymoczko, Sherry Simon, Rosemary Arrojo and Ganesh Devy, whose writings have been so influential in translation studies more widely and who complicate and open up the terms of debate in postcolonialism. For example, in the volume edited by Bassnett and Trivedi, Tymoczko presses for the inclusion of African Americans and Irish writers as ‘minority-culture writing that involves the negotiation of significant culture and/or linguistic boundaries’ (1999: fn 1, 36), and Simon writes of bilingual Canadian writers who work in what she calls ‘a hybrid idiom’ that ‘is self-consciously provocative’ and succeeds in ‘jarring traditional alignments, blurring boundaries of cultural identity and writing against a cultural tradition which has been deeply suspicious of the work of translation’ (1999: 61). Significantly, besides expanding the definition of what might be included in the category of the postcolonial, and putting more emphasis on the linguistic issues at stake, in their introduction Bassnett and Trivedi also call for us to think more carefully about how translation is metaphorized in non-European languages. They note that in many Indian languages, the Sanskrit word ‘*anuvad*’ is used for the concept of translation, and since etymologically it means ‘saying after or again, repeating by way of explanation, that the underlying metaphor in the word *anuvad* is temporal ... rather than spatial as in the English/Latin word translation – to carry across’ (1999: 9). The observation is important both for translation studies and for postcolonialism, since it implicitly challenges so much of the theorizing based on a spatial, material-based understanding of translation, including the work of Bhabha and Clifford on cultural translation. (How might we approach a temporal theory of cultural translation, for instance?) This is but one of many examples of the ways in which the cross-linguistic work of postcolonial translation scholarship can challenge our cross-cultural understandings as well, and thus clarifies the advantage of bringing in one’s experience with translation practice in such a way that rethinks the predicaments of linguistic-as-cultural difference.

Looking to the future: postcolonial translation as ethical engagement

The purview of postcolonial translation has become increasingly broad: work in the field alerts us to any unjust institutional practices privileging European languages and perspectives, especially those that serve primarily to secure hegemonic cultures more power. Attending seriously to the proposition that we should address the disparities built into our most quotidian acts of translation means rethinking the terms of every exchange – opening them up so that non-hegemonic languages have more opportunity to contribute to the ongoing global conversation, and in such a way that helps reconfigure the very

bases of discussion. For instance, instead of assuming that every language has an equivalent for terms in European languages, new technologies such as the Internet might be conceived of using terms (such as 'wiki') in non-hegemonic languages that would then initiate users into new conceptual terrain entirely (see O'Hagan, this volume). As more and more people participate in global exchanges in a variety of languages (either directly or in translation), scholars of postcolonial translation need to offer a critical discourse for thinking about these exchanges that takes into account the historical disparities between linguistic cultures in an effort to find practical solutions for redressing them. Efforts of late to understand the critical work in translation traditions being done in non-European languages (see, for example, the 2000 volume edited by Simon and St-Pierre, *Changing the Terms*, or the two-volume 2006 collection, *Translating Others* edited by Hermans) have helped to expand the conceptual basis of the field, but there is much work to be done. Rather than focusing explicitly on translation or its approximations in other languages – which runs into the same problem Liu showed Heidegger facing with the question of the translatability of 'language' – postcolonial translation might be understood more generally as a global network of interconnected traditions, the works of which are conceived of, influenced by and in conversation with writing done in a variety of languages and time periods. That is, rather than endeavouring to define translation per se, the field should assume at the outset that we are all translated to some extent and that our work as translation studies scholars is to articulate a theoretical approach to addressing our critical engagement with these exchanges.

How translation studies might reorient postcolonialism, and postcolonialism reorient translation studies

While even the most parochial writers and readers count on translation in practising their trade, it has been the bread and butter of many disciplines (especially literature departments) to point out this dependency as a way of scolding the reader rather than celebrating the global reach of the collective imagination. Instead, translation studies would do well to help initiate a global conversation that assumes translation to be at the core, one which sees national literary canons, for example, as a limited model for formulating narratives to explain the complex literary traditions that have evolved over the centuries. Such an approach would be capable of devising dynamic heuristics that would be attentive to the many linguistic traditions they represent. Translation studies needs to learn from postcolonial theory that several different linguistic traditions may thrive in a single country, or that a single literary language might thrive in several continents at once – albeit with local versions, and with varying prestige. A serious study of postcolonial translation would be able to take into account the relative status of each of the languages, finding a way to bring lesser-represented language cultures more fully into the global conversation without assuming the source culture to be static and homogeneous, and while still drawing on the strengths of the hegemonic. At its core, postcolonial translation has been the most successful when it has managed to rethink the very terms of the exchange but in such a way that does not underestimate the power of the imagination to express itself in a variety of styles and genres. Currently scholars in both fields seem to agree that not enough attention is being paid to the ways in which we might need to rework the very tools of analysis we use to evaluate work in translation. A truly global literary conversation would rethink the very categories we apply to work across languages.

Related topics

global; ethical; praxis; incommensurability; cross-cultural; colonial; disparity; orientalism

Notes

- 1 Niranjana goes on to think explicitly about the relationship of ‘the post-colonial context and post-structuralist theory’ (1992: 170). While she acknowledges that applying post-structuralist theory to the postcolonial context might prove ‘neocolonial’, there is a concomitant danger of assuming a ‘nativist’ stance in ‘arguing for a return to a lost purity’ (ibid.).
- 2 Spivak, ‘Translator’s Preface’ to *Of Grammatology*, lxxxvii, quoting Derrida, *Positions*, 31.
- 3 Spivak, ‘Translator’s Preface’ to *Imaginary Maps*, xxix, quoting Coetzee, *Doubling the Point: Essays and Interviews*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992, 88.
- 4 Bhabha 1994: 213, quoting Conrad, 140.
- 5 Asad 1986: 142, quoting the title of Godfrey Lienhardt’s 1954 paper ‘Modes of Thought’.
- 6 Asad 1986: 142, quoting Godfrey Lienhardt’s 1954 paper ‘Modes of Thought’, 97.
- 7 Liu 1995: 4–6, quoting Heidegger, ‘Aus einem Gespräch von der Sprache’ (Dialogue on Language).
- 8 Liu’s 1999 article, ‘Legislating the Universal: The Circulation of International Law in the Nineteenth Century’, stands out most particularly as an example of this kind of deft scholarship.
- 9 Rafael 1993: 2, quoting Rizal, 170.
- 10 See, for example, the discussion of ‘hiya’, especially Rafael 1993: 127.
- 11 Dingwaney is quoting a previously unpublished letter to potential contributors that she wrote with Carol Maier.

Further reading

- Bassnett, Susan and Trivedi, Harish (eds) (1999) *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, London and New York: Routledge. (The field of postcolonial translation is announced explicitly in this collection of essays by important translation studies scholars such as G.N. Devy and Sherry Simon. Each of the contributions rethinks the very terms of translation and postcoloniality in highly productive ways.)
- Niranjana, Tejaswini (1992) *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (Niranjana is one of the first postcolonial theorists to focus on translation theory and practice, and to look carefully at translators’ prefaces and notes in analysing their work in the colonial and postcolonial context.)
- Said, Edward (1979) *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books. (Foundational in the field of post-colonialism, Said’s monograph investigates the uneven relationship between East and West as represented in Western scholarship, with special (albeit especially critical) emphasis on translation.)
- Spivak, Gayatri ([1992] 1993) ‘The Politics of Translation’, in *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, New York: Routledge. (Well known by this time for her work translating Derrida’s *Of Grammatology*, Spivak writes this short, complex essay reflecting on translation practice as an ethical act of unexpected intimacies, focusing particularly on women’s writing.)

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Gender and translation¹

Pilar Godayol

But once this inaugural moment has given way to the second age, here where the becoming-female of the idea is the presence or presentation of truth, Plato can no more say 'I am truth' ... At this moment history begins. Now stories start. Distance – woman – averts truth – the philosopher. She bestows the idea. And the idea withdraws, becomes transcendent, inaccessible, seductive.

(Derrida 1978: 87)

Three decades have passed since the publication of *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles* (1978), in which Jacques Derrida compared woman with writing and, therefore, with translation, and over these years an ever-growing interest in translation studies and the role of gender has produced rich and varied research. While echoing the theories of the death of the author, of the new concept of canon and of the breaking up of hierarchies and binary oppositions expounded by contemporary intellectuals such as Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and despite repeating the sexual language of the dominant discourses of former eras, Derridean translation theory defends the idea that original and translation are hierarchically equal, with no dependence or submission, and that the translator (normally a woman), like the author, writes, she does not rewrite. Derrida favours the woman translator and the translation in relation to the man and the original text, his aim being to put an end to textual and sexual subordination. He presents the era of the woman and translation as the 'second age'. The first age was that of the man, of Plato, of the truth, of the source text. The second is that of the woman, non-truth, translation. In this article I take this Derridean 'second age' as the starting point, both in time and ideology, and carry out archaeological² research into what has been done since the 1980s up till now, in the intersection of gender and translation studies.

In keeping with the evolution of translation studies towards a new way of considering the hermeneutic act of translating, feminist translators in the 1980s began to pay close attention to the concept of identity and to the representation of woman in and through language. One of the first visible intersections between translation studies and feminist viewpoints was the Canadian School of feminist translation, which generated critiques for and against their translating strategies. Alongside this debate sporadic theoretical works

appeared such as those of Lori Chamberlain, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak or Carol Maier, who was motivated by Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) in which she proposes that 'gender' should be understood as a construction rather than a static cultural label as had been the case up till then. This state of affairs marked the starting point for later studies on the interaction between gender studies and translation studies in the new millennium.

In this chapter I will carry out an archaeological investigation in the field of this intersection along three lines, which I have baptized with the following titles: (i) 'theoretical origins: gender definitions, metaphors and myths in the feminine', a section covering the main theoretical sources that have dealt with the intersection of gender and translation over recent years, either conceptually or metaphorically; (ii) 'historiographic research: "recovery and commentary" of women translators and feminist authors', an analysis of works that have rediscovered women translators and their writings, and have transferred classic feminist texts to other languages; and (iii) 'translation practices: feminine affinities and paratextual approaches', an approach to various experiences of translation practice based on the relationship between the woman translator and the author. Finally, the conclusions carry the title 'future perspectives'. It must be said that the paleographic task carried out here is partial, biased and subjective. Despite an attempt to introduce traces of languages and cultures that are not English, it is, on the whole, a representative sample of the work done in the misnamed First World. We are therefore conscious of the fact that this archaeology should be extended to other languages and cultures which, for many reasons, are not easily accessible to us.

Theoretical origins: gender definitions, metaphors and myths in the feminine

The intersection between the feminist literature of the late 1970s and early 1980s and translation studies gave rise in Quebec to a translation movement which, from a combined French and Anglo-Saxon perspective, claimed a new definition of the role of the woman literary translator. The translators who formed this group (among others, Luise von Flotow, Barbara Godard, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, Howard Scott) were characterized by two important traits: on the one hand, they shared possibility conditions which marked them out from the rest of the feminists who translated and, on the other, their discourses, whether social, historical, economic or institutional, were the same as those of the authors they translated.

As followers of the avant-garde women writers of Canada, these translators made themselves visible in the works they re-wrote. The strategies they used evoked in some ways the tactics used by the authors in order to make the feminine gender clearly visible. In 'Feminist Translation. Contexts, Practices and Theories' (1991), von Flotow surveyed these strategies and classified them in four sections: supplementing, prefacing, footnoting and hijacking. Jean Delisle (1993) has compared the interventions of the Quebec translators with the practices of medieval translators, whose role was that of active mediators trying to reach the reading public through translations of Latin texts to the vernacular. The most obvious similarities were the use of prefaces and introductions, linguistic interventions (related to meaning or orthography in the target language) and the appropriation of the text for didactic purposes.

In the 1990s this sediment of writings related to translation gave rise to a theoretical reflection on the intersection of gender and translation. The following studies were of particular importance: 'Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation' (1990) by Barbara

Godard, *Re-belle et infidèle/The Body Bilingual* (1991) by Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, *Gender in Translation. Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (1996) by Sherry Simon, and *Translation and Gender: Translating in the 'Era of Feminism'* (1997) by Luise von Flotow. It should be said that the works of Simon and von Flotow have been pioneering monographs and essential references for later research in the field all over the world. Von Flotow has become one of the most prolific authors in this area over recent years: outstanding amongst her writings are her revisionist studies of the discipline (2007, 2010) and her studies of translations of the Bible (2000).

The Canadian Feminist School of translation has also provoked observations and doubts (among others, Arrojo 1994; Vidal Claramonte 1998; Martín Ruano 2008; Castro 2009; Brufau 2010). It is a movement that, in spite of the originality of its textual interventions aimed at rejecting the social repression of femininity, expresses in its texts a specific social, cultural and political experience. It is therefore obvious that its reading of feminine subjectivity cannot be taken as the standard model for all feminist translation practice because there are other ideological groups who claim feminine subjectivity and in whose translations the indelible mark of sexual difference appears in a variety of ways. It is not a question of judging the value systems of this movement, but of questioning them to discover how the consumption and reproduction of texts are related to other practices of social and cultural power, and also in order to remind ourselves that any subject belongs to a system that is behind his/her subjectivity for writing, translating or theorizing on translation.

At the same time, and also in North America, writings are appearing from time to time that reflect on the theory and practice of translating in the feminine. Of prime importance for the influence it has had is Lori Chamberlain's splendid theoretical and historical article that connects the worlds of gender and translation through metaphor. 'Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation' was published in the journal *Signs* in 1988, and reissued in *Rethinking Translation* (1992). Chamberlain traces the origins of sexual translation discourse to the beginnings of the seventeenth century in France, when Gilles Ménage coined the phrase *belles infidèles* to define Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt's free translations of the classics. From Perrot d'Ablancourt onwards, the concern for faithfulness or unfaithfulness in translation has given rise to many metaphorical discourses related to gender. Faithfulness denotes love – love for the author, for the language and for the original text. The representations of this bond vary according to the aesthetic and cultural context of the moment. Chamberlain presents the classic gender metaphors as a means of reaching a definition of the concept of translatability and raises the still-pending question of the need to find new non-sexual and non-restrictive images for future theoretical dialogues within the discipline.

Chamberlain's appeal, backed up by Simon (1996) and von Flotow (1997), for a new look at the myths and metaphors cultivated by translation discourses over the centuries has not fallen on deaf ears. Some translation theoreticians have attempted to re-explain the process of translating and the concept of faithfulness by means of the metaphor of intervening spaces, far distant from old androcentric writings. Motivated by the theories of Gloria Anzaldúa, Homi Bhabha, Pat Mora, Mary Louise Pratt and Edward W. Said, among others, Maier (1996) chooses the image of the 'between', Godayol (2000) that of 'espais de frontera' (intervening spaces), Vidal Claramonte (2008) that of 'entre' (between), and Zaccaria (2008) that of 'nepantla' (in the middle).

Persisting in this rewriting of translation discourses and myths in the feminine, it must be mentioned that more than a decade ago Karin Littau (1995, 2000) recovered the figure of Pandora, emphasizing her value as a metaphor of translation. Littau reviews the myth of the tower of Babel (including the interpretations of Steiner and Derrida) and compares

it with that of Pandora. Littau differs from Derrida in that for her the fascination of translation lies not in possible impossibility but in propagation and multiplication: 'Precisely because every text can be translated (and every myth can be rewritten), seriality is a condition which neither has a beginning nor an end' (2000: 31).

The recovery of myths has continued with other works, for example that of Godayol (2012) on the figure of La Malinche, Hernán Cortés's translator and a key figure in the conquest of New Spain five centuries ago. Godayol carries out archaeological research into her life and the events surrounding her, beginning with the chronicles and writings of historians and continuing with the literary portraits produced by various authors over the years. Godayol presents La Malinche as a multicultural translator/interpreter and a metaphor of the complexity of translation itself. The reasons for recovering the figure of La Malinche are twofold: first, she is an historical/mythical figure who should be reinterpreted; and second, she is a 'translation site', a metaphor for the meeting of languages and cultures.

There are two articles that can be considered contemporaneous with that of Chamberlain and have dealt with other aspects relevant to the intersection of gender and translation: 'The Politics of Translation' (1992), by Spivak, and 'Women in Translation: Current Intersections, Theory and Practice' (1994) by Carol Maier.

In this article, Spivak, who has translated Jacques Derrida and Mahasweta Devi, presents the dilemma of the difficulties and contradictions inherent in translating texts by authors of the misnamed Third World into Western languages, principally into English. Aiming at solidarity, she proposes some strategies that should be taken into account when presenting these texts to readers in a Western culture. On the one hand, she recommends that translators should not work from a position of monolingual superiority and rather than translating from intermediate languages they should learn the language of the authors they are translating. Spivak emphasizes that the key to not appropriating these authors and their texts is an attitude of constant learning on the part of the translator, who should shake off paternalistic habits by unlearning and questioning the privileges of Western women. Spivak's article has been the theoretical base for several texts on translation, gender and postcolonialism (for example, Sales 2006; Forastelli 2008). A special mention should be made of Tejaswini Niranjana's *Siting Translation* (1992), which follows the same lines as Spivak's article and is solidly based on the poststructural theory of language, meaning and representation.

Maier, who has translated, among others, Ana Castillo, Rosa Chacel and María Zambrano, poses a leading question for the intersection of gender and translation: 'What is "happening" in the field of translation studies now that "woman" and "translation" are associated explicitly?' (1994: 29). Her answer develops five themes which more or less organize the work carried out in the discipline and at the same time question and propose new goals: '(1) the identity of the translator, (2) the relationship between translator and author(ity), (3) the translator's decision about what to translate, (4) specific translation strategies, (5) the translation "product"' (ibid.). After reviewing various feminist and queer theories (mainly that of Judith Butler), and the experiences of women translators (such as those of Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood and Miriam Diaz-Diocaretz, and her own), Maier gives more importance to 'woman-identified translation practice' than to 'feminist translator', such practice implying a permanent clarification of the feminine identity. Maier's theory, expressed in 'Interviewing Carol Maier: A Woman in Translation' (Godayol 1998), has become the basis for later theorizing and restating (Massardier-Kenney 1997; Godayol 2000; von Flotow 2007).

Historiographic research: 'recovery and commentary' of women translators and feminist authors

In recent decades the historiographic method of research has been fruitful in the recovery of women translators, and of introductory texts, articles, memoirs or personal correspondence that reflect on the translating process. By means of apologies and justifications, curiously cloaked in the guise of others, women translators in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries crept into the realm of the discourses of textual authorship. Evidence from various countries, such as France, the UK, Germany and the USA, demonstrates that the theory of translation in the feminine did not originate in writings of the twentieth century, but rather in the limited inroads made by a series of women translators in a practice that has been constant throughout centuries.

Works by Tina Krontiris, Douglas Robinson and Sherry Simon point out that the English translator Margaret Tyler, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, is one of the most outstanding translators of all time, basically for three reasons. First, her best-known translation is not of a religious text, as was the case of the majority of her contemporaries (among others, Margaret More Roper, the Cooke sisters, Jane Lumley and Mary Sidney), but of a Spanish novel of chivalry, *Espejos de príncipes y caballeros* (1555) by Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra (*Mirrors of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*, 1578). Second, Tyler introduced this genre into England and her version created a real fashion. Finally, the preface to the translation, despite seeming to mitigate responsibility and slips in reasoning, has been held to be a feminist manifest, a decisive milestone in feminist literary history for its defence of the right of women to read and translate all types of text.

In 1688, a century after the publication of Tyler's preface, Aphra Behn used similar devices in the prologue to the translation of *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* by the philosopher Fontenelle. Considered to be one of the first professional women writers, Behn went further in her translating method (Simon 1996). Her awareness of the patriarchal values of the discourses she was translating led her to juggle the limits of faithfulness and unfaithfulness and to alter the original text (a frequent practice at different times and in different contexts). One of her best-known stratagems was the incorporation of a new character into the translation, a woman whose function was to make readers identify with her and the work, and challenge the superiority of masculine learning.

The nineteenth century saw the hierarchizing of source texts and target texts. The history of translation came up against the history of copyright and the predominance of the romantic concept of authorship, which discredited the task of translating in favour of originality and the authority of authorship. This legacy still weighs and, in the words of Venuti (1995: 5–6), 'is a concept of authorship that is really not inscribed in a material form, but is rather immaterial, a god-like essence of individuality that lacks cultural specificity and permeates various forms and media'. In spite of this situation, some translators, such as Sarah Austin, Marian Evans, Margaret Fuller, Harriet Martineau, Eleanor Marx, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Susanna Winkworth or Madame de Staël, began to reflect on translation more or less systematically. Staël, unlike Tyler, dispensed with any shield in her discourse and openly defended translation. In one of her last works, *De l'esprit des traductions* (1816), Staël recommended translating as a means of keeping national literatures alive.

Staël's recommendation connects perfectly with the work of the first Catalan women translators, a context I will discuss briefly as an example of feminine historiographic investigation being carried out in some research groups at European universities; important

work in this field has been done by Micaela Wolf at the University of Graz, Austria, who has recovered women translators into German (2005, 2006; Wolf and Messner 2001). Even though there are no texts dealing with the act of translating from as far back as in other cultures, Catalan women translators, few and far between in the nineteenth century and mainly of the twentieth century, have left an important legacy, often related to the vicissitudes of the country. Thanks to initiatives such as the *Diccionari de la traducció catalana* (Bacardí and Godayol 2011), or the exhibition and book *Traductores* (Bacardí and Godayol 2006), the work of almost 100 women translators has been recovered, some of whom were active before the Civil War, but most after the dictatorship, with the reawakening of an ideological and literary consciousness during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.³ Above all, it was their degree of militancy with regard to their own language and culture that drove these women to translate universal works into Catalan, some of which, it was claimed, had to be by women writers.

This research into the lives and works of Catalan women translators represents just a small link among the infinite number of links that go to make up the chain of translation historiography in the feminine. There are bound to be more cases like that of Catalan. We need to develop a general cartography of these studies, not limited to majority cultures and languages, in order to bring to light the women translators who, for many reasons but mainly because they write and translate in minority or minoritized languages, whether European, Asian, African or American, do not appear in texts on translation theory and practice, usually written in English. In 2002 Delisle began the task of recovering women translators with his *Portraits de traductrices*.

This recovery of feminine textualities also includes the translation of classic feminist texts and others by women writers eclipsed over the years by the masculine universe. Some Catalan women translators in the 1980s and 1990s advocated the introduction of texts by women writers. In many cases they chose their authors and works for translation with great care in order to recover names generally passed over in the literary discourses of the country. Apart from questions of solidarity and militancy or the wish to question the canonical readings imposed by the critics of the day, these translators were also motivated by the subject matter of the works they translated. In 1993, for example, Montserrat Abelló compiled and translated into Catalan an anthology of 20 English-speaking women poets of the twentieth century, entitled *Cares a la finestra*, which included work by Sylvia Plath, Adrienne Rich and Anne Sexton, to name a few. A brief biography introduces each poet and in the prologue the translator is profuse in justifications and declarations of her intention as regards genealogical celebration and popularization. She stresses three weighty reasons for putting this group of poets into Catalan: the fact that they were unknown in the Catalan tradition, often behind the times; the need to introduce these texts in order to enrich and bring new life to that tradition; and the lack of literary mothers and sisters to act as models for women writers.

Abelló, like other women translators, follows the advice of Massardier-Kenney (1997: 59), who advocates two strategies for reconstructing classic feminine and feminist texts: 'recovery and commentary'. 'Recovery' because we need literary mothers and sisters from any place and any time to redress their historical absence in feminine writing, and 'commentary' because we must re-read them and contextualize them from a woman's point of view to establish common features. However, the acts of 'recovering' and 'commenting' are not exempt from criticism. One of the most controversial cases of recent decades is the English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* published by the zoology lecturer Howard Parsley in 1952. Various authors (for example, de Lotbinière-Harwood 1991; von

Flotow 1997) have loudly denounced the additions, omissions and substantial changes carried out in the English translation, which have even caused misunderstandings and contradictions between English-speaking and French-speaking feminist communities. A new English version of this bible of feminism was published in 2010.

Le deuxième sexe was received in other languages and cultures in a variety of different circumstances. The playwright Pablo Palant translated this work into the Spanish of Argentina in 1954, a version that became known all over Latin America and that came clandestinely to Spain. From 1954 till 1998 this Argentine version was the only one to be found in Spain, but was joined in 1968 by the Catalan version, *El segon sexe*, translated by Herminia Grau and Carme Vilaginés. It was in 1998, thanks to an initiative of the University Institute of Women's Studies of the University of Valencia and the publishing house Càtedra, that Alicia Martorell translated this work into peninsular Spanish. In Galicia the first volume of *O segundo sexo* appeared in 2008 and the second in 2010 in a translation by Marga Rodríguez Marcuño, while in 2009 an abbreviated re-edition of the 1968 Catalan version was published with an introduction by Marta Segarra.

In '(Para)translated ideologies in Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*: the (para) translator's role' (2008), Olga Castro studies the paratranslations of *The Second Sex* and suggests we pay more attention to the paratranslation of feminist texts since they are a powerful ideological factor for the target culture. Paratexts, in the same way as texts and translations, are developed in a specific cultural and social context, which is often subject to economic and ideological criteria. This consideration opens up a promising line of research to be explored in the intersection of gender and translation.

Translation practices: feminine affinities and paratextual approaches

Historical, social and political questions influence translation practice but it is, above all, closely linked to the bond existing between author and translator. The range of human emotions covers a wide variety from relationships of solidarity, affinity and complicity to extremes of subversion or rejection. Here, I will consider some examples of this diversity.

First, two examples of solidarity: 1981 saw the publication of *This Bridge Called my Back*, edited by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. This volume was a collection of poems, prose, letters, interviews, personal conversations and theoretical reflections of a social group that defined itself as that of women of colour of the USA. Its purpose was to reflect the diversity of texts and linguistic styles amongst more than 30 women writers of the USA and thus act as a cultural bridge between the different communities they represented. Five years later two *chicana* writers and poets, Ana Castillo and Norma Alarcón, translated it into Spanish, and in their 'translators' notes' they reflected on their work. In the first place they justified the feminization of the 'bridge' of the title, normally of the masculine gender in Spanish, and their rendering of the title as *Esta puente, mi espalda*: 'We wish to point out that as we share the radical feminist spirit of the writers of the Bridge, we are recovering the feminine acceptance of bridge – *Esta puente, mi espalda*' (Moraga and Castillo 1988: 18i). Second, they argue that they are respecting the intention of the editors not to interfere with the lexical and idiomatic choices of the source text, since this 'would mean censorship of the writers' way of thinking' (ibid.). Third, they point out that the writers, the editors and they themselves as translators are part of the same reality in the USA, that is to say, the world of the minorities.

Ruth Behar also wanted to make way amongst women of different cultures. In *Translated Woman* (1993) she translated the story of Esperanza Hernández, a 60-year-old woman

from San Luis Potosí in Mexico. Behar recorded, analysed, translated, adapted and published the words of Hernández. She undertook to convert orality into textuality, her ‘spoken words into a commodity’ (1993: 12). Behar was conscious of the responsibility and risks involved. The structure of the book follows in space and time the strict order of the meetings between the two and the manner in which they evolved. The first two parts concentrate on Hernández’s stories, the third on the conversations between Hernández and Behar dealing with the inconsistencies and contradictions of the project, and the fourth on the concluding reflections of the translator from a point of view that is feminist, historical and autobiographical.

The experience of Hernández and Behar is quite different from that of Rigoberta Menchú and Elizabeth Burgos in *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia*. In this case the narrator and the cultural translator lived together for a week and afterwards Burgos adapted and manipulated the text to suit a Western literary aesthetic. This collaboration has often been described as rather discordant: ‘Not only did she identify herself as the author of the book, she eliminated the dialogue between the two women’ (Maier 1989: 636). Unlike Burgos, Behar learns the dynamics of Hernández’s storytelling: she learns to listen unhurriedly in order to aid expression, a key factor in ‘intercultural translation’. This concept has been thoroughly analysed by Paola Zaccaria, the translator into Italian of Gloria Anzaldúa (Zaccaria 2008).

I will now consider two cases of affinity. Montserrat Abelló, the translator into Catalan of the complete poetical works of Sylvia Plath, professes to feel a very intense vital and discursive tie with Plath to the extent of identifying with her completely as a woman, a mother and a poet. Abelló explains that she discovered Plath while on a visit to England, coinciding with the publication by Plath’s husband, Ted Hughes, of *Winter Trees*, eight years after the poet’s suicide. In this poetry Abelló recognized herself: ‘At long last I had found a person who understood poetry as I did’ (Torrents 2006: 100).

Maria-Mercè Marçal’s *La dona amagada* (1985), her translation into Catalan of Colette’s *La femme cachée*, includes a prologue in which the translator speaks of the author as Abelló does of Plath, portraying her as if she were speaking of herself: ‘Her work is, therefore, the reflection and the stimulus of her long, tenacious pursuit of freedom’ (Marçal 1985: 10). At times the relationship between authors and translators is so close that they become almost one. In the case of Marçal, Manuel Guerrero declares that *Poema de la fi*, Marina Tsvetaieva’s *Poem of the end* translated in collaboration with Monika Zgustova, is ‘a true poem by Maria-Mercè Marçal, with the collaboration, of course, of Zgustova and Tsvetaieva, as though it were another of her books between *Desglaç* and *Raó del Cos*’ (Guerrero 2004: 7).

Over the last two decades, the intersection of gender and translation practice has generated a large body of literature by women translators who, in accordance with their political commitment, defend their visibility by expressing themselves in paratextual material: notes, prologues, introductions, interviews, books and articles. Not only do they explain their reasons for translating those particular authors, both male and female, and those specific texts, elucidating the problems and contradictions in their choices, but they also spell out their conception of sexual identity or faithfulness and literality in translation. There are those who reflect on their own experiences as translators, on the whole, of literature (among others, Ahern 1988; Maier 1985, 1992; Levine 1991; Valenzuela 1996; Zaccaria 2000; Taronna 2005; D’Ottavio 2009). There are also those who reflect on the practices of others (for example, Taronna 2008; Vidal Claramonte 2008; Zaccaria 2008; Cotoner 2001). It should be said that, with the exception of some older writings, such as those of

Gloria Anzaldúa and de Lotbinière-Harwood, there is little material on the translation of lesbian texts and it is not until the twenty-first century that they begin to be more numerous. Important works, among others, are those of Eric Keenaghan (1998), Keith Harvey (2000) and Alberto Mira (1999). Finally, I should mention the growing interest in gender in audiovisual translation (de Marco 2006) and scientific translation (Sánchez 2007), and also the attention being paid to non-sexist translation (Santaemilia 2003; Castro 2009, 2010), and the intersection of gender and translation with semiotics (Calefato 2008).

If nothing else, this brief list, which cannot do justice to the host of works in the field, demonstrates that the discipline is plural, heterogeneous and in good health, not only because, more and more, translating contemplates gender, but also because this is the subject of candid reflection that no longer fears self-criticism or criticism from colleagues in the profession, long-awaited and necessary.

Future perspectives

Since 1978, when Jacques Derrida compared woman with writing in *Spurs*, three decades have brought substantial changes in the theory and practice of translating that takes gender into account, changes that I have endeavoured to trace in this chapter. Despite the obligation to give prominence to canonical names, an effort has been made to include and give voice to emergent investigations, in an attempt to reach a compromise between lesser-known authors and translators and those who seem to be more representative. I am sure that many theoretical texts, translations and women translators, from the past and from today, from Western and non-Western cultures, are missing. For various reasons, perhaps because they have been isolated contributions or because translators have not been able to organize themselves in the same way as the feminist translators of Quebec or as other Western groups, they have not yet stood out in the literature on the intersection of gender and translation. All these women are demanding their own room, as Virginia Woolf did at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is our duty and responsibility to find ways of bringing them to light.

Apart from attempting to continue the archaeological task of unearthing already published works that are difficult to find, research must be increased and encouraged along at least three lines of study.

First, historiographical investigation: names and works of important translators from all over the world have indeed been retrieved, but this is only a first stage. Now a second stage must be developed in two directions: the information available on the important names and works that have already been studied must be revised and brought up to date, and work must be done to recover other names and works that, for many reasons, have been ignored by dominant discourses. To establish the history of women translators, to shed light on the past of 'translating mothers' and 'translating sisters', is the most urgent task. This 'recovery', as Massardier-Kenney puts it, must be accompanied by 'commentary', in the words of África Vidal Claramonte, 'posing many questions, such as why a particular text was chosen for translation, who chose it, in what society, to what purpose' (1998: 146).

Second, theoretical work: although theories have been developed on the intersection between gender and translation in very specific contexts, thought must be given to the relation this may have to postcolonial and identity questions now in vogue: can the Anglo-American concept of gender be applied to other cultures and their texts? Can the concept of 'queer' be transferred to other languages and cultures and, if so, how can it be incorporated? It is also important to reflect from a theoretical stance on new areas of research

that up till now have been considered in more practical terms, such as the intersection of audiovisual translation and gender, scientific translation and gender, or legal translation and gender. Finally, attention must be paid to the need to create new metaphors and recover translation myths that may explain the translation process in non-sexist and non-androcentric language.

Third, translation criticism: women translators have from time to time written about their translation practice. This paratextual material, consisting of letters, prologues, introductions, notes and even articles written after the translations, must be collected, analysed and classified. There are also translators who reflect on the practices of others. All these writings are decisive for the future of the discipline and its constant revision and redefinition. At the same time there is a need for work with the paratexts of feminist or feminine works in order to clarify the ideology behind them. Dealing with ideology brings us to questions as yet unanswered: How must a feminist translator read in order to bring to light the ideology of texts when this is not apparent? Of what must a feminist translation ethic consist?

Gender and translation, as non-dogmatic and shifting means of expression, open an infinite number of doors. Their intersection is, therefore, Borges's *The Garden of Forking Paths*, where possible meaning is never circumscribed, where there is creation of 'different futures, different times, that also proliferate and fork' (1997: 112–13).

Related topics

gender and translation; feminist translation; women and translation

Notes

- 1 This chapter has been produced as part of the work of the research group 'Gender Studies: translation, literature, history and communication' of the University of Vic (AGAUR SGR 833; 2009–13), and the research project 'Traductoras y traducciones en la Cataluña contemporánea (1939–2000)' (Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación: FFI2010-19851-C02-02). I am grateful to Sheila Waldeck for this English version.
- 2 Term first introduced by Michel Foucault in the 1960s and 1970s in humanity studies (*Naissance de la clinique: Une archéologie du regard médical*, 1963; *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines*, 1966; *L'archéologie du savoir*, 1969). As África Vidal-Claramonte puts it, in Foucault 'the difference between archaeology and genealogy is that the first is a descriptive procedure and the second is explicative' (Vidal-Claramonte 1998: 142).
- 3 Some of these women translators and their works, now rediscovered, are: Maria Antònia Salvà (1869–1958), Carme Montoriol (1893–1966), Anna Murià (1904–2002), Carme Serrallonga (1909–97), Maria Aurèlia Capmany (1918–91), Montserrat Abelló (1918–), Helena Valentí (1940–90) and Maria-Mercè Marçal (1952–98). See Bacardí and Godayol (2006, 2008) and Godayol (2008, 2010, 2011).

Further reading

Chamberlain, L. ([1988] 1992) 'Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation', in L. Venuti (ed.) *Rethinking Translation*, London and New York: Routledge, 57–74. (This is an historical study of how it has been possible over the centuries for the dominant elites to relate the worlds of gender and translation through metaphors. It has become the starting point for attempts to find new non-sexual images for future theoretical dialogues within the discipline.)

Godayol, P. (2000) *Espais de frontera. Gènere i traducció*, Vic: Eumo Editorial. (Also: *Spazi di frontiera. Genere e traduzione*, trans. by Annarita Taronna, Bari: Palomar.) (This is a study of the

interaction between gender and translation, and of the intervening cultural spaces. In addition to reflecting on the frontier experience of 'translating as/like a woman', this monograph theorizes on the translation of hybrid languages and texts and centres on practical examples taken from the emerging *chicana* literature.)

- Simon, S. (1996) *Gender in Translation. Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*, London and New York: Routledge. (This is a study of feminist issues in translation theory and practice. It includes a critical view of cultural theories in translation, an historical revision of women translators and a study of women's/feminists' versions of the Bible. It also focuses on the 'missed connections' in the transfer of French feminism to America.)
- von Flotow, Luise (1997) *Translation and Gender: Translating in the 'Era of Feminism'*, Manchester and Ottawa: St Jerome and University of Ottawa Press. (This book makes a connection between feminist politics and translation. It focuses on translation practices derived from experimental feminist writing and the development of openly interventionist translation practices, such as the initiative to retranslate fundamental texts such as the Bible. It also examines translation history as a means of recovering 'lost' women translators.)

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Sociology and translation studies

Hélène Buzelin

Sociology is the study of human interactions and societies. How do societies form and organize themselves? How do they change? What norms do they produce and to what extent do these norms govern our actions? Understanding how individual behaviour relates to social structures, or how supposedly ‘natural’ practices, facts and beliefs are socially constructed, has been one of the main goals of sociology.

Sociology emerged as an empirical discipline in the late nineteenth century and expanded drastically in the twentieth century. Dubar (2007: 735) identifies four major trends in contemporary sociology, and each provides a different answer to the question of the agent/structure relationship. For sociologies of determination, exemplified by Marx and Durkheim, understanding social structure is key to explaining human practices. In contrast, sociologies of action, exemplified by Weber and Crozier, refuse determinist modes of explanation and give more importance to actors than to the systems to which they belong. Constructivist sociologies, exemplified by Bourdieu and Giddens, try to resolve the agent/structure dichotomy by assuming ‘that social actions are part of a constructed social world which shape results from previous actions’ (Dubar 2007: 735, my translation). Sociologies of identities, associated with the work of Becker, Goffman and others, challenge the actor/system frame by insisting on the fragmented, unstable and hybrid nature of social identities.

It took a long time before translation became an object of interest in sociology. Likewise, the sociological perspective in translation studies appeared only recently, although the foundations were laid during the early stages of the discipline, with polysystem theory (see Ben-Ari, this volume) and the ‘manipulation group’ (Hermans 1999). If connections between translation studies and sociology multiplied throughout the 1990s, then the attempt at building a sociology of translation in a systematic way began at the turn of the twenty-first century. Among the early key contributors are Simeoni (1998, 2001), Heilbron (1999), Gouanvic (1999) and Hermans (1999). In 2002 *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, the journal founded by Bourdieu, released two issues on translation (Heilbron and Sapiro, eds). In May 2005 the University of Graz hosted a conference entitled ‘Translation and Interpreting as a Social Practice’. This event, which was a milestone for fostering dialogue between sociology and translation studies, resulted in the volume *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (Wolf and Furaki eds. 2007).

Sociological research on translation is varied, but it takes for granted that translation is an inherently social activity that both reflects and shapes social interactions. It aims at analysing, for instance, the norms that govern translation practices in social contexts. It questions the hierarchies and values underlying the way professional translators organize and perceive themselves as well as how their socio-economic status is affected. It tries to unveil the logics structuring international book exchanges through translation, as well as the barriers and vectors that direct the circulation of ideas in different social spaces. It may analyse the social responsibility of translators and interpreters in a globalized world and their social involvement. It may finally reflect on the relationship between translation theory and practice and on the position of translation studies as a discipline of the human and social sciences. These are some of the questions that have been tackled so far.¹

Theoretical perspectives

So far, sociological approaches in translation studies have drawn extensively from Bourdieu's thinking and, to a lesser extent, from Luhmann's system theory as well as Latour's actor-network theory (ANT). These contemporaries developed their own theoretical framework for explaining the social world, relying on very distinct assumptions about what 'social' means and about what societies consist of. Each theory has its own world-view and agenda; thus each has also its own blind spots, making them at once conflicting and mutually enriching.

Pierre Bourdieu and the theory of fields

Initially trained in philosophy, Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) turned to sociology in the early 1960s and joined the Centre de sociologie européenne at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), before being appointed professor at the Collège de France. In his writings, society is understood as a hierarchical and differentiated space in which power relations are embodied and so deeply rooted in everyday practices that they reproduce themselves in a largely unconscious way. As Cabin (2009: 142) sums up, much of his work can be regarded as an attempt to unveil the mechanisms underlying relations of domination in various social contexts, from the educational system, to the media, through academia and, most notably for translation studies, the sphere of arts and literature (Bourdieu 1977, 1988, 1996).

Bourdieu's social theory developed around the key concepts of field, habitus and symbolic capital. The field refers to a relatively autonomous (though not closed) sphere of interaction where the agents inhabiting the field share a common set of rules and agenda. The agent's position is defined as a given share of capital that can be inherited, cultivated or accumulated. The dynamics of a field are governed by the agent's attempts at acquiring symbolic capital (i.e. a synthesis of economic, social and cultural capital). Like a 'second skin' (Dortier 2008: 12), the habitus refers to the unconscious product of training, developed through routinized practices, which translates in the ability to be at ease in a given field. As Simeoni (1998: 17) notes, although the concept of habitus goes back to Aristotle, its extension in Bourdieu's thinking 'is such that it applies not only to the state-national fields of cultural production or, for that matter, economic production, but to the social environment at large and to the circumstances of everyday consumption, lifestyle and preferences'. Hence, a distinction could be made between social (generalized) and specialized (restricted, professional) habitus.²

So far, Bourdieu's ideas have been introduced in translation studies along two main lines of thinking. The first one (exemplified by Sapiro, Gouanvic and Sela-Sheffy, to name a few) embraces the model of the literary field and tries to understand how (literary) translation and translators fit into it. The other line (mainly exemplified by Simeoni, Wolf and Inghilleri) questions how (far) the concepts of habitus and field can be applied to the understanding of translation practices and translation norms, in general, beyond the literary field. For example, these authors question whether there is such a thing as a 'translator's habitus', and if there is, of what this habitus is made. We will come back to these questions later.

Niklas Luhmann – the social system as communication

Niklas Luhmann's (1927–98) social theory integrates ideas from diverse fields such as biology, organizational science, linguistics, deconstructionist philosophy and cybernetics. After studying law, Luhmann held a position in German public administration until the early 1960s. Then he returned to academic life and undertook a PhD in sociology. Ferrarese (2007) divides his intellectual trajectory into three phases. Starting with functional structuralism, he soon abandoned the notion of 'structure', turning to that of 'system', where system is defined as 'a reduction of an incomprehensible complexity according to a different schema, a pattern of selection' (Tyulenev 2009: 148). Luhmann first determined the unit and function of each system, later working on conceptualizing modern social systems in a way that would account for their differentiated, complex and contingent character. In the 1990s he developed the notion of systems as observing entities, which led him to epistemological reflections on the relation between observing and observed entities (or the relation between subject and object).

Luhmann recognized three types of systems: living, psychic and social. Those systems are autopoietic, meaning they exist and reproduce themselves through life, consciousness and communication, respectively. A 'communication event' is the synthesis of information, enunciation and interpretation. Humans do not belong to the social system but to its environment. Hence, they have no power to act upon the system. Body is part of the living system and consciousness is part of the psychic system. The social system is made of the juxtaposition of functional (sub)systems. In modern societies, these subsystems include politics, economics, science, religion, art, media, education, family and law.³ The code is what differentiates one social (sub)system from another. Each subsystem observes the others and interprets its surrounding environment according to its own code based on a binary distinction (truth/false for science, esthetical/non-aesthetical for art, etc.). The system does not recognize the codes of other systems. As communication events occur and multiply, new subsystems are created. As the degree of complexity increases, the system generates unexpected effects, undermining the possibility to describe its dynamics through models of causality.⁴

Luhmann's ideas were mainly introduced into translation studies by Hermans (1999, 2007).⁵ According to Hermans, translation can be regarded as a system (in Luhmann's sense) the primary function of which is representational and the code valid/invalid. This system consists in translation events. Hermans points out that by representing the interests of other systems, translation is a weakly differentiated system. Vermeer (2006) and Tyulenev (2009) expanded Herman's reflection on the applicability of Luhmann's theory to translation studies. Tyulenev argues that this theory lends itself to three research paradigms. The first analyses translation as a system. The second regards translation as a subsystem of the literary system. The third views translation as a boundary (system/environment)

phenomenon. Tyulenev explains the strengths and limits of each paradigm, highlights its relation to the existing body of research in translation studies and, most interestingly, pushes Herman's earlier attempts at determining the core features of translation as a system further. In Tyulenev's view, Luhmann's theory of social systems may be instrumental in helping translation studies scholars 'to theorize translation in a broader sense' (2009: 159). In other words, the high degree of abstraction makes this theory attractive and potentially useful to translation studies.

Bruno Latour and actor-network theory

Trained in philosophy and anthropology, Bruno Latour (1947–) is known as one of the founders of actor-network theory (ANT). A key feature of his work is the reflection, initially based on ethnographic fieldwork, on the making of science and technology, which led him to question and finally deconstruct major concepts and divisions such as nature/culture and human/non-human. This theoretical paradigm aims at highlighting the heterogeneity of the elements assembled in the making of science, and the hybridity of the outcome (be it a new concept or a new technique). In other words, it wishes to show how categories generally taken for granted as homogeneous wholes result from complex processes of 'translation' by which actors, which can be either human or non-human, speak 'the language' of others as a way to enrol them in their projects. Translation in ANT has little to do with linguistic transfer. The word was introduced in opposition to 'diffusion', the concept generally used to account for the spread of ideas or technological innovations. Translation conveys the assumption that scientific artefacts transform as they spread rather than being simply transmitted. Hence, translation symbolizes a transformation that occurs when an entity moves from one category of actors to another. The aim of ANT (usually called 'sociologie de la traduction' in French) is to unveil the strategies actors use to enrol others and fulfil their objectives. The notion of actor-network, like that of translation, is an explanatory metaphor, rather than a reality to be studied.

In ANT there are no pre-existing fields or structures but only processes of hybridization by which some 'macro-actors' can temporarily arise. ANT does not reject the idea of unequal power relations but rather than taking those imbalances for granted (as Bourdieu's sociology would), it starts with the assumption that the world is flat. It then tries to understand how inequalities and categories are formed, highlighting their fragile character, rather than their reproducible and durable one. A central metaphor of ANT is that the social world is a 'seamless fabric'. There is no rupture between nature/culture, text/context, agent/structure, or human/non-human: through constant processes of translation, there is continuity.⁶

There are at least two complementary ways in which ANT can be read and found relevant to translation studies. In a very holistic perspective, one could reflect, for example, on the possible connections between ANT and other post-structuralist theories that use translation as a key explanatory metaphor for displacement, hybridity and creativity. These theories already enjoy some popularity in translation studies. For example, Pym (2010) mentions possible connections between ANT and Homi K. Bhabha's theory of the 'third space'. The second, more empirically oriented avenue finds in ANT some conceptual and methodological tools for analysing translation processes, starting with *but not limited to* interlingual and intersemiotic translation processes (see Buzelin 2006; Jones 2009). Such studies try to highlight the multiplicity of interactions involved in the making of a translation (either proper or general) and the hybridity of the resulting product that goes beyond

ready-made categories. Put differently, it aims at revealing the multiple processes of translation (proper or general) involved in the production and circulation of any artefact.

Research methods

A key feature of sociology is its empirical basis. Methods of collecting data are varied. A distinction is usually made between three levels of analysis. Microanalyses focus on small units (such as a particular type of agent or practice) and look closely upon them so as to show their complexity. Meso-analyses study interactions between different kinds of agents and practices. Macro-analyses deal with large units such as nation states or world-systems.⁷ Traditionally, social research was divided by the qualitative/quantitative dichotomy. Interview and observation techniques were associated with the former while experiments and surveys related to the latter. Yet, as Scott (2002) recalls, this dichotomy is partly outdated because the need to combine various research techniques is now widely recognized. The following lines present a few collection methods that are common to social inquiry and provide some examples of their application in translation research.

Bibliographical research and questionnaires

There exists a number of research tools that allow translation scholars to generate bibliographical or statistical data. The most well known is surely the *Index Translationum* developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). National agencies or associations that subsidize translation often produce statistical reports and make part of their databases available to the public. For example, in 2007/08 the European Council of Literary Translators commissioned a wide-ranging survey on the working conditions of translators based on a compilation of national statistics. This survey presents useful information on the definition of 'literary translator', the number of active literary translators, as well as the different sources and levels of income of translators across Europe. The use of such quantitative or bibliographical data for research purposes implies prior reflection on their collection and validity. Particularly insightful methodological discussions on that matter can be found in Heilbron (1999), Sapiro (2008) and Poupaud *et al.* (2009). Quantitative data on translation can also be generated through the use of large-scale questionnaires and surveys. Heinich (1984) provides one of the first sociological analyses of the status of literary translators in France. Commissioned by the French Association of Literary Translators, this study consisted of a questionnaire administered to association members. As Heinich (*ibid.*: 267–8) explains, although this method over-represented a particular type of professional translator by using a 'spontaneous' sample, it was consistent with the nature and goals sought by the commissioner. Heinich's survey revealed quite strikingly the polarization of the association between 'occasional' and 'full-time' translators. The second category (full-time translators) appeared as relatively dominated, not only statistically, but in its social characteristics. Katan (2009) provides another good example of a questionnaire-based investigation of professional translators and interpreters. The results of this study are discussed below.

Interviews

Interviews may be used for a variety of purposes. On the whole, in comparison to questionnaires, they permit the collection of more subject-centred data on practices, perceptions,

feelings or life histories. Interviews may be central, complementary or preliminary to a research design. They can be either structured (consisting of a closed set of precise questions, as a questionnaire would), unstructured (taking, in some cases, the form of a long monologue), or semi-structured (comprising a range of themes to be discussed, with no predetermined set of questions). Kalinowski (2002) provides a good example of a study based on in-depth interviews with ten professional literary translators living in Paris and its suburbs. Her study examines their self-perceptions, how they represent their work and how they experience it. The picture that emerges is more intimate and empathic than the results of Heinrich's survey because Kalinowski gives voice to her informants. The study benefits from Heinrich's findings and it allows one to fine-tune them. In the same vein, Abdallah (2010) produced a study based on repeated interviews conducted over a period of five years with several Finnish translators working in production networks. Its results will be discussed below.

Observation

Observation is usually associated with fieldwork, i.e. a systematic immersion in a social group for research purposes. While interviews and questionnaires allow us to know how people perceive and experience their practices as well as how they reflect upon it, observation enables researchers to contextualize these reflections. More importantly, it provides information on realities, practices and beliefs that are so deeply internalized that they 'go without saying'. Observation may take many forms, depending on the position and role of the observer and the duration of the observation. Peretz (2007: 4) distinguishes between punctual observation (usually used on a preliminary basis or for a pilot study) and systematic observation, which is repeated and follows a predetermined schedule. Whether systematic or punctual, observation is a demanding data collection technique requiring the ability to perform three tasks at once: interact with participants, observe the social organization and record the observations made. As a whole, observation in social settings enables researchers to document realities that are neither verbalized nor formalized. It may reveal the disparities between agents' discourses and their practices, or between a formal and an experiential description of a particular reality (a task, a position, an organization). Illustrations of translation studies research involving participant observation are particularly common in workplace studies. They can be found in Koskinen (2008) and Buzelin (2006).

Some areas of investigation

Research areas are extremely diverse and do not easily lend themselves to categorization. Beyond the very general agent/process/product division (which is not specific to sociology), one can divide the landscape following established domains in contemporary social enquiry: the sociology of work/professions, the sociology of organizations, the sociology of culture (with a focus on literature) and the sociology of science. Although not exhaustive,⁸ this classification is quite inclusive. Above all, it allows us to gather contributions addressing closely related sets of questions.

Translation as a profession

Is translation a vocation, an occupation or a profession? If it is a profession, when and how did it come to be seen as such, and how do its members organize themselves? How does one acquire a 'translational competence' and become a professional translator? Is

there such a thing as a ‘translator’s habitus?’ These questions, which relate broadly to the ‘sociology of professions’, have received growing attention over the past 15 years. The debate is mainly over the socio-economic status of translation and the relative autonomy (or agency) of translators. One of the most challenging theses developed so far is that of Simeoni (1998, 2001) who argues for the existence of a long-range translational habitus. In his view, this habitus, which had started to develop with St Jerome, expresses itself through a particular disposition towards subservience, a readiness to comply with norms. This disposition would partly explain why translation remains a highly heteronomous field of practice (as opposed to academic or literary fields) and why its products are ‘the results of diversely distributed *social habituses* or, specific habituses *governed by the rules pertaining to the field in which the translation takes place*’ (Simeoni 1998: 19).⁹ A number of empirical studies allow us to better assess the strength and limits of this thesis.

For example, Heinich’s (1984) survey within the association of French literary translators indicates that, in the early 1980s, literary translation in France was only in the process of coming to be seen as a profession¹⁰ and pointed towards some of the barriers met along the way (some of which coming from translators themselves). A more recent study by Sela-Sheffy (2005, 2008) shows, in contrast, how Israeli literary translators engaged in a self-promotional discourse to make their ‘profession’ more attractive and more ‘visible’ to establish translation as a source of symbolic capital and prestige.¹¹ Including, but moving beyond literary translation, Katan (2009) investigates how 1,000 translators and interpreters from various countries and specializations perceive their role and status. The survey produced interesting results: although the vast majority of respondents perceived translation as a profession, some of their comments (such as the lack of barriers to entry) pointed towards the opposite. Social esteem was perceived as ‘low’ by almost one-third of the translators against 9 per cent for interpreters. As a whole, data analysis leads Katan to conclude that:

the translating profession [is] a ‘caring profession’, notoriously underpaid, with the only, yet fundamental, difference that translators care for the text rather than for the client. To a large extent a translator’s work and interest starts and finishes with the word ... Yet, though they are extremely aware of their relatively low professional autonomy this does not stop them from being pretty to extremely satisfied.

(Katan 2009: 149)

As a whole, the survey highlights the ‘great divide’ between academic and professional discourses on translation, providing much food for thought to translation scholars.

‘Translating institutions’

Another area of empirical investigation focuses on what Brian Mossop (1990) calls ‘translating institutions’, i.e. companies, governments, newspapers, churches or publishing houses. This area of research is not so much interested in determining the status and structure of the profession as it is in studying translators at work in a given organization involving other professionals. It aims, for example, to unveil how a particular work environment may affect translation practices, the definition of ‘translation quality’ as well as the translator’s agency. It may ultimately question how (much) translating institutions create their own translation norms. In this perspective, Mossop (1990, 2006) analysed workplace procedures and the change in translation norms within the Canadian government’s Translation Bureau.

In the same vein, Koskinen (2008, 2009) analysed the day-to-day routine of the Finnish translation unit of the European Commission as well as the process of text production/translation in this institution. Her contribution reveals the tension between the economic and the symbolic status of European Union (EU) translators as well as the various forms of socialization and identification (institutional, national, professional) that come into play in this particular translating (and translated) institution. Textual analysis highlights how the collective process by which EU texts are produced/translated leads to the creation and assertion of an ‘institutional’ voice, very much depersonalized, and reflecting, above all, the interest and viewpoint of this institution. A more recent study (Koskinen 2009) conducted among several translators working in a local representation of the EU Commission in Helsinki further showed how ‘institutional and physical space occupied by the translators can drastically change their experienced status and motivation, even within a single organisational setting’ (ibid.: 93). Another interesting study relating to the Finnish context is that of Abdallah (2010), who questioned how the production network, as a particular work environment, had a rather negative effect on translation quality and translator agency. Finally, Inghilleri’s (2003) study in the field of interpreting shows how court interpreters in political asylum interviews may apply different norms, acting as ‘conduit’ or ‘advocate’, depending on their qualifications, experience and understanding of the interpreting context. Her study also reveals the co-existence of distinct habituses in this particular setting which, in her view, creates a possibility for change. With regards to literary translation, Buzelin (2006, 2007) shows how both editorial and stylistic choices reflect above all interactions between the multiple actors engaged in the process who generally pursue partly distinct objectives – publishers, agents, translators, revisers and subsidizing agencies. Hence, each translation project/process may be an opportunity to reassert or subvert power relationships between these actors and their potential collaborators.

The translation of ‘cultural goods’ and the world book market

This area of research investigates how translation participates in the dynamics of international cultural (and more particularly literary) exchange. In Bourdieu’s model, which has dominated this area of research so far, the production of ‘cultural goods’ is represented as a market that grows out of a tension between a ‘restricted’ sphere (driven by the search for cultural capital) and a commercial sphere (driven by economic capital). In other words, economic and cultural capital is regarded as inversely related. What makes the market of cultural (and literary) goods peculiar is that it is based on a reversal of the fundamental principles governing the economic field: it is in the agents’ interest to show some disinterestedness towards economic profit. In this frame, translation is generally regarded as a way of acquiring symbolic capital.

Most representative of this area of research is the work undertaken by Casanova (2002, 2004) and Gouanvic (1999, 2007), as well as the contributions published in volume 144 of the journal *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, published in 2002. For Casanova, translation is regarded as an unequal exchange between dominating and dominated literary fields. Translation from dominating fields to dominated ones provides a way to catch up ‘literary time’ and acquire ‘literary capital’ by investing in titles with high symbolic value. The opposite – translation from dominated to dominating fields – acts as a form of consecration for the dominated ones. For his part, Gouanvic (1999) analysed how science fiction ‘landed’ suddenly in the French literary field in the 1950s. He showed how not only titles but whole editorial structures were ‘translated’ and naturalized as the genre settled in France.

Taking a more global perspective, inspired both by the economic theory of world systems and the sociology of cultural goods, Heilbron (1999, 2001) proposes a model to account for the uneven flows of international book exchanges. In this framework, translation is regarded as part of a world system structured along centre/periphery dynamics where centrality is a function of the share in the number of translated books. Drawing statistics from the *Index Translationum* database, he distinguishes four language groups: the ‘hypercentral’ English, followed by ‘central’ French, German and Russian, with six languages assuming a semi-peripheral role (accounting for 1–3 per cent of the share each) and all the other languages accounting for less than 1 per cent each. Data show that the centrality of a language is not so much related to the number of speakers as to its ‘literary capital’. Yet, the position of each language in this hierarchy may change over time. As a whole, translation flows primarily from centre to periphery, (hyper-)central languages often serving as intermediary in exchanges between peripheral or semi-peripheral languages. In the same vein, Sapiro (2008) presents the results of extensive research on the growth of the literary translation market since 1980, with data focusing on literary titles and essays in the human and social sciences. This survey reveals the tensions underlying the internationalization of literary exchanges such as the growing predominance of English as a source language along with a process of diversification of languages and genres. While attesting the relative weakening of French with respect to English and the growing influence of economic factors, the study also shows great disparities between genres; the translation of books in human and social sciences, for example, is apparently quite independent from market trends. Sapiro insists on the key role of subsidizing agencies in encouraging translation from languages other than English and ultimately in the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity.

A sociology of translation studies

One of the main driving forces behind the development of a sociological outlook in translation studies was the willingness to integrate the agent, starting with translators, into the map. Studying translation from the viewpoint of the agent was perceived by many as a way to bring more cohesion to the discipline (Simeoni 1995; Gouanvic 1999; Chesterman 2007). In conclusion to his 1999 essay, and following Bourdieu’s model, Gouanvic presented translation studies as ‘a scientific field in the process of autonomization, the main stake of which is to establish what is legitimate in that field’ (Gouanvic 1999: 147, my translation). In his view, this autonomy could only be acquired provided the questions tackled in it were specific to ‘translation practices’ and at the cutting edge of research in humanities. Likewise, Simeoni (2007) reflected on the fact that translation, a practice that is constitutive of social life, has become a legitimate object of the social sciences only recently. He found answers in the nationalism that underlined the development of those sciences and wondered to what extent this parochialism was a thing of the past. While seeing some positive signs of change, the author also put forward some doubts. Yves Gambier (2007), in turn, argued in favour of a socio-translation study, i.e. a reflective and systematic analysis of the conditions (its history, its institutions and current activities) under which this (inter-)discipline developed. The objective would be to highlight ‘the blind spots, the viewpoints, the focuses, the points of tension and breaking points of translation studies’ (ibid.: 215, author’s translation). Although difficult, the exercise may indeed be necessary at this stage in the development of translation studies. It would also invite us to reflect on how linguistic economy and power imbalances between languages inform the production, reception and international circulation of knowledge in translation studies.

Looking to the future

This overview does not claim to be exhaustive or pretend to be fully objective. It proceeds from a number of choices aimed at highlighting the diversity of theoretical perspectives, methodologies and research areas in sociologically oriented research on translation. The diversity, or heterogeneity, is such that one may be tempted to speak about multiple sociologies of translation. Given the differences in national sociological traditions combined with the polysemy of ‘translation’, this is hardly surprising. So what comes out of this review, ultimately, are contested and contrasting views of the very definition of ‘sociology of translation’.

As a whole, three main positions can be distinguished. The first, emerging mainly from the Centre de sociologie européenne and in direct line with Bourdieu’s programme, integrates the sociology of translation into that of cultural goods. This position, which was outlined by Heilbron and Sapiro (2002b, 2007), aims at analysing ‘firstly, the structure of the field of international cultural exchanges; secondly, the type of constraints – political and economic – that influence these exchanges; and thirdly the agents of intermediation and the processes of importing and receiving in the recipient country’ (2007: 95). Its strength lies in the solid research tradition on which it draws and its focused nature. This focus, however, may become too restrictive from the viewpoint of translation studies, as it leaves aside a number of translation practices that have little to do with the book industry, such as interpreting, institutional translation, etc. It also grants little autonomy to translation, either as a professional practice or as a research field. A second ‘sociology of translation’, less focused but more inclusive (partially integrating the first), is outlined by Wolf (2007). This sociology claims to belong to the field of translation studies and finds in Even-Zohar, Toury, Hermans and Lefevere its main precursors. It draws from a ‘cluster of approaches [to] deliver the theoretical and methodological groundwork for a view of translation and interpreting as a social practice’ (Wolf 2007: 13). Finally, if we stretch the meaning of ‘translation’ even further (some may say too far), moving away from a restricted usage to a metaphorical one, a third position could be taken into account: that of ANT, where translation is less of an empirical practice to be studied than an explanatory metaphor for approaching the social world and revealing its hybridity. Although there are obvious and growing areas of overlap (at least between the second position and the other two), these three ‘sociologies of translation’ stem from distinct academic traditions; they are interested in partly distinct objects and pursue partly different objectives. How to accommodate this diversity while avoiding the possible confusions generated by polysemy? A major challenge for the future will be to keep on developing exchanges between these ‘sociologies of translation’ as well as between the areas of investigation they can foster, while remaining aware of and respecting their specificities.

Within translation studies (i.e. the second position), sociology appears as a recent and dynamic trend. It has not delivered all its promises yet, but its legitimacy and importance no longer need to be demonstrated. Although we lack historical distance necessary to cast a critical eye upon it, a number of challenges can be foreseen. The first is to reduce the asymmetry between literary and non-literary focuses. Sociology-minded research on translation developed primarily in relation to literary fields/systems. If growing attention and visibility is being given to other types of linguistic transfer, such as interpreting or audiovisual translation, much more could be done. Another dichotomy that could be questioned is between text and context. The sociological viewpoint in translation studies developed partly in reaction to the predominance of text-bound analyses. Yet, in this move towards

emphasizing ‘context’, there is a risk of going too far and losing sight of actual translation practices. In Bourdieu’s model, which has dominated sociological research in translation studies so far, this text/context dichotomy is taken for granted. Although the model acknowledges both types of analyses as valid and proposes to reconcile them, in practice it clearly gives priority to contextual data. This position is legitimate, but it should be taken precisely as one theoretical position among others. This is why research stemming from sociological traditions other than Bourdieu’s, such as ‘sociologies of action’ (Weber, Crozier) or ‘sociologies of identity’ (Becker, Goffman) in Dubar’s words, or even Giddens’s theory of social structuration, which place more emphasis on agents, would be welcome. This is also where Latour’s vision, which questions and finally rejects this text/context dichotomy, may also be insightful.

The three social scientists who have so far most inspired sociological research in translation studies all reflected on the making of science. They showed deep awareness of the complex process by which ideas are formed and transformed as they move from one setting to another. This awareness is at the very basis of Latour’s programme and his use of translation as a key metaphor. It is also obvious in Bourdieu’s (2002) latest contributions. Yet none of them paid much attention to translation in the restricted sense, as if the latter were either entirely subordinate to deeper social structures, or too trivial,¹² or maybe too much a part of everyday practices.¹³ Or is it, as Simeoni (2005: 13) pondered, because translation is not an ‘ordinary object, certainly not one that is easy to objectify?’ Whatever the answer, a whole area of investigation remains open to sociology-minded translation scholars. Its agenda consists primarily of analysing the processes by which concepts and theories translate into different discursive fields (within a language), into different languages, or even into different semiotic systems. This could be part of a translation studies contribution to the sociology of science (or to Latour’s ‘sociology of associations’) as well as a way to reassert its specificity and value with regards to other disciplines of the human and social sciences.

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Related topics

sociology; translating agent; translator’s habitus; actor-network theory; world literary exchanges; Bourdieu; Luhmann; Latour

Notes

- 1 The boundaries of the object under study in this chapter were difficult to draw, mainly due to differences in national traditions and to the drastic changes that redefined the map of the social sciences in the 1960s. For example, most research belonging to the fields of cultural, gender or translation studies in English-speaking countries falls into various domains of ‘contemporary sociology’ in France. In writing this chapter we tried to provide the broadest possible account of the sociology-minded research that is relevant to translation studies, while avoiding overlaps with other chapters of the *Handbook*. For this reason we left aside works that have contributed to our understanding of translation as a social practice but are primarily associated with history or cultural, gender or postcolonial studies. However, we included sociological research that does not obviously belong to the field of translation studies but is relevant to the discipline. The challenges and contests around the definition of ‘sociology of translation’ are discussed at length later.

- 2 For a more detailed translation studies account of Bourdieu's theory, see Gouanvic (1999) and Inghilleri (2005).
- 3 In Ferrarese's view, 'Luhmann's social system refers to the world society as a whole as it reproduces communication through communication. According to Luhmann, sociology has always placed too much emphasis on cultural, regional and national differences; in his view, these differentiations are merely internal and secondary. They are not essential to understanding how society moves, transforms itself and produces events' (2007: 36, my translation). For his part, Tyulenev argues that 'the Luhmannian term "system" is broad enough to subsume any social body which claims to be a distinct unit – be it a super-ethnos, an empire, a national community, a trade union or a family. The system is a unit of any "size" as long as it is characterized by a distinct communication that makes it stand out against other social systems' (Tyulenev 2009: 159).
- 4 For a more detailed translation studies account of Luhmann's theory, see Vermeer (2006) and Tyulenev (2009).
- 5 The first empirical analysis was conducted as early as 1992 by Poltermann, who used this model to analyse changes in the norms of literary translation in Germany (Hermans 1999: 139). According to Hermans, this study showed that the early translations of foreign works tend to stick more closely to domestic genre expectations than subsequent renderings. 'Meeting genre expectations can be seen as a way of reducing complexity, making "alien" elements easier to handle within the system' (ibid.: 140).
- 6 For a more detailed translation studies account of ANT, see Buzelin (2005).
- 7 There is no obvious link between levels of analysis and theoretical frameworks. Bourdieu's social theory may lend itself to all levels, although the third (macro) view seems to have become predominant over time. According to Tyulenev (2009: 159), Luhmann's theory invites us to take a 'bird's-eye view'. However, if Luhmann's systems can be of any 'size', they could accommodate microanalyses as well. Finally, ANT's reliance on ethno-methodology and its interactionist perspective would make it particularly inclined towards meso-level analyses a priori, although the rejection the micro/macro dichotomy at the very basis of this theoretical paradigm prevents us from making such a statement.
- 8 An area of research and discussion that space limitations did not allow us to cover relates to translation and social conflict/action. For that matter, see Baker (2006), Tymoczko (2010), Inghilleri and Harding (2010).
- 9 However, Simeoni also acknowledged that recent transformations, such as the development of translation studies, could pave the way for greater emancipation. Kalinowski (2002) and, to a lesser extent, Heinich's (1984) survey outlined above tend to confirm Simeoni's thesis. They reveal the construction of a translational ethos asserting the solitary, disinterested, vocational character of literary translation, an ethos that accounts partly for the reproduction of the low socio-economic status of the profession.
- 10 In the Anglo-Saxon sociological tradition, professions (as opposed to occupations) related to law, medicine and engineering. They were defined by the following features: full-time work, the practice of which is regulated and requires long-term formal training, relates to a body of theoretical knowledge, and which is self-organized into an association or order recognized by authorities. However, since the late 1950s this occupation/profession dichotomy was challenged, particularly within the School of Chicago.
- 11 Her study recalls some of the observations Kalinowski and Heinich had made in the French context.
- 12 See Ferrarese (2007) commenting on Luhmann's perception of cultural, regional and national differences as merely secondary, quoted in Note 3.
- 13 For example, Latour, who writes in both French and English, often takes part in the translation of his own books so that the French and English editions are often quite different not only in form but in content as well.

Further reading

Hermans, T. (1999) *Translation in Systems*, Manchester: St Jerome. (This monograph gives a thorough yet concise account of the development of systemic approaches in translation studies, from the rise of the 'manipulation group' to the more recent introduction of Luhmann's ideas in

- translation studies. The book shows the relationships and differences between different theoretical paradigms (such as polysystem theory, Bourdieu's field theory, Luhmann's social systems theory) particularly well.)
- Heilbron, J. and Sapiro, G. (eds) (2002a) 'La traduction: Les échanges littéraires internationaux', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 144. (A special edition of the journal funded by Pierre Bourdieu and dedicated to international literary exchanges through translation.)
- Inghilleri, M. (ed.) (2005) 'Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting', *The Translator* 11(2): 125–299. (A special issue of *The Translator* discussing the use of Pierre Bourdieu's ideas in translation studies.)
- Simeoni, D. (2007) 'Translation and Society: The Emergence of a Conceptual Relationship', in P. St-Pierre and C. Kar (eds) *In Translation: Reflections, Refractions, Transformations*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 13–26. (This article provides a compelling discussion about why it took so long before translation became a legitimate object of sociological study. The author searches for answers in the historical circumstances underlying the development of the social sciences.)
- Wolf, M. and Furaki, A. (eds) (2007) *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (This collective volume came out of the first international conference on translation and interpreting as a social practice, which took place at the University of Graz in 2005. It provides a very nice snapshot of the questions at stake in the building of a 'sociology of translation', and highlights the diversity of theoretical paradigms.)

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Functionalism in translation studies

Christiane Nord

Historical overview

Every translator, whether of literary, Biblical or technical texts, is sooner or later confronted with the ‘literal vs. free’ dilemma. We find ample evidence of this through the centuries. When Cicero (106–43 BCE) reflected on his translation work in *De optimo genere oratorum* (Cicero 46 BCE), he found that he could either translate *ut interpres* (i.e. literally to the point of incomprehensibility) or *ut orator* (i.e. altering the wording in order to reach the audience). In a similar vein, Bible translators like Jerome (348–420), in his *Letter to Pammachius* (Hieronymus 1962), or Martin Luther (1483–1546), in his *Circular Letter on Translation* (Luther 1963), equally found that translators could either ‘keep to the letter’, reproducing the source text ‘word for word’ (*verbum e verbo*, Jerome), or try to render ‘sense for sense’ (*sensum de sensu*, Jerome), adjusting the wording to the target audience’s ways of expression (Luther). In his preface to his translations of Ovid’s *Epistles*, John Dryden (1631–1700) made a distinction between ‘metaphrase’ (word-for-word or line-for-line translation) and ‘paraphrase’ (sense-for-sense translation) (Dryden 1962), whereas Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) explained the two opposing strategies as ‘taking the reader to the text’ (i.e. foreignizing translation) and ‘taking the text to the reader’ (i.e. domesticating translation) (cf. Schleiermacher 1962), a dichotomy that was to be taken up much later by Lawrence Venuti (1995). Eugene A. Nida, Bible translator and director of the American Bible Society for many years, distinguished between ‘formal’ equivalence, which means to reproduce exactly the (linguistic) form of the source text, and ‘dynamic’ or, later, ‘functional’ equivalence, which strives to enable the target audience to respond to the text according to their own culture-specific ways of comprehension (cf. Nida 1964). Similar oppositions have been formulated by Juliane House (1977), with ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ translation, and Christiane Nord (1988), with ‘documentary’ and ‘instrumental’ translation.

Some of these authors based their choice of one translation strategy or the other on the text type or genre to which the source text belonged (e.g. Jerome, who distinguished Biblical from profane texts, or House, who classified texts according to the degree to which they are linked to the source culture); others held the view that either one or the other was the ‘proper’ way of translating (e.g. Dryden: sense-for-sense translation; Schleiermacher:

literal translation). Nord's (1988) typology is the only one that allows for both strategies, according to the purpose of the translation.

Most of these dichotomies were based on the notion of equivalence as a constitutive feature of translation; House (1977) speaks of primary and secondary equivalence. This concept was questioned for the first time, albeit as an exception, by Katharina Reiss in her book on the possibilities and limitations of translation criticism (Reiss 1971). Although still firmly rooted in equivalence-based theory, her model may be regarded as the starting point for a functionalist perspective on translation because it is based on the functional relationship between source and target texts or text types, as expressed by genres. According to Reiss, the ideal translation would be one 'in which the aim in the TL [target language] is equivalence as regards the conceptual content, linguistic form and communicative function of a SL [source language] text' (Reiss 1977, English translation in Reiss 1989: 112). She refers to this kind of translation as 'integral communicative performance' (ibid.: 114). However, being an experienced translator herself, Reiss knew that real life presents situations where equivalence is not possible, and in some cases, not even desired. Her approach to translation criticism thus accounts for certain exceptions from the equivalence requirements. These exceptions are due to the specifications of what in functionalism is referred to as the 'translation brief' (*Übersetzungsauftrag*). One exception is when the target text is intended to achieve a purpose or function other than that of the original, like in adapting prose texts for the stage, translating Shakespeare for foreign-language students, or providing word-for-word translations of an Arabic poem intended to serve as a basis for a free rendering by an English poet who does not know the source language. A further exception is when the target text addresses an audience different from the intended readership of the original, like in translations of *Don Quijote* or *Gulliver's Travels* for children. Reiss excludes these cases from the area of 'translation proper' and suggests they be referred to as 'transfers' (*Übertragungen*) (1971: 105), where the functional perspective takes precedence over the normal standards of equivalence.

Less than ten years later, Hans J. Vermeer (1930–2010), who studied with Katharina Reiss at Heidelberg University, developed a 'framework for a general theory of translation' (Vermeer 1978) that turned Reiss's model upside down. Vermeer holds the view that change of function and audience is the general case, not the exception, since the target-culture audience always differs from the source culture audience, at least with regard to background knowledge, value systems, norms and conventions, etc., which change the function the translated text may have for them. This theory, which Vermeer calls *skopos* theory (*Skopostheorie*) suggests that it is the *skopos* (Greek for 'purpose' or intended function) of the translation process that determines the translator's choice of strategy: either to keep to the source text's form and wording if the translation is supposed to 'document' any one of the source-text features or characteristics, such as language, style, norms, genre conventions, worldview, etc. (cf. Nord's 'documentary' translation), or to make the target text work as a functional communication instrument that takes account of the audience's knowledge presuppositions, their needs and expectations regarding language, style, norms, conventions, worldview, etc. (cf. Nord's 'instrumental' translation). According to this theoretical framework, either strategy may be adequate as long as it fulfils the requirements of the translation brief given to the translator by the client or commissioner. This brief, which ideally would describe the situation (including the addressed audience) for which the translation is required, may not be very specific in professional life, but it is the translator's task to interpret it and find out what it means for the translation of the source text in question.

Skopos theory was developed in more detail in a book co-authored with Katharina Reiss (Reiss and Vermeer 1984). The first part of the book, written by Vermeer, explains the theoretical foundations and basic principles of skopos theory as a general theory of translation and interpreting, whereas the second part, written by Katharina Reiss, attempts to integrate Reiss's equivalence-based approach as a 'specific theory' into the general skopos framework. This attempt (together with the alphabetical order chosen for the authors' names), was obviously what led to the misconception, still rather popular, particularly with newcomers to translation studies, that Katharina Reiss was the founder of skopos theory (an illustration of this can be found in Gentzler 2001: 65).

Around the same time, Justa Holz-Mänttari, a Finland-based German translator trainer and translation scholar, presented a model that goes one step further than Vermeer's skopos theory. Holz-Mänttari even avoids the term 'translation' in the strict sense and speaks of 'translatorial action' instead (1981, 1984), which enables her to move away from the traditional concepts and expectations connected with the word 'translation'. Her model is designed to cover all forms of intercultural transfer, including those that do not involve any source or target *texts*. She prefers to speak of 'message transmitters' (*Botschaftsträger*), which consist of textual material combined with other media such as pictures, sounds and body movements. Translatorial action is defined as 'the process of producing a message transmitter of a certain kind, designed to be employed in superordinate action systems in order to coordinate actional and communicative cooperation' (1984: 17, translation by the author).

One of Holz-Mänttari's prime concerns is the status of translators in a world characterized by the division of labour. Her concepts of vocational training emphasize the role of translators as experts in their field (cf. Holz-Mänttari and Vermeer 1985).

The early texts were almost exclusively written in German and published in journals or by publishers in Germany, with the exception of Justa Holz-Mänttari, some of whose works were published in Finland. In Germany, the centre was first the Germersheim campus of the University of Mainz and later nearby Heidelberg, after Vermeer was appointed in 1985 to the newly created Chair of Translation Studies and Portuguese Language and Culture at the Heidelberg University School of Translation and Interpreting. By the end of the 1980s only two publications by Vermeer had appeared in English (1987, 1989), one in Portuguese (1986), and a Finnish translation of some parts of Reiss and Vermeer 1984 (Reiss and Vermeer 1986). A Spanish translation appeared in 1996 (Reiss and Vermeer 1996, not complete), and a first English-language introduction to skopos theory and functionalist approaches was published in 1997 (Nord 1997a).

Basic concepts of skopos theory

Vermeer (1978) considers translation (including interpreting) to be a type of activity where communicative verbal and non-verbal signs are transferred from one language-and-culture (or 'linguaculture') to another. It is thus a type of human action. In accordance with action theory, Vermeer defines human action as purposeful behaviour that takes place in a given situation. Considering that situations are embedded in cultures, human actions are determined by culture-specific norms and conventions. A person *A* in linguaculture *X* behaves (speaks, writes or is silent) according to the norms of this culture, whereas a person *B* in culture *Y* behaves (understands, interprets, evaluates) the behaviour of others in terms of the norms of their own linguaculture. The professional translator/interpreter *C*, by definition, has a profound knowledge of both cultures and is therefore able to judge where

the differences in behaviour between the two cultures are such that they can lead to misunderstandings or even communication breakdowns. In these cases, the translator's task is that of a mediator between cultures. If the target text can be interpreted by the target receivers as coherent with their situation and with what they know about the world – in other words, if it 'functions' for them – Vermeer speaks of 'intratextual coherence'.

Function or functionality refers to what a text means or is intended (or rather, interpreted as being intended) to mean for a particular receiver in a given moment. It is therefore not a quality inherent in a text but assigned to it in the moment of reception. By contrast, intention is defined from the viewpoint of the sender, who wants to achieve a certain purpose with the text. However, since a text, in the framework of skopos theory, is regarded as an 'offer of information', there is no guarantee that this purpose will actually be achieved. This depends on the receiver's ability and willingness to cooperate in the communicative interaction. In translational communication, the translated text (or *translatum*) is an offer of information in the target language-and-culture about another offer of information that was or is used in the source language-and-culture. Seen from this standpoint it is no longer possible to speak of 'the' meaning of 'the' source text that is transferred from one culture to another.

The top-ranking rule for any translation is thus the skopos rule, which says that a translational action is determined by its skopos. Vermeer explains the skopos rule in the following way:

Each text is produced for a given purpose and should serve this purpose. The *skopos* rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function.

(Vermeer 1989: 20, translation by the author)

In the framework of this theory, language is defined as an intrinsic part of a culture, culture being 'the entire setting of norms and conventions an individual as a member of his society must know in order to be "like everybody" – or to be able to be different from everybody' (1987). When we compare two cultures, a culture-specific behaviour or 'cultureme' is one that is found to exist in a particular form or function in only one of the two cultures. This does not mean that it exists only in that particular culture. It does not mean either that *all* members of the culture use this form of behaviour at any moment where it may be appropriate. Culture-specific behaviouremes are 'prototypical' behaviour patterns (cf. Nord 1993: 20).

If the purpose of the translation is the main standard for the translator's decision, the traditional concept of equivalence loses its status as a constitutive feature of translation. Equivalence may be one possible aim when translating but it is not considered to be a translation principle valid once and for all (cf. Reiss and Vermeer 1984: 146–7). Equivalence is a static, result-oriented concept describing a relationship of 'equal communicative value' between two texts or, on lower ranks, between words, phrases, sentences, syntactic structures and so on. If the translation brief requires some other relationship between source and target text, the generic concept will be that of adequacy. Adequacy (in German: *Adäquatheit*) refers to the qualities of a target text with regard to the translation brief: the translation should be 'adequate to' the requirements of the brief. It is a dynamic concept related to the process of translational action and referring to the 'goal-oriented selection of signs that are considered appropriate for the communicative purpose defined in the translation brief' (Reiss

1983). If the relationship between source and target text conforms to the requirements of the translation brief, Vermeer speaks of ‘intertextual coherence’ or ‘fidelity’. In any case, however, the demand for fidelity is subordinate to the skopos rule.

This rather loose connection between the source and the target text has raised considerable criticism from equivalence-based translation scholars. The skopos rule, which might be paraphrased as ‘the end justifies the means’, as indeed it was by Reiss and Vermeer (1984), was considered to be unethical because it could be interpreted as giving *carte blanche* to translators who wanted to manipulate the source text as they (or their clients) saw fit. However, the demand that translators should take the target audience’s needs and expectations into account does not mean that translators must always do exactly what the readers expect. Yet there is a moral responsibility not to deceive them, because in the communicative interaction between members of two different cultures, the translator is the only person with a profound knowledge of both. This responsibility translators have toward their partners has been called ‘loyalty’ (*Loyalität*) by Nord, who thus added a moral quality to the applications of the skopos model (cf. Nord 1989, 1991, 2001a). Loyalty commits the translator bilaterally to the source and the target sides. It must not be mixed up with the traditional concepts of fidelity or faithfulness, concepts that usually refer to a relationship holding between the source and the target *texts*. Loyalty is an *interpersonal* category referring to a social relationship between *people*. Nord’s version of the functionalist approach thus stands on two pillars, function *plus* loyalty. It is precisely the combination of the two principles that matter to her, even though there may be cases where they seem to contradict each other. Loyalty limits the range of justifiable target-text functions for one particular source text and raises the need for a negotiation of the translation assignment between translators and their clients.

Functionalism in translator training

Shortly after the first publication of skopos theory, a group of teachers who were in direct contact with Vermeer at the schools for translation and interpreting in Germersheim and Heidelberg started applying it to their teaching. They focused on translation methodology (Hönig and Kussmaul 1982), translation-oriented text analysis (Nord 1988), translation quality assessment (Kupsch-Losereit 1985, 1986; Hönig 1986; Kussmaul 1986; see also Schäffner 1997), and translation criticism (Ammann 1989c), on cultural aspects of translation in general (Löwe 1989), and of technical translation, in particular (Schmitt 1989). This was the groundwork of what later on would be called ‘functionalism’ or ‘functional approaches to translation’.

Translation-oriented text analysis may be used as an illustration of how the functional perspective changes certain aspects of translation pedagogy. From the beginning of institutionalized translator training, it had gone without saying that before embarking on any translation, the translator should analyse the text comprehensively, since this appears to be the only way of ensuring that the source text has been wholly and correctly understood. Moreover, in the framework of an equivalence-based concept of translation, this text analysis provided the foundation for each and every decision that a translator had to make in a particular translation process, because the (equivalent) target text was supposed to reflect all the relevant linguistic, stylistic, pragmatic, etc. characteristics of the source. This cannot be the role of source-text analysis within a functional, skopos-oriented framework. Therefore, the translation process has to begin earlier, with an analysis (and, if necessary, interpretation) of the translation brief, the result of which will be what we

might call a ‘target-text profile’, i.e. the idea of what the target text must look like in order to fulfil the requirements of the assignment. In a second step, the source text is analysed and compared to the target-text profile. This comparison shows (i) whether the translation, as commissioned by the client, is at all feasible; (ii) where the translation problems lie; and (iii) how, i.e. by means of which strategy, these problems have to be solved in order to produce a consistent target text that works for the target audience in the target situation-in-culture.

From a functional viewpoint, there is also a solution to the ‘literal vs. free’ dilemma described above. The choice of a holistic strategy for a translation project, which also offers a guideline for the choice of translation procedures or ‘local strategies’ (Chesterman 1995) is no longer determined by the source text’s characteristics, its genre or the domain to which it belongs, but by the *skopos*. A translation typology, which classifies the various forms of translation found in professional practice from a functional viewpoint, has been proposed by Nord (1997c).

Functionalist research in the twenty-first century

The basic texts of *skopos* theory and its functionalist applications were mainly written in German, and it is a sad fact that the knowledge of this language is not as widespread today as it was in earlier centuries. Functionalists did not start publishing in English and other languages (mainly Spanish) until the 1990s, thus trying to overcome this limitation, but even so, it took almost ten years for the word to spread in other language areas where people had to rely on translations. China, where *skopos* theory became known as early as 1987, seems to be an exception (Qianyuan 1987; Bian and Cui 2006; Bian 2008; Wen 2008).

It is quite amazing, therefore, that by the beginning of the twenty-first century functionalist research had started gaining ground in many parts of the world, the main areas of investigation being translation pedagogy, culture-specificity, applications to specific text types or domains, and the profession.

As has been mentioned above, translation pedagogy was one of the favourite domains of functionalist scholars from the start. The large number of publications in this area can be grouped around five focus points: (i) translation methodology, including translation-oriented text analysis, error analysis and translation assessment, translation strategies and typologies, creativity (cf. Kussmaul 2000), and translation aids (cf. Britta Nord 2002, 2009); (ii) the elaboration of teaching material, including handbooks, general and language pair-specific study material (cf. Nord 2001b; Schäffner and Wiesemann 2001); (iii) studies on audience orientation (see below); (iv) translator training (including curriculum design on all levels: BA, MA, PhD studies, continuing education); and (v) the description and definition of translation competence (cf. Risku 1998; Witte 2000). An empirical study of how students react to a ‘two-fold *skopos*’ was presented by Norberg (2003).

There is one focus point that deserves particular attention. Audience orientation has from the start been a sensitive aspect of functionalist theory and applications. Critics have been asking how translators know what the audience expects of a translation. One way of gaining insights into audience expectations and knowledge presuppositions is the analysis of authentic target-cultural parallel texts, since the characteristic features of these texts shape or even determine the expectations of their users (Nord 2000). However, this can only be assumed for the expectations regarding non-translated texts, and it is possible that the audience’s reaction to translated texts is different, perhaps even more tolerant when confronted with unfamiliar features. A very thorough empirical study on audience expectations has been carried out by Marie-Louise Nobs, from the University of Granada,

Spain (cf. Nobs Federer 2006, 2009), in which she analyses reader responses to translated tourist information leaflets. This study yielded very interesting (and, for the theoretician, rather surprising) results. More studies are needed in this area, particularly when dealing with technical or scientific translations, to provide a solid ground for translation pedagogy.

The consideration of culture and culture specificity in translation has been at the heart of skopos theory and functionalism from the very beginning, strongly influenced by the cooperation of Vermeer and Heinz Göhring, a cultural anthropologist and conference interpreter who adapted cultural theory to both translation and interpreting and language teaching (cf. Göhring 1978). Together with Heidrun Witte, Vermeer introduced the notion of *cultureme* into translation studies (cf. Vermeer and Witte 1990). There are four areas in which a large number of studies have been carried out and which can still be regarded as a gold mine for research topics: (i) comparative studies of text-type norms and conventions in all kinds of practice-relevant genres, such as book titles and text headings, also section headings in the New Testament (Nord 1993, 1995, 2007b), technical and scientific texts (cf. Göpferich 1995), tourist and other information brochures or leaflets (cf. Fernández 2010, who analysed and compared information leaflets of Spanish and German language schools); (ii) general style comparison based on functional speech acts (cf. Nord 2003); (iii) comparative descriptions of conventions of non-verbal behaviour, such as descriptions of paraverbal behaviour in fictional texts (Nord 1997b), or the roles and functions of layout and typography in translation (cf. Schopp 1995); and (iv) comparative studies about specific *culturemes*, such as metacommunication (Nord 2007a) or the expression and marking of ideology (Ruiz Yepes 2005, 2006) or of irony in literary texts (Fehlauer-Lenz 2009). Genre comparison and comparison of general style conventions can make use of electronically held parallel and comparable text corpora (cf. Ruiz Yepes 2009).

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

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

One of the most important achievements of skopos theory and functionalism in translation was to take the translating and interpreting profession seriously. The professionalization of these activities, which have not in the past – apart from conference interpreting – enjoyed a very high social prestige, has been one of the foremost aims of Justa Holz-Mänttari. The five aspects that should be emphasized in this area are: (i) professional ethics, where the concept of ‘loyalty’ has been discussed from various perspectives (cf. Nord 2004; Bian 2006; Downie 2009a; Batista Rodríguez *et al.* 2009); (ii) functional aspects of conference interpreting (cf. Pöchhacker 1994, 1995); (iii) cross-cultural consulting and technical writing as non-translational mediating activities (cf. Risku 2003, 2004); and (iv) the translator’s workplace (including translation aids) and his or her role in international communication and marketing, writing for the web, localization, etc. (cf., for example, the contributions in Freudenfeld and Nord 2007, or Montiel-Ponsoda 2009).

Future perspectives

As we have seen, the present trends seem to focus on application (e.g. with regard to translation methodology) and hypothesis testing (e.g. concerning audience response). There is still a great demand for empirical confirmation (or correction!) of functional maxims. Empirical data from questionnaires and other forms of surveys can shed a more reliable light on the way in which audiences of particular genres or in particular domains react to translated texts. The results of these studies can have a direct impact on the criteria used for translation quality assessment and the standards of teaching.

Another very promising area where more empirical studies have to be carried out is that of the translator's workplace. Since this workplace has been changing quite dramatically over the past few years, the consequences of such research for translation pedagogy and the development of training programmes cannot be underestimated. In this respect, a continuation of Britta Nord's empirical study carried out in 1997 (Nord 2002, 2009) on the use of translation aids by professional translators would be more than welcome. For curriculum design and translation teaching, we need reliable information on how translators' behaviour has changed after the availability of electronic media and tools.

Functionalism is widely seen as appealing to common sense. One might thus assume that once 'discovered', it would spread like wildfire through the world of translation studies. Yet this is not quite what is happening, although the list of countries where the authors mentioned earlier live and research is already quite impressive, more than it was ten years ago (cf. Nord 1997a: 129). It may be worth noting, however, that in Germany, where functionalism originated roughly 30 years ago, we do not find many functionalist scholars of the third or even fourth generation. This may be due, at least in part, to the peculiarities of German academia and to the fact that in Germany, translation has for centuries been the domain of philological studies, with little interest in professional aspects. Another reason may simply be that well-trained translators and interpreters become successful practitioners, their excellent work allowing them to earn a good living and taking away any motivation to go back to the arduous paths of research. Thus, the gap between practice and theory seems to widen even more.

Interestingly enough, functionalist approaches fall on very fertile ground in countries such as China or South Africa, where translation needs are pressing. Particularly in South Africa, the demand for 'functional' translation in the fields of administration, finance, insurance, law, health and medicine, often into languages that lack the corresponding terminologies and means of expression, has increased dramatically, whereas university translator training is not yet as generally accepted as it is in Europe. Again, however, functional training and functional translation itself do not automatically generate research on functionalism.

Related topics

skopos; translation typologies; function *plus* loyalty; adequacy; cultureme; translational action; translation brief

Further reading

Munday, J. (2008) *Introducing Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge. (Jeremy Munday's book looks at the theory from a greater (temporal) distance, applying it to the area for

- which it was intended in the first place, namely translator training. His work is a very good demonstration of how functionalist approaches may be used in the classroom.)
- Nord, C. (1993) *Einführung in das funktionale Übersetzen*, Tübingen: Francke. (Christiane Nord's book (Introduction to Functional Translation) uses book titles and text headings as a useful paradigm for the justification and application of a functionalist approach to translation. Using a corpus of more than 12,500 items, the author analyses the formal and functional text-type conventions of English, Spanish, French and German titles, which then serve as a basis for the comparison and evaluation of a large number of title translations on functional grounds.)
- Nord, C. (1997) *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*, Manchester: St Jerome. (Christiane Nord's book provides a general overview of the development and basic principles of skopos theory and the functional applications derived from it. Examples in English, German, Spanish and French illustrate her classification of translation problems and her functional translation typology.)
- Snell-Hornby, M. (2006) *The Turns of Translation*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (For those seeking a brief and yet reliable introduction to the functional approach in translation, Mary Snell-Hornby's book (51–60) seems to be a good starting point.)
- Snell-Hornby, M. (1988) *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (Snell-Hornby witnessed the 'cultural turn' at Heidelberg University where she was a visiting professor during the 1980s, and although she cannot be regarded as a skopos theorist in the narrower sense, her 'integrated approach' links quite well with functionalist views. It must be emphasized, however, that her representation of functionalism, like many others, underlines the target-orientedness of skopos theory, neglecting the fact that skopos theory also accounts for literal or even word-for-word translations if required by the translation brief.)

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Linguistic approaches in translation studies

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Linguistically oriented translation research investigates translation using conceptual frameworks and methodologies borrowed from the different strands of linguistics. There is, inevitably, a need to adjust these to the specificity of translation, and quite a lot of scope for developing them in new directions. A very important question remains as to which kind of linguistics is best suited to help to explain translation phenomena. Hence the use of ‘approaches’ in the title. The aim of this chapter is, therefore, to discuss the contribution of linguistics to the development of translation studies research. In particular, contrastive linguistics and the key areas of discourse analysis, text linguistics and pragmatics are outlined.

Why a linguistic approach to translation?

Linguistics is the study of language. The reason why it should be relevant to translation research (and practice) appears to be self-evident: when we translate or analyse translations we work with the material of language. However, what is (human) language? How do speakers or writers communicate meaning? Is language only, or mostly, about that? What is meaning, after all? Is it a stable entity, securely contained in words and sentences, waiting to be deciphered according to some fail-safe algorithm, or does its transmission and, perhaps, its very existence, depend on considerations well beyond its embodiment in textual form, which shape texts and are in turn affected by them? That, indeed, seems to be the opinion of a very large number of scholars today, whose work takes into account, at every stage of analysis, the crucial dimension of context.

These and many other questions, some of philosophical and anthropological order, inform the study of language, and Catford (1965) stated in no ambiguous terms, at the very beginning of his book *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, that ‘any theory of translation must draw upon a theory of language – a general linguistic theory’. At the same time, most challenges translators encounter do not involve one language system only. Indeed, as Mason (2009: 55) pointed out, in translation studies ‘the raw data are situated at the interface between two languages’, and sometimes more than two are involved, in multilingual texts (see Meylaerts, this volume). The word interface suggests a surface that forms a

common boundary of two bodies or spaces, while at the same time being the locus where independent or even unrelated systems meet and interact. The nature of this interface and the manner of the interacting remain, in the case of translation, far from obvious, which is why we often find it easier to talk about it through metaphors such as ‘building bridges’ or ‘travelling abroad’, or by resorting to approximations like ‘mediation’ and ‘transfer’, instead of giving clear-cut definitions of what exactly translation is and does.

Languages differ widely in the way in which they are equipped to perceive the world. This is, possibly, because they do not attach the same degree of importance or relevance to the various aspects of experience (Baker 1992: 86). Some concepts are sparsely developed, while others are elaborated in great detail. According to Halliday (1970: 143), ‘language ... gives structure to experience, and helps to determine our way of looking at things, so that it requires some intellectual effort to see them in any other way than that which our language suggests to us’. Examples of asymmetries are legion. Words in one language do not always have a counterpart in another, as is the case with the Romanian *opincă*, which refers to a particular type of peasant shoe, for which there is no straightforward equivalent in English. Beyond vocabulary, though, there can be significant contrasts between languages in terms of grammatical categories such as number, person, gender, tense, aspect and voice, reflecting deeper, metaphysical issues, and possibly pointing to the fact that ‘the worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached’ (Sapir [1929] 1949: 69). According to linguistic relativity, often known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, language is the mould of thought and, to an extent, we are all prisoners of our languages, which are already a form of translation. If that were the case, would we have to conclude that successful translation is impossible?

In Jakobson’s view, ‘all cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language’ (1959 [2004]: 140). This is a claim that falls within the so-called linguistic universalism. In his widely cited essay ‘On Linguistic Aspects of Translation’, Jakobson outlines a number of asymmetries between languages and some of the techniques that can be used to circumvent the difficulties. According to him, ‘languages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey’ (ibid.: 141, emphasis in the original). This distinction is key.

The contrastive linguistic and stylistic approach

Drawing on a view of translation as transfer between language systems, and restricting analysis to below sentence level, Vinay and Darbelnet’s influential 1958 manual *Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais* provided a detailed description of translation operations, for the French-English language pair, but with possible applications to other language combinations.¹ Vinay and Darbelnet set out to present seven methods or ‘procedures’ (a notion taken up by Newmark 1988). These are: borrowing, calque, literal translation, transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation, and refer mainly to vocabulary, syntax, and to what Vinay and Darbelnet call ‘message’, defined as the encompassing framework into which the utterance fits. The seven procedures fall within two general strategies: literal translation and oblique translation (for a critical evaluation of Vinay and Darbelnet 1958 and, in particular, of the seven translation procedures, see Ballard 2006).

Mapping languages independently is useful, but translators work with language pairs. The comparative approach is, therefore, of particular interest, as it can provide translational solutions by pointing at items in the target language that can be demonstrated to

correspond to specific elements in the source language, in a given situation. A distinction has to be made, however, between language structures and systems, on the one hand, and conventions of language usage, on the other. The first make the object of, for example, comparative phonology or grammar. The latter refer to the practical know-how of native speakers within their linguistic communities, which often goes unrecorded (for a discussion of this, see, for instance, Mason and Şerban 2004: 274). It may sometimes appear to the contrastive scholar, especially in the case of languages that are related, that there are, structurally speaking, few significant differences. Yet, among the forms available in the repertoire of a language, native speakers generally agree on certain alternatives that are given preference (Toolan 1990: 183). Moreover, speakers make motivated choices that are highly contextual, in more than one sense of the term ‘context’, as we shall see later in this chapter.

In France, Guillemin-Flescher published in 1981 a comparative study of French and English syntax. This was followed, in 1987, by Chuquet and Paillard’s manual, *Approche linguistique des problèmes de traduction*. Their research inspired a new generation of scholars such as, for instance, Niță (2006, 2009), who compares English, French and Romanian. A series entitled *Linguistique contrastive et traduction* came into being, under the direction of Guillemin-Flescher, publishing research on various aspects of, mainly, the English-French language pair (see, for instance, Chuquet 1994; Celle 1997; Hoarau 1997; Merle 2001; Poncharal 2003), but also French-Greek (e.g. Grammenidis 2000), Arabic-French (Chairet 1996) and French-Polish (Kuzmider 1999). Some of the work of Michel Ballard can also be ranged under the contrastive approach (e.g. Ballard 1995).

In terms of research methodology, contrastive studies have a main challenge, namely the type of data that are analysed. Translations and their respective source texts are often used, and this has a number of implications that need to be considered. Indeed, a translated text cannot be treated as though it were spontaneously produced by a speaker or writer directly in the target language. Making claims about general language behaviour based on studies of translated texts amounts to comparing things that are not comparable (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958 warned against this), and obliterating the dimensions of choice, strategy and decision-making, when in reality translators often have to opt between several different alternatives that could be plausible in a given situation. The contrastive linguistic findings, which purport to reveal facts about the languages under investigation, are in fact likely to be affected by the variable of translator behaviour, insufficiently taken into consideration (for a more detailed discussion, see Mason 2001b).

From the point of view of translation studies, the problem lies, of course, in the fact that contrastive scholars tend to be linguists in the first place, using translations as their research data, in order to describe languages, not translation. These researchers often assume that target texts and their various linguistic elements are comparable – equivalent – with the source texts and their linguistic features, in a completely transparent, unmediated way; the long tradition of using decontextualized translation exercises to teach foreign languages in schools and universities may also have played a role in reinforcing the strong and widespread belief that translation is a matter of accurate, correct replacement of items and structures in one language with corresponding elements in another language system. On the other hand, most linguistically oriented translation studies scholars today borrow linguistic tools with a view to analysing the same data of source texts and translations, but their objective is not one of making statements about languages; rather, they examine the very mediation that is often neglected by their contrastive colleagues.

The two approaches may seem related, but are not, in fact, entirely compatible. Translation scholars drawing on the findings of contrastive linguistics need to be aware, in

particular, of the danger of circularity, i.e. claims are made about language pairs based on studies of translator-mediated texts, then these claims are put to task by other researchers to account for translator behaviour. In order to circumvent the difficulty, a case can perhaps be made for the comparative study of texts that are not translations of one another, but which can somehow be demonstrated to be comparable along specific dimensions (in the tradition of Hartmann's 1980, 1996 contrastive textology). An example of this is McLaren (2000; see also some of the analyses in Hatim 1997). In any case, one of the achievements of contrastive linguistic studies for several decades has been the use of real communication data, rather than using examples made up by introspection. Analyses of collections of texts are privileged, a development that parallels the advent of corpora in translation studies, inspired by corpus linguistics (see Laviosa, this volume).

Whatever the challenges, past or present, the relationship between linguistics, translation studies and contrastive linguistics must never be played down. The potential of these disciplines to enrich one another has been, and remains, tremendous, and the affinities between them are, to our mind, so obvious that they hardly deserve comment. According to Jakobson ([1959] 2004: 139), 'any comparison of two languages implies an examination of their mutual translatability'. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) and Guillemin-Flescher (1992) also comment that aspects of languages are revealed, or become more salient, when contrasted with other languages. More recently, Malmkjær (1998) discusses the role that (literary) translation can play as a resource for linguistic research. It is beyond question that translation also stands to gain a lot from the natural relationship with linguistics, in terms of conceptual tools and research methods, but only as long as translation studies is considered a discipline in its own right, not a mere branch of applied linguistics.

Equivalence and shifts in translation

The paradox of translating is that it is expected to lead to the creation of a text that is the same as, while being different from, another text of which it is a translation. The term 'equivalence', which we employed in our discussion of contrastive approaches, may seem transparent but designates, in fact, a difficult concept. In Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958) taxonomy of translation procedures, equivalence is one out of seven possible methods. Catford (1965), however, defined translation itself through equivalence. According to him, translation is the 'replacement of textual material in one language (SL [source language]) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL [target language])' (ibid.: 20); this could be full or partial, not to be mixed up with total versus restricted translation, which is another distinction Catford makes, a third being rank-bound versus unbounded. This definition has been accused of circularity, i.e. equivalence is what is observed to be equivalent. Jakobson ([1959] 2004) also discussed translation equivalence. From a perspective informed by semiotics, he described translation as a process of recoding that 'involves two equivalent messages in two different codes' (ibid.: 139). Finally, Nida (1964) and Nida and Taber ([1969] 1982) distinguished between formal correspondence and dynamic equivalence, concepts that became extremely famous. Dynamic equivalence represented a crucial step forward towards considering communicative value in specific contexts.

According to Catford (1965: 73), 'shifts' occur when there are 'departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL'. Newmark later used the term to mean translation procedures involving 'a change in grammar from source language to target language' (ibid.: 85), e.g. a singular becoming a plural, an adjective moving after the noun, or a participial clause translated by an adverbial clause; in his view,

Catford's 'shift' and Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958) 'transposition' are the same thing. Such accounts, however, do not cater for higher-order equivalences and differences at the level of text and discourse, and the pragmatics of translation as an act of communication. From a somewhat different perspective, Popovič (1970) defined shifts in translation as a stylistic category and referred to them as 'shifts of expression', insisting that they should not be seen in isolation but, rather, 'in relation to the entire system of expression' (ibid.: 84).

The most detailed attempt to date to create and apply a model for the analysis of shifts in translation is van Leuven-Zwart (1989, 1990). This very complex taxonomical model has a comparative dimension, involving a detailed comparison between source texts and translations as well as a classification of microstructural shifts within sentences and clauses, and a descriptive component for analysis at macrostructural (discourse) level.

A broad definition of shifts as 'changes which occur or may occur in the process of translating' (Bakker *et al.* 2009: 267) raises the issue of how we might define 'change' in translation, and of the applicability of the distinction between obligatory and optional changes or shifts. While we tend to assume that there is in translation an 'invariant under transformation' (Toury 1980: 12), the line between obligatory and non-obligatory changes is difficult to draw. A shift is non-obligatory when there are viable alternatives to choose from – and that is very often the case – but translators evaluate optionality and obligatoriness in different ways, there are norms and conventions in operation, as well as a host of contextual factors, influencing views on what should be considered to be obligatory or not, and in which circumstances. Choice in translation takes us to the question of creativity and the translator's style.

Is linguistic equivalence possible, or does it have to remain an ideal? Equivalence in translation is meant to be a relationship, and we take it to involve considerations of correspondence, adequacy, correctness, accuracy and the moral-methodological concept of fidelity – among many other things. Descriptive translation studies (DTS) and Toury (1980, 1995) gave all of this a unique twist, positing that translations are facts of the target culture, subject to norms that must not be understood in a general prescriptive way, and that equivalence between translations and source texts has to be treated as a given (see Ben-Ari, this volume). The equivalence postulate acts in a liberating way, enabling questions concerning the type and degree of equivalence that are present to be examined (Toury 1980: 47). DTS (see Ben-Ari, this volume) revolutionized linguistic approaches to translation, in terms of research questions and the methodologies that were introduced. A noteworthy example of this is the use of corpora, which makes it possible to analyse linguistic features across large quantities of text, to observe frequencies, and to establish the presence of regularities (or lack thereof).

Pragmatics-oriented, discourse analytical and text linguistic translation research

An increasing awareness of the need to take context into consideration when analysing translations has come from linguistic research (e.g. Leech 1981, on the semiotic role of context) and discourse analysis (e.g. Brown and Yule 1983), from the philosophy of language, in particular linguistic pragmatics, where 'context' is a defining concept (see Stalnaker 1972), as well as from literary and cultural studies, in the form of the 'cultural turn' of the 1980s. 'Context' has now become an all-pervasive concept in translation research. It is useful to distinguish between linguistic and extra-linguistic context. The former, also known as 'co-text', refers to the previous and subsequent utterances that surround something in a

text, and the latter to broader considerations of culture and society, in the absence of which 'it is impossible (or futile) to conduct analysis' (Mason 2009: 55).

Pragmatics examines language in relation to its users, and the contribution of context to meaning. Stalnaker (1972: 380) defined it as 'the study of the purposes for which sentences are used, of the real world conditions under which a sentence may be appropriately used as an utterance'. Not only sentences, we hasten to add, but texts. Pragmatics investigates the ways in which communicators interact, achieve (or not) their aims, (mis)understand one another, and bring about modifications in the behaviour, beliefs and attitudes of other people (Levinson 1983; see also Stalnaker 1999, on context, content and intentionality).

In what follows we outline, very briefly, the main areas of pragmatics that have influenced – and continue to do so – translation and interpreting research: speech acts, conversational implicature, politeness theory and relevance theory. The assumption is that we do not translate between language systems, but between speakers of languages, in their specific contexts of situation and of culture. Therefore, increased attention to context is required in the production and the reception of both translated texts and interpreted utterances (on contextualization, see Baker 2006).

According to Austin (1962), in addition to 'sense' or reference to events, persons and objects, an utterance also has a 'force' which may override literal sense, and an overall 'effect' or consequence. Austin called these 'locution', 'illocution' and 'perlocution'. The pragmatic analysis of speech acts involves looking at utterances, simultaneously, along the dimensions of stating and doing things. In a way, translators attempt to re-perform locutionary and illocutionary acts, in another language, context and for a new audience, in the hope of achieving the perlocutionary effect that the original utterance had in its own context (Hatim 1998: 180).

Conversational implicature provides an account of how what speakers mean, or implicate, goes considerably beyond what they say. The main tenet of Grice's (1975, 1978) theory of meaning is that communication is guided by a set of overarching assumptions. Grice identifies four basic maxims of conversation, or principles, which together express a general cooperative principle. The four maxims are: quantity, quality, relation and manner. The flouting of any of the maxims generates implicature, i.e. implied meaning, which the interlocutor will try to discover, in an attempt to make sense of what is being said (see also Levinson 2000). A key notion here is that of 'communicative intention(s)'.

An area of pragmatics that deals with interpersonal interaction, the linguistic choices made and the communication strategies used, is politeness theory, developed by Brown and Levinson ([1978] 1987) within a Gricean framework. The gist of politeness theory is that face-threatening acts (FTAs), i.e. verbal acts that may be perceived as threatening the face of participants (cf. Goffman 1981), are an inevitable part of interaction; preserving one's face and that of the interlocutor is usually a main concern ('negative face', i.e. the desire to remain unimpeded, and 'positive face', or the desire to be approved and to feel part of a group).

Various strategies are used in order to cope with FTAs; considerations of power and distance are usually involved. In 2005 Hickey and Stewart published a collective volume about politeness phenomena in 22 European countries, which gives the reader a glimpse of the full extent of the cultural anchorage of politeness (see also Stewart 1992; and Bargiela-Chiappini and Kádár 2011). The challenge of mediating between speakers of different languages becomes immediately obvious, hence an awareness of cross-cultural pragmatics represents a must for the translator.

Finally, we consider relevance theory, a general account of human communication developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986) and introduced to translation by Gutt (1991).

According to relevance theory, human cognitive processes are geared towards achieving the greatest possible effect for the smallest effort (a cost-benefit perspective). The notion of context is central, and is described here as a set of premises used in interpreting utterances. A speaker (in our case, a translator or interpreter) who intends an utterance to be interpreted in a particular way must either expect the receiver to be able to supply a context that allows the intended interpretation to be recovered, or else must supply this context themselves, because a mismatch between the context envisaged by the speaker and the one used by the hearer may lead to misunderstanding. However, the notions of ‘common knowledge’ or ‘mutual knowledge’ should be replaced by the more accurate ‘assumptions’. Communicators’ behaviour is influenced by their assumptions about the world, as well as by their assumptions about other people’s assumptions. Sperber and Wilson (1986: 217) also explain that ‘choice of style is something that no speaker or writer can avoid’, and that:

in aiming at relevance, the speaker must make some assumptions about the hearer’s cognitive abilities and contextual resources, which will necessarily be reflected in the way she communicates, and in particular in what she chooses to make explicit and what she chooses to leave implicit.

(Sperber and Wilson 1986: 217)

Two types of language use are distinguished: descriptive and interpretative.

Pragmatics-oriented analyses of translations can be found in Baker (1992), Hatim (1997), Hatim and Mason (1997), the papers in Hickey (1998) and in Baker *et al.* (2010); the list is far from exhaustive. The phenomenon of presupposition is discussed in, for instance, Şerban (2004), and that of indexicality in Mason and Şerban (2004) and Bosseaux (2007). Literary and non-literary texts of various natures are analysed; thus, Hatim and Mason ([1997] 2000) apply politeness to screen translation, subtitling in particular. Politeness theory has inspired extremely interesting research in dialogue interpreting (see, for instance, Berk-Seligson 1988; Wadensjö 1998; Mason 2009; and the papers in Mason 2001a), where it is often complemented by sociolinguistics. Through fine-grained, contextualized analyses of shorter examples of written texts and transcripts of interpreting sessions, or by using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to explore corpora, these authors are able to shine light on a number of aspects of translator behaviour. It seems beyond doubt, at this point, that translators and interpreters are full participants in any encounter – oral or written – that they mediate, which is always a ‘triadic exchange’ (Mason 2001a).

What is, then, the status of textual evidence in pragmatics-oriented translation and interpreting research? Is it possible to attribute intentions or motivation based on textual analyses and any sociocultural and situational contextualization that the researcher is able to make? Or should claims be seen, rather, as ‘plausible accounts of choices made by users of texts’ (Mason 2000: 18)? A text, translated or not, is the outcome of an interplay of factors, and could have looked very different had other factors been at work. The various processes a text undergoes before it is completed leave their imprints on it, which can take us back to the meanings and purposes of the communication (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 33). In other words, the pathways of decision-making can be, partly, retraced by looking at the text as evidence of communicative interaction (Hatim and Mason 1990: 4). If a text is ‘a document of decision, selection and combination’, then many occurrences are ‘significant by virtue of other alternatives which could have occurred instead’ (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 35). Brown and Yule (1983: 26) also suggest looking at a text as ‘the record of a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of

communication' and, according to skopos theorist Vermeer (1996: 102), 'there is no random choice, although sometimes it may seem so to an observer and even to an actor'. This view is also endorsed by Hatim and Mason (1990: 4), who refer to 'motivated choices'; 'motivated' does not necessarily imply deliberateness, but, rather, it means that there is a reason for everything that happens in a text.

The toolbox for analysis that has enabled many scholars to examine translation as communication comes from the discipline of discourse analysis. Broadly speaking, discourse analysis concerns itself with the study of language, both oral and written, beyond sentence level. It looks at the ways in which texts are put together, organized – an interest that is shared with the area of text linguistics. However, it also investigates the question of how speakers interact via texts, and of how they construct, (re)negotiate and enact their identities as individuals and as groups or communities of practice.

There is a close association between (critical) discourse analysis and Halliday's systemic functional grammar (1970, 1978, 1985). 'Functional' means that the theoretical model on which Halliday built his explanations of linguistic phenomena sees the form of language as responding to the functions of language use. 'System' is chosen instead of 'structure', and refers to the dynamic architecture of language that enables speakers to make choices in relation to function and context.

Brown and Yule's (1983) *Discourse Analysis* has been widely used as a source of inspiration in interpreting and translation research, but Delisle's (1980) *L'analyse du discours comme méthode de traduction* had already appeared three years previously and explained that translators could benefit from an understanding of the fact that meaning is constructed from all the elements in a text, as well as a number of extra-linguistic parameters that need to be considered. *Discourse and the Translator* (1990), co-written by Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, was a major effort to present the framework within which, and the linguistic tools with the help of which, systematic and in-depth analyses of translated texts could be conducted. This was followed, in 1997, by *The Translator as Communicator*. Hatim and Mason view translation as an act of communication which has, as a starting point, a previous act of communication that took place in a different context, and involved another set of participants. Translation and interpreting always take place within a well-determined sociocultural context, and are subject to specific sociotextual practices, as well as to the purposes of the communicants involved. Both pragmatics and semiotics are put to task, as are the main concepts of 'text', 'genre' and 'discourse' (for an appraisal of the role discourse analysis has to play in translating and translation training, see Schäffner 2002).

The vocabulary used by the researchers can at times be very technical indeed. Thus, the analysis might start with a description of basic aspects of register, in terms of field, mode and tenor. Texts have structure and texture, and an overall rhetorical purpose. There is a thematic structure and thematic progression (theme/rheme), as well as a dominant contextual focus, which is linked to text type. This, in turn, takes us back to pragmatics: certain speech acts will be performed using particular text types which, moreover, are culturally anchored. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) distinguish three principles that regulate communicative behaviour: efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness; and outline seven standards of textuality; cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality. There are a variety of linguistic features and phenomena involved, which carry information about the motivations of the text producers: e.g. cohesion, transitivity and modality, to name only a few (see Mason 2001b for a study of cohesion in translation; Mason 2004 and Bosseaux 2007 for transitivity; and Bosseaux 2007 for modality).

Drawing on critical linguistics (Fowler 1986) and on critical discourse analysis (CDA) (e.g. Fowler *et al.* 1979; Kress 1985; and Fairclough 1989), an increasing number of translation and interpreting researchers have examined issues of intervention, mediation, manipulation (deliberate or not), power, point of view and ideology, within an institutional context or in creative writing (Mason 1994; Calzada Pérez 2003; Bosseaux 2007; Munday 2008; and Beaton-Thome 2010, to mention a few). Simpson (1993) has informed a lot of the work in this area.

Pragmatics-oriented, discourse analytical and text linguistic translation and interpreting research is grounded in target-oriented, descriptive translation studies. Many scholars situate themselves in, or acknowledge an association with, the field of functional approaches (see Nord, this volume), and their tradition of translatorial action and of text analysis (e.g. Holz-Mänttari 1984; Reiss 1971; Reiss and Vermeer 1984; Vermeer 1996; and Nord 1991). To considerations of function and skopos, Mason (2000) adds audience design, which comes from sociolinguistics (Bell 1984, 2001). According to Bell, speakers design the style of their communication primarily for, and in response to, their audience. A text producer's style is influenced in different ways, and to varying degrees, by a number of receiver groups that are potentially part of the audience. Style is understood by Bell to refer to all the levels of a communicator's linguistic choices, which have a bearing upon the identity that speakers claim, and the way in which they position themselves towards their interlocutors. Audience design in translation is a theory of adaptation (see also Şerban 2003).

The translator's style has made the object of enquiry of several studies so far (Baker 2000; Malmkjær 2003; Boase-Beier 2006; Munday 2008; and Saldanha 2011), and remains a fascinating topic, although not an easy one to explore, in view of the difficulties of isolating the variable of style from the other considerations involved. Malmkjær (2003) created the term 'translational stylistics', which broadly refers to 'why, *given the source text*, the translation has been shaped in such a way that it comes to mean what it does' (*ibid.*: 39, emphasis in the original).

Insights into the subtleties of translation provided by text- and context-based approaches come with a number of methodological challenges. Can useful claims be made on the basis of sophisticated, in-depth examination of examples chosen by the analyst, or should preference be given to corpus research, which makes it possible to observe trends and to establish representativity and generalizability? Are patterns in texts more revealing than certain meaningful, isolated occurrences? How can we take into account not only the presence, but also the absence of a phenomenon, where it could hypothetically have appeared? What can be done to minimize the risk of skewing the interpretation of the data, by incomplete contextualization? Is it possible to establish deliberateness based on (contextualized) text analyses, or must text- and context-based research be complemented by ethnographic methods involving, for example, questionnaires or interviews with text producers and users? As answers to these and many other questions are provided, more issues are raised.

The future of linguistic approaches to translation

Of all approaches to translation, the linguistic one has traditionally concerned itself most with procedures, methods and strategies, although no longer in a prescriptive, normative, way, but, rather, within a descriptive framework. Description has also generated a problem: where does one draw the line between more or less felicitous choice, on the one hand, and error, on the other (Malmkjær 2004)? Are all mistakes instances of (inappropriate) method?

At the same time, as research has moved to consider communicative intentions and overall text strategy, there is a tendency to try and link everything in a text to a grander scheme. While it is indeed important to keep in mind the larger picture, many of the challenges that translators face on a daily basis are more modest in scope, and some of the solutions can come from strands of linguistically oriented work that are less fashionable today than interactional pragmatics, discourse analysis and text linguistics.

Should linguistic approaches to translation be called that, or is it appropriate to start referring to them with the name 'linguistically oriented translation studies'? If justified, the difference in emphasis between the two formulations would carry particular meaning, in the context of questions about the outcome of Toury's (1980, 1995) call to create a theory and methodology for translation, necessary in his view because, according to him, frameworks borrowed from elsewhere (he explicitly mentions contrastive linguistics and comparative textology) cannot account for the full complexity of translation phenomena. Toury was undoubtedly right, but is any one approach able to single-handedly do that?

The issue of what could be done in the future, building on the knowledge we have already acquired, asking new questions and devising ways of looking at translation that would give us a better understanding, is, to our mind, linked to interdisciplinarity and, paradoxically, to communication. What we mean by this is that scholars are often unfamiliar with research carried out in languages they do not speak, and translations of research on translation are rare (on the subject of multilingual and truly international translation studies, see Susam-Sarajeva 2002).

An approach is a manner of envisaging something, but it is also a form of action. The literal meaning of this word of Latin origin, not unrelated to 'approximate', is that of 'drawing near, or nearer'. The richness of the discipline of translation studies, which one can only discover by gradually drawing nearer while at the same time being there already, is such that scholars can examine the same question in different ways. For example, context, mediation and manipulation in translation have been studied by both literary and cultural studies-oriented researchers, and by their colleagues working within discourse analytical approaches. The differences reside in the kind of data that are analysed, the conceptual apparatus that is applied to the analysis and, also, according to Baker (2008), the degree of self-reflexivity demonstrated by the analyst. Why do we want to know something, and from which point of view are we looking? Unless we see what lies beneath a question (and the questioner), we cannot hope to answer it in a satisfactory way.

It is true that many, if not most, approaches to translation are derived from other disciplines, and it has not always been clear whether this should be regarded as a strength or a weakness, or both at the same time. In any case, translation scholars are increasingly becoming aware of the implications of using certain models (see Olohan 2000; and Hermans 2002). Conceptual frameworks and their associated methodologies are necessary as instruments of discovery that enable researchers to see new things, or to see old things in a different light. At the same time, theoretical models construct the object of study in their own image, by imposing categories and distinctions and by highlighting particular aspects while hiding others. Therefore, an approach needs to remain just that: one among others, solid and viable, and yet modest. Even within linguistically oriented translation studies we need to use the plural, since there are several approaches. In fact, as translation scholar and philosopher Ladmiral pointed out, translation itself is a 'plural concept' (Ladmiral 1995).

There used to be a time when it seemed, from the perspective of cultural approaches to translation, that linguistic research could not see the forest for the trees. Not seeing the

trees because of the forest can hardly have been better, and this is precisely what looking at things from the other side may have felt like. Broadly speaking, the trees are the elements of which a text is made, and the forest the wider sociocultural context. Today, many scholars pay attention to both, in various ways, and could not even imagine doing otherwise. This means that translation studies as a whole has learned from its experience and has taken a leap forward, perhaps in the direction of Snell-Hornby's (1988) integrated approach. Sometimes researchers even end up knowing more about other approaches to translation than about certain strands of their own subdiscipline. Interdisciplinarity has to start at home.

The word 'beyond' in Toury's (1995) *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond* is very beautiful and important. In our case, beyond linguistics – though not without it. That the final word should not have been said, and that we should find ourselves on a journey of discovery, seems extremely appropriate, in view of our subject, translation, the nature of which is elusive, difficult to define, always beyond the frameworks in which we try to contain it.

Related topics

communication; context; contrastive linguistics; discourse analysis; equivalence; pragmatics; research framework(s); text linguistics

Notes

- 1 The English translation *Comparative Stylistics of French and English* was published in 1995, over three decades after its first appearance in French.

Further reading

- Baker, Mona (2011) *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*, second edn, London and New York: Routledge. (This book presents a systematic approach to linguistic issues in translation. Linguistic concepts are identified and linked to translation strategies, explained through examples in a variety of languages. There are exercises at the end of each chapter.)
- Hatim, Basil and Mason, Ian (1997) *The Translator as Communicator*, London and New York: Routledge. (Hatim and Mason's view of translation as communication is illustrated here through discourse analytical, pragmatics-oriented investigation of texts in their sociocultural contexts.)
- Malmkjær, Kirsten (2005) *Linguistics and the Language of Translation*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. (Placing the study of language and translation within the wider context of the discipline of translation studies, this book explores linguistic phenomena from sounds and rhythms to texts and genres, and explains, through examples in several languages, their relevance to the creation, description and critique of translations.)

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Corpus linguistics in translation studies

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Corpus linguistics is an approach to descriptive and applied language studies, which is based on the analysis of corpora, i.e. collections of authentic texts held in electronic form and assembled according to specific design criteria. Corpus translation studies (CTS) denotes an area of research that adopts and develops the methodologies of corpus linguistics to analyse translation and translating for descriptive and applied purposes.

What is corpus translation studies?

The introduction of corpora in translation studies goes back to the early 1990s, when Mona Baker promoted the development of a corpus-based methodology ‘to uncover the nature of translated text as a mediated communicative event’ (Baker 1993: 243). The research programme she envisaged drew much of its inspiration from descriptive translation studies (DTS; see Malmkjær, this volume), and was put forward at a time when corpus linguistics was making inroads into applied linguistics, most notably in lexicography, educational linguistics, natural language processing, machine translation, computer-aided translation, contrastive linguistics, terminology, forensic linguistics and critical linguistics.

The envisioned partnership between corpus linguistics and descriptive translation studies was based on common theoretical assumptions and compatible methodologies. These areas of enquiry share, in fact, a descriptive, functional and empirical approach to the study of language and translation, whereby hypotheses are tested by examining language in use rather than concocted examples. Moreover, they regard linguistic regularities as probabilistic norms of behaviour that reflect, construct and reproduce culture. Also, they adopt a comparative research model in which texts are analysed across corpora representing different language varieties, for example, translated versus non-translated language, original texts and their translations, as well as different text types or different modalities within the same language or across languages.

Since their advent in translation studies, corpora have been used systematically in descriptive and applied research. The goal of descriptive studies is to gain knowledge about what translation entails in different sociocultural contexts and why. Applied studies address problems that occur in cross-linguistic practice, between particular language combinations and in a specific direction, in order to establish rules of translational behaviour.

One of the main descriptive corpus-based research endeavours is the quest for translation universals. These have been variedly defined in the literature as: (i) linguistic features that typically occur in translated rather than original texts, and are thought to be independent of the influence of the specific language pairs involved in the process of translation (Baker 1993: 243); and (ii) probabilistic laws that explain the relations existing among different cognitive, cross-linguistic and sociocultural variables that influence a particular translational behaviour or its avoidance (Toury 2004: 15).

Besides universals, descriptive studies address topics as varied as:

- stylistic variation (Baker 2000; Kenny 2001; Kruger 2004; Bosseaux 2007; Saldanha 2011);
- ideology (Munday 2002; Kemppanen 2004);
- Anglicisms (Baumgarten *et al.* 2004; Gellerstam 2005; Musacchio 2005; Laviosa 2007, 2010; House 2011); and
- audiovisual translation (Freddi and Pavesi 2009; Pavesi 2009).

Applied studies, which subsume translation pedagogy, translation aids and translation quality assessment, draw on the insights provided by descriptive research, and have strong links with contrastive linguistics, language for specific purposes (LSP), language teaching methodology, terminology, lexicography and computational linguistics.

Methodology in corpus translation studies

Generally speaking, the methodology developed by corpus studies of translation entails the observation of textual data, the discovery of patterns, the formulation of hypotheses, and testing. Descriptive studies, in particular, draw largely on Toury's (1995) procedures. These involve an inductive and helical progression from observable translational phenomena to the non-observable and culturally determined norms that govern translators' choices. The point of departure is target-oriented: translations are regarded as 'facts of the culture that hosts them' (*ibid.*: 24). Their position and function in the target culture, the form they have, hence the relationships that tie them to their source texts and the strategies used during their production are interconnected. The discovery and justification procedures elaborated by Toury (*ibid.*: 36–9) are articulated in three phases.

The first phase starts with the selection of individual translations or a corpus of translations within the target culture. Next, the acceptability (i.e. adherence to the linguistic and textual norms of the target language) of the individual translations or corpus of translated texts is assessed without any reference to the source texts. The analysis can be carried out by comparing different translations of the same source text either synchronically or diachronically.

The second phase involves the identification of the source texts and proceeds to comparing the target texts and their sources in parallel, that is sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph. The aim is to determine target-source relationships, translation problems, translation solutions and shifts. According to Toury, shifts can be of two kinds: obligatory, which are caused by systemic differences between the source and target languages; and non-obligatory, which are motivated by literary, stylistic or cultural considerations.

In the third phase, the relationships established between the target texts and their sources become the basis of first-level generalizations about the initial norm underlying the concrete way in which equivalence is realized. The initial norm reflects the translator's choice between two extreme poles of a continuum: adequacy (i.e. adherence to the norms of the source language) and acceptability. From a descriptive perspective, equivalence

is not conceived as an a priori notion that is based on an absolute criterion of adherence to the source text, hence researchers will always assume that equivalence exists. Their aim is to unveil the actual way in which it is realized in terms of the balance between invariance and transformation.

At each stage of this process of gradual discovery of facts about translation and translating, hypotheses are formulated and then verified through further procedures that are applied to an expanding corpus to achieve higher and higher levels of generalization. Toury's procedures are underpinned by a comparative translation model. As Chesterman (2000: 16) explains, the comparative model posits a relation of similarity (i.e. the total sum of sameness and difference) between two entities, e.g. source text(s) and target text(s), or translated texts and comparable non-translated texts in the same language. Research based on this model aims to gain an insight into the assumed similarity relation with respect to a particular linguistic feature, and makes use of probabilistic descriptive and interpretive hypotheses. Descriptive hypotheses make claims about the generality of a given phenomenon (e.g. English-Italian translations of economics articles tend to use fewer lexical Anglicisms than comparable Italian non-translated articles). Interpretive hypotheses are based on the concept 'as' (e.g. the lower frequency of lexical Anglicisms in translated versus non-translated Italian economics articles can be seen as a way of resisting the influence of English in intercultural professional communication).

The methodology employed in applied corpus studies is congruous with the procedures elaborated by Toury. Translation pedagogy, in particular, draws upon the data-driven learning approach to language teaching (Johns 1991a, 1991b), whereby students 'Identify – Classify – Generalise' (1991a: 4) the lexico-grammatical features associated with words and terms that are particularly problematic for advanced learners. Within this student-centred perspective, translation students/trainees act as researchers in their own right, in as far as they identify problem areas, suggest descriptive hypotheses and then test them in cooperation with their tutor, who plays the role of facilitator in the learning process. In this cyclical process, students combine corpus-processing techniques – e.g. the generation of word lists and KWIC (key word in context) concordance lines – with linguistic knowledge and intuition to explore and interpret the patterns emerging from corpus data. Word lists are generated by a word lister, which calculates the total number of running words (or tokens) in a corpus. It also counts the occurrences of every different word (or type). A concordance is generated by a concordancer. It shows all the occurrences of a search word in its immediate left and right contexts.

Different corpus types are designed according to the kinds of questions descriptive scholars, translation teachers, trainee translators or practising translators intend to investigate. Studies of translation universals, for example, are carried out with the monolingual comparable corpus and the bilingual parallel corpus. The former is made up of two subcorpora in the same language: one consists of translated texts from one or more source languages; the other comprises non-translated texts. The two subcorpora are set up according to similar design criteria, e.g. text genre, topic, time span, distribution of male and female authors, readership, and average number of running words in each text. The monolingual comparable corpus is used to explore posited differences between translated and non-translated texts produced in the same language. The differences between translations and their source texts are investigated with the unidirectional or the bidirectional bilingual parallel corpus. The former is made up of two subcorpora: one containing original texts in language A, while the other comprises their translations in language B. The latter consists of four subcorpora: original texts in language A and their translations in language

B; original texts in language B, and their translations in language A. The multidirectional parallel corpus is a multilingual corpus that is made up of original texts in language A and their translations in more than one language.

The unidirectional parallel corpus is often combined with the monolingual comparable corpus to search for potential evidence of norms. For example, Musacchio's (2005) analysis of Anglicisms in Italian economics articles shows that the percentage of lexical borrowings in Italian texts translated from English tends to be lower compared with Italian non-translated texts.

In addition to the study of universals, the bidirectional parallel corpus is used to explore the procedures adopted by professional translators to deal with terminological and lexical gaps across languages as well as mismatches at different levels of linguistic analysis. This corpus structure allows comparisons to be made between source and target texts, translations and original texts, and across comparable original texts in two languages.

Bilingual and multilingual comparable corpora, which consist of original texts in two or more languages that are assembled on the basis of similar design criteria, are utilized in translator training to discover functional translation equivalents. The multidirectional parallel corpus is used to investigate the extent to which certain linguistic features are preserved in the multilingual translations of the same source text. For example, in a study of George Orwell's novel *1984* and its translations into Lithuanian, Czech, Polish, German and Russian, Marcinkevičienė (2005) examined four groups of verbs collocating with the abstract noun *memory*: verbs denoting appearance (*come, clarify, float, swim*); motion (*move around*); retrieval (*drag out, dig out, awaken, stir up*); rejection (*black out*). The collocational patterns displayed in the source text were rendered in a variety of ways, in keeping with the target language's specific sets of verb-noun collocations.

Main research work in descriptive corpus translation studies

Descriptive corpus studies of translation have provided empirical evidence for a number of universals, i.e. simplification, explicitation, normalization, the law of interference, and the unique items hypothesis (Laviosa 1998, 2002; Kenny 2001; Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004; Olohan 2004; Xiao 2010). Despite some counter-evidence that casts some doubt on the tenability of the notion of universal (Puurttinen 1997; Kenny 2001; Saldanha 2004), the search for regularities or laws about translation is attracting increasing interest. What follows is a critical review of the main studies in this area of enquiry.

Lexical simplification as a posited translation universal was defined by Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983: 119) as 'the process and/or result of making do with *less* [sic] words', and has been confirmed by corpus findings relating to translational English (Laviosa 2002: 58–64) and translational Chinese (Xiao and Yue 2009; Xiao *et al.* 2010). Through statistical analyses carried out on monolingual comparable corpora, this research shows that translated texts are characterized by a relatively lower lexical density (i.e. proportion of lexical words over function words), a higher proportion of high-frequency words over low-frequency words, and a higher repetition rate of high-frequency words. In simultaneous interpreting, however, the evidence is rather patchy. The results based on a trilingual corpus of original and interpreted speeches from and into English, Italian and Spanish confirm the hypothesis of lexical simplification only for: Italian interpreted from Spanish (which displays a lower lexical density and a higher repetition rate of high-frequency words than Italian); English interpreted from Spanish (which has a lower lexical density than original English) (Russo *et al.* 2004).

The universal of explicitation, which results from the process of interpretation inherent in translation, is conceptualized in terms of the so-called explicitation hypothesis. This ‘postulates an observed cohesive explicitness from SL [source language] to TL [target language] texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the linguistic and textual systems involved’ (Blum-Kulka 1986: 19). In a study carried out with a corpus of literary translations drawn from the bidirectional English-Norwegian parallel corpus (ENPC), Øverås (1998) hypothesized that English and Norwegian target texts would be more cohesive than their source texts. The results largely confirm this prediction since the explicating shifts, involving the addition and specification of lexical and grammatical items, outnumber the implicating shifts in both directions of translation, although English target texts have a lower level of explicitness vis-à-vis Norwegian target texts. Pápai (2004), using the ARRABONA corpus, comprising a unidirectional English-Hungarian parallel subcorpus and a subcorpus of comparable original Hungarian texts, identified five main explicitation strategies involving not only shifts in cohesion, but also the addition of linguistic and extra-linguistic information and disambiguation of source text items. The strategies are: (i) addition and modification of punctuation marks; (ii) addition of derivatives; (iii) addition of conjunctions; (iv) addition of conjunctions and cataphoric reference; and (v) addition of discourse particles. Moreover, translated Hungarian texts were found to display a higher level of explicitness than comparable originals. Olohan and Baker (2000) discovered a preference for the use of the optional *that* with the verbs *say* and *tell* in fiction and biography texts drawn from the translational English corpus (TEC) vis-à-vis comparable originals drawn from the British national corpus (BNC). Complementary findings were obtained by Kenny (2005): in the unidirectional German-English parallel corpus of literary texts (GEPOLT), patterns of omission of the optional *that* in English reflect patterns of omission of the optional *daß* in German, whereas patterns of inclusion of the optional *that* do not reflect patterns of inclusion of *daß* (ibid.: 160).

The universal of normalization is expressed in terms of the law of growing standardization (Toury 1995: 268–74). This postulates that the special textual relations created in the source text, such as creative collocations, are often replaced with conventional relations in the target text. Corpus-based evidence, however, seems to be inconclusive. In a study of lexical norms and creativity carried out with GEPOLT, Kenny (2001) examined the English renderings of German creative hapax legomena, writer-specific forms and creative collocation. Normalization occurred in 44 per cent of cases where translators had to deal with creative hapax legomena, but most of the time creative lexis was not normalized. On the other hand, Øverås’s (1998) study of explicitation, cited earlier, shows a tendency in translation to prefer typical rather than unusual collocations and neutralize metaphorical expressions.

The law of growing standardization co-exists with the law of interference, whereby ‘phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text’ (Toury 1995: 275). The transfer of source-text phenomena can be of two types: ‘*negative transfer* (i.e. deviations from normal, codified practices of the target system)’ and ‘*positive transfer* (i.e. greater likelihood of selecting features which do exist and are used in any case)’ (ibid., author’s emphasis). Corpus-based evidence for negative and positive discourse transfer is substantial. A study of the corpus of translated Finnish (CTF) shows that Finnish academic texts translated from English vis-à-vis comparable original Finnish texts display a higher frequency of multi-word strings with the functions of organizing the text, providing comments and guiding the reader’s interpretation. Moreover, translated academic texts show a different and/or more varied pattern of near synonymous

lexical combinations compared with original texts. The highly target language-specific item *toisaalta*, which roughly means *on the other hand*, but has no exact equivalent in English, is hugely under-represented in translated texts, regardless of source language and genre variation (Mauranen 2000). Nilsson (2004) compared the frequency and collocational patterns of the Swedish function word *av* (of, by) in narrative texts drawn from the bidirectional English-Swedish parallel corpus (ESPC). Her findings show a significantly higher frequency of *av* and its typical collocational and colligational patterns in translated Swedish vis-à-vis comparable originals, both results being attributed mainly to the influence of the source language. Tirkkonen-Condit's proposed unique items hypothesis can be subsumed under Toury's general law of interference as a particular case of negative discourse transfer. It states that target language-specific elements that do not have equivalents in the source language tend to be under-represented in translated texts compared with comparable originals, since 'they do not readily suggest themselves as translation equivalents' (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004: 177–8). The hypothesis was confirmed by a study of two sets of verbs of sufficiency and of the clitic particles *-kin* and *-han* analysed in two subcorpora drawn from the CTF: academic and fictional texts (2004). Further evidence is provided in a study by Eskola (2004), who found that language-specific Finnish referative non-finite structures, which have the function of shortening an affirmative *that* clause and have no straightforward equivalents in either English or Russian, are under-represented in translated versus original Finnish. Conversely, temporal and non-finite constructions that have direct equivalents in the source languages were found to be over-represented.

In sum, research into universals has shown that 'translations are texts of a particular, specific kind, which reflect the complex cognitive processes and the particular social contexts from which they arise' (Mauranen 2008: 45). There are instances where translations reveal lexical and structural trace of language contact, while at other times they may under-represent features unique to the target language, over-represent elements that are less common in the target language or display a tendency towards conservative or conventional target language use (2008).

Ideology is a fairly new theme in descriptive CTS. Kemppanen's (2000, 2001, 2004) study, for example, is based on a comparable corpus of history texts drawn from the CTF, which consists of Russian-Finnish translations and original Finnish texts on Finnish political history. A.J. Greimas's model of narrative structures is used to investigate two semantic fields identified in the translational subcorpus: 'friendship and cooperation' and 'class consciousness'. The word *ystävyyys* (friendship), in particular, displays a positive semantic prosody in translated texts versus a negative one in original works. Semantic prosody refers to the special meaning of words grouping together, which relates not so much to their dictionary senses as to the reasons why they were chosen together. This special meaning 'has been recognized in part as connotation, pragmatic meaning and attitudinal meaning' (Sinclair 2003: 178). Moreover, in translation, friendship is portrayed as an aim to be achieved by Finland and the Soviet Union working in harmony, whilst in original Finnish the Soviet Union is depicted as an opponent.

Another study of ideology is Munday's (2002) investigation of an article by Gabriel García Márquez about a six-year-old Cuban boy who was rescued while trying to reach the USA in 1999. The three English translations published in *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* newspapers as well as by a Cuban group, *Gramma International*, were analysed within a systemic functional linguistic framework. Significant shifts were found in the translations: the anti-USA feelings expressed in the original, for instance, were relayed differently in the target texts, and in *The New York Times* they were largely omitted.

These changes were accounted for by linking the metafunctional profiles of source and target texts to their relative sociocultural contexts.

Main research work in applied corpus translation studies

Since the late 1990s, when Guy Aston (1999) set up the Corpus Use and Learning to Translate international workshops, corpora have been incorporated widely in translator training and translator education (Zanettin *et al.* 2003; Beeby *et al.* 2009). They are valuable resources for finding lexical, terminological, phraseological, syntactical and stylistic equivalents (Bowker and Pearson 2002; Bowker 2003a; Koby and Baer 2003). They are also employed to acquire subject-specific knowledge, evaluate translation quality, and as essential components of computer-aided translation technology (Bowker 2000, 2001; Koby and Baer 2003; O'Hagan 2009). What follows is a brief survey of the main applications of corpora in translation pedagogy.

Within the language teaching methodology devised by Bernardini (2004a, 2004b) for student translators, monolingual reference corpora, such as the BNC, are advocated as resources to foster awareness, reflectiveness and resourcefulness. Awareness is the critical ability 'to go beyond the single words and texts and see language as a network of connected choices, which are influenced by the culture they express, which in turn they influence' (2004a: 20). This awareness is the first step towards developing a professional and ethical attitude towards the role of translators, who are not simply trans-coders, but constructors of meaning and mediators of culture. Reflectiveness is the capacity to practise, store and adopt specific translation strategies and procedures. Resourcefulness is the capacity to use finite resources indefinitely and acquire new resources autonomously as the need arises in unexpected situations.

An example of how a monolingual reference corpus can be effectively used to raise awareness about the richness and variety of language use is Stewart's (2009) classroom-based study of semantic prosody. With the aid of corpus data retrieved from the BNC, native Italian students analysed the relevance of semantic prosody in a passage from James Joyce's *The Dead* with a view to relaying in the Italian translation the prosodies of fear, terror, doom, threat or death conveyed by the original text.

Specialized comparable and parallel corpora are compiled and searched to retrieve translation equivalents. An Italian-English comparable corpus of newspaper articles on the topic of the Olympic Games was used by native Italian trainee translators to examine the most natural-sounding target language expressions with the same meaning and function as the equivalent expressions in the source language. The corpus was searched for posited English-Italian equivalents such as *podium/podio* or *goldloro*. While *podio* was found to co-occur with *gradino* in utterances such as *salire/conquistare il gradino più alto del podio* (step on to/conquer the highest step of the podium), the English equivalent *podium* appeared in expressions such as *climb on to/get on/stand on/step on to the medallwinner's podium* (Zanettin 1998). Similar techniques were adopted to retrieve terminological equivalents from an English-Spanish virtual comparable corpus of travel insurance policies, compiled from electronic sources freely available on the Internet. Some of the equivalent terms are: *travel insurance policy* and *asistencia en viaje*; *general terms and conditions* and *condiciones generales*; *insured person* and *asegurado* (Corpas Pastor and Seghiri 2009).

In a collaborative project with trainee translators, Gavioli and Zanettin (2000) compiled two English-Italian and Italian-English parallel corpora of medical texts. They found that Italian translators tend to use marked expressions such as *pazienti con/senza esperienza di*

con (patients with/without experience of/with) to render the subject-specific collocation *patient(s) experienced*. However, in Italian non-translated texts the equivalent expressions are *i pazienti sono affetti da* (the patients are affected by) or *i pazienti hanno/presentano* (the patients have/present). Conversely, the marked collocation *hepatic biopsy* is used to render *biopsia epatica*, while the expression *liver biopsy* appears to be the linguistic norm in non-translated English texts. Also, unidirectional parallel corpora are used for the development of machine translation systems and computer-aided translation tools, such as translation memories (O'Hagan 2009; Ping 2009).

Different corpora can be combined for a particular application. In translation quality assessment (TQA), two corpus types are generally used: a unidirectional parallel corpus of source texts in language A and their translations in language B, produced by trainee translators; and a reference or specialized corpus of comparable non-translated texts in language B. The latter corpus provides a standard by which students' translations are evaluated according to a number of criteria: understanding of the subject field; lexical, terminological, phraseological and syntactic accuracy; and stylistic fluency and appropriacy. Corpus-based TQA has proved to be very effective for raising the level of objectivity in terms of number of errors identified and corrected, quality of comments provided by the evaluator, consistency in the identification of lexical errors among evaluators, and usefulness of the evaluator's comments for editing the translation draft (Bowker 2000, 2001, 2003b).

Looking to the future

In the variegated landscape of corpus translation studies, the relationship between descriptive and applied concerns is largely unidirectional. Applied activities formulate rules on the basis of empirical findings regarding translational norms, while descriptive scholars verify, refute or modify theoretical assumptions without necessarily considering problems arising out of the training or professional context. It is envisaged that the inter-relationship between descriptive declarative knowledge and performative procedural information may better serve the needs of applied professionals in the future. The cooperation between the two areas of CTS can be encouraged, as Rabadán (2008) claims for the descriptive and applied branches of the discipline as a whole, by conforming to two basic guidelines when designing a research project: usefulness and usability of results for applied purposes. Within this framework, translation universals are considered 'particularly well suited to serve as conceptualizing tools in order to identify cross-linguistic grammatical misinterpretations in the source text and subsequent misuses in the target text' (*ibid.*: 114).

Corpus translation studies will continue to benefit from advances in corpus linguistics and computer science. Multimodal corpus linguistics, for example, will be of considerable interest to scholars engaged in the study of sign languages, sign language interpreting and audiovisual translation (Baldry and Thibault 2009; Kenny 2009). Moreover, it can reasonably be foreseen that the design of web-derived mega corpora and standard-size corpora in a growing number of languages will strengthen interdisciplinary research through the development of corpus-based contrastive and translation studies (Xiao 2010).

Since translation corpora are increasingly used in the teaching of specialized languages (Gavioli 2005; Zanettin 2009), they will no doubt play a significant role in bringing about the revival of translation in language pedagogy, advocated by Cook (2010). They will also contribute to narrowing the gap between training and education, by demonstrating that '[t]raining would-be translators to use corpora goes hand in hand with educating them to

think about the translation process and the learning process, developing their sensitivity as to how they can use corpora in these processes' (Aston 2009: ix).

How can CTS help translation studies as a whole?

Corpora create new synergies in the (inter)discipline of translation studies. Investigations in pursuit of translation universals are a case in point. They formulate and test explicit interpretive and descriptive hypotheses derived from general theoretical claims, they broaden our knowledge of translation, and suggest explanatory hypotheses that can be properly tested by putting forward explicit predictive hypotheses in further studies. Universals are used as conceptual tools to describe a number of translation shifts and strategies in studies of Anglicisms, the translator's style and audiovisual translation. Moreover, the insights provided by the quest for universals have recently inspired investigations carried out within a pedagogic perspective in order to either raise awareness among students about the nature of translation (Stewart 2000; Kujamäki 2004), or to provide a firm basis for TQA (Scarpa 2006). They have also prompted the exploration of the causes of the patterns displayed by translational behaviour through the methodologies and theoretical apparatus of psycholinguistics, where it is hypothesized that the asymmetrical cognitive organization of semantic information may account for the kinds of shifts unveiled by studies of universals (Halverson 2003, 2007). It is also suggested (Malmkjær 2008) that universals may be explained using the notion of norms, intended as unstable sociocultural phenomena situated between the extreme poles of a continuum: rules and idiosyncracies (Toury 1995).

Sociocultural constraints are central to corpus studies of ideology and translator's agency, in keeping with the recent sociological turn in the discipline, which has shifted the focus from translations as cultural artefacts to the human agent, the translator (Merkle 2008). These recent developments show how corpus scholars are more and more open to the ideas and methodologies offered by neighbouring disciplines, as recommended by Tymoczko (1998) and Olohan (2004), among others. Similarly, each corpus-based applied activity (pedagogy, translation aids, TQA) draws not only on the evidence provided by descriptive research, but also on neighbouring fields, most notably foreign language learning, contrastive analysis, LSP studies, terminology and lexicography. CTS is therefore strengthening a distinctive feature of translation studies: interdisciplinarity.

So, thanks to the flexibility of corpus-linguistic methods of enquiry and the availability of corpora in a growing number of languages and modalities, CTS is gradually fulfilling its greatest potential for the discipline as whole. This consists of allowing researchers to move from text-based questions to context-based questions, explore similarities as well as language-specific phenomena, and to foster the interaction between theory, research and practice (Tymoczko 1998).

Related topics

corpus translation studies; corpora research; descriptive corpus studies

Further reading

Anderman, G. and Rogers, M. (eds) (2008) *Incorporating Corpora: The Linguist and the Translator*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. (This offers a balanced overview of recent studies in a number of European areas.)

- Laviosa, S. (ed.) (1998) *L'Approche basée sur le corpus/The Corpus-Based Approach*, special issue of *Meta*, 43(4). Available at: www.erudit.org/revue/meta/1998/v43/n4. (This online publication provides an overview of corpus studies of translation in their early stages.)
- Olohan, M. (2004) *Introducing Corpora in Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge. (This is an excellent introduction to the use of corpora in research across the board in translation studies.)
- Xiao, R. (ed.) (2010) *Using Corpora in Contrastive and Translation Studies*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers. (This provides firm evidence for the interrelationship between contrastive and translation studies.)

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Cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches

Ricardo Muñoz

Researching mental processes associated with translating and interpreting is a promising approach because these processes are assumed to be the same in all humans through time, even though ‘contents’ may be different. Knowledge derived from this approach is therefore likely to accommodate new realities where translation and interpreting tasks might be conceived of and performed differently. Since different texts and speeches seem to be processed in similar ways, focusing on mental processes – rather than on features such as text types – also allows for a considerable reduction in variables for empirical research. This research may be done in a variety of perspectives. Before they are addressed, let us clarify what is meant by psycholinguistics and cognitive science.

Cognitive science and psycholinguistics

Psycholinguistics or the *psychology of language* is the traditional, empirical branch of psychology that studies the factors that enable living beings to acquire, comprehend and produce oral, written and signed language. Its main research topics are language production and comprehension, first and second language acquisition, and language disorders (mainly aphasiology). Psycholinguistics is a *research orientation* that lacks a unified, or prevailing set of assumptions, i.e. it has no particular theory attached. Hence, strictly speaking, psycholinguistics cannot be a referential framework for translation studies, for it does not entail a given set of conceptual constructs. Rather, most psycholinguistic approaches use notions from one or several frameworks within cognitive science.

Cognitive science started in the 1950s as the interdisciplinary study of mind and it has undergone two stages: the first was based upon the assumption that all mental processes could be reduced to the neutral manipulation of symbols; this is the *information-processing paradigm* (IPP). Scholars noted for their development of IPP include Donald Broadbent, Jerry Fodor and Michael Mahoney. In the 1990s a second cognitive revolution took place that rejected the notion that the brain works like a computer. Instead, language and behaviour are now seen as being deeply rooted in sensori-motor or bodily processes that condition the way we perceive and construct the world. Objectivist approaches are thus rejected, and experience is thought to mediate views on reality. Noted researchers of

second-generation cognitive science (G2CS) include Andy Clark, William Clancey, Edwin Hutchins and Antonio Damasio.

Differences between IPP and G2CS may be found in all contributing disciplines, but linguistics and psychology have had a special impact on translation and interpreting research. In linguistics, frameworks such as generative linguistics (e.g. Chomsky 1968), conceptual semantics (Jackendoff 1983) and relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986) can be totally or partially ascribed to IPP, and can therefore be considered cognitive. However, the label Cognitive Linguistics (CL) – usually capitalized – refers to linguistic frameworks within G2CS, such as conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987) and construction grammar (e.g. Fillmore 1988). CL views meaning as embodied, situated and encyclopaedic, and it relates grammar to experience and language use. In CL, language phenomena are explained in terms of general cognitive principles, as opposed to considering them as the products of one or several separate (often innate) modules, as in IPP.

Within IPP, research in cognitive psychology studied the limitations of human performance in higher mental processes – e.g. thinking, reasoning – and the perception, storage and retrieval of (not only linguistic) information, and it also focused on the way an assumed executive control manages mental resources. Noted psychologists within IPP cognitive psychology include George Miller, Merrill Garret and Steven Pinker. Within G2CS, cognitive psychology stresses conceptualization, embodiment and situatedness, and pivotal IPP notions such as *rule* have been replaced with others such as *mental schemata*. Noted G2CS psychologists include Eleanor Rosch, Dan Slobin, Raymond Gibbs and Rafael E. Núñez.

From these brief, unrefined accounts, psycholinguistics can be characterized against cognitive linguistics by its empirical commitment while the latter – both in the wide and the stricter senses – is still largely a deductive, introspective and analytical enterprise. With respect to cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics can be characterized by its exclusive focus on language and linguistic communication, whereas cognitive psychology studies a broader scope of topics related to mind. Since much (not all) research in cognitive psychology is experimental and has to do with language and communication, there also exists cognitive psycholinguistics, a confusing label for psycholinguistic works that are committed to either IPP ('content' approaches) or G2CS ('process' approaches).

Trends within translation studies

Psycholinguistic approaches in translation studies comprise all empirical endeavours that seek explanations for translation and interpreting phenomena in mental features, irrespective of their ascription to a cognitive paradigm or to any other psychological framework. For example, although the empirical status of psychoanalysis is a matter of heated discussion, it is used as a referential framework in works such as Ingram (2001), Venuti (2002), Quinney (2004) and Basile (2005). Popular psycholinguistic approaches roughly correspond to the emerging label 'translation process studies' (Beeby *et al.* 2000: xiii), and to what Holmes (1988: 72–3) labelled 'process-oriented descriptive translation studies'. Chesterman (2009) and Muñoz Martín (2010a, 2010b, forthcoming) put forward other perspectives on the domain.

The labels 'translation process studies' or 'translation process research' are not intended to exclude interpreting research, but they are customarily applied only to research on translation. This is rather infelicitous, for 'the idea of interpreting as a process, and of interpreting research as necessarily process-oriented, is all but ubiquitous in interpreting

studies' (Pöchhacker 2005: 693). Interpreting studies also have an older, and relatively stronger, tradition of empirical research into the mental aspects of interpreting. Some of these aspects, such as directionality, might be the same for translators and interpreters (cf. Chang 2009). In any case, it is doubtful that this area of translation studies can be furthered without a special reference to the relevant theoretical assumptions and tenets (Neubert and Shreve 1992: 32–5; Toury 1995: 9ff; Dancette and Ménard 1996; Shreve 1997a).

The different combinations of strands and disciplines of cognitive science in translation studies may probably be best exemplified by the following works (please note that ideas in this area of research are undergoing a rapid evolution and classifications usually apply to works, not to people):

- IPP in linguistics: Jäger 1975; Vázquez Ayora 1977; Wilss 1982; Gutt 1991; and Kiraly 1994.
- IPP in other disciplines: Gerver 1974; Seleskovitch 1975; Moser 1978; and Lédérer 1994.
- G2CS in linguistics: Tabakowska 1993; Olohan 2000; Halverson 2007; and Martín de León 2008.
- G2CS in other disciplines: Shreve 1997b, 2002; Kiraly 2000; Séguinot 2000a, 2000b; Pöchhacker 2005; and Risku 2002, 2010.

The use of cognitive science as a referential framework for translation and interpreting research is still beset by two main problems: (i) applications are often limited to initial projections about the potential benefits of a given cognitive framework 'doorstep interdisciplinarity' (Gile 1999: 41) – one of the exceptions is the application of conceptual metaphor theory (e.g. Rydning 2001; Tirkkonen-Condit 2001, 2002; Martín de León 2008, 2010a; Yan *et al.* 2010; Kikuchi 2010); and (ii) researchers seem to entertain (often implicit) assumptions from very different, sometimes even contradictory (cognitive) frameworks. In spite of these problems, many trends focused on the mental processes of translators and interpreters share basic tenets, such as a commitment to empirical research. Let us now turn to empiricism.

Empiricism

Kussmaul and Tirkkonen-Condit (1995: 177) state that, 'There has always been a kind of empirical research [within translation studies]: translation criticism and error analysis, but this was by nature product- and not process-oriented'. Given the recent upsurge of publications on empirical research into translation and interpreting processes (e.g. Gile 2001; Williams and Chesterman 2002; Shlesinger 2002; Hansen 2003; Lörcher 2005; PACTE 2005; Campbell and Wakim 2007; Göpferich 2008), it might seem that it is a new perspective of study. Far from it: it is one of the oldest branches in modern translation studies.

First steps

The scientific interest in translators' and interpreters' mental processes emerged in the wake of IPP in general, and generative linguistics in particular, during the mid-twentieth century. The need to describe and explain what translators do – rather than what they should do or how translations are – started incidentally, as a spin-off of machine translation research. Getting machines to translate made it necessary to formulate a translation process for them, which, in turn, led to the quest to understand how humans translate. Two

of the main problems researchers would face were (i) equivalence – computers could not infer nor construct meaning, so it had to be entered beforehand; and (ii) translation units – i.e. the appropriate range or length of text segments which, when separated from the rest of the text, would let equivalence be established. Some scholars (e.g. Nida 1964; Kade 1968) readily tried to extend the proposed IPP/generative framework of machine translation to human translation, only soon to realize that it did not work.

In spite of this early realization, equivalence and translation units remained central problems for translation studies for more than two decades. This was probably due to (i) the contrastive tradition (which fostered the study of translation products – finished translations – and not of translators' behaviours); (ii) the deductive nature of most approaches; and (iii) the interest in machine translation. These combined features concealed the fact that equivalence and translation units have never been a problem for human translators, who tend to naturally and correctly split originals and translations into manageable, semantically and grammatically coherent text segments (see, for instance, Goldman-Eisler 1972). Furthermore, professional translators seem loosely to understand equivalence as (the successive attempt to find) personal, hypothetical correspondences for translation units at various levels and from different perspectives. Today we would say that these hypotheses are *situated*.

Since the ultimate goal of early works was to build automatic *written* translation systems, both linguists and computer scientists discarded interpreting as uninteresting. Research on conference interpreting was thus free from the weight of an overwhelming literary and linguistic tradition. It also has 'traditionally shown an overriding concern with cognitive processes, and relied on experimental design for their study' (Pöchhacker 2009: 67). In the 1960s and 1970s both psycholinguists and experimental psychologists researched some aspects of conference interpreting from the perspectives and methods usual in their own domains (e.g. Gerver 1976). In 1977 Gerver and Sinaiko (1978) organized what can be described as the first interdisciplinary conference on psycholinguistic approaches to interpreting. Please note that empirical research on interpreting actually started much earlier. For a full overview of its evolution, see Gile (1994), Pöchhacker and Shlesinger (2002), Riccardi (2003), Falbo (2004) and Pöchhacker (2004).

Interregnum

During the 1970s, some interpreting teachers-cum-practitioners at the University of La Sorbonne Nouvelle faced the need to explain how they carried out their tasks. In a landscape dominated by generative-linguistic approaches (which they thought could not help them), they turned to psychology to look for answers (e.g. Seleskovitch 1978). However, the Paris School also rejected the empirical research of 'outsiders', such as David Gerver, due to its lack of ecological validity. Instead, they turned to introspection and deductive procedures, much in the way generative linguists and translation scholars worked at the time.

In the Paris School's *théorie du sens*, or *interpretive theory of translation*, 'meaning' would be objective and could be canned in machine translation systems, whereas 'sense' depended on the situational context. Sense deverbilization would occur in the second of a simplistic three-phase model of the process. Other notions remained as idealized as in generativism, such as considering language comprehension and production effortless achievements in speakers with excellent language skills. In brief, rather than questioning IPP, the Paris School just tried to extend it with complementary notions. Many works by the Paris School have correctly been deemed unscientific (Gile 1990), but its members –

notably, Seleskovitch – should be credited for having developed the first cognitive paradigm in translation studies.

In the 1970s and early 1980s some translation researchers became persuaded that linguistics (cognitive or otherwise) was simply not a suitable framework for building a sound science of translation, and even that translation could not aim to become a rigorous discipline: ‘Like linguistics, *Übersetzungswissenschaft* adopted views and methods of the exact sciences, in particular mathematics and formal logic, and in both cases the view is now frequently expressed that such methods have led to a dead end’ (Snell-Hornby 1988: 14). The artificial exclusion of literary translation which generative approaches had proposed (Kade 1968) came to an end. This change of scope materialized in Holmes’s (1988) coining of the term translation studies, by which a comprehensive view of the field was meant where scientific approaches to translation were but one part of a much more complex intellectual landscape.

The new perspective welcomed many scholars interested in literary and culturalist approaches back into the translation arena. From then on, most scholarly publications on translation were – and still are – uninterested in creating a body of knowledge that would withstand close scrutiny from a scientific standpoint. In spite of the changing landscape, some scholars kept trying to develop a discipline from linguistic perspectives – see, for instance, the collection of articles in Snell-Hornby (1986) – while others embraced the emerging cultural approaches and used deductive and introspective methods to propose functionalist approaches (Holz-Mänttari 1984; Reiss and Vermeer 1984).

Renaissance

A symposium held at the University of Trieste in 1986 (Gran and Dodds 1989), and a conference in Turku in 1994 (Gile and Taylor 1997) renewed the interest in empirical research into conference interpreting, so that now the scientific-empirical-minded strand within this realm ‘has taken the lion’s share both in recent publications and in conference participation’ (Gile 1995a: 16). The interpreting research community has also welcomed back neighbouring research programmes from cognitive disciplines (mainly psychology), such as those by the teams led by Franco Fabbro (University of Trieste), Annette M.B. de Groot (University of Amsterdam) and María Teresa Bajo (University of Granada).

Interpreting researchers have borrowed concepts and research methods mainly from cognitive psychology and neuroscience within G2CS, but methodological innovation has not been as salient as in translation (see below). Research efforts have concentrated on potentially cross-modal topics such as lateralization (Fabbro *et al.* 1990), brain activation patterns (Rinne *et al.* 2000), or quality assessment (Pöschhacker 2001), and on apparently interpreting-specific issues such as ear-voice span (Goldman-Eisler 1972), anticipation (Seeber 2001), stress (Kurz 2003), cognitive load (Gile 2008), or the effects of numbers on processing (Mazza 2001). However, while translation scholars struggled with the legacy of linguistic concepts such as *sense* and *competence*, interpreting research has developed a much more coherent cognitive theoretical apparatus (e.g. Gile 1998; Setton 1999; Shlesinger 2000; Riccardi 2002a). In fact, interpreting research has provided the field with conceptual tools that might be extended to translation, such as Gile’s (1995b) efforts model and the gravitational model of linguistic availability.

Of course, this second blossom of interpreting research is not free from contrasts. The new expansion is foregrounding extant cognitive research on bilingualism and language acquisition, and reinforcing cognitive psychology from both IPP and G2CS as referential

frameworks. However, it is also rightfully welcoming many other approaches (e.g. sociological), some of which are not necessarily empirical. Furthermore, interpreting studies seems to be developing as a somewhat separate discipline just when research results seem to offer some solid common ground with translation research and when both translation and interpreting researchers seem more prone to listening to each other (e.g. Shlesinger 1998; Schäffner 2004).

As for translation, back in the 1980s a few researchers refused to abandon scientific approaches (e.g. Harris 1988) and soon an empirical strand focused on translators' mental processes was started (Sandrock 1982). A distinction should be made between the nature of the discipline and the adherence to methods to build knowledge, i.e. between considering translation studies a science and using the scientific method. Cognitive science has questioned the status of objectivist scientific enterprises (Lakoff 1987) and yet it considers that properties such as induction, (internal, ecological and external) validity, generalization and replicability are the backbone of a series of research methods that should ensure rigour and progress in knowledge construction. In fact, the development of cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches to translation from the 1980s onwards may perhaps be better expressed as a matter of research methods.

Research methods in translation process research

Since the objects of study are the mental processes of translators and interpreters, which cannot be directly accessed, the source of collected data is a crucial aspect of research. Data sources may be divided into introspective and observational. In a wide sense, introspective methods are all those where data are provided by the subjects themselves by 'looking inwards' – mainly thinking aloud (Ericsson and Simon 1984), collaborative translation protocols and retrospection, but also integrated problem and decision reports (Gile 2004), interviews and questionnaires (cf. Göpferich and Jääskeläinen 2009). In a stricter sense, only thinking aloud is truly introspective, because the other methods usually yield not only 'direct' verbalizations of information 'reproduced in the form in which it was heeded', but also coding non-linguistic information into words, and inferential or filtered information (Ericsson and Simon 1984: 16ff). Observational data sources include keystroke logging (e.g. Translog), screen-recording (e.g. Camtasia), video recording, eye tracking, event-related potentials (ERP), and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI).

Think-aloud research: the first generation

Until the end of the 1990s, thinking aloud (TA) was the most popular method of data collection. Kussmaul and Tirkkonen-Condit (1995) and Jonasson (2007) provide an overview, and Jääskeläinen (2002) an annotated bibliography. Basically, in TA subjects are requested to verbalize what they are thinking while they carry out a translation task. This purported 'spontaneous, unedited, undirected, stream-of-consciousness type of account from the subject' (ibid.: 108) is recorded and transcribed, and the transcription is then analysed. Early TA experiments were the target of much sound criticism on methodological grounds (e.g. Hönig 1988; Jääskeläinen 1996, 2000; Bernardini 2001; Rodrigues 2002; Li 2004), but the crucial, implicit question has always been whether what we get is the actual process of thought. A review of research in psychology and consciousness studies points out that the answer is probably *no*.

In many instances, introspecting subjects depart from a ‘perceptual replay’ (Lyons 1986), where attentional disruptions may lead them to miss current perceptual states (O’Regan *et al.* 1999). Many mental states and processes do not seem accessible through introspection (Wilson and Dunn 2004). People are usually unaware of their own unawareness (Wilson and Bar-Anan 2008) and inferentially attribute causes and motives to their own behaviour on choices and judgements (Dretske 1999; Seager 2000). Furthermore, subjects often make mistakes in their introspective judgements (Churchland 1988) and also misdescribe their reasoning processes (Nisbett and Wilson 1977), probably due to several cognitive biases (Pronin 2007). In fact, subjects might be in a worse position than observers with respect to their own mental states (Ryle 2002). In sum, introspective reports are intuitions on an illusion (Pronin 2009) which are not necessarily consistent (Barsalou 1993) or accurate (Wilson 2002), and are therefore unreliable (Schwitzgebel 2008). That is why cognitive psychology often rejects introspection (Börsch 1986), and that is why Gibbs (2007) argues that CL should favour non-introspective procedures as well.

In spite of this compelling evidence, the issue is far from settled (see Jack and Roepstorff 2003, 2004; Hansen 2005, and in this volume). Data quality and reliability were a primary concern for researchers from the start. As soon as 1988 (just two years after the first wave of think-aloud studies were published), House defended the use of dialogue protocols – where two subjects talk to each other while cooperatively confronting a translation task – soon to be followed by group protocols (Hönig 1990). Pavlović (2007: 46–7) proposes the label collaborative translation protocols (CTP) for all of them, and argues that ‘the very things that invalidate CTPs in terms of Ericsson and Simon’s criteria may be the very things we would like to find out about the translation processes, for instance, how and why translation decisions are made’. In other words, what we get from the subjects in introspective methods may well be partial, edited, communication-oriented constructions by the subjects (e.g. Hönig 1992; Kovačič 2000; Pavlović 2007: 44), but they are very informative anyway. The fact that introspection does not yield reports on actual thought processes does not mean that they do not offer valuable insights on them, but only that their results should be analysed with the same caution applied to questionnaires. Furthermore, some empirical studies have pointed out that what subjects think about the nature of the task has a direct influence on the way it is carried out (e.g. Rodrigues 2001; Martín de León 2010b; Presas 2010), and introspective methods are the primary source for these ideas and beliefs.

Triangulating translation

In 1995 the Seventh Kent Psychology Forum welcomed researchers from several disciplines to foreground empirical research on translators’ and interpreters’ cognitive processes. Goals, approaches and methods were thoroughly discussed and resulted in a landmark publication (Danks *et al.* 1997) that reinforced interpreting research and marked a turning point in translation research.

Since TA seems to modify ‘normal’ mental processes when translating (Jakobsen 2003; Hansen 2005), and computers had already become translators’ main tool, Jakobsen and Schou (1999) developed Translog, a keystroke logger, the interface of which looks like an extremely simple word processor. Translog does not record activities outside the programme, such as the use of other software or Internet navigation. To compensate for this problem, other data-gathering methods have been combined with it, such as other keystroke loggers that will record keyboard activities outside Translog, screen recording applications and,

lately, eye tracking devices (O'Brien 2009). When used separately, all these methods have some disadvantages, so the triangulation of data from different sources has almost become a must (see Lauffer 2002; Alves 2003; Hild 2004).

In the last decade, research projects using Translog have outnumbered those using TA (cf. Jääskeläinen 2002 and Schou *et al.* 2009), mainly because Translog is not invasive and allows discreet quantification. This does not mean that introspection has been rejected, simply because it can never be totally abandoned. Introspection lies at the heart of all research efforts, for there is no other way for researchers to interpret data into meaningful results. Without introspection, Newton would have just enjoyed eating a fallen apple. Quite on the contrary, interviews and questionnaires are as usual as ever, and retrospection is on the rise. Retrospection was mistrusted because the time span between task completion and data gathering fosters post hoc rationalizations on the subject. Today, self-performance recordings may be used as a cue to help them remember what they thought. When used immediately after task completion, cued immediate retrospection seems to be quite informative (Hansen 2006). It has at least the same problems as TA in terms of the quality of data, but none of the disadvantages in its application. Thus, this kind of retrospection is emerging as the favourite secondary support to interpret data from observational data sources. For retrospection in interpreting research see, for instance, Ivanova (2000), Mead (2000), and Vik-Tuovinen (2002).

All in all, the sign of the new generation is methodological. Even though we still lack flawless data-gathering tools, there has been substantial progress in data-collection procedures and in their triangulation. There are even some efforts underway to align data from different sources, such as the combination of Translog with eye tracking data (Carl *et al.* 2008; Carl 2009), and the latter two with retrospective protocols (Alves *et al.* 2009). Research design has become more sophisticated and rigorous, even though procedure standardization is still way ahead and differences between research projects still make it very difficult to compare results.

Current status and prospects

Thus far, psycholinguistic approaches have managed convincingly to map what today looks like a vast, sketchily chartered territory, that of translators' and interpreters' mental processes. They have proved that these processes may be studied with regard to (i) the role of mental features such as attention (Lambert 2004) and memory (Rothe-Neves 2003; Timarová 2008), top-down and bottom-up processes (Bell 1991: 234), declarative and procedural knowledge (Alves 2005), metacognitive and metalinguistic awareness (Ehrensberger-Dow and Künzli 2010), routine interiorization and automation (Denver 2007), creativity, problem-solving and decision-making (e.g. Kussmaul 1991); (ii) the workings of task aspects such as text and discourse comprehension, segmentation and evaluation (Shreve *et al.* 1993; Dragsted 2004; Conde Ruano 2008), information search and use (Livbjerg and Mees 2003), planning, recursiveness and revision (Séguinot 2000b; Campbell 2001; Breedveld 2002); (iii) subjects' characteristics, such as uncertainty (Tirkkonen-Condit 2000); and (iv) subjects' behavioural differences when dealing with particular text and discourse features, such as cognates, metaphors and cohesion (Stamenov 2009; Tirkkonen-Condit 2002; Shlesinger 1995). Researchers have compared novice and advanced language and translation students, professionals with different levels of experience, and untrained bilinguals (cf. Rodrigues 2002). This was done under different settings (e.g. booth, office, home, classroom) and conditions (such as time pressure), and in at least a dozen languages.

In just about 30 years, what amounts to a single researcher's intellectual lifetime, a relatively small number of researchers – some with little previous training on empirical procedures and often with slim funding – have succeeded in proving that psycholinguistic approaches are both appropriate and fascinating, and that they may have an enormous impact on translation and interpreting quality, and on translator and interpreter training. Research teams (e.g. the CBS group, EXPECTRUM, PACTE, PETRA) and projects (e.g. TRAP, Eye-to-It, Expert@, CTP, TransComp, CÓDIGO) have widened the net created by pioneering researchers such as Gile, Kurz, Kussmaul, Lörscher, Moser, Séguinot, Shlesinger and Tirkkonen-Condit, so that today we can speak properly of a scientific community: a worldwide community that is no longer confined to a few central European universities, but which includes countries such as Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Japan, the Republic of Korea and the USA, to name but a few. Psycholinguistic approaches have also attained academic approval, by becoming a substantial part of more than 20 PhD programmes, and they already have an impact on training. No small accomplishments, when compared to other frameworks and disciplines.

We are still learning how to walk. 'To fully appreciate the merits and drawbacks of the available approaches, we apparently require more research into research; i.e., efforts to validate the relevance of our methodologies and to avoid counterproductive or misleading ones' (Shlesinger 2000: 13). The only way to achieve it is to move on to statistically significant, quantitative research. This does not mean that qualitative research should be abandoned, or that it should enjoy a lower status, but rather that the field is nearly mature enough to try to go beyond tentative hypotheses. Corpora techniques may be extremely helpful to do so (Olohan 2004: 34ff), although problems such as the transcription (Shlesinger 1998) and coding of process features (Göpferich 2009) need to be solved. Relevant experimental features that are still only grossly accounted for, such as experimental texts and subjects, need to be operationalized and their influence determined so that research projects can be compared (e.g. Jensen 2009; Muñoz Martín 2009). Cognitive psychologists and linguists are nurturing translation studies with their views, but it is our task to make sense of their perspectives and advances. For instance, we have to compare monolingual and bilingual reading and writing to determine whether there are specific features that distinguish them, even though these differences are likely to be more a matter of degree than of nature. Much work is also needed for the standardization of the conceptual apparatus used to analyse data from our own experiments. Concepts such as choice network analysis (Campbell 2001) and macro-translation units (Alves and Vale 2009) seem to be promising paths. This conceptual apparatus needs to be based on a basic consensus regarding the nature of meaning, language, cognition, communication, and the changing nature of translating and interpreting processes. So there is plenty of work ahead.

Related topics

cognitivism; psycholinguistics; experimental research; translation process

Further reading

Danks, J.H., Shreve, G., Fountain, S. and McBeath, M. (1997) *Cognitive Processes in Translation and Interpreting*, London: Sage. (An interdisciplinary, authoritative primer addressing both theoretical and methodological issues to describe and explain translation and interpreting mental processes.)

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Multimodality and translation

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For a long time, the translation of languages was the only centre of interest in diachronic as well as in synchronic translation studies. Only the linguistic dimension was discussed – irrespective of the text type – so that translation studies could be described as a monomodal discipline. Those texts that existed in combination with other sign systems, such as films, children’s books, operas, comics, were largely neglected, left to other disciplines or analysed by excluding the non-linguistic text constituents. The concentration on one single modality also characterized the theoretical, methodical and analytical equipment of this discipline, the main aim of which was to explore the basic conditions, principles and methods of language transfer. For this purpose, mainly tools from linguistics and literary criticism were used. No reason was found to develop different analysing instruments for other modes.¹

Only quite late – encouraged by the multimedia era and the iconic turn related to that – the realization that texts consist not only of linguistic elements also emerged in traditionally monomodal disciplines. Gambier (2006: 6) even stated that meaning is always multisemiotic: ‘No *text* is, strictly speaking, monomodal.’ According to this, multimodal texts are not only those texts – written or oral – that combine visual (images and graphics), acoustic (sounds and music) and linguistic elements, but also all those texts that are ostensibly purely linguistic as they have multimodal elements like typography and layout. If multimodality is the rule, the question that arises is how non-verbal elements should be treated in translation studies. Should it continue concentrating on language transfer as a subject or should it – as can rudimentarily be seen in the last few years – start to move away from a monomodal perspective and develop towards a multimodal discipline? If the latter is pursued, a number of questions arise: What does an adequate concept of ‘text’ look like? Can verbal units remain the central category of investigation? What instruments and methods exist for a translation-relevant analysis of non-verbal modes? In short, what consequences does a multimodal conception of the subject have for the self-image of the discipline? In the following chapter, the introduction and development of the concept of multimodality in translation studies and its consequences will be traced.

Theoretical frameworks for transcultural multimodal communication

Multimodal aspects had become an issue in text linguistics as well as in semiotics. However, it was Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) who initially sparked the development of a

theory of multimodal communication. They defined modes as ‘semiotic resources which allow the simultaneous realisation of discourses and types of (inter)action’ (ibid.: 21). From this perspective, modes are not primarily products, but cultural processes which manifest themselves as discourses and the functions of which constitute texts in relation to other modes. In contrast to single semiotic analyses, which regard visual or musical signs in an isolated way, a multimodal perspective implies the awareness that modes exist in combination: ‘We have defined multimodality as the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which these modes are combined’ (ibid.: 20). The knowledge about different modes working together was not at all new, but Kress and van Leeuwen now regarded multimodality as a principle of text design where individual modes are not limited to certain functions, but work in combination. Which functions does a mode have in a text as a whole and which modes are used when designing a text depends on pragmatic as well as culture-specific factors.

Kress and van Leeuwen situated multimodality in the frame of social semiotics, the corner pillars of which are the two dimensions ‘discourse’ and ‘design’, and the two phases ‘production’ and ‘distribution’. Discourse and design refer, above all, to the different modes and their design, while production and distribution refer to the individual media. By discourse, the authors mean ‘socially situated forms of knowledge’ (ibid.: 20), which depend on the genre, the mode and also the design. The latter was defined by Kress and van Leeuwen as a ‘means to realise discourses in the context of a given communication situation’ (ibid.: 21). So, in the design, the form of the text is concretized and realized in the process of production, which is understood as ‘the actual material articulation of the semiotic event’ (ibid.: 22). Finally, in the process of distribution, texts are technically reproduced.

The elements of a multimodal communication theory represent an important basis for exploring multimodality in translation studies and can be related to communication-sensitive and culture-sensitive translation theories. An approach in translation studies that has numerous relations to Kress and van Leeuwen is Holz-Mänttari’s (1984) translation theory, which is based on action theory.² Similar to the role of human beings, ‘their *social agency*’, presenting ‘a criterial aspect’ in multimodal theory (Kress and Jewitt 2003: 9), Holz-Mänttari regarded translation as an activity where different actors participate in developing a text. Holz-Mänttari emphasized – similarly to Kress and van Leeuwen – the design character of translation. Translation cannot be reduced to language transfer, but it designs texts across cultural barriers. However, the aim of a translator as a text designer is not to understand the text himself/herself, but to produce texts for the needs of somebody else (Holz-Mänttari 1993: 303). The design of texts across language and cultural barriers needs a specification for production – this is negotiated in the interaction of different actors who act as a part of a social complex of actions. Translators normally specialize in the transfer of verbal texts, and because of the multimodal design of texts, they have to work with other experts like photographers, composers, graphic designers, etc. Concerning the production of design texts, Holz-Mänttari explicitly referred to their multimodal character and called them message conveyor compounds (*Botschaftsträger-im-Verbund*). The compound character of the different modes exactly corresponds to the functional relation, as Kress and van Leeuwen pointed out. Thus, in a technical manual, for example, the visual mode as well as the linguistic mode can take the explanation of the operating steps. Whether the communicative function is fulfilled by images or by linguistic explanations is, on the one hand, culture-specific and, on the other hand, depends on the production context.

Kress and van Leeuwen as well as Holz-Mänttari clearly pointed out that the individual steps of text production – from discourse and design to production and reception –

decide which modes are used in which combination to achieve a communicative aim. While Kress and van Leeuwen pointed out the characteristics of multimodality in their theory with the transcultural aspect hardly playing a role, Holz-Mänttari above all investigated the steps of actions that are relevant for producing multimodal texts across language and cultural barriers. Thus, both theoretical approaches can additionally be related to each other for perceiving multimodality in translation studies.

The contribution of Kress and van Leeuwen's theory of multimodal communication for translation studies is the specification of the modality notion, which Holz-Mänttari mentioned, but she did not elaborate on it comprehensively. According to Stöckl (2004: 14f), modes can be divided into core modes and sub-modes. The former comprise language, image, sound, music; the latter represent the building blocks of core modes. They can be compared with grammatical units. Thus, the sub-modes of music would be rhythm, melodies, harmony, orchestration, dynamics, etc. The sub-modes of spoken language would be volume, intonation, voice quality, speed, pausing, etc. The sub-modes of written language, however, would be typography and layout. A further distinction would be that of modes and peripheral modes; the latter are a kind of 'by-product' that result from a medial realization of a core mode (*ibid.*: 14).

Here it already becomes evident that mode and medium are two notions that are closely related to each other. As Kress and van Leeuwen emphasize, the distinction between mode and medium is not always clear and definite: on the one hand, text modes are always realized in medial contexts and, therefore, they are always related to a medium; on the other hand, using different modes is also caused by the respective medium, regarding the content as well as regarding the form. Kress and van Leeuwen define media as 'the material resources used in the production of semiotic products and events, including both the tools and the materials used' (2001: 22). In translation studies both the mode and the medium have their own specific impact on the translation process and the translation product. As translation cannot only mean a change of the mode, but also a change of the medium, a clear separation of the notions, as Stöckl (2004: 11f) claimed, also is essential.

The development of a modal text and a concept of translation

It is no coincidence that multimodal texts were not dealt with in a more systematic way before equivalence postulates were given up in favour of culture-sensitive, target text-oriented approaches. In functional and culture-semiotic theories, as they were developed – among others – by Reiss and Vermeer (1984) and Toury (1980), translation was no longer a neutral communicating instrument used for a neutral and identical information transfer from a source language into a target language. Now the communication contexts of the target culture became the central factors for a text analysis. As a result, to be classified as a translation, a fixed connection to the source text was no longer essential, but those conventions, norms and values that were considered to be culturally and socially mandatory for a translation. Through the de-ontologization of the text related to this – the text notion was now a function the potentiality of which is only made concrete in a sociocultural context – the culture-semiotic dimension of texts became the centre of interest – and thus, also their multimodality. The non-verbal dimension which often made severe changes of the linguistic part necessary, and which could not be combined with equivalence criteria, was no longer seen as an obstacle, but as a challenge.

There have been various notions in connection with multimodal texts in translation studies. This process of conception is also the result of a certain discourse and thus also

reflects attitudes and theoretical positions – in the case of multimodal texts, above all, the challenge to surmount the basic language-centred direction of this discipline. One of the first scholars to include multimodal texts in the subject was Katharina Reiss.³ In her famous text typology, she explicitly mentioned texts that comprised different sign systems. First, the term ‘subsidiary texts’ was chosen (Reiss 1981: 78, my translation), the adjective indicating a hierarchic order of the text modes. Later this term was changed to ‘audio-medial’ (1971: 34). According to Reiss, these texts differ from purely linguistic texts ‘in their dependence on non-linguistic (technical) media and on graphic, acoustic, and visual kinds of expression’ (2000: 43). In skopos theory, this mixture of media-specific and mode-specific text characteristics was given up. Similar to Snell-Hornby (1993), the term ‘multimedial’, which is confusing from today’s point of view, was chosen.⁴ Multimediality actually does not refer to communicating and broadcasting media, but only to semiotic resources in the sense of the mode notion. This becomes clear by listing texts that are considered multimedial: apart from literary texts like children’s literature, comics and films, also specialized texts that comprise visual modes as well as, for example, graphics and typographic specialities, were mentioned for the first time (Reiss and Vermeer 1984: 211). Apart from the fact that denoting modal text characteristics with the media notion is difficult as two different aspects – mode and medium – are virtually equalized, this notion quite quickly caused misunderstandings because of the electronic development in the 1980s whereby multimedia got its own meaning.

The concept of ‘constrained translation’, which was introduced by Mayoral *et al.* (1988) and which should comprise texts like comics, films, songs, etc. in translation theory, is problematic as well. Constraints already indicate that non-linguistic elements are seen as obstacles for the translator and his/her actual – linguistic – work, and that non-verbal modalities are not seen as communicative text elements, or, as Zabalbeascoa put it: ‘So, the concept of constrained translation has sometimes been used as a label to brand any variety of translation that forced the unwilling theorist to consider the important role of nonverbal elements’ (2008: 23).

Not before transcending linguistic analysing perspectives and the call for interdisciplinary research was the issue of multimodality comprehensively included into translation studies. Above all, audiovisual translation contributed to the conception and the notion specification from the 1990s, but often without clearly separating the medium from the mode. Gottlieb suggested the term ‘polysemiotic text type’ (1994: 269), which means that a text consists of two or more communication channels. Apart from the fact that the term communication channel causes misunderstandings because this often refers to the communicating medium, the term ‘polysemiotic’ is also not clear. According to Gottlieb, a novel would be monosemiotic. As already emphasized at the beginning, it is, however, questionable if there are monosemiotic texts at all. The colour of the book cover, the paper quality, the layout and the typography already have semiotic qualities. However, not only the materials used, but also the production and distribution processes themselves are semiotic processes that give the text an additional meaning (cf. Kress and Jewitt 2003: 14). Therefore, the term polysemiotic is too diffuse for the usage of different modes.

The notion of multimodality is used in translation studies, but not always in a clear contrast to the notion of media. Thus, for Tercedor Sánchez (2010) multimodality is ‘information presented through different channels and signs’ – so she mixed sensory channels, media and modes. With the term ‘multidimensional translation’, Gerzymisch-Arbogast tried to comprise both the medial and the modal dimension of texts while she focused on the medial transfer and the impact of the medium or the new technologies on the

product. In this context, multidimensionality is defined ‘as a form of translation which transfers – with a specific purpose – a speaker or hearer’s concern expressed in a sign system 1, formulated in a medium 1, via the same medium or a medium 2 or a combination of media into another sign or semiotic system 2’ (2005: 5). However, because of the different consequences of modes and media for a text transfer, a distinct separation of these two terms seems reasonable. This will be explained with regard to a taxonomy of modal and medial types of translation.

According to Jakobson (1959: 233), who was one of the first to create a translation typology relating to semiotic codes and their connections to each other, the core of a translation is the ‘interlingual translation’, which he called a ‘translation proper’. Moreover, there is the ‘intralingual translation’ and the ‘intersemiotic translation’, the latter meaning the transfer between different sign systems – for example, the translation from image signs into language signs, etc. The term intersemiotic translation is unfortunate because a language is also a semiotic system, and thus the translation between two language systems would logically be an intersemiotic translation. Toury (1994: 1114) therefore defined Jakobson’s interlingual translation as an intrasemiotic translation that can be divided into intrasystemic (e.g. intralingual) and intersystemic translations. Concerning the latter, in fact, he only mentioned interlingual translation as an example, but in this context other communication systems would be possible, too. Toury defined intersemiotic translation, which means the translation between different codes, similarly to Jakobson.⁵

The criteria mode and medium should clearly be distinguished from each other because – as already stated – the semiotic dimension influences a text in many dimensions and is problematic for a translation-relevant text typologization in the way it is used by Toury and Jakobson. In fact, text modes are always realized in medial contexts, and therefore they are always related to a medium. Modes can also be realized in different media – for example, language can be realized in the medium writing as well as in the medium speech. Through the medial realization, different special modes emerge in each case, too, so it is essential to consider both aspects in their connection when translating.

The differences concerning the categories between modes and media have an impact on questions and investigation methods. Apart from the modal text factors, medial communication contexts, changes and transfers are also essential as the use of different modes is caused by the respective medium, concerning the content as well as the form.⁶ For translation studies it is important that the notion of medium comprises the respective form of performance (e.g. opera, theatre, comic) as well as its material communication channels (writing, radio, TV, electronic media, etc.).

On the basis of the aspects mentioned, we can expand the prototypic definition of the subject in the style of Prunc (2004), so that translation is a conventionalized cultural interaction which modally and medially transfers texts from a communication entity for a target group that is different from the initially intended target group. Here, texts as a basis for translation consist of the combined usage of different modalities – certain discourses form the foundation for this – and they are produced, distributed and received on the basis of a certain design. Even if the linguistic dimension currently still belongs to the prototypical core for translation studies, texts and transfers, in this definition, are not primarily characterized by language participation any more, but by the categories of mode and medium. Here, first intramodal translation and intermodal translation can be distinguished from each other:

- Intramodal translation concerns the translation of a mode with the same form of mode – for example, the translation of a linguistic mode with a linguistic mode, of an image

mode with another image mode, etc. Here, an intracultural as well as a transcultural intramodal translation is possible. The former would be, for example, a translation of a German play into Viennese or the translation of image parts of a recipe for a children's cookbook. Here the communication act is realized for different target groups within one culture; the latter, however, is realized – in the sense of Toury (1994) 'intersystemically' – across cultural barriers. Examples of this are the image translation of Mickey Mouse comics into manga, whereby the image elements are designed according to the functions and structuring principles of the target culture, and the translation of the musical dimension of a rock 'n' roll song into a reggae one.

- Intermodal translation focuses on the mode change in the transfer process, which can be intracultural as well as transcultural. Examples for this would be the translation from the linguistic mode into the image mode – for example, the Bible into a comic or the transfer of a manual created with images into a linguistic text.

The medium as a second central text dimension for translation studies can also be differentiated according to the transfer aspect:

- Intramedial translation comprises intracultural and transcultural media transfers while the communication dispositif or the performing form remain the same. An example would be the music videos of American pop singers such as Christina Aguilera, Jennifer Lopez or Marc Anthony, which are produced for the English-speaking as well as the Spanish-speaking population. In fact, the American culture-specific use of, for example, cuts, image sequence, etc., remains the same, but for the intramodal translation between English and Spanish, for example, changes concerning the image sequence are necessary. By contrast – if it seems worth it economically – for the European market, different videos are shot according to the video habits of the European audience (e.g. fewer hard cuts, different image material, etc.). Intramedial media transfers across cultural barriers can have numerous consequences for the use of different modes because of the culture-specific characterization of modes. If, for example, a French *opéra comique* is translated into a German Romantic opera, the media transfer has – because of the different dramaturgy, the musical-singing realization and the editing of the content – an impact on the use and the design of the modes involved.
- Intermedial translation refers to translation across media barriers, which can also be realized intraculturally and transculturally. This comprises – among other things – the translation of a novel into a film, the transformation of a play into a musical, etc. In translation studies this domain in particular seems to open a broad field of activity, one which is also claimed by other disciplines like literary criticism. However, this does not have to cause a kind of rivalry if the competences are clarified on the basis of distinct subject definitions.

As the examples have shown, hybrid forms can develop between the different transfer forms on the mode and medium level. Thus, an intermodal and an intramedial or an intramodal and an intermedial translation can be connected with each other. I think it is reasonable to differentiate from the perspective of translation studies because of the different problems according to the respective transfer forms, but also because of the different translation-relevant questions in each case, even if the mode and the medium are always connected with each other and influence each other in texts.

Investigation fields and methods of multimodal texts

Even if the role and the function of non-verbal modes in transcultural communication have not been described comprehensively and systematically thus far, audiovisual translation is at the cutting edge of this issue. Already in the basic programme that Delabastita (1989) developed for research in this field, non-verbal elements were mentioned explicitly. Thus, in audiovisual translation – without mentioning it at the beginning – a multimodal text notion that took seriously ‘the importance of considering non-verbal items as part of a text rather than part of its context’ was favoured (Zabalbeascoa 2008: 37). The research boom that took place in this field from the 1990s was also the reason why non-verbal modes were included in all kinds of film translation. As an example for synchronization research, a study by Pruys (1997) will be mentioned: he developed a set of translation strategies based on rhetoric which he consistently applied for all modes – language, image, music. In subtitling (see Díaz Cintas, this volume), as well, the influence and the importance of non-verbal modes for translation of linguistic elements has been dealt with. On several occasions Gottlieb indicated that the multichannel and polysemiotic nature of film influences the design of subtitles, which he showed with puns (1997). Perego (2009) analysed how non-verbal modes that characterize oral speech semantically can be verbalized in subtitles. One field where the translation of non-verbal information into a verbal text plays an especially important role is in audio narration where the visual mode is translated into a linguistic mode for visually impaired persons (cf. e.g. Kruger 2010).

A field that is related to film subtitling – surtitles in theatres and operas – has also been dealt with concerning its multimodal conditions. As the performance as a multimodal text is seen as the actual basis for surtitling, the semiotic resources of the stage are seen as an interactive part of the translation analysis (cf. Virkkunen 2004; Griesel 2007; see also Espasa, this volume). The same can be said for singable translations of libretti: while often only the structural correlation between the linguistic and the musical mode is important in earlier studies, recently the semantic correlations and their meanings for translation have also been analysed (cf. Kaindl 1995).

Another field where the visual mode has consistently been dealt with is the translation of children’s literature (see O’Sullivan, this volume). Here, above all, the communicative relations between verbal and non-verbal modes, which are especially important because of the specific target group of children’s literature, are in focus (cf. O’Sullivan 1998; Oittinen 2003; Pereira 2008). In contrast, the image text in comics was excluded from investigations for a long time. Instead, linguistically ‘challenging’ stories like Asterix, which had enough material due to its puns and wordplay for a language-centred form of translation studies, was the focus, and only later did other modes or the relation between the individual modes become an issue (Celotti 1997; Kaindl 1999).

For a long time multimodality was hardly an issue in pragmatic texts – advertising and commercial texts where, above all, the visual design plays a central role are an exception (see Valdés, this volume). The knowledge that for the realization of the appellative function of advertising texts, visual modes also have to be translated led to a number of multimodally oriented investigations. For this, Millán-Varela (2004) used the visual grammar of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), just like Smith, who discussed the impact of images for the transfer of the advertising message (Smith 2008), but the translator has to decide, based on his/her cultural knowledge, which visual design in the sense of Kress and van Leeuwen works in the target text.

Multimodality in specialized texts has been largely neglected. Apart from Schröder (1993), Risku and Pircher developed the first approaches concerning multimodality in technical

communication (see Olohan, this volume) and critically pointed out the deficits of translation technologies concerning the visual dimension of technical communication. One aspect that has been dealt with, above all, in pragmatic texts, is the sub-mode of typography. Schopp (2005) extensively researched the semioticity of typographical elements, like font, font size and font scale, and layout.

Newer kinds of texts such as websites and video games, which are inseparably related to the multimedial development, have been analysed from a multimodal perspective since the beginning. The interactive character of video games and the aim of translation to make an adequate game experience possible requires the involvement of all modes in the translation process, where research is just beginning (cf. O'Hagan 2007). Similar to video games, in websites, too, where the translation of visual aspects into language is a common practice, the localization aspect leads to a holistic examination of the involved modes (cf. Tercedor Sánchez 2010).

If you consider the important role of non-verbal modes like gesture, mimics, but also sub-modes like intonation, the speed of speech, etc., for interpreting, the relatively low number of works that make these aspects a central issue is astonishing. Apart from studies about multimodal aspects of the spoken language (Collados Aís 1998; Ahrens 2004), recently the role of visual graphic material like charts and diagrams in hospital interpreting (Bührig 2004), the correlation between language and gesture of simultaneous interpreting (Zagar Galvão and Galhano Rodrigues 2010), and the multimodal description of voice and gesture for a dictionary for sign language interpreters (cf. Kellett Bidoli 2005) have been investigated.

If we now say that multimodal texts belong to the core of the subject, respective translation-relevant analysis methods have to be developed for their translation. However, as the centre of translation studies is language, the role and the importance of non-verbal text elements is reduced to general statements, but a systematic integration in analyses has rather been the exception to the rule until today. What Gambier (2006) said about audiovisual translation is true of all fields of multimodal translation:

There is a strong paradox: we are ready to acknowledge the interrelations between the verbal and the visual, between language and non-verbal, but the dominant research perspective remains largely linguistic.

(Gambier 2006)

In this context, he also noticed 'the lack, until recently, of a relevant methodology to deal with multimodality'. Actually models of other disciplines that deal with its constitution of meaning are often used; examples for this would be film theory for audiovisual translation; music theories for the translation of operas, musicals, songs; image theories for the translation of advertising, children's books, comics, etc.⁷ Taking analysis methods from other disciplines is problematic because they often do not consider the specific interest of investigation – the transfer across cultural barriers – and therefore they have different segmentations and classifications as their bases.

If the constitution of meaning is seen as a multimodal process, this does not only mean a new definition of text as the basis for translation, but also needs an extension of the analysis instruments in translation studies. In this context, text analysis as an investigation method – be it in the form of case studies or corpus-based investigations – comprises two questions: one, in what way are the different modes composed and how do they work; and two, what are the correlations and interaction modalities between the different modes. Although there have recently been increasing attempts to investigate – across language –

other modes, with regard to their translation, too, there are hardly any translation-relevant analysis models or classifications of translation units for non-verbal modes. Modes follow different principles concerning form, function and perception respectively. Thus images, for example, are perceived holistically; language is perceived gradually in the form of words and sentences. The meaning construction, too, is done using different means and in different ways. Images do not have any precise speech act repertoire, and therefore their illocution remains imprecise compared to language (cf. Stöckl 2004: 18). This is similar to music: while language has precise semantics, music is much vaguer, but it can – via its own means – communicate a meaning; this happens, above all, on the connotative and associative level. Exactly this uncertainty of semantics opens up a wide field of interpreting for image modes and musical modes, which can culture-specifically vary greatly, and thus transfer-oriented investigation methods are necessary. Here a multimodal discourse analysis on the basis of the critical discourse analysis can provide a useful contribution. How the different modes can be transcribed has been shown for the audiovisual translation, by Baldry and Taylor (2002) among others. Taylor (2004) showed how the transcription of different modalities can serve in choosing those verbal elements for subtitling that make it possible for a target culture to understand a film holistically. For the field of simultaneous interpreting, Zagar Galvão and Galhano Rodrigues (2010) presented a describing pattern for forms, functions and the meaning of the speakers' and interpreters' gestures in order to explore their meaning for the interpreting process. On the basis of a functional image grammar, Kaindl (1999) elaborated a translation-relevant component analysis for images in comics as he attached certain narrative functions to the individual visual elements.

The second essential question that arises in the context of multimodal text analyses is to focus more closely on the investigation of interaction modalities between different modes from the perspective of transfer. For this, too, there are approaches for different fields, like, for example, the correlation between the language mode and the musical mode for the opera (Herman *et al.* 2004); between image and language in comics (Kaindl 2004); and between non-verbal and verbal signs in films (Zabalbeascoa 2008). Relations between different modes are investigated in different disciplines; translation studies is mainly interested in communicative correlations between semiotic resources. Basically, the following relations can be distinguished from each other: the illustrating function, whereby the modes basically transport the same information and thus support each other in their meaning; the commenting or extending function, whereby the modes supplement each other in their meaning, add something or concretize it; and the contradictory function, whereby the meanings between the modes contradict each other.

Apart from text analysis, which is the most common method, experimental studies such as that about subtitling by Linde and Kay (1999) and about the meaning of visual elements in simultaneous interpreting by Rennert (2008) can only rarely be found in the context of multimodality. Empirical field studies based on participant observation, e.g. Risku and Pircher (2008), were carried out with regard to visual aspects in technical communication, and survey studies with questionnaires and interviews relating to multimodal aspects are also rare, so it can generally be said that the repertoire of investigation methods is currently not really being exploited.

Future challenges

If we assume that multimodality is the norm, and not an exception, mainly concentrating on the language part of translation studies is obsolete. Thus, the question arises whether

the subject of translation studies, which so far has been – above all – language-centred, generally needs to be updated and extended. If we take multimodality seriously, this ultimately means that transfers of texts without a language dimension or the concentration on non-language modes of a text are a part of the prototypic field of translation studies.

This means that translation studies has to develop appropriate investigation instruments for non-language modes. However, the approaches relating to this are still in their infancy. In fact, there are many texts – literary as well as pragmatic texts – that are also perceived in their semiotic complexity in translation studies, but the methodical instrument remains based on linguistic analysis criteria. This becomes evident – for example – in the different definitions of translation units which are seen as linguistic elements.

A further task is sharpening the notion instruments. The often diffuse usage of mode and media notions constitutes an obstacle for a more systematic investigation of relations and interactions between modes and media. The ‘media age’ also challenges translation studies to focus more intensively on mediality concepts in the transfer process, because modes are inseparably connected with media and characterized by them with regard to their form and their content.

There are also consequences of a multimodal comprehension of translation for translation didactics. Its focus currently is the communication of linguistic transfer competences. However, a comprehensive translation competence would also have to include a multimodal awareness that allows for the multifunctionality of different modes in designing texts. Thus translation would not only be seen as a language and culture transfer, but also as a modal transfer.

A concept of the subject where the core field of translation studies is not in the monomodal domain, but in the multimodal domain, needs more interdisciplinary work. As Mittelstrass appropriately stated, interdisciplinary competence requires disciplinary competence (cf. 1987: 154); the latter is always related to a clear idea of the object field, to the questions connected with this and adequate investigation methods. In all three fields, there remains much to be done for translation studies.

Related topics

multimodal; multimediality; types of translation; semiotic resources; audiovisual translation

Notes

- 1 Thus, Rabadán stated that images were universally comprehensive, and therefore there was no need to translate them (1991: 154).
- 2 For a comprehensive account of Holz-Mänttari’s theory, see Nord 1997.
- 3 In fact, there were earlier approaches which included multimodal texts like films, comics, operas, etc. in the subject canon, but without subsuming texts which combine different semiotic resources with each other in one mutual notion.
- 4 Later Snell-Hornby distinguished four categories from each other, namely multimedial, multimodal, multisemiotic and audiomedial texts (2006: 85). However, here the distinction between multimodal, multisemiotic and audiomedial is also unclear because Snell-Hornby categorizes texts that use ‘different graphic sign systems, verbal and non-verbal’, like comics or print advertisements, as multisemiotic. Audiomedial texts in turn are texts like, for example, political speeches or academic papers, which are at the interface of the written and the spoken mode. Thus, audiomedial as well as multisemiotic refer to multimodal texts.
- 5 Gottlieb also referred to Jakobson’s approach when he drafted – based on different categories like inter- and intrasemiotic translation, iso-, dia-, super- and hyposemiotic translation (Gottlieb

- 2005) – a taxonomy of translation comprising 30 types. Here, the problem is that modes, media and sensory channels were not clearly distinguished from each other.
- 6 In this context, intermediality research or media studies have interesting incentives. Although the concept of intermediality was at first related to the correlation between language arts and painting (cf. Hansen-Löwe 1983), it was later expanded to other fields like the technical communication dispositifs (radio, film, tape, etc.) and material medial dispositifs (brochure, book, etc.) (cf. Clüver 2000–1).
- 7 What Ventola *et al.* said for linguistics is also true for translation studies: ‘Research into multimodality is therefore marked at this point by a broad degree of eclecticism’ (2004: 2)

Further reading

- Gambier, Y. (2006) ‘Multimodality and Audiovisual Translation’, in M. Carroll, H. Gerzymisch-Arbogast and S. Nauert (eds) *Audiovisual Translation Scenarios: Proceedings of the Second MuTraConference in Copenhagen 1–5 May*. Available at: www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2006_Proceedings/2006_Gambier_Yves.pdf. (The focus of this article is on audiovisual translation. However, the explanations about multimodality are also true for other fields. Gambier discusses the impact of a multimodal perspective on the notions of text and translation, and he drafts research desiderata.)
- Kaindl, K. and Oittinen, R. (2008) *Le Verbal, le Visuel, le Traducteur/The Verbal, the Visual, the Translator*, special issue of *Meta* 53(1). (In this special issue, a broad range of fields where multimodality plays a role is presented: here the focus is on the translation of visual modes in audiovisual texts, advertising texts, children’s literature, comics, typography, interpreting and technical texts.)
- Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2001) *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*, London: Hodder Arnold. (This book comprises the bases for multimodality and its theoretical foundation. Although there is no direct reference to translation, this book, starting from social semiotics, provides useful insights into the functions of different modes and the correlations between modes and media, also for translation scholars.)

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Part IV

Specialized practices

Subtitling

Theory, practice and research

Jorge Díaz Cintas

The assertion that today's communication landscape is deeply rooted in and reliant on the potential offered by audiovisual technology would come as no surprise to anyone. The breakthrough in the late 1920s of coalescing moving images and sound, in what has been traditionally known in the cinema industry as the 'talkies', signalled the start of massive developments in the way information is produced, transmitted, shared and consumed audiovisually. More recently, changes have taken a more dynamic and interactive slant, with a marked emphasis on allowing consumers to move from a passive role as viewers of audiovisual media to active producers and distributors of their own edited material. This ever-increasing reality of mass communication in virtual environments, through online social networks among other media, has brought about radical changes in the way we relate and communicate with each other, with the result that the exchange of ideas, messages and images through media that combine both the visual and the auditory channels is an everyday, routine practice for millions of people around the globe. It is the composite, semiotic nature of the material, with all its creative potential, that gives it the edge over simply written communication.

The wide spread of audiovisual media is possible thanks to its capacity for swift exchange, its appealing nature and its potential to reach large audiences anywhere in the world, traditionally mainly through the television and cinema, but nowadays increasingly through the Internet and mobile devices. This basic need to communicate involves, obviously, the production, distribution and consumption of information among people who may speak different languages in the same or in different parts of the world. To overcome linguistic barriers, translation and interpreting are imperative and have been practised for centuries as a means of fostering communication and dialogue across different linguistic and cultural communities. As far as translation is concerned, the traditional approach focused almost exclusively on written texts. However, the development and spread of mass communication in new multimedia formats has brought about the birth of new types of translation generally grouped under the umbrella term 'audiovisual translation' (AVT), of which subtitling, dubbing and voiceover are the principal forms. This relatively new concept refers to translation practices in which the verbal dimension is just one of the many components interacting in the original text and compounding the communication process. It is

precisely this concurrence of different semiotic layers – visual (images, written text, gestures) and auditory (music, noise, dialogue) – that makes the translator’s task particularly challenging, and rewarding, in this field (see Gambier, this volume). Of the several modes available to translate audiovisual programmes, subtitling is arguably the most widespread for the simple reasons that it is cheap and fast. The availability of free subtitling and video-editing programs online has also contributed substantially to its surge in popularity.

Definition

By way of definition, subtitling may be described as a translation practice that consists of rendering in writing, usually at the bottom of the screen, the translation into a target language of the original dialogue exchanges uttered by different speakers, as well as all other verbal information that appears written on screen (letters, banners, inserts) or is transmitted aurally in the soundtrack (song lyrics, voices off). As opposed to dubbing (see Chaume, this volume), which completely erases the original dialogue, subtitling preserves the original text, both aurally and visually, while adding an extra layer of information. Given the multimedia nature of the material with which they work, subtitlers are expected to opt for solutions that strike the right balance and interaction between all these audio and visual dimensions. To achieve this, they must take into consideration the fact that viewers have to read the written subtitles at a given speed while watching the images at the same time. The constraining nature of the subtitling environment has always been brought to the fore when discussing this type of translation, leading scholars in the past to label it as an example of ‘constrained translation’ (Titford 1982).

Spatial considerations

Even though there is no absolute uniformity in the way subtitles are timed and positioned on screen, certain trends do enjoy a fair amount of currency and validity in the profession. Because of their intrusive nature, popping on and off the screen at regular intervals, the idea that subtitles should attract as little attention as possible is deeply rooted in the industry. In practice, this means that they are typically pushed off to the bottom of the screen, are displayed horizontally – though in some countries like Japan they can also be vertical – and do not contain more than two lines. Of course, subtitles can be moved to other parts of the screen if the need arises, as for instance when the main action takes place at the bottom of the screen, when the background is so light that subtitles risk being illegible, or when the bottom part of the original programme is taken up by written inserts or logos. At some film festivals subtitles are shown on a separate display below the screen to avoid any pollution of the photography.

Perhaps surprisingly, given the potential offered by digital technology, most professional subtitles tend to share the same font type without serifs, such as Arial and Helvetica. The maximum number of characters per line, including blank spaces and typographical signs, has traditionally hovered between 35 and 39 for languages based on the Roman alphabet. Languages like Chinese and Japanese allow between 12 and 16, and when working with Cyrillic languages and Arabic the limit tends to be set at some 35 characters per line. However, restricting the number of characters per line to a given maximum has not been an important factor for some time thanks to technical developments. Indeed, professional subtitling programs work now with pixels and have moved from using monospaced font (with letters and characters that each occupy the same amount of horizontal space), to

non-monospaced or variable-width fonts (where the letters differ in size to one another). This proportional lettering allows for greater rationalization of space and means that subtitlers can write as much text as possible, depending on the font size being used and the actual space available on screen. It is therefore not uncommon these days to find subtitles of around 50 and even 60 characters in just one line, particularly in the case of Internet subtitling. It would seem logical to expect that these longer subtitles should enjoy more exposure time on screen so that viewers can read them comfortably, but, unfortunately, this is rarely the case and more empirical research ought to be conducted in order to ascertain the appropriate reading speed of today's viewers.

Other changes that we are witnessing relate to the number of lines and the positioning. Indeed, the standard practice of having a maximum of two lines in a subtitle so as to minimize their impact on the image is being broken daily by the emergence of three-, four- and even five-liners, notably in the subtitling being done on the Internet. Their positioning at the bottom of the screen is also being called into question by new practices that prefer to display the subtitles on different parts of the screen. Whether these alternative ways of producing subtitles are the result of mere cosmetic innovations or have a more meaningful *raison d'être* that impacts on their readability and legibility is an area that remains to be researched and tested with viewers.

Temporal considerations

The other dimension that plays a crucial role in the technical make-up of subtitles is the temporal one. An easy convention for the viewer to be able to identify who is saying what consists in timing the subtitles in such a way that they keep temporal synchrony with the utterances. Arguably, this can be the main factor affecting the viewer's appreciation of the quality of a subtitled programme. Sloppy timing, with subtitles coming in too early or too late, or leaving the screen without following the sound track are confusing and can ruin the enjoyment of the programme. Whenever possible, then, a subtitle should appear on screen at the precise moment the person starts speaking and should leave the screen when the person stops speaking. This synchronization process is known in the profession as spotting, cueing, timing or originating and it may be carried out by the translators themselves or by technicians who are familiar with the subtitling program. Thanks to an eight-digit timecode, the exact in and out cues are accurately defined in hours, minutes, seconds and frames, allowing quick and easy location of scenes and frames and perfect synchronization between soundtrack and written subtitle. In the following subtitle:

0021 00:02:20:07 00:02:23:21

The fact that Pudgie the parrot smokes a cigarette
is morally irresponsible.

the digit 0021 is the subtitle number, 00:02:20:07 represents the in-time when the subtitle will appear on screen and 00:02:23:21 stands for the out-time when the subtitle will fade away. From the last two values, the duration of the utterance can be worked out: 3 seconds and 14 frames (of a total of 24 in cinema and 25 in television and video in PAL Frames system, and 30 in television and video in NTSC system).

The spotting of the dialogue has to mirror the rhythm of the programme and the delivery of the speakers, and be mindful of pauses, interruptions and any other prosodic features that characterize the original speech. Although the time a subtitle stays on screen

depends ultimately on the speed at which the original exchange is uttered, there are two main rules that help put limits to the maximum and minimum durations. On the one hand, a subtitle should not remain on screen longer than the time the viewer actually needs to read it as otherwise there is a risk that the viewer will start re-reading the text. To avoid this unnecessary second reading, six seconds is the recommended maximum exposure time to keep a full two-liner of some 80 characters on screen. Therefore, when spotting a programme, periods longer than six seconds should be split into smaller units. On the other hand, to avoid flashing subtitles on screen and to guarantee that viewers can register their presence and have enough time to read the content, the ideal minimum exposure time for a subtitle is commonly agreed at one second.

The other factor impinging on the quantity of text that can be relayed on any given subtitle relates to the viewers' assumed reading speed. This is a rather thorny area since the potential target audience is highly diverse and their reading abilities are likely to be different too. Besides, reading time will be conditioned by the complexity of the vocabulary and syntax and by the presence or absence of action. The distribution channel is yet another variable to be considered and some believe that subtitles ought to be kept on the television screen for longer than in the cinema or the DVD, or present fewer lexical units in the same time span. The fact that television programming has to cater for a wider audience, usually less prepared than the average cinemagoer, or that cinema allows for greater concentration, or that DVDs present viewers with greater control over the programme, as they can pause or rewind as they please, are often cited as the main reasons for this discrepancy. The current state of affairs is one in which subtitling reading speeds tend to be considerably higher for the cinema and the DVD than for the television. The same can be applied to professional online subtitling, although, as a relative newcomer, little research has been conducted in this field to verify it.

Under the impossibility of agreeing on a single reading speed that would be comfortable for all viewers, the industry has come up with several alternatives. Traditionally and especially in the television realm, best practice has been largely based on the so-called six-second rule (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007: 96–9), whereby two full lines of around 35 characters each – 70 in total – can be comfortably read in six seconds. For shorter periods of time, proportional values are automatically calculated by the subtitling software. The main premise of this approach is that two frames of audiovisual programme allow for a subtitle space, which in turn means a reading speed of 12 characters per second (cps) or, which is the same, some 130 words per minute (wpm). Although this formula is still widely followed in the profession, the proposed reading pace is rather slow and some companies have decided to depart from it arguing that present-day viewers are much more familiar with reading text on screen than their forebears and, hence, are faster at it. In addition, as mentioned before, lines these days allow more than 35 characters, opening the possibility of presenting more text in the same amount of time. As a consequence, a reading speed of 15 cps (160 wpm) is fairly standard in the industry, with faster reading speeds of 17 cps (180 wpm), and even higher, when subtitling for the DVD market and the Internet.

Given all the developments that we have witnessed in recent years, such as the advent of DVD and mobile technology, the mushrooming of screens around us, the growth of online subtitling and the proliferation of audiovisual programmes, it is rather perplexing that viewers' reading patterns and abilities have not been thoroughly investigated in subtitling, and most practice is based at best on out-of-date considerations and at worse on intuitive parameters that seem to be in constant flux.

Linguistic considerations

As with any other type of translation, subtitles are expected to provide a semantically adequate account of the original dialogue but with the added complication that they must at the same time respect the spatial and temporal specifications discussed above. One of the immediate and most visible results of these constraints is that the written subtitles tend to be nearly always a reduced form of the oral speech. Of course, when the original text is uttered at a slow pace subtitlers will not encounter major hurdles to transfer the information to the target language in its entirety. The problem arises when people on screen speak too quickly for the target viewer to be able to read it in translation. This is why reduction is arguably the core strategy in use by subtitlers and the subject of detailed research (Georgakopoulou 2010). Reductions can be classified into two main types: partial and total. Partial reduction, or condensation, relies on a more concise rendering of the original, whereas total reduction, or deletion, is achieved with the omission of part of the source message. Foolproof condensation or deletion rules do not exist but, in general terms, subtitlers must act on the principle of relevance (Kovačič 1994; Bogucki 2004), striving to capture the essence of what is said while making sure that no information of crucial diegetic value is deleted. Given the linear nature of written text, instances of overlapping speech where several characters speak at the same time are particularly thorny to tackle and difficult decisions have to be made as to who is going to make it to the subtitles. To economize text and avoid unnecessary redundancy, subtitles should consider the information transmitted iconically and avoid translating what is explicitly conveyed through the image.

In any case, reductions should take into account the rhythm and delivery of the original as over-reducing, typical of novice subtitlers, can lead to a negative perception by the viewers who have direct access to the original soundtrack. Wordy exchanges translated by short subtitles are bound to raise suspicion, as would laconic dialogue channelled into expansive subtitles.

An added complexity when reducing derives from this concurrent presence of the original soundtrack and the subtitles, especially when translating from a well-known language like English or from one linguistically close to the target language, as any 'obvious' discrepancies between oral and written texts could be detected by the viewers. To minimize this effect, subtitlers tend to keep in their translations the words that are very similar in both languages and to follow, as far as possible, the syntactic structure of the source text so as to reinforce the synchronization and to preserve the same chronology of events as in the original utterances.

Two other main considerations that inform the way subtitles are produced derive from their fragmented nature, as subtitles always appear in isolation one after the other, and from the fact that viewers do not normally have the possibility of back-tracking to retrieve information, and even when this is possible, as with DVDs and the Internet, it is not a natural way to watch programmes. To help viewers in their reading and boost subtitling coherence and cohesion, a careful segmentation of the information is called for. One of the golden rules in the profession to ensure that subtitles can be easily understood in the short time that they appear on screen is to structure them in such a way that they are semantically and syntactically self-contained. Both spotting across subtitles and line-breaking within subtitles should be carried out in such a way that words intimately connected by logic, semantics or grammar are clustered together on the same line or subtitle whenever possible. The ideal outcome would be that each subtitle has a clear structure, avoids any

undue ambiguities, and is a complete sentence in itself. However, this is not always possible, and it is then when spotting becomes crucial and long, complex sentences that are difficult to keep track of should be split into smaller ones in order not to tax unduly the memory span of viewers.

Subtitling is not only an unusual form of translation because of its cohabitation with the original text, but it also stands out as a unique translational type because of its asymmetric endeavour of rendering original speech into written target text. Broadly speaking, speech can be scripted or spontaneous. When dealing with fictional works like films and TV sitcoms, dialogue exchanges try to sound natural by mimicking everyday conversation, but in essence they have been scripted and thought of by dialogue writers, what Chaume (2004: 168) calls 'prefabricated orality'. Most studies carried out in our field have centred on this type of elaborate language simply because fictional works have been the main object of study, while real spontaneous speech has been largely ignored. The surge and popularity of new audiovisual genres in which impromptu speech is of the essence, notably reality shows, sports events and interviews, make a case for more research. In addition to their linguistic intricacies, these programmes raise a whole new battery of questions as regards spotting and the translation of written information on screen (e.g. tables, graphs and the like). To apply traditional subtitling standards originally designed for films – highly attentive to editing and dialogue – to the subtitling of reality shows or sports events does not seem to be fully appropriate.

Irrespective of the audiovisual programme with which subtitlers deal, the transition from oral to written mode means that some of the typical features of spoken language do not make it to the subtitles and raises the question of whether non-standard speech, like accents and very colloquial traits, can be effectively rendered in writing. More often than not, this type of linguistic variation is cleaned up in the subtitles. Emotionally charged language such as swear words and other taboo expressions are also particularly sensitive to this media migration as there is the belief that their impact is more offensive when written than when verbalized, which in turn tends to lead to the systematic deletion and down-toning of most 'effing and blinding' in the subtitles.

A particularly interesting and rich area for research is the subtitling of culture-bound terms (Santamaria 2001; Ramière 2007). Known also as extralinguistic cultural references (Pedersen 2007, 2011), these lexical items refer to people, gastronomy, customs, places and organizations that are embedded in the Other's cultural capital and may be completely unknown to the target viewer. To deal with them, the strategies on offer range from very literal renditions to complete recreations, though the former seem to be the most common in subtitling – particularly when working from English – so as to avoid any clashes between soundtrack/images and written text. Leaving aside the translational wisdom of such an approach, it certainly raises questions about the power of subtitling in the dissemination and entrenchment of certain concepts and realities in other cultural communities. Commercial forces and colonizing practices cannot be excluded from this debate, and what is alien to the receiving culture at a particular moment in time can easily become commonplace after its reiterative presence through translation.

This prevalence of the British/American way is further accentuated in the media industry with the widespread practice of using English as a pivot language to translate from so-called minoritized languages into the rest. This is the rather habitual manner of dealing with Japanese anime, for instance. Subtitlers are provided with an English translation of the dialogue, or a set of master subtitles in English, from which to carry out their translation, rather than directly from the Japanese of the original soundtrack (see O'Hagan, this

volume). Errors and misunderstandings in the English translation will most likely be replicated in the other languages, and nuances and interpretations will also be filtered through English. Little research has been conducted on the effects of this practice, which seriously curtails linguistic richness in AVT, blurs the identity and integrity of the actual ‘source’ text and its real relationship with the target text, and is seen by many as ethically questionable. In the audiovisual world, the reality is that most programmes are originally in English and even those in other languages end up being translated from English.

Different types of subtitles

Pre-recorded programmes tend to make use of *pop-on* or *pop-up* subtitles, which can appear anywhere on the screen as a block and remain visible for a certain time before they disappear to give way to a new subtitle. Live events, on the other hand, resort to *roll-up* or *scroll* subtitling, a method in which the words appear from left to right and when the line is filled it scrolls up to make way for a new line, and the top line is erased to give way to a new bottom line. This continuous rolling up tends to allow for greater speed in presenting the information but has the drawback of making reading more difficult.

From a technical standpoint, subtitles are *open* when they are an integral part of the audiovisual programme, usually burned onto the images, and cannot be turned off, as in the cinema. The opposite are *closed* subtitles, which are not an integral part of the programme and can be added to the programme at the viewer’s will, as on most DVDs. The process of merging the subtitles with the images has evolved considerably over the years (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998: 12–19) and today’s main methods are *laser* and *electronic*. The former consists in burning the subtitles onto the celluloid, whereas the latter projects the subtitles onto the screen without damaging the original copy and is widely used at film festivals.

Pre-prepared or *offline* subtitles are prepared ahead of the programme’s release whereas subtitles produced at the very same time as the programme is being broadcast are called *(semi)live*, *real-time* or *online*. Traditionally, real-time subtitling has been done by steno-typing or by a pool of subtitlers working with dual keyboards. However, recent technological developments have made speech recognition-based subtitling, known as *respeaking*, one of the preferred techniques in the industry for the production of live subtitles, as it helps broadcasters to increase the amount of subtitles provided for their deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers in a cost-effective way. As a relative newcomer, *respeaking* is a subject of growing interest in the academic and professional worlds, with considerable research potential (Eugeni 2008; Romero-Fresco 2011).

From a linguistic perspective, *intralingual* subtitles, also known as captions in American English, are done in the same language as the dialogue of the audiovisual programme. *Interlingual* subtitles, on the other hand, require the translation of the spoken/written message of the original programme into a different language. *Bilingual* subtitles are part of the latter category and are normally produced in geographical areas where two or more languages are spoken, as in Belgium (Flemish and French), though they are also very common in international film festivals in order to attract a wider audience.

The most established type of intralingual subtitles is known as subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing (SDH) and is aimed primarily at audiences with hearing impairment. They can be seen as a tool for social integration in as far as they help to guarantee greater access to audiovisual programming for people with sensory disabilities. In many countries their output is regulated by legislation and although they share many features

with standard interlingual subtitling, they also make use of some unique characteristics (de Linde and Kay 1999; Neves 2005). For instance, they can change their colour depending on the person who is talking or the emphasis given to certain words within the same subtitle and they can also make use of labels to identify speakers. Subtitles can be left or right justified so that speakers can be easily identified or to indicate where a given sound is coming from. Some subtitles are made of three or even four lines and accommodate more than one speaker in the same line. In addition to reproducing the speaker's dialogue, they also incorporate information that deaf people cannot get from the soundtrack, such as noises (steps on a staircase, knocks on a door), music (lyrics, titles of songs) and intonation (mouthing, shouting). Thanks to greater social awareness, SDH has undergone spectacular growth in recent years on all media, including the web. In addition to a higher turnover, with some TV stations subtitling 100 per cent of their output and cinemas having special screenings for the hearing impaired, SDH has also crossed linguistic barriers and interlingual subtitling for hearing-impaired audiences is now a reality on some DVDs.

Research in subtitling

The first studies in the field were brief and scattered in a wide range of publications, from cinema and translation journals to newspapers and weekly magazines, and some manuscripts were shared among professionals and academics without ever being published. This dispersal of material not only makes bibliographical search into the beginnings of subtitling complicated, but it also means that quite a few scholars carried out their work without knowing what others had previously done in the field. Even though this situation belongs to the past, we still lack, for instance, a proper historiography of subtitling that would delve into the aesthetic and communicative dimensions of both intertitles and early subtitles.

Despite being a professional practice that can be traced back to the very origins of cinema, subtitling was a relatively unknown field of research until the close of the twentieth century, when it went through a remarkable boom with the exponential proliferation and distribution of audiovisual materials in our society. Since the mid-1990s the audiovisual industry has provided a fertile ground for a flurry of activity in academic studies with subtitling at its core. Apart from growing as a professional activity, thanks primarily to the digital revolution, subtitling has become a prominent and prolific area of research with the organization of frequent conferences and events, the defence of numerous PhD dissertations, and the publication of monographs and collective volumes on the topic. Subtitling has oomph and now, more than ever, there is a need for engaging in serious research, away from trite, uninspired topics, in an effort to ensure that the field is covered from a plurality of angles.

The practical difficulty of having to deal with multimedia texts together with the fact that research in translation has for many years been printed text-oriented are some of the reasons explaining the rather sluggish start in subtitling. For some, subtitling falls short of being translation proper because of the various spatial and temporal limitations that constrain the end result, and they refer to it as adaptation, an attitude that has stymied academic exchanges in the past. Luckily, the situation has changed in recent years as translation has evolved into a more flexible and inclusive concept, capable of accommodating a broader range of empirical realities rather than disregarding practices that do not fit into a corseted, outdated notion of a term coined many centuries ago, when the cinema, television and computer had not yet been invented.

In recent decades subtitling has changed substantially, growing in significance and visibility as many young, novel scholars are directing their interests and efforts to the analysis of audiovisual programmes. Although subtitling's main function remains the same – i.e. to allow audiovisual programmes to travel across linguistic communities – its impact on viewers is increasingly more far-reaching. Subtitling has found synergies with multimedia translation (video games, localization) and especially with accessibility (subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing and audio description for the blind and the partially sighted), thus opening up new horizons and possibilities for different audiences, and unleashing unforeseen potential in the field of audiovisual communication. From the point of the view of the trainer and the researcher the opportunities are also enormous.

The hackneyed debate on the merits or otherwise of a particular AVT mode as opposed to another seems to have been finally settled. Scholarly approaches have now moved well beyond value-laden comparisons, discussing whether one mode – particularly subtitling or dubbing – is better than the other to studies where the emphasis is placed on understanding these modes as different translational practices deserving of in-depth critical attention. It has become accepted that different genres and audiences call for different translational approaches, that they all have their pros and cons, and that they all have their place in the audiovisual industry.

Subtitling has often been studied from a professional perspective, with research focussing mainly on its mechanics, on technical issues such as time and space constraints, spotting or cueing, and so on. Descriptive translation studies backed up with case studies has been a very productive approach in our field, particularly when focussing on the classification of translational strategies applied in subtitling (Díaz Cintas 1997; Karamitroglou 2000; Martí Ferriol 2006; Sokoli 2009). As is the case in other translation fields, translators must pay close attention to language in the first instance and this is the reason why the case study has also been chosen by many as the ideal heuristic tool to concentrate on a given film or sitcom in order to analyse linguistic areas that pose a challenge, such as the translation of humour (Fuentes Luque 2000; Schröter 2005; Veiga 2006), idioms (Gottlieb 1997), cultural references (Santamaria 2001; Pedersen 2007), compliments (Bruti 2009), explicitation (Perego 2003), linguistic variation (Romero Ramos 2010), and swearing or taboo language (Chapman 2004; Mattsson 2006). On occasions, studies have concentrated unduly on the linguistic dimension solely (Tomaszkiewicz 1993), forgetting not only the semiotic complexity of the audiovisual production but also the fact that technical considerations must be part of the equation if a balanced translational account is to be given. To overcome these shortcomings, authors like Taylor (2003) have propounded the use of multi-modal transcription as a methodological tool in the analysis and subtitling of audiovisual texts, a proposal that has been well received by some scholars (Desilla 2009).

Influenced by the so-called cultural turn, topics of research are timidly widening in scope to encompass the sociocultural embeddedness of subtitling. While mirroring reality, cinema also distorts it by constructing certain images and clichés that mould the audience's perception of the world. Films and other audiovisual productions represent one of the primary means through which commonplaces, stereotypes and manipulated views about social categories (blacks, women, homosexuals, religious minorities) are conveyed and AVT enables such views to travel to other cultures unfamiliar with the language of the original production. Research on how the language used in the (translated) dialogue affects or is affected by social constructs such as race, class, gender and economic status are necessary to understand fully the role that subtitling plays in our society (de Marco 2006).

Words are powerful and their manipulation, be it in the original text or in the translated version, can be dangerously easy. Recent geopolitical events in the world have made it painfully clear that the abuse and manipulation of information is not an occurrence of the past, neither is it the sole property of totalitarian, undemocratic regimes. The act of translating is never neutral and the idyllic conception of translation as a bridge between cultures needs urgent revision as it has been proven once and again that it can also emphasize differences and perpetuate the wrong stereotypes, hence dynamiting those very bridges it was supposed to build. Luckily, this fact has not passed unnoticed to translation scholars who are now awakening to the reality that mass media is an immensely powerful tool not only in the original but also in their translation. Nonetheless, censorship forces, manipulation, power and ideology are topics that remain vastly unexplored in subtitling.

As it happens, most studies have centred on the process or the product of subtitling (Luyken *et al.* 1991; Ivarsson and Carroll 1998), but very few have gone beyond to consider its reception by the audience (Fuentes Luque 2000). This is now changing and some researchers are resorting to new methodologies and tools, particularly eye tracking, in an attempt to bolster their quantitative findings and to gain an insight into the cognitive efforts presupposed by reading subtitles. Studies from this angle are still pioneering (Caffrey 2010) and tend to focus on audiences reading intralingual (Romero-Fresco 2010; Digital Television for All project, www.psp-dtv4all.org) rather than interlingual subtitles.

Skewed, traditional perceptions of AVT have somehow led to the idea that the only cultural artefacts worthy of analysis and research are fiction films, ignoring other genres and programmes that are also subtitled and deserve to be the object of scholarly investigation. The current approach of applying the same subtitling conventions irrespective of the nature of the audiovisual programme has started to be called into question (Díaz Cintas 2009, 2010).

The possibilities of AVT have expanded beyond its primary role of acting as a means for viewers to fully understand a programme originally produced in another language. In particular, subtitling can be used to promote multilingualism and multiculturalism in countries with ever-more diverse and heterogeneous communities. In terms of research, the didactic potential of subtitling to learn and consolidate a foreign language has been a particularly active line of enquiry in recent times (Díaz Cintas 2008), both from a passive perspective of students reading subtitles (Bravo 2008), as well as from the dynamic angle of students producing the actual subtitles (Talaván Zanón 2009). In this sense, the Learning Via Subtitling project (available at: levis.cti.gr) had as its main remit the development of educational material for active foreign language-learning based on film subtitling. Its follow up, ClipFlair (available at: clipflair.net), provides a motivating, easily accessible application for foreign-language learning through revoicing (including dubbing, audio description, karaoke singing and reciting) and captioning (including subtitling and video annotations). From a scholarly standpoint, the use of subtitles, both intralingual and interlingual, as a tool in the teaching and learning of foreign languages can benefit from more empirical experiments and systematic analysis. The fact that subtitling, traditionally learned in the industry, is making inroads into the curricula of many educational centres also calls for research on the best ways to train subtitlers and other audiovisual translators (Cerezo Merchán 2012).

Literacy is another of the added values of subtitling, as an ever-increasing number of migrants round the world may be learning the language of their host countries by watching subtitled programmes on television, DVDs or the Internet. Subtitles also help make reading their native language educational as well as entertaining for children. Kothari *et al.* (2004)

carried out a successful project in India involving same-language subtitling of audiovisual programmes to foster children's reading skills by relating the phonetic sounds with the visual subtitles.

The challenges ahead

The fast pace of change taking place in this field is perhaps one of the major challenges for researchers. The extensive technical advances of recent decades have had a considerable impact in our field, visible in the way in which professional practice has changed, the profile of translators has evolved, and existing forms of AVT have adapted and developed into new hybrid forms, which in turn calls for new research methods. Far from being an eclectic melting pot, this sort of *métissage* of forms and conventions can be considered an attempt at targeting the needs of user groups that are growing increasingly more specific.

Subtitling is so dependent on technology that any technical advances have the potential to encroach both on the subtitling process from the practitioner's perspective as well as on the perception that viewers have of subtitling as a product. In this sense, old historical certainties and dominant technical parameters are being increasingly challenged as new ideas and possibilities sweep in, hand in hand with advances interrogating in very different ways the meaning of subtitling, examining how ingrained codes of behaviour and sets of assumptions shape translation practices in this field. The potential offered by digital technology is colossal both for the production and consumption of AVT. New formats like DVD, Blu-ray and Internet have also changed our perception of audiovisual products, giving viewers an unusual degree of control over the linguistic combination(s) in which they wish to watch a programme. We are now dealing with an (inter)active rather than passive viewer, who is increasingly more deeply immersed in the world of the image and has greater familiarity with new technologies.

Digitization and the availability of free subtitling software on the net have made possible the rise and consolidation of translation practices like 'fansubbing' (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006; Pérez-González 2007), which in turn are having an incidental effect on the technical dimension and on the way (new) conventions are applied (see Gambier, this volume). Subtitles have been traditionally rather humdrum in terms of positioning, font type and layout, but these new forms of subtitling lie at the margins of market imperatives and are far less dogmatic and much more creative and individualistic than what has traditionally been done (Nornes 1999). This new way of approaching subtitles as part of a budding participatory culture is pushing the boundaries of creativity and shaking the foundations of traditional subtitling. For instance, the assumption that because of their constrained environment subtitlers cannot make use of metatextual devices to justify their solutions, such as footnotes or glosses, is being shattered by new practices, where glosses inside the subtitles and explanatory notes on top of the screen are freely used (Díaz Cintas 2005, 2010), questioning preconceived ideas about the (in)visibility of the subtitler. Only time will tell whether these conventions are just a mere fleeting fashion or whether they are the prototype for future digital subtitling with the potential to change the field and the way we study it. The impetus provided by 3D technology may well open the door to yet more interactivity and 'cr3aTVty' in subtitling and campaigns like the one initiated by Mozilla Drumbeat (www.universalsubtitles.org) to make subtitles universal on the web can help to raise the social visibility of this translational practice in unforeseen ways.

The economic imperatives of the industry dictate on occasions the line of research to be conducted, with their main emphasis on the possibilities offered by technology. Recent

developments in voice and speech recognition have made possible the appearance and booming of respeaking as a professional practice to subtitle live programmes such as the news or sports (Eugenio 2008; Romero-Fresco 2011). Tests on applying this technology to interlingual subtitling are currently underway in some companies. The Internet is also quickly catching up, with giants like Google releasing auto-captioning, a system that relies on speech-to-text technology to automatically generate subtitles on the YouTube video site when requested by a viewer (Web 1 2010).

Subtitling manufacturers' main objective being productivity, their research efforts are geared to shore up their subtitle preparation suites. Innovative versions integrate new user interfaces with time-saving tools that free up the subtitler by handling automatically some of the subtitling tasks, like sound and shot detectors, automated media transcription, assisted translation tools and extraction of dialogue from scripts. In this sense, the wider breadth and scope of genres being distributed audiovisually – corporate videos, scientific and technical documentaries with a high level of lexical repetition – justifies the incipient use of corpora (Mattsson 2009; Kalantzi 2009), translation memory systems and automated translation in subtitling (Volk 2008; Flanagan 2009; Volk *et al.* 2010), a promising development albeit in need of further scrutiny.

Since the late 1990s subtitling has been a most inspiring field in which to conduct research. Much has been done in a relatively short space of time, but much still needs to be done. The very breadth of the field of research necessarily involves a plurality of approaches and opinions, the contributions of which should explore subtitling in theory and practice, focus on the linguistic and cultural spheres as well as the technical dimension, and investigate the relevance and application of translation theories to subtitling. No doubt there are still conceptual and methodological gaps in the research that has been covered, and no doubt scholars need to carry on conducting research in the field in order to try and fill those gaps.

Related topics

subtitling; audiovisual translation; spotting; accessibility to the media

Further reading

- Díaz Cintas, Jorge and Remael, Aline (2007) *Audiovisual Translation: Subtitling*, Manchester: St Jerome. (This volume provides a solid grounding to the world of subtitling, covering areas such as the rules of good subtitling practice, the linguistic and semiotic dimensions of subtitling, the professional environment, the spatial and temporal considerations, as well as the conventions applied when subtitling for different media. It comes with a DVD containing graded exercises, video clips in several languages and a copy of WinCAPS, a user-friendly, industry standard subtitling program.)
- Ivarsson, Jan and Carroll, Mary (1998) *Subtitling*, Simrishamn: TransEdit. (Building on a previous work from 1992, this new edition offers chapters on the history of subtitling, readability and layout, subtitling for the hard-of-hearing, and technical equipment. It deals with the practical aspects of the subtitler's work, the dos and don'ts of subtitling, and how to time and edit subtitles to achieve optimal quality.)
- Pedersen, Jan (2011) *Subtitling Norms for Television. An Exploration Focussing on Extralinguistic Cultural References*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (This monograph focuses on subtitling norms by exploring actual subtitles broadcast by different television stations. By concentrating on the translation of extralinguistic cultural references the author reveals the subtitlers' attitude towards the source culture and their predictions about their target culture readerships. Pedersen's proposed model for analysing the treatment of cultural references in subtitling is a major contribution to the field.)

Romero-Fresco, Pablo (2011) *Subtitling Through Speech Recognition: Respeaking*, Manchester: St Jerome. (This book offers a comprehensive overview of the production of subtitles through speech recognition, ranging from the origins of subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing, to the different methods used to provide live subtitles and the training and professional practice of respeaking.)

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Research paths in audiovisual translation

The case of dubbing

Frederic Chaume

Dubbing is one of the oldest modes of audiovisual translation (AVT). Its origins can be traced back to the late 1920s, with the need to transfer the new sound films to other languages and countries. Once multilingual movies had been abandoned because they were both too expensive and unpopular with foreign audiences who wanted to see the original actors and actresses on screen rather than their local counterparts, and once subtitling had fallen out of favour in some countries – due to factors like low literacy levels, linguistic chauvinism and reluctance to learn new languages in countries speaking major languages, together with a consolidated financial basis to meet the high costs of dubbing – sound engineers invented and improved a kind of revoicing known as *dubbing*. Although the first dubbings were technically poor and met with a very icy reception, dubbing voices – voice talents – gradually became more credible, lip-syncing came onto the scene and translators began to produce convincing scripts, ideally meeting all the demands of the different synchronization types, but still creating the illusion of original dialogues (for an extensive review of the history of dubbing and audiovisual translation see Izard 1992, 2001; Ivarsson 2002; Díaz Cintas 2003; Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007; and Chaume 2004a, 2010). Some 80 years later dubbing is more globally widespread than ever: cartoons for younger children are dubbed all over the world, even countries historically reluctant to dubbing like Portugal, Denmark and Norway (Tveit 2009) are beginning to dub some teen films (teen pics), while in Russia dubbing is trying to take the place once held by voice-over, South American and Turkish soap operas are also now dubbed in Greece and in the Maghreb. Moreover, dubbing also occurs in other complex audiovisual translation modes: in video game localization, especially in blockbusters, dialogues are usually dubbed; some commercials are dubbed even in traditional subtitling countries; ‘fandubbing’ is becoming internationally popular; DVDs may include dubbings into traditional subtitling languages, etc. It seems that in the new world of *à la carte* services, audiences can now actively choose their preferred audiovisual mode, product and platform at all times.

This boom in AVT modes, platforms, electronic devices, new windows and new habits has inevitably attracted the attention of researchers. New research has extended seminal

studies, making AVT research a leading field in translation studies – where literary translation once reigned. In what follows, both old and new research will be examined, together with the new promising paths that will be broadened and followed throughout the twenty-first century.

Research on dubbing: origins

Although research in the field of dubbing can be traced back to 1960, when the journal *Babel* published a tentative special issue on cinema translation, Fodor's *Film Dubbing: Phonetic, Semiotic, Esthetic and Psychological Aspects*, published in 1976, is considered to be the first volume written on dubbing. Almost twenty years after the first volume on subtitling (Laks, 1957) came to light in academic circles, Fodor set the scene for dubbing research adopting a distinctively professional perspective, focusing on lip-sync and on the skills needed to carry out quality dubbing in terms of interpreting, vocal performance and mouth articulation. Apart from an interesting article by Vöge (1977), dubbing research made little headway until the 1980s, when various seminal articles were published (Gautier 1981; Hendrickx 1984; Hocheil 1986; and Mayoral *et al.* 1986, 1988), as well as the first book on dubbing written in French (Pommier 1988).

The 1990s can be considered the coming of age of dubbing research (see reference section). Seminal works, such as Luyken *et al.* (1991), Whitman (1992), Herbst (1994), Dries (1995) were published, as well as the first historical approach, written by Izard (1992).

The twenty-first century has witnessed the golden age of AVT in all its facets, including dubbing. This boom has led researchers to establish epistemological links between AVT and translation studies. Whereas the first books on AVT and dubbing dealt with professional practice, the pros and cons of dubbing versus subtitling, desired quality standards, the industrial processes involved, the skills of lip-syncing and the various synchronies involved in the process of dubbing, more recent works attempt to find a balance between two poles: 'the independence of AVT as an autonomous discipline and its dependence on other related disciplines' (Romero Fresco 2006), where translation studies is the first and most important. In fact, AVT – and thus translation for dubbing – is a subfield of translation studies and is directly related to communication studies, media studies and film studies, but also to disciplines now inextricably linked to translation studies like sociology, philosophy, linguistics, semiotics, literary theory, area studies, etc.

Theoretical approaches

The above-mentioned epistemological links can be traced back to Reiss's (1976) classification of text types. Reiss attempted to place audiovisual texts and audiovisual translation within a general functional theory of translation based on Bühler's famous classification of text types. Reiss noted that audiovisual texts and audiovisual transfer were not included in any text type classification and proposed a fourth category of texts which she termed '*audiomediale texten*'. However, these texts cannot be classified in the same levels as traditional text types (informative, expressive and operative), since audiovisual texts can also be informative, expressive or operative; rather, they should be compared to and analysed at the same level as oral and written texts (Chaume 2004a). Nevertheless, this attempt to locate audiovisual texts and translation within a general theory of translation opened up a research line that advocated the independence of AVT as an autonomous (sub)discipline. Authors who called for the independent study of AVT and highlighted the specificities of

audiovisual texts and translation – especially in claiming its independence from literary translation – include Luyken *et al.* (1991), Zabalbeascoa (1993, 1996), Agost (1999), Chaves (2000), Karamitroglou (2000), Bartrina (2001), Díaz Cintas (2001), Gambier and Gottlieb (2001), Chaume (2004a, 2004b), and Sokoli (2005). These authors describe the specific characteristics of audiovisual texts (already researched in communication and media studies 20 years previously) and relate these characteristics to the translation process, concluding that AVT deserves its own research methodology.

Other authors have indeed proposed specific methodological frameworks for studying AVT – see for instance, Delabastita (1990), Karamitroglou (2000), Díaz Cintas (2003, based on Lambert and van Gorp 1985), Chaume (2004a, 2004b), Gutiérrez Lanza (2005) and Barambones (2009). Such frameworks take into account the concept of *constraints* characteristic of audiovisual texts (see below), as well as the specificities of the AVT brief, the way audiovisual translated texts are commercialized and presented to the public, how audiovisual translated texts are received or the different codes of meaning that weave together the audiovisual text and their implications in the translation process.

Also within the scope of theoretical approaches are the still scarce attempts to describe the history of AVT, from the beginning of cinema and the first subtitles, through the first sound movies and the first dubbings, the first multilingual movies, the advent of TV, VHS, DVDs, the Internet, iPhones and iPods, up to today's 3D cinema and video games. Although an authoritative history has yet to be written, some significant contributions have given researchers an insight into the role of AVT in cinema over the years, why preferences for dubbing, subtitling or voice-over vary from one country to another, and the reasons for the different norms that regulate AVT transfer across the world. Authors who have made substantial contributions in this field include Marleau (1982), Brant (1984), Pommier (1988), Izard (1992), Gottlieb (1997), Ivarsson (2002), Díaz Cintas (2003), Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) and Chaume (2010).

Professional approaches

Although professional approaches may be criticized for failing to comply with established research conventions, they have helped researchers to develop their particular theories of AVT. Knowing the process of dubbing and subtitling in the industry was a previous step to present a sound methodological framework of research that considered how and what was done in the industrial and translation processes of dubbing and subtitling. In the case of dubbing, legal and economic aspects were described. Other factors taken into consideration included the dubbing market, fees and working conditions, the industrial process and the agents involved in dubbing. Fodor (1976) opened up these professional approaches in dubbing research, followed by contributions from Pommier (1988), Whitman (1992), Chaves (2000), Chaume (2004a), Paolinelli and di Fortunato (2005), Spadafora (2007), among others.

On the other hand, Luyken *et al.* (1991) analyse the various translation modes applied to the linguistic transfer of audiovisual products, and suggest which genres should be dubbed and which ones subtitled. Their approach is markedly professional and based on economic and reception factors, and these authors were the first to provide figures on the volume of dubbed and subtitled programmes, labour costs and audience preferences. Dries (1995) focuses on the problems and obstacles that language diversity in Europe presents for the free circulation of European audiovisual productions, and proposes a series of guidelines aimed at promoting the production and distribution of dubbed and subtitled programmes.

Finally, although research on quality standards is still scarce, it also deserves a mention. In the age of descriptivism, research into quality standards is no easy task, since it inevitably runs the risk of prescriptivism. Quality standards for whom? Is it possible to agree on a list of quality standards in dubbing? Do they not depend on the specific habits and norms in each country and period? In spite of these thorny questions, some attempts have been made to establish a set of quality standards in dubbing. All the professional studies mentioned above deal with this issue in one way or another. In particular, Whitman (1992) presents a set of three quality standards, which has been extended by Chaume (2007a) to six: good lip-syncing; coherence between what is heard and what is seen; fidelity to the source text (overlooked in some over-descriptive academic circles nowadays); the writing of credible and realistic dialogues; good technical quality in the recording and editing processes; and, finally, natural performance of dialogues.

New media and new technological devices have led researchers to describe how dubbing – and AVT in general – actually happens in these new formats. Tentative work has recently been published on fandubs (or ‘fundubs’, Díaz Cintas 2008b), the role of dubbing in videogame localization (Granell 2010), and new avenues could be opened in the relationship of dubbing and theatre (Bartrina and Espasa 2005) and dubbing and audio description, for example.

The translation process

The 1980s and the 1990s were characterized by articles focusing on the linguistic and semiotic process of AVT. Authors frowned upon the definition of AVT as a minor branch of literary translation by pointing out the specificities of audiovisual transfer. An important concept appeared in the 1980s, namely translation constraints or *constrained translation* (Titford 1982). Though primarily applied to subtitling, Mayoral *et al.* (1988) succeeded in applying this concept to all AVT types and made the first attempt to classify AVT according to the number of constraints each mode presented. Their concept of *subordinate translation* has been widely used in translation research thenceforth (Rabadán 1991; Zabalbeascoa 1993; Zanettin 1998, 2008; Hurtado Albir 2001; Martí Ferriol 2010). The concept is grounded on the argument that translation in the audiovisual media is subject to and inextricably linked to images. Translators have to take this fact into account and produce a translation that is coherent with images, in terms of meaning, space and time, and in terms of lip-syncing in the case of dubbing, etc. This concept was later extended by Zabalbeascoa (1993) by including the complementary concept of *priorities* (stipulated by genre, the translation brief, etc.). Audiovisual texts are much more than simply the script behind them: a number of semiotic codes weave the meaning of these texts together (Chaume 2004a) and constrain the translation; in other words, they must be taken into account when translating and they may even be prioritized above the translation itself.

In spite of the efforts of these authors to vindicate the peculiarities of AVT, others still continued to focus on the linguistic side of AVT. Whitman (1992), or Gómez Capuz (1998), for instance, focused on ‘bad’ dubbings; claiming that target languages suffered from an invasion of English loans, odd syntax and weird set phrases. Descriptive comparative studies appear to offer better insights in this respect (see next section). Style guides are also linguistic-oriented, and are meant to be part of the translation process. These guides are prescriptive in nature, but have to be taken into account when translating for most clients. Style sheets offer linguistic advice and also provide the linguistic model the clients want for their TV channel. Departing from strictly linguistic issues are certain discursive

approaches that aim to show how language selection reflects ideology. These pragmatic approaches have been followed in dubbing by Martínez Sierra (2008), especially in the case of humour. His discursive approach and semiotic analysis of images allow for a holistic understanding of how humour travels between languages and cultures.

Finally, research has also appeared that deals with audiovisual genres and translation. These studies attempt to identify the particular features of certain audiovisual genres and relate them to the process of translation. Luyken *et al.* (1991) present the first classification of audiovisual genres from the translation perspective. Agost (1999) provides a classification of audiovisual genres, grounded on Hallidayan principles, with implications for the translation of these genres. Other authors have focused more specifically on particular genres; examples include Franco (2000) and Espasa (2002) on the voice-over of documentaries, Di Giovanni (2003) and Martínez Sierra (2008) on the dubbing of cartoons, Martí Ferriol (2010) on the dubbing and subtitling of independent cinema, and Zabalbeascoa (1996) and Baños-Piñero and Chaume (2009) on the dubbing of TV sitcoms.

The translation product

Descriptive translation studies (DTS) has now become the mainstream paradigm in the study of translation (see Ben Ari, this volume). Rather than focusing on quality standards, translation mistakes or the problems posed by the source text, DTS examines translations as facts of the target culture, and in this respect, DTS is concerned with translation as a product of target culture norms and conventions. Not only do they focus on linguistic and textual norms, but also on the sociological, political and economic reasons behind a translation.

DTS is also interested in how systems influence each other, or the relationship between the source and the target cultures. Delabastita opened up this debate in AVT with his seminal articles of 1989 and 1990. In the case of dubbing, this implies myriad possible research lines, most of which have been broached recently. Cañuelo (2005, 2009), for instance, compares four different sets of interrelated texts: original films in Spanish; their versions dubbed into German; the original Spanish novels on which the films are based; and the translation of the novels into German. These systems interact, since novels may be written after the film's release, or dubbings may be made once the novel has been translated, etc. These interactions demonstrate how systems influence each other and also the position and hierarchy of each system within each culture, and open up a promising field for future research.

The mapping of AVT and dubbing also offers an interesting field for exploration – i.e. description of practices carried out all over the world (usually whether dubbing or subtitling is used, and where and why). Barambones (2009) has carried out exceptional research on dubbing in the Basque country. The author analyses the amount of dubbing in the Basque regional TV channel ETB1, the channel's ratings and listings, what film and TV genres are dubbed, the time slots in which dubbed programmes are broadcast, how dubbings are used in the channel, the type of language model used in the dubbings, language pairs involved, the balance between translation and in-house production in a TV channel, etc., and presents a comprehensive map of dubbing in the channel, placed within the context of the ideological reasons behind the map. These studies provide a picture of the role AVT plays in a certain culture.

A further possible line of research concerns the emergence of new genres in a culture as a result of dubbed audiovisual texts from other languages (Delabastita 1990; Cattrysse

1992; Baños-Piñero and Chaume 2009). It could be argued that some TV sitcoms have been produced in dubbing countries on the back of the success of previous dubbings of foreign TV sitcoms. New genres are thus emerging as a consequence of foreign text dubbings (and subtitlings). Some original cartoons and films are also based on dubbings of foreign cartoons and films.

Ideology also plays an important role in dubbing research under the DTS umbrella. Censorship has always been an integral part of dubbing in fascist and totalitarian regimes. Danan (1991), Ballester (2001) or Gutiérrez Lanza (2005) and the TRACE group (Rabadán 2000) report how censorship has shaped translation and why it was used in dubbing. However, ideology goes beyond issues of censorship; ideological influences can also be discerned in the way different countries approach gender issues (de Marco 2009), in TV channels' preferences for or rejection of linguistic options (Marzà *et al.* 2006), in how cultural references are translated from minority into major languages and cultures (Santamaria 2001), in how humour travels between cultures (Zabalbeascoa 1993; Chiaro 2008; Fuentes 2005; Martínez Sierra 2008), in how Western stereotypes and American values are exported (Di Giovanni 2003), etc.

Translation norms have undoubtedly become one of the most widely accepted concepts in DTS research. In the field of dubbing translation norms were first explored by Goris in his seminal article of 1993. Goris identifies three norms in the French dubbings of American films: standardization (levelling of substandard linguistic features in the original movie); explicitation (disambiguation of obscure dialogue lines or polysemic words and sentences); and adaptation (domestication, in terms of cultural references, lip-syncing, etc.). Many other scholars have carried out research into dubbing norms, such as Ballester (2001), Pavesi (2005), Gutiérrez Lanza (2000, 2005), or Martí Ferriol (2010).

Some notions or concepts of translation theory have also been applied to dubbing. For example, Martí Ferriol (2010) has studied translation methods in a quantitative and qualitative comparison of dubbing and subtitling; Chaves (2000), Pereira and Lorenzo (2005), Spadafora (2007) and Martí Ferriol (2010) offer a classification of translation techniques in the case of dubbing; Marzà (2009) applies the concept of patronage to the case of dubbing in minority languages; Soh-Tatcha (2009) discusses the concept of equivalence in dubbing; and Espasa (2008) examines audience design in dubbing (see below).

Fortunately, new technologies (see O'Hagan, this volume) have also been addressed in the field of AVT research. Digital technology, together with new academic software, enable norms to be investigated on a larger scale, since efforts to look for norms were previously restricted to a small number of films or audiovisual texts. Corpus studies (see Laviosa, this volume) have helped new researchers to find translation norms in larger corpora. The digitization of films, original scripts and translations has allowed researchers like Pavesi (2005), Freddi and Pavesi (2009), Bruti (2009) and Valentini (2006), among other Italian researchers, to provide a more accurate picture of dubbing norms.

The language of dubbing, also known as *dubbese* (*synchronien* in French), is one of the most successful research fields to fall under the corpus umbrella. *Dubbese* is the linguistic model a certain culture prefers to apply to its dubbings, and it is strongly influenced by the culture's language policy. Chaume (2004a) used the term *prefabricated orality* to refer to the false oral discourse (also feigned orality) found in dubbings, which falls between written and oral discourses and shares features of both written and oral communication. The Italian researchers mentioned above provide the most complete picture of *dubbese* to date. In Spain, and with reference to Catalan, mention should be made of Izard (2004), Matamala (2009), Marzà and Chaume (2009), among others; and with reference to

Spanish, Pérez González (2007), Romero Fresco (2006) and Baños-Piñero and Chaume (2009). Baños takes a polysystemic approach to compare the dubbing of the American TV sitcom *Friends* with the Spanish in-house counterpart *Siete Vidas* and makes a detailed analysis of the dubbing language in the four traditional language levels: phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexis. In French, von Flotow (2009) explores the differences in the linguistic model of dubbing both in France and Quebec. Although not centred on translation, Quaglio (2009) also analyses the TV sitcom *Friends* and compares the language it uses against a large American conversation corpus comprising normal face-to-face conversations.

However, research on the language of dubbing is not new. In the 1960s an artificial language was created to dub films into Spanish, a particular, non-existent Spanish that was supposed to resemble all the world's Spanish dialects. This Spanish was known as *español neutro* (neutral Spanish) and combined linguistic features from the different Spanish dialects spoken in South America and Spain. The result was an odd variation of Spanish that was used to dub cartoons, especially Disney films. Ávila (1998), among other authors, has studied this striking phenomenon.

Another fascinating field of research concerns the interaction of film language and translation. Most of the research in AVT and dubbing has centred on the linguistic code of audiovisual texts: dialogues. However, an audiovisual text is much more than a series of dialogue lines: apart from the linguistic code, other codes weave the meaning of these texts together, such as paralinguistic codes, the musical code, the special effect code, the sound position code, the iconographic code, the photographic code, the movement code (proxemics and kinesics), the shot code (types of shots), the graphic code (captions, titles, etc.), or the editing code (Chaume 2004a, 2004b). All these codes are used intentionally, all of them interact with dialogues and have a bearing on translation. Research on these codes of meaning has shown that translation is constrained by non-linguistic and semiotic signs, and, furthermore, that certain dubbing norms owe their *raison d'être* to the impressive force of non-linguistic, semiotic meaning codes, like close-ups, junctures of two shots (editing), music or colours. Gambier and Suomela-Salmi (1994), Chaves (2000), Remael (2004), Cattrysse and Gambier (2008) and Mubenga (2009) have also addressed this topic.

One area that, to date, has received little ATV research attention is that of reception. Only a few authors have taken the bold step of designing questionnaires to uncover how AVT and dubbings are received by audiences. Neves (2005) has admirably analysed responses to subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing, but in the field of dubbing any attempts have to date been somewhat tentative. Fuentes was one of the first authors to introduce questionnaires to explore spectators' understanding of humour and puns in the dubbing of the Marx Brothers' *Duck Soup*. Mayoral (2001) speculates on issues of audience design, new audiovisual formats and windows, different audiences and tastes, etc. Espasa (2008) interestingly examines audience design and the different addressees with which the translation meets during the entire industrial and artistic dubbing process. The social issues of reception studies are also broached by Luyken *et al.* (1991) and Zaro (2001), the latter being the first author to apply Bourdieu's concepts to AVT and dubbing. Antonioni and Chiaro (2009) use questionnaires to carry out an initial study on reception in Italy.

Finally, case studies have been necessary to consolidate AVT research. Case studies are as heterogeneous as the possible fields of research that fall under the heading of translation studies. Translation for dubbing, therefore, includes research on film titles (Nord 1990, 1995; Fuentes 1997–8; González Ruiz 2005; Santaemilia and Soler 2010, etc.), humour (see for instance, Zabalbeascoa 1993; Chiaro 2005, 2008; Fuentes 2005, 2010; Martínez Sierra 2008), puns and idioms (Sanderson 2009; Delabastita 1996), proper names (Hurtado

de Mendoza 2009), cultural references (Santamaria 2001; Antonioni and Chiaro 2005, etc.), taboo language (Chiaro 2007), and other topics less investigated such as intertextuality and songs.

Multilingual movies represent a new field of research in AVT and in dubbing. Heiss (2004), Valdeón (2005), Corrius (2008) and Martínez Sierra *et al.* (2010) have opened up a new line of research coinciding with the new interest in multilingualism and multiculturalism in films witnessed in the film industry.

DTS, with the invaluable help of corpus studies, can still shed light on how dubbing is carried out in dubbing countries. The search for norms and their ideological grounding appears to be the main interest of researchers today.

Teaching dubbing: research on didactics

When dubbing entered the academic curriculum and came of age in university circles in the 1990s, lecturers began to consider how to prepare students for a profession that is both closely linked to sound technology and heavily related to the arts and drama. The first decision to make is what to teach. Should lecturers teach the whole dubbing process? Should they teach all the professional skills involved in professional dubbing? Should they teach translation, dialogue writing, acting, dubbing direction and sound editing? In most universities the teaching of dubbing is limited to just two activities: how to translate for dubbing, and how to write dialogue lines. These courses also cover how to segment translation into takes or loops, the dubbing symbols to be included in the translation, how good lip-syncing is achieved and how to make dialogues sound credible and true to life in line with the film narrative. Both undergraduate and postgraduate translation degrees have consciously declined to teach the artistic side of dubbing, i.e. acting and performance skills, which are taught in drama schools. Sound technology is also absent from these degrees, since this subject is taught on communication and media studies courses. Translation and dialogue writing are therefore the two fields of research in the didactics of dubbing.

In the area of translation for dubbing, the pioneering articles by Zabalbeascoa (1997, 2000, 2001, etc.) are of particular note. Significantly, this author has devoted much of his research to translation training. In line with the mainstream tradition in translation studies at that time, he proposed analysing the source text and establishing a set of priorities and restrictions (constraints) of the text, to guide students in their solutions. Agost and Chaume (2001) and Zabalbeascoa *et al.* (2005) also include sections on the didactics of dubbing.

Chaume (2003) explores the profiles of the teacher and the students, together with the methodology applied to teach dubbing, the materials used in the classroom, the evaluation and assessment of translations, and a proposal for a grading scale to mark translations for dubbing.

Bartrina and Espasa (2003, 2005) have made several interesting contributions to the didactics of translation for dubbing. In their detailed work of 2003, the authors provide activities and exercises to develop the skills required for AVT and dubbing, including dialogue writing skills.

Díaz Cintas (2008a) is the first volume exclusively devoted to the didactics of AVT. Although only one article is specifically concerned with dubbing (Chaume 2008), this volume includes suggestions and recommendations for teaching AVT that are equally applicable to dubbing, as well as theoretical contributions in the field of AVT didactics.

A final research field that combines AVT and teaching is language acquisition through AVT. All endeavours in this field have analysed the usefulness of subtitling for foreign

language acquisition. Translation was ostracized from the field of language teaching for many decades, as communicative approaches to language teaching neglected translation as a means of learning a foreign language. Translation was therefore driven out of the language classroom, where it had a valuable role to play. This trend now appears to be reversing and translation is once again beginning to find its place in language teaching, where subtitling has proved to be particularly useful (Bravo 2008; Incalcaterra 2009; Talaván 2010). It is difficult to imagine how dubbing can help in the teaching of foreign languages, but articles like Danan's (forthcoming) open up a promising field of research that would previously have been inconceivable.

Future perspectives

Translation for dubbing still occupies a significant space in the AVT landscape. Far from being wiped out by subtitling, as predicted by some authors, dubbing is on the increase worldwide. New technologies allow both dubbing and subtitling to be included in the same product (DVD, Blu-ray, Internet, digital broadcasting) so that audiences can choose how they wish to view a foreign product. Some new audiovisual genres such as video games are also dubbed. The doomsday scenario and grim outlook for dubbing predicted by many has in fact turned into a major opportunity open to new combinations of AVT types and serving all needs and tastes of an audience more active than ever.

This necessarily implies new avenues for research. The biggest challenges seem to involve redrawing the world's dubbing map, and describing the new processes in which dubbing is now immersed, together with its sociological, ideological and economic implications.

Richart (2009) has identified a gap in the extensively described dubbing process; her empirical research shows that translation for dubbing is, in fact, a palimpsest, where new translations overwrite previous ones. Thus, Richart explores how a translation is created, and how the dubbing director and the voice talents rewrite this translation until it fits the screen actors' mouths, or until it complies with expected oral discourse standards or with political correctness.

Dialogue writing also calls for further investigation. In some dubbing countries, dialogue writing entails four different tasks: (i) segmenting the translation into takes or loops (*boucles*, in France, or *anelli*, in Italy), which form the translation units – sets of lines – that voice talents dub at a time; (ii) inserting dubbing symbols, or dubbing indications for voice talents such as whether the screen actor is on field, or off screen, etc.; (iii) lip-synchrony (together with isochrony and kinesic synchrony; Chaume 2004c); and (iv) creating fresh, true-to-life dialogue lines that also comply with grammar rules (see Chaume 2007b, for a comparative study of these conventions in four European dubbing countries). In some countries and regions the first two tasks are done by the dubbing assistant, while the dialogue writer performs the latter two. In other countries and regions all four tasks are performed by the dialogue writer and sometimes by the translator.

Apart from the process itself, more studies are required on matricial norms in translation for dubbing. The extent to which omissions, additions, changes of location and manipulations of segmentation are referred to in the translated texts may also be determined by norms. It is also interesting to discover how the process of dialogue writing influences and modifies translation, how dubbing symbols and lip-sync affect translation and how the quest for oral discourse shapes the translated product. Related to this is the relationship between scriptwriting and translation for dubbing. To what extent are these two activities linked? Does the translator need training in scriptwriting? What is the interface

between these two activities? To date, scarce research has been carried out on this topic (Remael 2004).

Fandubs (sometimes intentionally spelt fundub) provide another fascinating new area in the AVT landscape. A fandub is a home dubbing of a foreign language film or television show created by fans or amateurs. The quality of fandubs varies from poor microphone sound conditions with no sound effects and amateur actors, to professional voice talents who freely give their time and energy using professional sound equipment and sound effects. Fandubs, in fact, may gradually influence professional dubbing in the same way as fansubs have already influenced subtitling. The ideological reasons underlying fandubbing also call for investigation.

Finally, the cultural turn has not yet fully reached AVT, particularly dubbing. Ideology, and concepts of power, otherness, patronage, resistance, as well as gender and post-colonial issues, demand urgent attention in the field of dubbing. Venuti's foreignization and domestication, Derrida's deconstruction, Bourdieu's field, habitus and doxa, or Lefevre's rewriting can still open up new avenues of research in this type of AVT.

Related topics

audiovisual translation; dubbing; synchronization; lip-sync; constraints; dubbese; quality standards; prefabricated orality; translation norms; translation methods; filmic codes; didactics

Further reading

- Pavesi, M. (2005) *La traduzione filmica: Aspetti del parlato doppiato dall'inglese all'italiano*, Roma: Carocci. (Dialogue performs a crucial function in audiovisual products and, therefore, in audiovisual translated products, including the way in which the audience perceives reality. One of the main topics of research in dubbing has been that of dubbese, or the language of dubbing, in the past. Maria Pavesi has emerged as a leading figure in the field of how film language reflects conversation in everyday life – a particular variety of false, feigned oral discourse – thus contributing to a better understanding of audiovisual language.)
- Whitman-Linsen, C. (1992) *Through the Dubbing Glass*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. (This book showed the world of dubbing from a European perspective. The author has worked for Columbia Tristar for many years and has the experience of supervising the dubbings of American films into German, French and Spanish. She focuses on synchrony, technical procedures of dubbing, the agents involved in the industrial process of dubbing, the daily task of the translator and dialogue writer, and specific translation issues such as film titles, collocation, cohesion, wordplay, culture, etc. All the examples are drawn from the films by the renowned director Woody Allen.)

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Advertising translation

Cristina Valdés

Advertising translation has been traditionally associated with the interlingual transfer of advertisements – that is, texts that are often published in printed form to encourage the consumption of a product or service. However, this assumption involves some pitfalls and gaps. First, the translation of advertising material is essentially part of a wider process of communication and of the increasing internationalization of markets, and the target texts are a sign of the well-known motto ‘Think global, act local’. The translation of an advertisement naturally results from the need to internationalize a product in different places and in different languages. In such a context the definition of an advertisement is not confined to the one above, given the variety of formats often used in marketing and communication campaigns. Second, the need to position one product or service above others in the customer’s mind, and to increase product demand in a market sector are determining factors to understand the nature of advertisements, the main functions of which are to:

- communicate an obvious intention, which is to publicize, to make something public, to promote and to sell;
- transmit the values of the product or brand;
- reflect and export the values of a culture, which is directly or indirectly associated with the product or service; and
- provide information about the price, the potential uses of the product, the benefits for the consumer, etc.

Additionally, there are other, wider aspects to be studied in advertising translation. For instance, the role that translation plays in the marketing processes of a specific company or institution marks a crucial starting point for research, since this is the contextual framework in which translation action takes place.

Advertising and translation studies

Advertising translation has generally occupied a minor position in the research agendas of both marketing and translation studies, although recently there has been a steady increase

of interest in the field (see Adab 1999; Valdés Rodríguez 2004a; Smith 2009; Torresi 2010). Largely, research on advertising translation has dealt with isolated examples of slogans and their translation, or with the analysis of specific aspects related to the impact of advertising. These texts have been largely neglected by scholarship as they were considered minor texts when compared to literary texts or films, for example. The brevity of advertisements, both in terms of time and space in the case of printed and audiovisual ones, has given them the reputation of secondary texts in relation to others. On the contrary, researchers on advertising communication or their translation process have proven evidence of their internal complexity and of the richness of this area of knowledge.

Issues such as the concept of the communication campaign, its scope or cultural restrictions undermine the translator's influence in the decision-making process and therefore enrich the research process into advertising translation. In a communication or marketing campaign, its main concept defines the content the translator has to convey in the target text, either for an international audience or for a local one. An example of this is the 1990s Renault Clio, which was successfully marketed at a young and active audience with a modern campaign based on the idea of a potential user who was well prepared for a job interview. The spots and pictures together with the verbal component preserved the same content in different contexts but the slogan was adapted locally: in Spain the acronym JASP, standing for 'Joven, aunque sobradamente preparado' (young, but fully prepared), has been used to coin a generation of young people. In other languages this acronym was not found or did not work so effectively.

A second aspect influencing advertising translation is the scope of the campaign: if this is directed towards an international audience, the language of the verbal component in the advertisement may be English or French, or a different one, either totally or partially, or maybe the language of the target market audience. This binary opposition is related to the marketing, cultural and economic strategies of the company or institution, and whether the approach is towards a global conception of markets or towards a stronger local policy, making translation highly dependent on this initial norm of the advertiser.

Another concern refers to the constraints imposed by culture itself, namely legal, ethical or social restrictions that may affect the translator's decisions. Sometimes the choice of a word or an idea is entirely subjected to the effect it creates. For instance, there are some sexual remarks or biased pictures and messages that may not be allowed in the target market. Restrictions to translation may be affected by legislation, as in the Toubon Law in France (1995), a law mandating the use of the French language in official publications, in workplaces, in commercial contexts and in advertisements. Another example of a different kind is related to the promotion of alcohol. In many countries and regions to incite to alcohol or tobacco consumption is not permitted and legislation establishes some restrictions, which may also influence the way to address the audience or even the access to the text, as in the case of some alcohol brand websites, the navigation of which is limited to those over the age of majority (see the Drambuie international homepage, for example). On other occasions the restriction has an ethical or moral connotation, so the translator needs to be careful with the effect of a joke or of a sexual or religious reference. Advertising translators, more than mere language experts, are required to have a social and cultural expertise to make the best decisions.

The internal nature of advertisements may trigger various effects in different target cultures and therefore their undeniable semiotic complexity affects translation. An international team of marketing experts, creative designers and communication specialists are responsible for the creation of a multisemiotic text and, as Séguinot argues:

Today it is expected that translators produce camera-ready copy and that means taking responsibility for the final product as the visual element is key in promotional material, the marketing of goods and services across cultural boundaries involves an understanding of culture and semiotics that goes well beyond both language and design.

(*Séguinot 1995: 56*)

When translating a promotional text, the connections and meanings created by the combination of words and pictures (static or in movement), words, pictures and sounds, or words and sounds, need to be carefully examined by the translator in order to guarantee the final cohesion of the text (Valdés and Fuentes 2008).

Another subject worth studying in advertising translation is the reception of the target text. More than in other kinds of texts, it is essential to consider the effect on the receiver of the text. In this discourse type reception is relatively constrained or manipulated as the text is conceived for a particular purpose, detailed in the marketing campaign, and for a specific target. The wording, the images and the overall message are strongly determined by the potential consumer, by their needs and aspirations, and by their expectations. For instance, translators commonly face the problem of choosing which personal pronoun to use in German, Spanish or French (du/Sie, tú/usted, tu/Vous) when the source text is in English, just with the second person pronoun 'you'. This choice may affect the way in which the target, i.e. the potential consumer, is addressed, establishing a more or less direct relationship with the product or brand.

Brief history of research into advertising translation

Little research on advertising translation was done before the 1990s, as this field of study occupied a minor place within translation studies. Even nowadays these texts are not always considered 'academic texts' by current scholarship. Sometimes they are included in the group of technical-specialized texts or appear labelled as pragmatic texts.

The translation of promotional material has existed as a professional activity since early times of human interaction. The need to exchange and sell products has been responsible for communication events based on persuasion and acceptance of participants. Throughout history instances of interlingual promotional messages have prevailed in several forms: political propaganda leaflets in the Egyptian Empire, the first oral advertisements of criers in medieval burghs, and the printed posters of the industrialized societies in order to position products in an international market are some examples of this activity.

However, research and action often do not take place simultaneously and the study of advertising translation did not become part of the scholarly agenda until the second half of the twentieth century. The first attempts at studying advertising translation date back to the early 1970s when a linguistic approach focused on analyses of how texts should be translated or whether they are translated according to the principle of equivalence.

In 1972 Boivineau described what he called 'l'a.b.c. de l'adaptation publicitaire' in a paper published in the journal *Meta*, where he discussed this form of interlanguage transfer as adaptation. Boivineau (1972) opts for adaptation to describe the interlingual operations when transferring one advertisement written in a source language (SL) to another language or target language (TL), as more than words are transformed. The intention and the core message of the original text have to be preserved, but translators may feel free to diverge from the source text – that is, the target text has to trigger an equivalent effect on its receptors.

Within this general framework the Canadian linguist Tatilon wrote a stimulating article on advertising translation, the title of which anticipates its main content: 'Traduire la parole publicitaire' (Tatilon 1978). This scholar starts with the discussion about the dichotomy between whether advertising texts are translatable or not, and declares his position in favour of the translatability of this kind of text, according to their communicative nature: 'les traducteurs démontrent inlassablement la possibilité de traduire' (ibid.: 75). Advertisements are therefore translated with the intention of persuading the receptor. In order to support this premise, Tatilon analyses ten slogans in French and English and describes the translation strategies, paying particular attention to their formal and semantic nature. He follows up to state that 'la publicité, qui est un type de communication de masse orienté vers l'acte commercial' (ibid.: 78), is a type of mass communication which aims at enhancing the demand of a product. This function determines the two basic requirements of advertising texts: first, the slogan has to be sufficiently clear and verbalized adequately; and second, it should be memorable and raise the receptor's interest. Moreover, the process a translator should follow involves decoding and understanding the source text, especially puns, and then encoding, following the principle of 'l'équivalence fonctionnelle' or functional equivalence.

The contrastive analysis of the ten slogans leads Tatilon to formulate a complex system of tables to establish the correspondence between functional equivalents of the source and the target texts. He observes whether the target text has preserved the following functions: the designation of the product; the explicit and implicit identification of the message; and the promotion of the product's advantages. Besides this, translators should also pay attention to the readability of the text and to how to deal with puns. As a conclusion of the analysis of the ten slogans, Tatilon distinguishes four translation strategies:

- 'l'égalité', or equality: that is, the elements present in the source language slogan are invariably transferred to the target language slogan;
- 'la compensation', or compensation: when an element is replaced with another one of a similar nature and equivalent in the target text;
- 'la perte', or the loss of an element of the source text; and
- 'l'addition', or addition of an element in the target text.

The approach is purely linguistic and, although it is based on the principle of functional equivalent, Tatilon does not consider other intra- and extra-textual parameters such as the image-text relationship, which is part of the overall meaning of the advertisement. In a later publication Tatilon revisits the dichotomy adaptation-translation in 'Le texte publicitaire: Traduction ou adaptation?' (1990), and focuses on the advertisement as a text instead of on the language of advertising. He aims on the one hand to offer a descriptive model to distinguish the discursive features of advertisements, and on the other hand to devise a translation model for this discourse type. Tatilon points out four different functions of advertising texts, two of them referring to content and two to the text's form: the advertisement's content should play an identifying function or 'fonction identificatrice', which stems from the designation of the product, and a laudatory function or 'fonction laudative', which is related to the appraisal and enhancement of qualities of the promoted service or object. Likewise the formal dimension of an advertising text fulfils two main functions: a 'fonction ludique', that is, an entertaining and enjoyment function, which essentially comes from oral puns and play on words, and a function that Tatilon calls 'mnémotechnique', which is in charge of the memorability and readability of the text.

Thus, the efficiency of the advertisement is proportional to the attractiveness of its content. Within the text, brand names and slogans are responsible for these functions, as the brand name identifies the product and is the first persuasive weapon, which requires a specific translation strategy. Translators should also pay particular attention to the slogan, which contains the main qualities in a memorable and appealing expression.

After analysing several slogans, Tatilon (1990) concludes that in advertising translation it is always better to start from the functional equivalence principle and adapt the rest of the components to fulfil the previously mentioned functions, since not all the content of the source text is transferable to another language or culture. However, this author makes little reference to the way translators can achieve the four textual functions when translating the brand names and slogans, and avoids attention to the macrotextual level in which the translation process takes place.

The switch to considering the text as the unit of translation brought about some theoretical reflections on the categorization of texts into different typologies and on translation as an act of communication within a context. These theories allow a better description of the translation of non-literary texts such as advertisements. The translation process, the function of the resulting target text or the participants in the production and reception of source and target texts determine the communicative situation in which translation takes place and the translation method as well.

Reiss (1981) distinguishes three major text types according to three language dimensions: (i) informative or *inhaltsbetont* texts, which are translated preserving the content; (ii) expressive or *formbetont* texts, which translators have to transfer to another language with the same artistic and emotional function; and (iii) operative or *appellbetont* texts, which are conceived to stimulate a reaction or to induce the receiver to some action. Reiss includes advertisements and political speeches in this category and as an example she offers a slogan from Firestone tyres: in ‘Füchse fahren Firestone-Phoenix’ the appellative value lies on the alliteration of the sound /f/, which Reiss (*ibid.*: 130) translates as ‘Profs prefer Firestone-Phoenix’ to preserve the function and the effect of the source text. What is lacking in this approach is the consideration of other textual elements such as the images that accompany and interplay with the verbal text or the cultural connotations of an animal like the fox. Reiss (1989), in a later research publication, adds a fourth type, the multimedial text type, which is made up of words but also of non-verbal elements such as music or pictures and which includes television commercials or printed advertisements.

Reiss’s model was a remarkable step forward in the research of advertising texts, first of all because this kind of text was included within major research in translation studies, and second because it brought to an end many of the discussions on the translation and adaptation of advertising translation. The adaptive translation method implies the adaptation of a target text to the needs of its receivers so that it can trigger the same effect on them (Reiss 1981: 129).

One criticism that can be made to rigid translation models is that advertising texts may usually have other predominant functions, different from an appellative one, depending on the product type, the stage the marketing campaign has reached, or its target. For instance, a car brand like the Nissan Juke is oriented to an urban consumer who wants some innovation in his/her car; however, the advertisement may perform a more informative or a more appellative function whether it is marketed at an initial stage or whether it is already known in the target market. In the first case the translator would have to be cautious and retain the details the marketer wants to convey, while in the second case more attention should be paid to emotional and creative elements to persuade the potential consumer.

Taking the function of the target text as the main determining factor for translation, functionalist approaches have also dealt with advertising translation. Vermeer in his *skopos* theory (1978) brings to light the importance of the *skopos*, or purpose of the translation in the target culture, which has to be negotiated with the commissioner, the person who initiates the translation process (see Nord, this volume). This approach to translation provides an extremely suitable research tool for advertising translation, an activity strongly determined by the contextual factors such as the client, the potential customer or target, and the particular function of the product in the target market.

Nord (1997), in her general model of translation as well, added the notion of loyalty, which is particularly relevant in the case of advertising translation, since translators are not only faithful to the source text, but their decisions should follow what has been agreed with the commissioner or client. In this sense, functionalist translation models have granted an effective way of studying the process and roles of advertising translation.

In the last few decades advertising has been characterized by an optimum growth in number, variety and quality of publications and studies. Since the 1990s scholars from different academic backgrounds have specialized in the study of the translation of this type of text and there have been contributions from different 'national' schools, focusing on the analysis of advertisements in their corresponding language pairs. Some authors have focused on the register and linguistic analysis of advertisements and its implications for translation, like Shakir (1995), who paid particular attention to registeral and schematic constraints in translation from English into Arab and vice versa, Smith (2006), whose main interest in this paper is the translation strategies of headlines between English and Russian, and Adab (1999), using a contrastive-analysis method for the study of advertising translation. Quillard (2001) and Laviosa (2005, 2007) examined how puns and wordplay are translated and how this kind of translation can serve for creative writing training. A more pragmatic approach to advertising translation describes Dávila-Montes's (2008) book on the translation of persuasion, and Cui's (2008) paper on rewriting from the perspective of presupposition.

Similarly, scholars from different countries approached the issue of advertising translation focusing on the intersemiotic nature of advertisements and its consequence for translation: Slater (1988) and Torresi (2007) commented on the image in translated printed text and on the importance of visual elements in advertising translation. Taking Jakobson's concept of intersemiotic translation, Simoes Lucas Freitas (2004) made a detailed analysis of three Portuguese campaigns in different sectors, pointing to the viewer of advertisements as the final construer of meaning and to the intersemiotic translation as a way of achieving maximum equivalence. Also Millán-Varela (2004) in the same volume explores the semiotic nature of ice-cream advertisements of the same company in different markets, emphasizing their cultural and ideological role. Valdés Rodríguez (2005) has also paid attention to the oral component, and particularly to the role songs play in television spots. In the same year, also in Spain, Cruz García and Adams (2005) wrote about the implications of the verbal and iconic components for the translation of advertisements.

Specifically focusing on multimedia translation of advertising material are a few published papers, in chronological order, by de Pedro (1996), Valdés Rodríguez (1998, 2001a, 2004b; Valdés 2007), Cabrera Abreu *et al.* (2005) and Valdés and Fuentes (2008). These publications offer a general overview of translating for television and demonstrate the complexity of translating advertising texts for television and deal with issues such as the audiovisual translation strategies for television spots, their complexity as a process and the cultural effects of this kind of translation. Concerning other text types, Chiaro (2004)

reveals similarities and differences between some print and electronic advertising material for agro-food products when this is translated from Italian into English to be effectively commercialized in international markets.

Another kind of advertising translation research is oriented towards cultural issues and ideology such as new markets for advertising translation, the translation process, cultural references, or cultural stereotypes (Jettmarova *et al.* 1997; Smith and Klein-Braley 1997; Torresi 2004; Yang 2006). Other scholars have made efforts to describe and analyse the relationship of advertising translation and the market policies of international companies. Valdés Rodríguez (1997), Guidère (2001), Ho (2004) and de Mooij (2004) focus on the role of translation practices in the advertising process, on translation as a market-oriented activity, and on the cultural dimensions and marketing.

Within advertising translation a few studies have been published on specific genres such as the translation of computer product advertisements (Cruz García 2005a), or tourist promotional advertisements (Sumberg 2004). On the contrary, other contributions present fully fledged comprehensive studies (Bueno García 2000; Guidère 2000; Valdés Rodríguez 2004a; Torresi 2010), or edited monographs (like Corpas *et al.* 2001; Adab and Valdés 2004; and Lorenzo and Pereira (2005). Doctoral theses should not be disregarded as they represent the essence and innovation of research on advertising translation: Cómite (1999/2000), Cruz García (2001), Tuna (2004), or Smith (2009). Other papers have been published on advertising translation from a general perspective, dealing with either the comparison of textual pairs in source and target languages or with specific aspects. Y Gamal (1994), Sidiropoulou (1998) or Séguinot (1995) are some of the authors whose research in advertising translation is well known. Besides these, the role of the translator as mediator (Fuentes Luque and Kelly 2000; Cruz García 2005a), or the concept of creativity in advertising translation (Valdés 2008b) has also been explored.

In general terms, it can be claimed that the latest contributions can be inscribed into descriptive translation studies (see Ben-Ari and Malmkjær, both this volume), as they have aimed to describe and reconstruct trends and strategies within the translation of advertising material in different ways. As we have briefly described, any research on advertising translation requires an integrative approach, that is, a theoretical approach that includes forms of analysis and concepts from different disciplines and theoretical models within translation studies.

Beyond advertising: the future in promotional translation

The immediate future of research on advertising translation goes beyond existing studies on advertisements, to consider other text types that share textual, functional and pragmatic features with them. The inner interplay of components of tourist material such as brochures or leaflets depends on the ultimate function of persuading receivers to choose a destination or a service, namely a restaurant or accommodation facilities. When this material needs to be produced in different languages for local markets, translation strategies similar to those in advertisements take place. Factors such as the identity of the product or the particular use consumers make of it determine the way the text is translated. These promotional tourist campaigns appeal to potential visitors by providing information primarily and highlighting some of the key assets of the destination. Although some research has been done on the translation of tourist texts, this integration within a broader discourse, the promotional discourse, should be strengthened.

Another text type increasingly resembling the discourse of advertising is hardly ever categorized under the label of advertising. We are referring to user guides or product

manuals, texts of different size and length that accompany the product as part of the marketing package. Besides the instructions for use and technical specifications, which contain the key information a user may need, the way this information is conveyed has inevitably become more and more appealing. Likewise, the language choice and the approach to the consumer are highly direct and persuasive, similar to the style of advertisements. Translators should then become aware of these features and produce a target text accordingly, i.e. taking into account the function or *skopos* of the text in the target market. Valdés (2008a) and Torresi (2010) include other text types in their approach.

Thus, the question of the promotional discourse as texts, users and contexts different from a traditional concept of advertising (printed advertisements, television spots, billboards, etc.) and the translation of this kind of text are some of the main flaws, which wait to be explored in the immediate future, particularly the hybridization or blurring of the boundaries between advertising and other genres.

Another sign of the future in promotional translation is the so-called media mix or combined use of different media to achieve maximum results/exposure for an advertiser's message. The combination of media maximizes the impact of a promotional campaign and the growing number and variety also affects the way advertising texts are translated. Each medium offers a series of technical and impact possibilities such as the combined use of verbal and non-verbal material in audiovisual texts, which are subordinate to the ultimate effect they should trigger on the target audience. The sophisticated technologies introduced in television production as well as the electronic platforms, including the web, have brought about changes when choosing the medium, economic and social changes and a 'normalization' of new forms of advertising such as the Internet. The exploitation of the web as a medium for advertising allows a mixture of formats that contributes to enhancing the persuasive and appellative force of texts and leads to a greater interaction by the audience with the text through the possibilities that the web offers. This is one of the main challenges for advertising translation research: as the Internet is expanding in terms of number of users, but also in the number of languages employed, more promotional material needs to be translated and localized for this medium. Ahead are some subject matters to deal with such as the impact of new audiences on this form of translation or the quality standards or norms for promotional translation on the web (Valdés 2008b).

This question of audiences raises a social debate, since while people in First World countries are widely connected to the web, there are still many millions of people who do not have access. In this case it is an evident source of inequality, and thus the media marketers should be aware of the restrictions in each country.

From a theoretical perspective, in advertising translation research there are still some flaws and challenges to overcome, such as the notion of text, the choice and organization of a corpus, the scope of the research or the methodological approach to its study. As regards the first question, the identity of the source text and of the target text is obscure in advertising translation. Concerning this, a clarification should be made regarding the notions of source and target culture. If in other translation spheres the source culture refers to the context from which the text to be translated comes, and the target culture is the context in which the translation is produced or at which it is addressed, in the case of advertising translation this distinction is difficult to make, as the source text may be designed, written and produced in different cultural contexts. Often we tend to claim that the source culture of a text is the culture associated with a product, which may not be the case. Moreover, the authorship of a source advertisement is multiple and unidentified. This anonymity takes researchers to a crossroads.

One of the first problems any researcher may encounter is the corpus itself and the scope of the study. There is a range of options from which to select: from a set of texts belonging to the same thematic genre (tourist promotion, computer products, cosmetics, etc.), to the same text type (TV spots, magazine advertisements, banners and electronic advertising material, etc.), texts resulting from a marketing campaign worldwide and for different media, etc. Whatever the choice, the compilation and organization are likely to be complex and demand some key decisions. In advertising translation one could do research about a great variety of proposals: compiling a corpus of two-language pairs of texts (source texts and target texts), or a corpus of advertisements of the same product or campaign in different languages and for different markets, or only translated texts to recreate and establish some norms and trends. Whichever option is chosen, both macrolevel and micro-level approaches need to be considered. As a particular kind of discourse (Cook 2001), the context(s) in which advertisements are marketed and translated, the participants, the material, the media, etc. are all elements to bear in mind when describing and explaining what advertising translation is. A micro-level approach also provides an insight of the internal nature of the text, source or target text. A textual reconstruction of the operations that take place during the translation process, for example, will enable us to reproduce the translation strategies followed by translators.

Probably the most outstanding challenge for advertising translation is still the question of culture. As Munday (2004: 209) has claimed, 'the unit of translation is not just the text, but the culture'. Advertisements and other forms of promotion vividly reflect the tensions between what is global and local, what tends to become standard and what remains local. Any study of advertising translation intrinsically deals with a cross-cultural analysis of people's lives. It is not only about words but also about effects, reactions, stereotypes, etc. Therefore, further research on the relationship between language and culture, media and context or cultural references will release new possibilities.

Interdisciplinarity and advertising translation: more than translation studies

From the key issues underlined as central for any research in advertising translation can be inferred the need to approach the issue from an interdisciplinary point of view, which affects both practice and research in the area. Disciplines such as visual semiotics, marketing, communication and media studies provide concepts, models, theories and methods that help to obtain a comprehensive overview of advertising translation. Moreover, translation studies is in essence multi- and interdisciplinary and has the capacity to assimilate these elements from other disciplines successfully, as it has integrated concepts such as a norm or polysystem (see Ben-Ari, this volume).

In the particular case of advertising translation, there is a natural need to collaborate with experts from other areas in order to understand and describe the empirical evidence that advertising translation entails. Some investigations in marketing and communication studies have already paid attention to the role of translation in advertising, but few research attempts have been made to approach marketing and communication studies within translation studies. It is unlikely that solid research in advertising translation will be achieved without an open mind and an interest in the way the process of translation works, looking at it from different angles and taking into consideration different points of view. The fact that this area is multi-angled and presents numerous edges makes its study extremely rich and challenging. To fully comprehend the complexity of studying advertising translation,

some knowledge of international marketing is a must, as well as expertise in areas like critical discourse analysis or visual semiotics. To master two languages is not enough in this field; a command of persuasive and linguistic strategies contributes to a better analysis of how advertising communication and translation function.

This multi- and interdisciplinarity should be mirrored in translation training programmes, particularly those that are research-oriented. Research in advertising translation should comprise some creativity training (Laviosa 2007; Valdés 2008b), some notions of international marketing, studies of the languages, literatures and cultures related to the translation issue to be analysed, some expertise in media technologies and specific training in reception and perception studies. This latter area will enable researchers to understand the way people read, hear and view advertisements and how viewers process the information and react to the cues present in the text to perform a persuasive and appellative function.

The study and reconstruction of translation strategies in advertising also demand a cross-disciplinary approach, as these mainly depend on the following issues: the type of target to which the campaign is oriented; the product type, as there are some expectations about the way some product adverts are translated (e.g. perfume adverts tend to be left untranslated in French); the degree of familiarity with the product; the culture of origin of the product or some formal conventions for advertisements of the product type, which may affect the outcome; the main theme of the campaign or the use of celebrities in the marketing campaign, which often results in choosing subtitling or voice-over as translation modes for the television spots of the campaign; the target expectations; the medium, and legal and ethical norms and restrictions. In order to describe and explain the different translation strategies, dependent on these issues, wide-ranging knowledge and expertise from different disciplines is needed.

Advertising translation has clearly crossed the borders of translation studies, escaping and bringing into this discipline other knowledge, skills and viewpoints. This is a rich area of research, with several challenges, as Munday (2004) has pointed out, and with possibilities for further study such as the comprehensive study of textual elements in different kind of advertisements from the perspective of visual semiotics in translation, a cross-cultural analysis of the translation process and/or impact of the target texts, an examination of the perception and reception of a translated advertisement in different markets, the examination of new forms of promotion for audiences of different kinds and in various media, the norms about the translation of promotional material into the so-called minority languages or languages recognized at a non-national level, etc. Likewise, advertising translation studies offers different perspectives to marketing, communication and media studies and contributes to the discussion about globalization and localization. Undoubtedly, several trends and tracks are left unexplored for research in advertising translation.

Related topics

advertising translation; promotional discourse; reception; interdisciplinarity

Further reading

Adab, Beverly (2000a) 'Towards a more Systematic Approach to the Translation of Advertising Texts', in Alison Beeby (ed.) *Investigating Translation*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, Chapter 21, 225–37, (BTL 32). (Adab's paper offers a primary tool of analysis of advertisements and their translation,

- offering a general overview of the main aspects to study about the translation advertising texts, which include cultural, marketing and textual strategies.)
- Adab, Beverly and Valdés, Cristina (eds) (2004) 'Key Debates in the Translation of Advertising Material. The Translator', 10(2): special issue, Manchester: St Jerome. (A comprehensive collection of papers dealing with the translation of advertising material, ranging from advertisements, tourist promotional material and online promotional texts and combining approaches both from translation studies and from other disciplines.)
- Torresi, Ira (2010) *Translating Promotional and Advertising Texts*, Manchester: St Jerome. (This monograph covers different areas of promotion such as institutional, consumer or personal promotion and the way texts fulfilling this function are translated. Numerous examples are provided, so it is a useful volume to be used as a course book.)
- Valdés Rodríguez, Cristina (2004a) *La traducción publicitaria: Comunicación y cultura*, Valencia: Universitat de València (also Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Servei de Publicacions, D.L.) (This is a complete study of printed advertisements which provides a general description of translation strategies in advertising as well as an overview of the main factors and elements to be considered in advertising translation research. Another main asset is its interdisciplinary approach.)

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Stage translation

Eva Espasa

Understanding stage translation

Stage translation has two main characteristics: (i) there can be two-way communication between audiences and actors, who can receive immediate feedback from audiences; and (ii) every stage performance is unrepeatable, unique. The two are specific to the theatre and pose special challenges for research. For instance, taking into account its variability and given the potential changes involved, partially caused by the feedback effect from audiences, how can the translated theatre sign be notated? Furthermore, the multimedial nature of theatre (including kinesics, proxemics) also makes it very difficult to notate stage performances. Hence it is not surprising that much research on stage translation focuses on its verbal dimension rather than on non-verbal elements (even though this verbal dimension, the text, is also variable). Recordings provide a partial solution to the problem. Video recordings can be used to report the changes to the translated playtext throughout rehearsals, with regard to the aural and visual dimensions of the theatre sign (Espasa 2001a). Sound recordings have been used to report performances accompanied by simultaneous interpreting (Lindsay 2006b). However, the unrepeatability of every stage performance would only be solved by recording – and analysing – each and every performance of a play. The selection of images and sounds by the camera would also have to be taken into consideration, as it provides an interpretive report of performances.

Traditionally, stage translation has been compared to literary translation, because of the duality of the theatre sign (written text plus performance). Regarding this duality, the ‘page’ versus ‘stage’ debate has been dismantled both from literary and theatrical perspectives (see Mateo 2000). The relative autonomy of page and stage signs is also defended by Pavis from a theatrical perspective (1992: 26, 27). Pavis defends, as an alternative, the intertextual *mise en scène*, which provides the necessary mediation between autotextuality and ideological reference (ibid.: 37–38).

Table 23.1 summarizes the main similarities and differences between stage translation, literary translation (drama), and audiovisual translation. Although it can be qualified in many aspects, it can provide an initial radiography of the field, a necessary step for research on theatre translation.

Table 23.1 Summary of the main similarities and differences between types of translation

	Literary translation (drama)	Stage translation	Audiovisual translation
<i>Communicative factors</i>			
Performance as unrepeatabe, unique event		X	
Immediate feedback from audience/two-way communication		X	
Immediate reception by audience		X	X
Translation negotiated by a complex communicative chain of agents	X	X	X
Intersemiotic translation		X	X
Pre-existing audiovisual material			X
Simultaneous reception through two channels (audio and visual)		X	X
Presence of verbal and non-verbal signs		X	X
Precise synchrony between verbal and non-verbal signs			X
Transmission/reproducibility by means of a screen		X ¹	X
<i>Textual factors</i>			
Recreation of orality	X	X	X
Concision	X	X	X
Possibility of general cultural adaptation in the text	X	X	

Notes: ¹ in surtitling for theatre and opera.

Source: The table is partially based on Delabastita 1989; Törnqvist 1991; Sokoli 2005; and Romero-Fresco 2009: 8–11.

Research on stage translation: an overview

The origins of stage translation research can be traced back to the 1960s when several articles were published in *Babel* (e.g. Mounin 1968; Hamberg 1969). The 1970s, likewise, saw individual publications, including a pioneering contribution by Susan Bassnett (1978). However, it was at the beginning of the 1980s when theoretical interest in stage translation emerged more clearly, beyond particular case studies on specific translations (see Santoyo 1995). Monographs on translation studies (e.g. Bassnett 1980) pointed out that stage translation had been a neglected field, and the first collections of studies on stage translation appeared (Zuber 1980; Zuber-Skerritt 1984; Scolnicov and Holland 1989). The emphasis was on the specificity of stage translation, with connections with theatre semiotics and cultural approaches.

The 1990s witnessed an unprecedented boom of publications, with a major focus on cultural and ideological aspects of translation. Collections of essays reflected that research in this area was no longer an individual, isolated activity but a joint effort of various researchers and practitioners: for example, the volumes *Traduire le théâtre* (1990); those by Schultze *et al.* (1990), Fischer-Lichte *et al.* (1990), Paul and Schultze (1991), Delabastita and D'hulst (1993), Lafarga and Dengler (1995), Johnston (1996), Pujante and Gregor (1996). Numerous relevant monographs appeared, which would mark the beginning of prolific and theoretically sound research careers. Among these are: Brisset (1990), on translating in Quebec from a sociocritical approach; Merino (1994), on the effects of censorship on drama translation during Franco's dictatorship; Mateo (1995), on the translation of English comedies; and

Aaltonen (1996), on Irish culture in Finnish drama translation. Heylen (1993), analysing translations of Hamlet into French, is another important contribution of the decade.

In the new millennium, interest in stage translation has continued and matured, in the form of seminal publications, starting with Aaltonen's *Time-Sharing on Stage* (2000). This was followed by other monographs, such as Espasa (2001a), Sanderson (2002), Zatlin (2005), Ezpeleta (2007), Curran (2008) and Braga Riera (2009a, 2009b). Common to these is the attention paid to the theatrical or cultural contexts where playtexts are translated and performed.

The collective volumes published in the last ten years combine theoretical reflection with analysis of translated and performed plays, and bring together the voices of researchers and practitioners. Among these it is worth mentioning Upton (2000), Coelsch-Foisner and Klein (2004), Anderman (2005), Lindsay (2006a), Boyle and Johnston (2007), and Baines *et al.* (2011). There have also been special issues of journals (e.g. *Journal of Romance Studies*, see Andrews 2008; *TRANS*, see Ezpeleta 2009). A novelty of the new millennium is the growing number of online initiatives devised to share resources among researchers and/or practitioners.

The main research approaches adopted are sociocritical and hermeneutic, but there are also quantitative approaches by Griesel (2007), or the TRACE project in Spain, which combines methodologies from descriptive translation studies and from corpus linguistics. Most of the quoted research on stage translation explores the following five areas, which were charted by the pioneer Zuber-Skerritt (1988: 489–90; see also Regattin 2004: 166–7):

- transposition from the written (translated) drama to the performance;
- influence of translated and produced plays on the target theatrical system (playwrights, critics and producers);
- studies on performance and production processes involved in translated drama;
- comparative studies on the reception of plays in different cultural systems;
- study of the agents involved in the interpretation of meaning in theatre.

Two areas that were not mentioned by Zuber-Skerritt are gaining force in the new millennium: interlingual surtitling and accessibility in theatre. These will be mapped briefly in the following paragraphs.

Surtitling is increasingly used to translate plays and operas performed in foreign languages. Although it is a modality of audiovisual translation (Bartoll 2008: 46), it has its own technical and semiotic specificity, and has been researched from both audiovisual translation and theatre translation studies (see for instance Griesel 2000, 2007, 2009). More recently there has been research on the connections between the use of surtitles in multilingual (Aaltonen 2009) or bilingual plays (Ladouceur 2009). Mateo (2007) and Kaindl (1997) have both researched into surtitles in theatre and opera, as part of wider research projects into opera translation, which is also the focus of studies by Desblache (2007) and Virkkunen (2004).

If auditive and visual elements are all important in the theatre, it is worth researching into modalities of accessibility (audio description, intralingual surtitles for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, and sign language). Current research projects describe the specificities of such modalities across different cultures. Intralingual surtitling is often studied alongside interlingual subtitling, on the one hand (e.g. Mateo 2007), and in accessibility studies, on the other (e.g. Weaver 2010). As regards audio description (AD), a type of intrasemiotic translation that involves the description of non-verbal actions and settings on stage, it is worth remembering that this service was created for the theatre in the 1980s (for AD and

opera accessibility see Holland 2009; Orero and Matamala 2007; Cabeza and Matamala 2008; and Weaver 2010). Sign language, in connection with theatre practice, is the focus of the research by Rocks (2011), who has highlighted the need for dialogue between theatre practitioners and sign language interpreters, in order to take into account the complex nature of the theatrical event. Similarly, McDonald (2012) has researched into sign language interpretation in TV drama, arguing for the inclusion of specific aspects of sign language that can help to maintain the three-dimensional space created by the drama on screen.

Another research area that is relatively unexplored is that of training in stage translation. Unlike audiovisual translation, stage translation has not received so much attention, maybe due to its traditional association with literary translation, and the ongoing, often futile, debate as to what extent this can be taught. Examples from teaching experiences that have included stage translation in training courses are Marín (1998), who analyses the benefits of translating complete short plays in class, or Marco (2002), who includes drama translation in courses on literary translation, focusing on the issues of performability and cultural adaptation. Bartrina and Espasa (2001, 2005; Espasa 2001b) have included stage translation in their courses on audiovisual translation, working with the requisites that are common to these disciplines (fictitious orality, concision and negotiation of translation with other agents). A different approach is that by Gülen (2007), who has tried out the challenges for the classroom of translating plays between two non-mother tongues.

Key issues in stage translation research

Stage translation is a paradoxical activity: it starts from a written text, while taking into account the non-verbal dimension of theatre, but the end product provided by the translator is another written text, which will be staged by a theatre company in a given culture. This paradox is at the base of the following recurrent debates in stage translation research:

- Performability: the specificity of translating for the stage and the connections between textual and extra-textual factors.
- Authorship and status: the – often complex – relations between translators and other agents involved in theatrical production.
- Acculturation: the inscription of translation practices within specific cultural and ideological milieux.

For methodological convenience, these areas of debate will be dealt with in three sections.

Performability

The performability of translation, its theatrical potential and specificity, has been studied from various different angles, and has become a key topic of stage translation research (Bassnett 1980, 1991; Espasa 2000; Mateo 2002; Nikolarea 2002). The debate on performability can even be considered as a reflection on quality criteria for translated playtexts, in connection with their orality or their inclusion in specific literary, theatrical or audiovisual systems.

In many cases, performability has been equated to speakability to refer to the peculiar orality of the drama text, the need to produce a text that favours immediate comprehension and which, on the whole, is easy to pronounce. These textual decisions cannot be separated from a more global perspective, which depends on the theatrical orientation of the translation or its productions. The issue is then the *playability* of the translation.

However, theatrical perspectives are, in turn, linked to broader issues – that is, to ideological or political themes, or to the relative status and prestige of translation in the theatre world. While it is obvious that performability cannot be easily reduced to a question of commercial convenience, i.e. the *saleability* of the translation, this latter term comes to the fore in Bassnett's complete rejection, as from 1991, of the notion of *performability*. Her rejection was based on specific theatrical practices in the UK: the 'adaptation' by well-known, usually monolingual playwrights, of the so-called *literals*, i.e. playtexts translated 'literally' by other people, who receive less money and recognition for their task. Apart from this example, the use of the word *saleability* is a graphic way of including ideology and power issues into the debate around performability.

Research on stage translation in the first decade of the millennium continues to address the issue of performability despite the elusiveness of the term. Thus, Sanderson (2002) acknowledges the lack of a precise definition and theoretical work on the concept, while at the same time admitting that such a notion is essential for translation analysis. Mateo (2000, 2002), in a comprehensive study on performability, considers it as a global strategy of theatre translation. The common theme in writings on performability in the new millennium is that the debate is not on *whether* performability can be analysed, but on *how* performability is articulated. It is worth mentioning, at this point, that the notion of performability, instead of theatricality, is used with the intention of deflecting analysis away from essentialist questions about the nature of theatre. To talk about performability, rather, draws our attention towards the *mise en scène*, towards an examination of what makes specific translations performable in a given context.

Nikolarea (2002) offers a historical review of performability in stage translation by constructing a debate between readability and performability, taking into account theatre semiotics, and especially the writings of Pavis and Bassnett. The latter, after at first emphatically defending the affiliation of translation as a performance event, concluded, in 1991, that the only possible avenues for research in theatre translation could be (i) a historiography of drama translation, and (ii) more investigation into the linguistic structures of existing playtexts. (Incidentally, an examination of the bibliographic references of works written after 1991 shows that many more approaches are possible.)

For Nikolarea, the differences between the positions of Pavis (pro-performability) and Bassnett (pro-readability), are linked to the academic adscription of these authors. Pavis, a researcher into theatre semiotics, examined theatre translation as a process, and was interested in the universalization of culture (1989: 42). Whereas, for Nikolarea, Bassnett's adscription to the Manipulation School made her focus particularly on translation as product, within the target culture.¹ However, as Nikolarea rightly points out, Bassnett's research interests made her address the specificity of individual cultures, rather than the alleged universality of culture. What is worth pointing out here is that the solid review of theatre semiotics offered by Nikolarea is not sufficient to account for the changing views of Bassnett and her opposition to Pavis (in the debate constructed by Nikolarea). It is institutional affiliation, as presented by Nikolarea, which would explain such differences.

Mateo (2002: 54–5) contributes very pertinent arguments to the debate on performability. First, the negative consideration of performability may come from the constant resource to this notion to justify the practice of literal translations versus adaptation by well-known playwrights. In this controversy two arguments are fallible: the supporters of this practice seem to negate the possibility that translators can produce performable texts, and, in any case, the notion of performability need not be linked to such practice as does Bassnett (Mateo 2002).

Aaltonen has situated the discussion on performability within the frame of the more general debate on the alleged fidelity or freedom of translation, and its respective affiliation to literary or theatrical systems. The requirements of orality and performability, present in theatrical texts, set them apart from the dominant perspective in the literary system, concerning the connection between translations and their source texts. If norms favour 'faithful' translations, from the standpoint of copyright laws, how would 'free' translations be justified? In the case of theatre, by the scenic requirements of performability (2000: 43).

A practical test for performability can be the examination of playtexts that have been retranslated for the stage to observe their contexts and the translation strategies used. Aaltonen (2003) has studied different contexts of retranslation on the Finnish stage, where texts are retranslated according to changes in aesthetic canons or to the demands of specific productions. Indeed, to examine the context of retranslations is a useful approach to research, as Mathijssen (2007) has also done, for retranslations of *Hamlet*, which can be interpreted in the light of tensions and conflicts within the target system. However, from the point of view of theatre practice and of repertoires nowadays, practising translators consider that it would be more useful to commission new translations of unknown plays, rather than more retranslations of well-known plays (Philip Boehm quoted in Zatlín 2005: 34). A similar opinion is voiced in Catalan theatrical spheres, regarding the translation of plays into 'minority' languages where there can be several retranslations of the same play and no translations of many others.

Another key area is the special, fictitious orality of translations for the stage. Performable texts, as orally delivered texts, are not necessarily simple. Translated theatre texts need not be simple or easy to pronounce (Aaltonen 2000: 42–3; Sanderson 2002: 49). The translation has to look for a balance between orality and the very special nature of theatre texts (Johnston 2004: 35). The speakability of texts is not to be mistaken for a norm of theatre verisimilitude (Pavis 1989: 30). Stage translators may try to produce texts that can be easily pronounced and favour the audience's comprehension (Sellent 2009), if these are compatible with the texts and their productions. This tension between a pronounceable translation and a theatre text which is more or less realistic is an example of how textual criteria depend on an overall theatrical view of the play. A solution, according to Johnston, is to attend rehearsals. Reading aloud – certainly a useful strategy commonly defended by translators – is not enough for Johnston. Theatre meaning is produced in full-fledged performance environments: 'the unit of dramatic discourse is not the individual speech, but rather the exchange between characters' (2004: 36).

In her model of analysis of playtexts for translation, Ezpeleta (2007: 384–6) reminds us of an important aspect of theatre semiotics, i.e. the distinction, from a communicative perspective, between external communication (among actors and audience) and internal communication (among characters, within dramatic fiction). In other words, communication, within a theatrical context, among spectators and actors is not direct but oblique; it is mediated by a dramatic context in which a fictional speaker addresses a fictitious hearer (Elam 1980: 38). Certainly, studies on performability that overlook this, risk trivializing orality.

Authorship and status

The status of 'original' authors, of translators and of directors, is relative and changing across space and time. The dynamic role of each agent involved in the translation and performance process can have consequences for the translator and needs to be accounted for in research. Thus, theatre translators can be very active cultural agents involved in specific projects (Zurbarch 2009). Similarly, playwrights have a changing role throughout

history: they were sanctified in romanticism, but had a more collaborative role before and after, especially in the twentieth century, when theatre practices moved away from authorial dominion to favour more collaborative processes, in rehearsals and the individual task of writing (Johnston 2004). However, the status of translation is somewhat different from that of original writing. Although, in theory, original texts are as susceptible to changes as translated texts, in practice, translations are usually considered to be more vulnerable, and are seen as mutable and subordinated to an original text which is seen as immutable. ‘Virtually by definition, a translation is a more intrinsically negotiable commodity than an original piece of writing, essentially because the translation is itself the end result of a complex process of negotiation out of the source language’ (ibid.: 31). Johnston provides an example that proves the perceived negotiability of the text: the practice, common among directors and actors, of bringing into rehearsals other translations of the play. Although, admittedly, the main purpose is to achieve a deeper understanding of the complexities of a play, such practice can also question the canonical status of the translated text (ibid.: 32).

Johnston qualifies the limits of negotiability in the translated theatre text: the multiplicity of interpretations does not imply the existence of an infinite range of meanings in a given text. Normally the writer, or the translator as writer, has the knowledge and understanding of the context that authorize her or him to judge the relationship between writing and performance:

Translators do not attend or participate in rehearsals in order to safeguard the purity of intentions of the original author ... Rather they seek to ensure that production decisions and artistic perceptions are located within the contextual possibilities of the play.

(Johnston 2004: 33)

The title of the article wherein Johnston defends the role of the translator is meaningful: ‘*Securing the Performability of the Play in Translation*’ (2004, author’s emphasis). Such a role is not always acknowledged. On the one hand, it is the director who usually has the last say in decision-taking (even if it is a collaborative process). On the other hand, there is also the question of the literals. As pointed out above, when foreign plays are performed in English it is common practice to commission ‘literal’ translations into English, which are later ‘adapted’ by well-known playwrights, who are credited as ‘adaptors’ in the promotion of the play, and who are better paid. The authorship of literal translations remains in the background or in anonymity. Such translations are often accompanied by footnotes, and the translator acts as *fidus interpretes* of the source text (Perteghella 2004). The fact that such texts in English are labelled as literals – a noun, not an adjective – is illustrative of the fact that the label describes a concept, not an attribute.

Contemporary translation studies have questioned the possibility of literal translation, because translating always involves interpreting: ‘the neutralness and uncreativity of the literal draft is ... questionable, because any rewriting contains an interpretive stage to some degree’ (Perteghella 2004: 15). However, such practice exists, establishes differentiated roles and has consequences for the recognition of authorship in translation. We may consider such practice as a symptom of the peripheral role of translation in the theatrical world in English: in order to consider a text as performable, its status as translation has to remain invisible, and its adscription to the theatrical system has to be made visible with the signature of a playwright. In short, the status of translation is considered as inferior to that of playwriting with regard to performability. This may be one of the reasons that led Susan Bassnett to question the notion of performability, as discussed above.

Zatlin (2005) comments on literals in Anglo-American stage practices. She voices the translators' complaint that among English-speaking translators of Chekhov are reputed playwrights who do not speak Russian, with the exception of Michael Frayn (Sharon Carnicke in Zatlin 2005: 34). Sometimes there can be legal reasons for preferring literals: an existing translation of a contemporary play became unperformable when Russian playwright Aleksandr Buravsky signed an exclusive contract with a US theatre company, in which he expressed his preference for a version by an American playwright, written from a literal by a Russian speaker (*ibid.*: 26). However, collaborative translations can be very successful, especially when there are equitable relationships among the members of the collaboration networks (see *ibid.*: 53–66).

Perteghella has researched into collaborative translation and has established different typologies within a general model of theatre translation. Here we highlight the following, which involve different degrees of textual or personal collaboration (2004: 11–16):

- Collaborative translation, with exchanges between translator and playwright, often mediated by the playwright's literary agent.
- *Patchwork* or *collage* theatre. Deliberate use of different, juxtaposed translations in a *mise en scène*, a practice that is currently often associated with postmodernist productions.
- Adaptation, by a well-known playwright, from a literal translation. Perteghella distinguishes the following two phases:
 - Philological translation: the main priority is textual exactness, above theatre conventions. This is the literal version.
 - Linguistic or cultural adaptation by a prestigious playwright. This usually implies replacing linguistic or cultural referents.

An important contribution by Perteghella is the inclusion of literals within a broader frame. Although she is critical about the possibility of writing strictly literal translations, this does not limit her study and she describes different translation practices, within a broad model of collaborative theatre translation. Certainly, rather than prescribing about specific practices, it is useful to describe the contexts in which such practices are generated. Aaltonen argues that the commission of a literal translation would be justified when there is a need to bridge lesser-known languages and target theatre contexts; such translations would create the possibility of intercultural theatre exchanges (Aaltonen 2003: 152). They would not be justified, however, if the purpose were to pay less to the author of a literal, and more to a prestigious playwright (Aaltonen 2000: 44; Aaltonen 2003: 152).

Mateo (2000) comments on literals taking into account the opinions of participants in such a system in Britain, and she reminds us that translation practices are determined by the norms of every polysystem. Similarly, Bill Findlay, translator of Goldoni into Scots from a literal, justifies his motivation: in the British theatre, it is an acknowledged practice to include the 'translator as writer', or more precisely, 'the writer as translator' (2006: 46). Moreover, he defends the non-standard practice of translating from dialect into dialect, and feels more capable of writing in Scots than translating from Italian dialects. This leads to our following point: the translation as an intercultural product, but with culture as a locus of conflict, rather than of consensus.

Acculturation

Translations are rooted in the theatrical milieux of the receiving cultures; they often arise from a perceived need (or also an imposition) to import ideas, authors or discourses from

foreign cultures (Heylen 1993; Aaltonen 1996). This approach to research has been present in stage translation research from the start (e.g. in Zuber 1980; Scolnicov and Holland 1989; Brisset 1990), and continues to be an important topic in our contradictorily globalized cultures.

Throughout history, foreignizing translations have co-existed with more acculturated translations, within a broad spectrum of cultural adaptation. Cultural exchanges are not innocent and, as Aaltonen reminds us, all translation is rooted in egotism: it starts from its own culture, which tries to find its reflection in other cultures (Aaltonen 2000). Intercultural translation can also be considered as *cultural expropriation*: this is the label given by Cameron (2000) to the multicultural and multiracial interchanges in the UK in the new millennium. In intercultural or postcolonial discourse, the term *tradaptation* is used to refer to new rewritings, from non-Western perspectives (Perteghella 2004: 15–18).

The reculturating perspective cannot ignore the introduction of theatre as an ‘exotic element’, as a document of a foreign culture, where there is no intention of integrating such a culture into the target system, as Joseph Che Suh (2005: 88) reminds us. In his thesis on Cameroon playwright Oyono Mbia, he examines the notions of performability involved in Mbia’s self-translations of his plays from French into English. African plays, even if written in, or translated into, European languages, belong to African cultural systems and, therefore, must be evaluated according to African standards of performability. Thus, the self-translations by Oyono Mbia are deliberately foreignizing, to reflect the African character of the texts, rooted in the *bulu* culture. Such performability is consistent with the general tendency to Africanize colonial languages, and it also highlights the ambiguous role of the writer/self-translator who writes in non-African languages (*ibid.*: 197).

In examining stage translation and culture, it is important to study in which contexts certain translations are *not* written or performed, or which language combinations are not used or acknowledged in bilingual or multilingual contexts. Certain linguistic translation combinations are simply not performed in contexts of political tension. A clear example are the studies by Hannah Amit-Kochavi (2000, 2008), where she examines the relationship between the politics of translation and the evolution of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. She has analysed the resistances found to the performance of Arabic plays translated into Hebrew in Israel, even in theatrical and university contexts, which are allegedly more critical with official Israeli politics. Beverly Curran (2008) has explored to what extent Western plays are resistant to translation in Japan by looking at different plays translated and performed in Japan since the 1960s. The subtitle of her book, *Native Voices, Foreign Bodies*, is eloquent: verbal translation into Japanese is not enough, and cultural relocation, through the contrast between voices and bodies, is treated diversely in the different theatre contexts that generate the translations and productions analysed.

The examples above show that studies on theatre translation in the millennium have opened up to less Eurocentric views. Works such as Lindsay (2006a), on ‘translation and/of/in performance in Asia’, broaden the current understanding of stage translation to include other forms (oral summary, rewording, simultaneous interpretation) that suit different performance practices.

Suggestions for research

The final section of this chapter offers some suggestions for research. The focus is not so much on specific topics as on methodological issues.

Process, product, function

Both translation studies and theatre studies have given growing importance to the process by which a product reaches audiences in the form of translated theatre texts. In her pioneering publication in 1984, Ortrun Zuber-Skerritt (1984: 3, 10) emphasized the need to study the processes of transposing translated texts into specific languages and cultures. In theatre studies it is necessary to go beyond the analysis of the theatre text as a finished product. Keir Elam suggests changing the emphasis from ‘after’ to ‘before’, from finished performance to the phases of creation (1989: 11). This has been done in research exploring the different contexts framing translation and performance (see for instance Boyle and Johnston 2007; and Baines *et al.* 2011).

In translation studies an attention to process does not exclude looking at the product or its function. As Toury reminds us, the three ‘form one complex whole whose constitutive parts are hardly separable from one another for purposes other than methodical’ (1995: 11). The intended function for the translation and the *mise en scène* in the target culture will condition both the process and the product that will reach audiences.

Texts, metatexts, paratexts

Let us consider texts: in stage translation, there is no easy binary distinction between source and target texts. Historically, it can be difficult to trace what source texts and editions were used, whether intermediate translations were accessed, or even if there are traces of what today would be plagiarism (a historically changing concept). As regards target texts, it is worth considering if there are different dramatic and stage texts: published versions, stage versions, changes introduced throughout rehearsals, final performed texts, and even changes introduced from one performance to the next. Video recordings can also be considered as texts, in that they reproduce the stage text and its variability, and are often useful source texts from which to prepare surtitles for the stage. As regards paratexts (i.e. texts accompanying translated texts), prologues or footnotes can provide useful clues for research, although they should not always be taken at face value. An example of insightful analysis of paratexts can be found in Zaro (2007: 31–48). Finally, metatexts (i.e. texts that are presented independently and deal with other texts), are useful to contextualize views on translation and theatre at certain periods.

Another important question in research is the type of study intended; for instance, whether it will be quantitative or qualitative. Examples of quantitative research include studies on repertoires showing relations between import, production and tradition (Gallén 1995), or the statistical analysis of deletions in playtexts through censorship (Merino 1994). Examples of qualitative research can include approaches as diverse as biographies of stage translators or the reception of translated drama in specific periods and cultures (Delabastita and D’hulst 1993; Braga Riera 2009a, 2009b; Gallén 2010).

Some questions for research

The following list is not comprehensive but merely orientative. It is partially based on Delabastita (1989: 206ff) and on Williams and Chesterman (2002), but adapted to stage translation:

- Why is the chosen corpus relevant? (see Braga Riera 2009a for a careful justification of corpus).

- To what system(s) (literary, theatre, audiovisual) are the source and target texts affiliated? To what extent is this reflected in the strategies used?
- What are the source and target texts used? Are intermediate translations, from a third language, used?
- How are the target texts labelled? ‘Translations’, ‘versions’, ‘adaptations’? What does the label used mean in the specific context discussed? Is the label significant or justified in texts?
- What are the connections between verbal and non-verbal aspects in the plays being analysed? Do they complement/contradict one another?
- What is the relative agency of translators, directors, actors ... in the translation?
- What is the relative cultural status of the genre/play/author/translator in the source and target cultures?
- How are prosodic features dealt with in the translations? A useful study is that of John Sanderson (2002) on phonic resources for translating Shakespeare plays.
- In what ways do translators’ views relate to or confront theoretical methods?
- Is cultural adaptation significant? In what ways is it affected by ideological positions and how is this reflected in translated plays and repertoires?
- Is there significant diachrony between source and target texts? Between target text and its production? How does this affect the texts and performance contexts?
- How are the ‘classics’ (re)translated in the twenty-first century?
- In what ways do translators accommodate their discourse to different audiences?
- Have foreign cultural elements been retained, naturalized or deleted?
- How have taboo or polemical elements been dealt with?
- What target language has been selected? This is a significant issue in multilingual or bilingual societies.
- What geographical or social language variants are chosen or ruled out?
- Are there significant additions or reductions in translated texts? Why?
- Does the genre to which the source play originally belongs exist in the receiving culture? Do the source play’s models find a counterpart in the target culture? (See Mateo 2008, for a study on Anglo-American musicals in Spain.)
- Why are certain plays/genres translated at certain periods?
- How have ideological issues been tackled (e.g. gender or ethnicity)?
- In what ways does the genre affect the target text or the translation modality used?
- How are the needs of specific audiences met?

Related topics

stage translation; performability; authorship; acculturation

Notes

- 1 This point is arguable, since the so-called Manipulation School, like descriptive translation studies, researches translation as the product, but also the process of translation and the function of translated texts.

Further reading

Aaltonen, S. (2000) *Time-Sharing on Stage: Drama Translation in Theatre and Society*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. (This is an essential reference in the field and deals with the main topics on stage translation with both depth and clarity.)

- Ezpeleta, P. (2007) *Teatro y traducción: Aproximación interdisciplinaria desde la obra de Shakespeare*, Madrid: Cátedra. (This is a comprehensive monograph which brings together theatre studies and translation studies, including communicative, pragmatic and semantic perspectives.)
- Lindsay, J. (ed.) (2006) *Between Tongues: Translation and/Offin Performance in Asia*, Singapore: Singapore University Press. (This offers varied insights into different performance practices across Asia and explores the different translation and interpretation strategies used.)
- Upton, C.A. (ed.) (2000) *Moving Target: Theatre Translation and Cultural Relocation*, Manchester: St Jerome. (This collection combines contemporary ideological, theatrical and cultural perspectives in stage translation research.)
- Zatlin, P. (2005) *Theatrical Translation and Film Adaptation: A Practitioner's View*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. (This combines theoretical insights with the views of practitioners of stage translation.)

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News translation

Robert Holland

Shortly before 8 o'clock on the morning of 10 June 2010, on BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme, studio 'anchorman' Justin Webb read out a news story that began as follows:

Some translations suggest that the Iranian president, Mahmood Ahmadinejad, dismissed the latest UN sanction package as a 'used handkerchief', others as a 'used tissue'. Either way, they are fit for the waste bin, President Ahmadinejad said ...

There followed a brief, three-way discussion between Webb in the studio and, on telephone lines, Professor Ali Ansari (director of the Iranian Institute at the University of St Andrews) and Sir Richard Dalton (former British ambassador to Iran), concerning the issue of UN sanctions against Iran over its nuclear development programme, and the potential effects of these. Then, at about 8:12 a.m., towards the end of Chris Aldridge's reading of the 8 o'clock news bulletin, he announced:

ALDRIDGE: Iran has said it will continue its programme of nuclear enrichment, despite the UN Security Council voting to impose new sanctions. The Iranian president, Mahmood Ahmadinejad, said the UN resolution should be 'thrown in the bin, like a used handkerchief'. Here's our Tehran correspondent, John Lyne, who's in London.

LYNE: It was a predictable response from Iran, with a characteristically colourful metaphor ...

This item evoked, for me, a number of questions concerning the role of translation in the news. First, there was the clear indication that various translations of Ahmadinejad's speech were in circulation. How many different translations had the BBC seen, and how had it obtained them? What individuals and/or institutions had produced them, and for what purposes? How were they disseminated and to whom? Second, there was the issue of 'visibility' (see Venuti 1995): explicit references of this kind to translation are quite rare in news broadcasts, so the item immediately struck me as unusual. Why had the BBC viewed the existence of 'different translations' as pertinent in this case? In what ways might the difference between 'used handkerchief' and 'used tissue' have been (seen as) important? Third, there was the implication of an ongoing editorial process: in the 15 minutes or so

between Webb's and Aldridge's readings of the item, a decision seemed to have been made to run with 'used handkerchief', rather than 'used tissue', as a translation of Ahmadinejad's original words, and to drop the cautionary note regarding various different translations. Who makes such decisions? How, why and on the basis of what kinds of evidence are those decisions made?

One might, of course, proffer tentative answers to some of the above, but these answers tend, in turn, to generate further questions. For example, the difference that was highlighted in this particular case (i.e. between 'handkerchief' and 'tissue') seems fairly insignificant, so the decision (whoever made it) to plump for one rather than the other may have been quite straightforward. However, given the apparent inconsequentiality of that difference, one wonders why Webb's initial caveat was deemed necessary. Was this merely a cosmetic display of interlingual awareness on the part of the programme's producers? Did it, on the other hand, signify a more profound concern about the language of 'colourful metaphor' and its potential effects in terms of international relations? Did it indicate a degree of professional caution, predicated on the fact that various news organizations have in the past fallen foul of the Iranian authorities as a result of mistranslation? After all, in 2006 CNN was briefly banned from reporting in Iran after the network broadcast coverage of a news conference by President Ahmadinejad, in which his assertion (in Farsi) that Iran had '... a right to use nuclear technology' was translated (into English) as '... a right to use nuclear weapons' (see e.g. BBC News website 2006). Or was it perhaps intentionally ironic: an intertextual joke for news media insiders and 'news junkies' – the humour dependent upon a recognition of the trivial nature of the specified difference, coupled with an awareness of earlier, more serious problems involving translational inaccuracies and Iran's reaction to these?

I relate this story in order to illustrate the complex issues that may arise when we start to consider the role of translation in the gathering, dissemination and interpretation of news, even where – as here – the interlingual decisions to be made are ostensibly quite simple. Of course, the intricate web of relations between newsmakers, news workers, media institutions, technologies and audiences means that much of this complexity is inherent in *any* news text, whether it involves translation or not, but the presence of an interlingual (and therefore intercultural) element necessarily entails additional layers of complexity in the 'extended chain' of communicative events (Fairclough 1995) that bring news stories to our radios and television sets. The part played by translation in that chain is something that academic research has only quite recently begun to examine in detail.

News media research and translation studies

Research into the language of news media in general has been well established, in Britain at least, since the 1970s. Work by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham (e.g. Hall *et al.* 1980) and by the Glasgow Media Group (1976, 1980) studied news from a variety of perspectives (ethnographic, sociological, post-structuralist, Marxist, feminist, etc.) and called into serious question journalistic claims of impartiality and objectivity. Since then there has been a growing academic focus upon news as discourse, and a steady stream of academic publications (e.g. Hartley 1982; van Dijk 1988; Bell 1991; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995; Scollon 1998; Bell and Garrett 1998; Volkmer 1999; Bednarek 2006; Montgomery 2007), critically examining the roles of both print and broadcast news from sociological, sociolinguistic, corpus-linguistic and discourse-analytic points of view. Nor are critiques of the news media limited to the purely academic

domain: more populist ‘exposés’ by media insiders (e.g. Porter 1985; Davies 2009) have argued that distortion, dissimulation and propaganda are commonplace in news text.

A substantial amount of research has been focused on the ideological dimension of news, and on whether, to what extent and how news may perform the multiple functions of informing, reflecting and/or shaping public opinion. However, despite a burgeoning interest in linguistic aspects of globalization (see e.g. Fairclough 2006; Coupland 2010), researchers have paid relatively little heed to the role of translation, thus neglecting issues that have begun to be addressed only recently, and perhaps particularly since the events of 11 September 2001 (Valdeón 2008: 299). These issues are highly salient in the context of recent political and economic crises, whatever our position might be with respect to debate concerning the so-called clash of civilizations (Huntington 1996; Rashid 1998). If, for example, ‘market globalism’ (Steger 2002, 2005) is constituted in the global dissemination of particular neo-liberal claims (that globalization necessarily entails the liberalization of markets, the spread of democracy, and so on), and that competing ‘globalisms’ (Steger 2009) involve attempts at the worldwide propagation of alternative discourses (e.g. of Islamism, or of ‘global justice’), then the problem of translation is thrown into sharp relief. For any ideology with global pretensions, the ability to transfer ideas across languages, societies and cultures is clearly indispensable, and in this translation is self-evidently a key factor.

Since Cronin’s (2003) groundbreaking study of translation’s place in the global economic, political and linguistic landscapes of the early twenty-first century, there has been an increasing amount of interest in news translation – news being one of the most obvious, widespread and abundant forms of information transfer across national, sociocultural and linguistic boundaries. Broad approaches range from globalization theory (e.g. Bielsa 2005), to critical discourse analysis (e.g. Kuo and Nakamura 2005; van Leeuwen 2006), to narrative theory (Baker 2006). The Politics and Economics of Translation in Global Media (hereafter PETGM) project, coordinated from 2003 to 2007 by the (now, sadly, defunct) Centre for Translation and Comparative Cultural Studies (CTCCS) at the University of Warwick, had an explicit focus on translation in the news, and has generated a useful and wide-ranging body of work, reflecting the multidisciplinary nature of the area (see Bassnett 2005a; Conway and Bassnett 2006; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). It is clear, though, that the nature of modern news translation presents a number of challenges for research, on both theoretical and empirical levels.

News translation research: issues of theory and method

Historically, much of translation theory was developed with respect to the translation of literary and biblical texts and may not therefore be readily applicable to the kinds of translation that occur in the gathering and dissemination of news. Take, for example, the long-standing debate over ‘domesticating’ and ‘foreignizing’ translation strategies. Simply speaking, domestication aims to produce translations that comply with target culture norms (lexico-grammatical, rhetorical, organizational, discursive), thus ‘investing the foreign-language text with domestic significance’ (Venuti 2000: 468), while foreignization seeks to preserve, in translation, some of the ‘foreignness’ of original, source texts. If a translator has adopted a foreignizing strategy, then the reader of her translation is likely to be struck by how strange (‘foreign’, ‘exotic’, ‘other’) the text seems; if, on the other hand, she has taken a domesticating approach, the resulting text is likely to conform much more closely to the reader’s pre-existing expectations.

There are clearly a range of aesthetic and ethical problems involved in the decision to domesticate or to foreignize in translation and, in contemporary conditions (given the

culturally homogenizing effects of globalization, for instance), economic and political issues, too. Venuti (1995), indeed, argues that domestication constitutes a kind of violence against the original text and its cultural source, and that foreignizing translation – into dominant world languages like English, particularly – can be seen as the more ethical approach: ‘a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism in the interests of democratic geopolitical relations’ (ibid.: 20). However true this might be with regard to translation of literature, ‘acculturation’ (i.e. domestication) may nevertheless be considered more appropriate – even necessary – for translation in other domains and genres. Bassnett (2005b: 123) points out that ‘[t]echnical, legal, scientific translation acculturates as best practice’, and goes on to argue (ibid.: 127) that ‘[a]cculturation is essential in news reporting’, on the grounds that clear communication is of primary importance here, and that a foreignizing approach would be likely to create obstacles to understanding for the target audience.

Thus, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) suggest that skopos theory (see Vermeer 2000; also Nord, this volume) may provide a useful point of departure for the examination of news translation, because it focuses on the *purpose* of a given translation in the target culture, rather than on the ‘accurate’ or ‘faithful’ transference into the target language of what was said in the original. In other words, translation requires a good understanding of the relations between source and target cultures and of the respective audiences, and can be analysed in terms of the extent to which it may produce an ‘equivalent effect’ in the target culture situation. However, as they go on to point out (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 117–18), the sheer diversity of expectations with regard to the structure and style of news reports – not only between different societies, but also between different media organizations (newspapers, TV/radio stations, etc.) within one society – may stretch notions such as ‘target culture situation’ and ‘equivalent effect’ to breaking point.

This difficulty is compounded by the question of exactly how the target audience is construed in the mind of the translator, at a time when that audience may be geographically scattered and culturally heterogeneous. If the translator aims to domesticate, then he/she must have a clear sense of those for whom he/she is domesticating, but in the age of globalization this issue is problematic – especially, perhaps, if he/she is translating news into a ‘global language’ like English. The audience for such a translation could be in Birmingham, New York, Auckland, Sydney, Montreal or Des Moines – to say nothing of countries (like India) where English has a range of important institutional functions, or places in the non-English-speaking world where it might be picked up by local English-speaking journalists and re-translated for use in domestic news broadcasts. What, then, is the skopos of the translation? How do we define the target culture and audience? Some researchers (e.g. Clausen 2004; Orengo 2005) have argued that we may account for the global distribution of news through a theory of ‘localization’, whereby global news stories are ‘localized’ for particular linguistic and political groups. Others suggest that the output of major international news providers like CNN might best be seen as ‘globalised parochialism’ (Gambier 2006: 16). The issue of interrelationships between global and local is problematic and, while we might agree with Vermeer (2000: 227) that ‘even a communication “to the world” has a set of addressees’, the identity and nature of media audiences – in this age of satellites and the Internet – are by no means always clear.

Of course, problems inherent in theorizing news translation have not deterred more practical studies in the area. In the most general terms, empirical research into translation may take a primarily *product*-oriented or a primarily *process*-oriented approach: the former focusing mainly on translations themselves (i.e. examining translations as texts, and

analysing their relationships to original texts in source languages); the latter more concerned with questions of how translations are produced, by whom and in what contexts. Of course the two can be combined in the investigation of how particular procedural and contextual arrangements affect translations as *products*, and this ‘mixed’ approach may be especially useful in the study of news translation, where the configuration of contextual factors is potentially very complex and time constraints, in particular, can be extreme (see below).

Product-oriented research on the language of news commonly takes the form of case studies, where reports of (a) particular event(s) are compared across national, linguistic and institutional boundaries. A number of analytic approaches are taken (stylistic, socio-linguistic, diachronic, critical, etc.), not all of which focus upon translation, although translation studies as a discipline may have a good deal to learn from the wide variety of perspectives. Contributions to the volume edited by Thomson and White (2008), for example, are mainly grounded in systemic-functional linguistics, and treat issues of translation per se only incidentally if at all, but such multilingual case studies would surely provide a useful starting point for exploration of the role that translation may play in producing different representations, in different linguistic and cultural contexts, of the same news events.

Work more tightly focused on translation in the news has examined a range of issues, from translation as a process of ‘localization’ in specific contexts (Kang 2007), to the effect of translation on informative and persuasive linguistic functions (Valdeón 2007), to the role played by English as a global language in processes of ‘audience design’ (Holland 2006). Gambier (2006: 9) points out that much existing work focuses on news about international politics, conflict and war, and goes on to suggest other potentially useful topics: the ways in which translation of news items may indicate receptiveness or resistance to social change; the ways in which rhetorical hyperbole and understatement are treated in translation; and the effects of media ‘framing’ and translational ‘reframing’.

News translation: constraints and issues

That research has yet to provide a clear, overall picture of news translation as a system should perhaps come as no surprise, since there does not appear to be any clearly established, unified process through which the translation of news occurs. Rather, there are a number of possible ‘routes’ that a news text might follow from source language to target language and on to broadcast, depending upon the particular type of news ‘event’ and where this takes place, the particular news-gathering organization(s) covering it, the languages involved, the human, financial and technological resources available in source and/or target locations, and so on. Thus there is a complex range of constraints and problems which impact upon processes of news translation, and which may have implications for translation research in this area.

Time pressure

Above all, perhaps, there is the issue of *time*. In view of the market-driven nature of contemporary society, competition between various media organizations to have the exclusive, or first, or best coverage of a news story is obviously intense. Moreover, while technological advances make communications ever quicker, they also raise *expectations* of speed. The consequent pressure on time has been noted by various researchers (see e.g. Tsai 2005: 66–7) and it is clear that any analysis of translation in the news must take into account the hectic pace of news gathering, production and dissemination in general:

Given time-space compression as a feature of the global age and the importance of time-to-market as a guiding principle of economic activity in the post-Fordist economy, the pressure is on translators to deliver translations as quickly as possible, facilitating the global dissemination of goods and services.

(Cronin 2005: 111)

Resources

In this context, it seems that the general rule with regard to news translation is to deploy whatever resources are most readily and quickly available. Asked how this principle works in everyday practice, Martin Ayling (Senior ENG Cameraman, Sky News)¹ pointed out:

We have several polyglots in the office, they work the foreign desk, who generally will sit down and listen to an incoming foreign feed or material sent in, then translate it. Or find a ‘grab’² that the journo [journalist] is looking for.

(Ayling 2009)

Of course, not all news organizations are equal in terms of the linguistic resources available to them. At the time of writing, the BBC provides news in 32 languages through its World Service network, employing native speakers of those languages to produce radio news and current affairs programmes and constantly updated website newsfeeds. However, as Menuk Suwondo, head of the BBC World Service Indonesian Section, stresses, these people are journalists, and do not see themselves as translators:

All members of the editorial team are journalists (not translators). Our work involves field reporting, interviewing, writing, re-writing, programme producing (audio, text and video); researching, translating and presenting ... We do not have any specialist translator. Translation is part of the journalists’ daily tasks.

(Suwondo 2010)

World Service journalists commonly work directly in the language of the target audience, so straightforward translation from English may constitute only a very small part of the job. However, translation into English:

is increasing as we share more programme materials with other BBC departments (English or other languages).

When required, each language Service has the responsibility to translate relevant news items from their area into English to be shared with other language Services ... If a story from Indonesia was considered worth sharing with other colleagues ... the Regional Executive Editor will ask the Indonesian Duty Editor to make the story available in English. One of the Indonesian team on the day will then be tasked to translate the relevant material. After being checked by the Duty Editor, the translated material will be put in the system for others to use.

(Suwondo 2010)

Even for such a large and well-resourced institution as the BBC, however, it is obviously impossible to have competent speakers of all the world’s languages on hand at all times,

so news organizations maintain lists of people who may be able to provide translation of more ‘exotic’ languages and/or in relation to ‘big’ stories. In response to questions about sourcing translation of press conference statements, Tim Miller (Senior Foreign News Editor at Sky News) offered the following information:

Sky News likes to take things ‘live’ if at all possible. If there is a short notice press conference hopefully it will be accompanied by a translation from the source (EU [European Union] or UN [United Nations] are good at this). Failing that we have a number of employees who are able to simultaneously translate, [and] we stick them in the sound booth pronto. If the Live presser³ is in Farsi we may be in a spot of bother. We have a list of contacts who at reasonably short notice can get in to do the job for us. We can usually get the job covered with 2 hours’ notice – anything less than that and we are in trouble. Prices can vary from 200 pounds for a one off to 750 to a language agency. Obviously we have to make a judgement on whether it’s worth the cost for the presser – Quite a few press conferences have not been as billed and have been a waste of time.

(Miller 2010)

Miller’s commentary suggests another issue – that is, a blurring, in the news media, of the distinction between translation and interpreting (see also Tsai 2005: 66–7). I do not refer here simply to the use of the phrase ‘simultaneously translate’, but to the underlying implications of ‘two hours’ notice’ and of press conferences (not) being ‘as billed’. Journalists are obviously forewarned of upcoming press conferences, but may also be forearmed with text, in the form of ‘leaks’ or draft statements issued in advance. If the journalist/translator listens to a statement in the sound booth and must produce a version of that statement in another language, live to air, then his/her job is basically that of an interpreter, but if he/she has had prior access to a draft written text of that statement (and/or has the text in front of him/her), is he/she then more translator than interpreter? If the ‘newsmaker’ delivering the statement then departs in significant ways from that text, does he/she become – once again – more interpreter than translator? Whatever the precise situation, the practice of news translation here – as elsewhere – challenges traditional categories in the field of translation studies.

The role of news agencies

Beyond the publicly accessed news media (the newspapers we read, the TV news bulletins we watch, the radio stations we listen to, the news websites we visit ...) are the various news agencies. Some of these are government-owned and/or -controlled (the Xinhua News Agency in China, for instance); others are essentially profit-making enterprises, although, as Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 37) note, many enjoy large government subsidies. The BBC in fact acts as both public-access news media and as news agency: its Monitoring Service, which is substantially funded by the UK government, compiles ‘political news, comment and reaction from the world’s press, radio, TV and the internet’ and translates reports ‘into English from more than 100 languages’ (see www.monitor.bbc.co.uk/what_we_do/index.htm).

Although they are not normally accessed by the general public, the big international news agencies like Reuters, Associated Press (AP) and Agence France-Presse (AFP) are important to the present discussion because of the services they provide to client organizations

among the public-access media. They can in some respects be viewed as ‘vast translation agencies’ (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 56), but provide no systematic training in translation (see also Bassnett 2006: 5) and ‘employ journalists rather than translators because only the former have the specific skills needed for the job: an experience of journalistic work and a precise knowledge of journalistic genres and style’ (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 57). Their output nevertheless serves as a source of translated text for broadcasters, and/or as a means of checking translations that have been obtained from elsewhere.

Translation ‘on location’

With regard to translation in the field, news organizations commonly depend upon a network of local contacts and ‘fixers’ to provide translation/interpreting services:

In the obvious locations we have long established fixers and translators – we trust them. The local bureau chief will vet these individuals who have usually come recommended from reliable contacts. If we are in a new location without known fixers, it is the responsibility of the news team to make do and cross check as best they can. If we feel a particular line is contentious we get it checked in [the] UK.

(Miller 2010)

Martin Ayling described the responsibility of the news team in the field more bluntly:

Generally speaking, when in the field, we hire locals who have a good command of English and hope they don’t fuck us over with the translation. Obviously, the only way we really know that has happened is when a viewer contacts us after it’s gone to air and shouts or laughs down the phone.

(Ayling 2009)

The varied and shifting relationships between journalists, institutions, resources and contextual factors in the process of news translation raise numerous issues about translations as products, and about how we – as ‘consumers’ of news – approach these. I will limit myself here to a brief discussion of just three broad points: one concerned with language in general, another with the English language in particular, and the third with problems of journalistic values and ‘truth’ as related to translation.

Linguistic constraints

The difficulties mentioned above regarding the translator’s conception of target audience are compounded by the complex configurations of linguistic style and structure that are ‘culturally approved’ within a given society and its constituent discourse communities. In approaching the task of transferring meaning across languages/cultures, translators must, of course, deal with language at a number of levels, for example:

- lexis
- clause structure
- patterns of argumentation/rhetoric
- information content
- textual organization

- register
- genre
- discourse

and, where translating spoken language, must also take various prosodic features like stress and intonation into account. News translators are therefore constantly faced with decisions regarding potential conflicts between these various levels as they are realized in different sociocultural and linguistic systems. At the level of register, for example, one thinks of the rather informal, ‘conversationalized’ style of political speech-making that has become fashionable in Britain (see e.g. Fairclough 2000), compared with the much more formal style expected in many Asian societies. When translating a Tony Blair speech from English into, say, Japanese, to what extent should the translator attempt to retain the informality, at the cost of translational ‘loss’ at other levels or, conversely, ‘reformatize’ the speech in Japanese and so hide this feature of the original from the Japanese audience? Where an Indonesian president avoids using the nominal phrase ‘the international community’ because this might have negative connotations for his local audience at the level of discourse (see Holland 2006: 244–5), is it nonetheless legitimate for the Indonesian-English translator to employ the phrase because the context strongly predicts its use for an Anglo-American audience, at the level of genre?

Similar interlingual demands are made of any translator, of course, but two main factors make the problems particularly acute in news translation: one is the time pressures to which I have already alluded; the other relates to the role of news as a mode of intercultural communication. In view of the fact that different cultures encode information differently in language, address other people in different ways, make systematically different choices on what to foreground, or downplay, or leave unsaid, we might envisage any really ‘adequate’ translation as necessitating an almost infinite regress of footnotes, explaining the cultural significance of a speaker’s linguistic choices. After all, one culture’s ‘poetic licence’ or ‘colourful metaphor’ may be another’s deadly insult, and insofar as news affects an audience’s view of other nations, the avoidance of misunderstanding is no trivial matter. Hence, the business of news translation involves constant tensions between more accurate representation of the source culture and more effective communication with the target audience – tensions that the translator must commonly resolve at high speed. As previously noted, the default solution is to ‘domesticate’ and to prioritize informational content, but whether it is ever really possible to ‘make choices that guarantee both respect of cultural difference and attention to the target public, notwithstanding difficulties brought by the issue of speed’ (Bani 2006: 37) is by no means clear.

The role of English

My second point concerns the pre-eminent role of English in the flow of news copy around the world. Increasingly, non-English-speaking countries make use of their own English-language resources in order to try to ensure that they ‘speak to the world’ in their own voices, rather than relying on translations filed by the big news agencies – in other words, providing their own English translations of, say, statements made by political leaders. This, along with the fact that many countries around the world now have their own English-language news channels, often obviates any need for public-access news media to rely upon ‘official’ translations (e.g. from relevant government departments in the source country). Where English-language news services exist, these are routinely monitored by broadcasters:

we certainly listen in. They are pretty reliable. Very quickly after the words, Reuters and AP file their copy which confirms what we have heard. By the time the official translations have come out we have usually moved on.

(Miller 2010)

However, linguistic resources (like others) are not equally distributed, and so it may be that richer, more ‘Western’-oriented countries are better placed to address the international audience in this way than are poorer and/or less ‘Western’-oriented ones. If, for instance, we examine the official Iranian English-language version of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s controversial speech to the UN at Geneva in April 2009 (Ahmadinejad 2009), and compare this to the BBC’s English-language version (BBC News website 2009), we find that these are in some respects quite different texts. I am not a speaker of Farsi, and cannot therefore comment on their respective relationships to the original, although no Farsi is required to see that the Iranian version is somewhat ‘less English’ than the BBC’s – containing various lexico-grammatical infelicities (from a British speaker’s perspective, anyway) that are absent from the latter. However, other kinds of difference are apparent, too. Compare, for example, the following short extracts:

From the Iranian UN High Commission translation (Ahmadinejad 2009):

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let us take a look at the UN Security Council which is one of the legacies of World War One and World War Two. What was the logic behind their granting themselves the Veto rights? How can such a logic comply with humanitarian or spiritual values?

From the BBC News website (2009):

Ladies and gentlemen, look at the Security Council which is the legacy of World War I and II. Based on what logic have they been given the right to veto? With which human and divine value is this logic compatible?

Potentially important differences here include the choice of an active/reflexive verb form in the Iranian version (‘their granting themselves’) as opposed to a passive one in the BBC’s (‘have they been given’), and the use of ‘divine’ (BBC) as contrasted with ‘spiritual’. I do not have space to discuss the two versions in detail here, but it is always worth considering the extent to which translational choices may reflect the sociocultural and political position of the translator (and of the institution for which she works), and how those choices may affect audience interpretation. It is equally important to consider the relative impact of such alternative versions: how many people, in the ‘international community’ will have accessed the BBC’s translation, and how many the Iranian UN High Commission’s?

Accuracy and objectivity?

This brings me to my third and final point, concerning ‘accuracy’ and ‘objectivity’ as journalistic values with regard to issues of translation. When talking with broadcast news journalists, one commonly hears statements like, ‘We don’t editorialize like the newspapers

do', or 'We simply shoot all the angles and let the viewers make up their own minds'. In Britain, at least, there is a degree of truth in this: it is difficult to imagine any of the major broadcast news providers taking the kinds of overt political positions that we regularly see in the tabloid press or claiming, for example, that their coverage has determined the outcome of a general election – as *The Sun* newspaper did in 1992. Those news workers with whom I corresponded in preparing this chapter were quite clear on this point, insisting that they:

try hard not to put any 'slant' on a translation. We actually pride ourselves on being impartial ... even something as small as an almost imperceptible shaking of the head by the newsreader when talking about a mother who has murdered her children etc is frowned upon.

(Ayling 2009)

Similarly, Suwondo (2010) stressed the BBC's 'impartiality and independence' and 'rigorous editorial training, workshop[s] and discussions ... [to ensure] that these values [are] being upheld', and referred to constant debate within the organization about if and when it is (il)legitimate to use evaluatively loaded words like 'terrorist'.

However, it seems to me that news journalists and linguists often 'speak different languages' in this particular respect: the former a language of impartiality and objectivity; the latter one of discursively constructed representations, wherein the very possibility of objective discourse may be called into question. While I do not subscribe to a 'strong' relativism, some basic lessons drawn from the social constructionist approach need to be considered with regard to news – and especially, perhaps, where translation is involved. Many broadcast (and print) journalists may genuinely aspire to impartiality but, given the inevitable 'gain' and 'loss' that is involved in any translation, translators are constantly forced to make decisions about what to 'lose' and what to 'gain' in the attempt to convey a message across languages and cultures – decisions that can only be made on the basis of their own (ultimately subjective) experience. The problems become more acute as the constraints imposed by the nature of broadcast news come into play. For instance, selecting a 'grab' from a longer text, to fit into a 'package' of strictly limited duration for broadcast, involves judgements concerning what is most important, and what is most relevant for the target audience. News teams are, no doubt, 'sensitive to possible misunderstandings' and do all they can to 'put the "grab" in context' (Miller 2010), but, simply put, those judgements may not reflect the priorities of the person who uttered the original words, in the original language and the original social context.

Conclusions and future directions

What emerges, then, from the study of translation in the news, is a complex and sometimes confusing picture of journalists-as-translators, bought-in specialist translators, *in situ* contacts and 'fixers', news agencies and governmental departments, all generating translated text which may then be circulated at near-instantaneous speeds around the globe and accessed, sampled, edited and/or reproduced (in whole or in part) in various forms of broadcast news. Meanwhile, the context of a highly competitive market, and the increased time-to-market pressures engendered by advanced communications technology, create a knot of tensions between various professional, ethical and commercial concerns (e.g. the need to be quick or 'exclusive', vs. the need to be accurate). I might also suggest that there

is a certain amount of linguistic naivety on the part of media organizations, concerning the problematic nature of translation as an intercultural activity and its vexed relationship with idealized concepts like ‘accuracy’, ‘objectivity’ and ‘impartiality’.

By the same token, academic studies of news translation, and of the language of news media in general, need to be sensitive to the exigencies and constraints of the media’s work. An underlying theme of many such studies is that the media misrepresent events in systematic ways. To whatever extent this may or may not be true, we should be careful to distinguish between individual news workers, specific news organizations and overarching economic, political and technological systems, and to display an appropriate academic caution about any general claims. As academics, and perhaps particularly as linguists, we should avoid simplistic misrepresentation of the media even as we critique mediatized misrepresentations of the world. Failure to do so is likely to result only in the kind of undisguised disdain shown by the BBC’s John Simpson for serious academic work:

For years there were regular reports from something called the Glasgow Media Group which tried to prove that the BBC was ... biased against the Labour Party and the Left.
(*Simpson 1998: 301*)

I have already outlined various general questions that might usefully be asked about news translation processes, about the impact these may have upon translation-as-product and, therefore, their implications for intercultural communication. Research investigating those processes must be substantially ethnographic in nature: in order to understand how news translation is carried out, and to learn how (when, where, why, by whom ...) translations are disseminated, approved, sampled, edited and broadcast, we must ask those involved, observe them at work, and/or participate ourselves. Outcomes of the University of Warwick’s PETGM project include several such studies, both by media ‘insiders’ (e.g. Tsai 2005, 2010) and researchers from ‘outside’ (e.g. Hautanen 2006).

An area in which a great deal more work could usefully be done is that of audience analysis. A sense of audience is clearly of central importance to many of those involved in the production and dissemination of news – from large media organizations to individual journalists and/or translators – and academic critiques of news media output are commonly predicated on the assumption that news as discourse has certain effects upon the public at large. However, evidence for such claims is notoriously difficult to demonstrate, and this difficulty perhaps accounts for why research into media audiences is sometimes viewed, from a historical perspective, as:

a pattern of alternating cycles. In one cycle, the audience is seen as comparatively passive and weak in the face of powerful mass media. In the next cycle, the audience is seen as comparatively active and powerful, and it is the limits of media influence that are stressed. Then the field cycles back to the first view and the media are seen as sovereign once again.

(*Swanson 1996: 53*)

A comprehensive theory of the audience-media relationship is certainly elusive, and perhaps unattainable, but studies examining audience reception of broadcast news across societies (see e.g. el-Nawawy 2006), with a focus on translation as a factor, are possible and must be encouraged. Is it possible to test ways in which news translation actually affects news audiences, for example in changing their beliefs or reinforcing existing beliefs about the

source culture? In this and in other respects, the investigation of news translation may be most productive at the interface between translation studies and mass communications research.

What is not, I think, in doubt is the importance of developing better awareness (on all sides) of the importance of news translation in facilitating and/or impeding intercultural communication. As Schäffner puts it:

It is through translation that information is made available to addressees beyond national borders; and it is very frequently the case that reactions in one country to statements that were made in another country are actually reactions to the information as it was provided in translation.

(Schäffner 2004: 120)

After all, while any effect of news media on an audience's attitudes and beliefs remains a matter of debate, the form and content of news may indeed turn out to have such effects – for example, in serving to bolster or undermine support for foreign policies pursued by that audience's government. In the spirit of promoting informed, democratic choice, then, perhaps we should propose the use of on-air warnings, along the lines of those which announce that an upcoming broadcast contains strobe lighting, flash photography, graphic violence, 'strong language' or 'scenes of a sexual nature':

The following news story involves translation into English of a speech originally given in Farsi. While we have done everything possible to provide a clear and accurate English version of the speech, difficulties involved in translating culture-specific lexical items and rhetorical features may mean that the translation has a rather different import for English-speaking listeners than the original speech would have had for its Farsi-speaking audience, and may disturb some viewers.

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Related topics

broadcast news; intercultural communication; globalization; linguistic resources; news values; representation; translation

Notes

- 1 ENG is electronic news-gathering (as distinct from studio camera operator).
- 2 A 'grab' – i.e. a part of a recorded event that is seen as particularly salient, or as somehow encapsulating the event, and which the journalist wants to use as part of a 'package' to be broadcast.
- 3 'presser' – i.e. press conference.

Further reading

- Bielsa, Esperança and Bassnett, Susan (2009) *Translation in Global News*, London: Routledge. (This is a wide-ranging and detailed account of the key role played by translation in the global dissemination of news. It is essential reading for anyone with an interest in news as an aspect of globalization.)
- n.a. (2005) *Language and Intercultural Communication* 5(2). (A special edition of the journal dedicated to news translation, comprising six papers written from various theoretical, professional and text-analytic perspectives, plus a guest editorial piece by Bassnett.)
- Thomson, Elizabeth A. and White, Peter R.R. (eds) (2008) *Communicating Conflict: Multilingual Case Studies of the News Media*, London: Continuum. (This is a less obvious choice, in that the case studies which make up the volume focus *not* on translation but on the application of systemic-functional linguistics and appraisal theory to analysing news reports of conflict. However, I think that the unusual range of national/linguistic contexts discussed (Chinese, French, Greek, Indonesian, Japanese ...) and the issues examined across those contexts ('reporter voice', rhetorical structure of news text, etc.) make this a potentially fruitful read in terms of suggesting future directions in translation research.)

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Approaching localization

Chan Sin-wai

Localization, as explained by Esselink (2003: 67), is about customizing things for a ‘local’ audience, a process that involves ‘taking a product and making it linguistically, technically and culturally appropriate to the target locale where it will be used and sold’. Localization can be defined linguistically (Chan 2004: 134) as translating a product to suit the target users, technically as adjusting technical specifications to suit the local market, and culturally as following the norms and conventions of the target community.

Definitions of localization

Though localization can be regarded macroscopically as an umbrella concept covering any activity, including translation, that serves the interest of the local community, it is conventionally and computationally interpreted as referring to two major types of localization: software localization and web localization.

Software localization refers to the process of adapting and translating a software application into another language to make it linguistically and culturally appropriate for a local market. There are differences between software localization and traditional document translation. While translation is an activity performed on finalized source text, software localization is the translation and adaptation of a software product and its documentation. Software localization projects are usually undertaken while the source product is still in development so as to have simultaneous shipment of all language versions. Translation, therefore, is only one of the activities in a localization project; other activities include project management, software engineering, testing and desktop publishing.

Web localization, on the other hand, involves the translation of the software’s user interface or information on a web page into another language, thus allowing greater worldwide acceptance of the product. The main purpose of localization is therefore to maximize the understandability and usability of a product so that it can be used in different parts of the world with optimum effectiveness. Figures by Internet World Stats in 2009 revealed that there were an estimated 1.8 billion Internet users globally, of which Asia comprised 42.4 per cent, or a total of 764,435,900 Internet users (www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm). Localizing a product into an Asian language means that a product becomes accessible to

the huge non-English-speaking market in Asia. Web localization, in short, is the translation of a website into a specific language, which is an efficient and cost-effective means to expand market share and increase product sales.

Web localization is actually much the same as software localization, as aptly put by Pym (2010: 1): 'The localization of a website differs from non-hypertext translation with respect to the identification of translatable elements, the tools needed to render them, their non-linearity, the way in which the translation process is prepared and coordinated, and the extent of the changes that may be introduced.' Since websites are regularly or frequently modified and updated, web localization is also characterized by the translation of new and changed content with the use of translation memories. The rapid growth of the software and web localization industry is indicative of the increasing popularity of localization tools in the world of translation and e-commerce.

Localization, internationalization and globalization

Localization is closely related to processes of internationalization and globalization (see Cronin, this volume). Internationalization is the first step of localization, which in turn means to globalize a software product, and both internationalization and localization are the key parts in the globalization process. Internationalization covers all the activities in the development process that can adapt a product or program to different countries and cultures or locales, thus enabling a product at a technical level for localization. In practice, this means no language-dependent or -specific information, such as currencies, dates, times, should be included in the program codes so as to make it neutral and functional. Software internationalization is the first task before adapting software to a particular country.

Procedurally speaking, a software product that is to be localized has to be internationalized at its earliest development stage. It will then be localized in the target languages, such as English localization, German localization and French localization, resulting in globalizing it for English application, German application and French application.

History of the localization industry

The localization industry as we know it today has its beginnings in the late 1970s. At that time translators began to form companies that could offer professional language services. Besides doing translations, these language service providers (LSPs) began to engage themselves in translation project management. Starting in the early 1980s, many software developers, whose products were mainly published in the language they spoke, realized that they had to localize their products in order to sell them overseas (cf. Esselink 2000). LSPs also began to embrace technology to improve services. At that time the work of localization was performed either by single-language vendors (SLVs) of small companies or multi-language vendors (MLVs) of international corporations that worked on large-volume translation projects into multiple languages. This period can be considered the beginning of localization.

An important trend began to take shape in the 1990s. Many localization vendors either merged with others or were acquired so that a broader range of services could be offered to more customers and a larger market share could be gained. Examples of major consolidations in the late 1990s were the acquisitions of Alpnet, Sykes and Trados by SDL, Mendez by Lernout & Hauspie, and Mendez, Berlitz, Planet Leap and Bowne by Lionbridge.

By 2000 the most popular localization languages were French, Italian, German, Spanish (FIGS), Brazilian Portuguese and Japanese. Around 80 per cent of the localization work

was outsourced by clients, and the major source language was English. Due to taxation and the availability of skilled engineers, Ireland has been the world centre of localization. Most major software firms have a significant presence in this country. The largest markets for localized products have been France, Germany and Japan. Medium-sized markets are Italy, Spain, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands. Software developers often want their products localized into French, Italian, German, Spanish and Japanese first. These languages may be followed by Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch or Brazilian Portuguese (Esselink 2003: 1–24).

At present, the localization industry grows at an annual average of 30 per cent, and the need for localization specialists is more obvious than ever. Translators need more computer knowledge, while engineers need more language skills. As a result of this development, many translation institutions and universities have begun to offer localization courses.

Aspects of localization

Software and web localization can be studied taking into account five different aspects: (i) computational; (ii) linguistic; (iii) cultural; (iv) economic; and (v) legal.

Computational aspects

Most programmers design software that generally addresses local requirements. Software localization will certainly enlarge the pool of software users. The field of software localization is growing fast. There are a large number of software developers who look for companies to assist them with the globalization of their systems. Failing to localize software severely limits its sales potential. It is very important that the localized software retains the functionality of the original while making changes in the following areas:

- Programming guidelines: there are some parts of the internationalized program that should remain unchanged, including the programming language keywords such as ‘if’ and ‘char’, and the variable names for data types such as ‘string’ and ‘integer’ cannot be changed. Command names, such as ‘sort’, have to be retained while system environment variables, such as ‘path’ and ‘display’, should remain the same regardless of the locale.
- Programming languages: not all programming languages are equally suitable for developing international applications. Centura is not suitable. Delphi and Borland Builder only offer limited support as they do not use Unicode. C or C++ and Windows resources, as they use Unicode and they separate code and localizable information, can process resources directly. Java and .NET, such as C# and Visual Basic 7, are suitable for localization.
- Graphic user interface (GUI): the GUI defines how the various elements look and function. An effective user interface is the key to a successful program. Localization of the user interface would be easier if context information were available. It should also be noted that most translations get longer when translated from English to other European languages. The final internationalization step is to change the user interface in such a way that it can accommodate long translations. One of the solutions for this is to set every user interface item as wide as possible.
- Dialogue box resizing: the dialogue box is a type of window used to enable reciprocal communication or ‘dialogue’ between a computer and its user. Most of the operating systems on the market support the use of tabbed dialogue boxes. It should be noted

that default messages may have to be resized to fit the box size and the length of a message may be truncated if the message exceeds the storage of a buffer. A buffer is a storage used to compensate for a difference in rate of flow of data when transferring data from one device to another. It is therefore necessary to change the size of the user interface component to allow for text expansion or text swell.

- Double-byte enabling: codes are also problematic in localization. Characters in Indo-European languages, for example, are one byte, while it takes two bytes to encode a single Chinese, Japanese or Korean character. In software localization the buffer may not be able to accommodate more bytes than it was originally set. This would cause technical problems to localize software that was based on one-byte languages, to two-/ three-byte languages. Chinese, for example, is double-byte, while Japanese can be single-byte, double-byte or triple-byte for Kana and Kanji. When an English message is translated into Japanese, the translation may be truncated as a result of buffer storage.
- Menu bar: a menu bar displays a list of machine functions for selection by operator. What is displayed varies from program to program. In the case of Microsoft Word, we have *File* 檔案, *Edit* 編輯, *View* 檢視, *Insert* 插入, *Format* 格式, *Tools* 工具, *Table* 表格, *Window* 視窗, and *Help* 說明. In the case of Visual Basic, other functions such as Project, Debug and Run are added.
- Command buttons: command buttons, or simply buttons, can be clicked to initiate a series of actions by the computer according to what is put down in the algorithm. Buttons labelled with 'Print' and 'Exit' are commonplace. For a software product such as a computer translation system, we have buttons like 'Translate' or more specific labels such as 'CE' (漢英) and 'EC' (英漢).
- Packaging elements: packaging elements refer to functions that are included in the program's package, such as Spell Check for a word processor and Slide Show for PowerPoint. In the case of localizing a software product for Chinese users, Spell Check may not be needed.
- Online help: for some programs, such as Visual Basic, pressing Help opens the online assistance. Online help in a software product might include RoboHelp, WebWorks Help, and Doc-to-Help. Efforts should be made to ensure that the same terminology is used for both the program and the documentation, which can be achieved with the use of computer-aided translation systems (see [Figure 25.1](#)).
- Readme file: a Readme file provides important information about the software. It usually contains file contents, ways to open files, and interpretation of data in the files.
- User guide: a user guide includes detailed information on the components and operation of the software. Localization of the user guide is basically document translation, which can be done by a computer translation system or computer-aided translation system.
- Graphics: graphics are symbols produced by a process, such as handwriting, drawing or printing. In the process of software localization, embedded graphics are a frequent source of problems and special consideration must be given to the number and type of graphics. What is more, text should not be used alongside graphics such as the use of the word 'help' when a question mark on the button serves the same purpose.
- Icon: an icon is a graphic presentation of an object on a computer screen. Translating icons in HTML format is not an easy task for some localization software.
- Hot-keys and short-cut keys: adjustments may be required, as the names of the keys are localized.

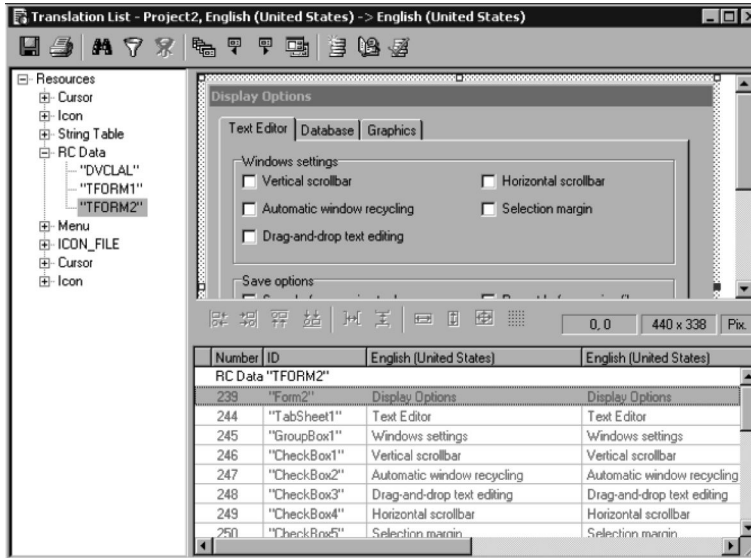


Figure 25.1 Screen shot of a computer-aided translation system

- Audio: an English song recording, for example, might have to be changed to the target language. A piece of Western music might have to be changed to a piece pleasing to the ears of the target users.
- Video subtitles: the need to change subtitles into the target language goes without saying. This is a technically difficult area which requires the search of the subtitling machine that is used for the insertion of subtitles.

Linguistic aspects

‘Localization’, according to Ashworth and O’Hagan (2002: 66), ‘can be defined as a process to facilitate globalization by addressing linguistic and cultural barriers specific to the Receiver who does not share the same linguistic and cultural background of the Sender’. Several aspects of linguistic localization are worth noting. Thus:

- Language of the locale: translating a text from one language into another gives it a new life by overcoming linguistic barriers, revitalizing it on a different soil. Localization is to give a product a life beyond a locality. In doing so, it is important to identify the locales in which languages are used, such as the French and Italian of the Western European scripts, Greek and Russian of the Eastern European scripts, and Chinese and Japanese of the Asian scripts.
- Language varieties: in software localization, varieties within a single language also need to be addressed – for example, American and British English, and simplified and standard Chinese characters.
- Directionality of language: languages are written in different directions, such as horizontally from left to right, or right to left, or vertically from right to left, or left to right. Some languages, such as Chinese, can be written horizontally from left to right and right to left, and vertically from left to right or right to left. When a text contains

strings written from left to right, such as numbers or English, it has to put them from left to right. The directionality of languages thus causes typographical problems which have to be resolved before the text can be localized.

- Linguistic adjustments: linguistic adjustments may be necessary due to the limited screen space when localizing software. Some localization software, such as Visual Localize, can allow the user to remove limits on character set to facilitate linguistic adjustments. The issue of screen space can be compared to the addition of subtitles to a movie shown on a small screen.
- Typographical changes: typographical or logographical changes may be necessary when localizing from one language into another. The use of abbreviations for different command buttons is illustrative of such changes.
- Terminological consistency: terminological consistency is required when localization is applied to more than one product. When terminological variations are necessary, localization software is functionally capable of multiple translations of the same term as determined by the context. Consider the terminological issues when localizing a product for Chinese mainland and Taiwanese users.
- Fragment translation: apart from document translation, such as the user guide, most of the work of software and web localization translation is the decontextualized fragment translation of terms and phrases, which relies heavily on pre-established terminology and translation memory databases.
- Punctuation marks: there are differences in punctuation marks in different languages. English places a full stop (or period) at the end of a sentence, but Chinese uses a small circle. Book titles are italicized in some Indo-European languages, but Chinese puts them in «guillemets».
- Diacritics: some languages have special characters that cannot be displayed correctly on the computer, such as Ÿ, ÿ, Đ, đ, ß, and þ. They cause problems in localization.
- Time and date formats: a variety of conventions and formats for time and date have been used or adopted by the same language and different languages. In other words, the elements of time and dates have been put in different orders in different languages. Basically, there are three methods of expressing written dates: (i) year-month-day, as in Chinese, such as 2010 年 12 月 10 日; (ii) month-day-year, as in American English, such as 11/12/10 means November 12, 2010; and (iii) day-month-year, as in French and German, such as jeudi 10 décembre 2010 (French), and Donnerstag, 10. Dezember 2010 (German). These differences should be noted when localizing a software product.
- Phone numbers: phone numbers are different all around the world. For web localization it may be necessary to indicate the country code of the phone numbers on the web page. For example, the phone number of a company in San Jose, California, USA, should include the country code +1, the area code 408, and the number.
- Units of measure: basically, two major measurement systems are in use: the imperial and metric measurement systems, or the British system and the metric system. Software produced in the USA with the system of pounds, miles and gallons would have to be changed to kilograms, centimetres and litres when it is used in Australia and Japan.
- Number formats: the way numbers are written varies from language to language. The English and Japanese, for example, write '12,345.56', while those from Italy, Germany and Spain in Europe use '12.345,56'. The American billion (1,000,000,000) is the British thousand million, thus the American trillion is the British billion.
- Currency formats: different ways are also used for different currencies, such as symbols (£, \$), alphabetic characters (\$Frs), or combinations (Cz\$). Renminbi or RMB may

have to be inserted in localizing foreign-language software into a simplified Chinese system. For example, for a sum of 112233, it is French €112 233, US\$112,233, German €112.233, Japanese ¥112,233.

- Address formats: there are various means of formatting addresses, postal codes, provinces and states.

Cultural aspects

Cultural localization is about the creation of locally acceptable images and traditionally practised conventions, involving the modification of graphic elements to meet local cultural norms (Schäler 2002: 21–3). This is possible as a result of the reduction of cultural elements in the internationalization process. Culturalization of software or a website is therefore a very important part of a localization project. What is culturally unsuitable might have to be removed in the process of localization.

- Intercultural communication: translation is the transmission of culture; it is a type of intercultural communication. Translation in the context of software localization means the enlargement of the users for that product across cultural boundaries.
- Cultural correctness: the factor of cultural correctness, which involves cultural perceptions, religious and political influences, has to be assessed in software localization.
- Ideological acceptability: translation is the translation of ideology, involving the transfer of thoughts and ideas from one language (the source language) to another (the target language) by means of the written word. Some ideologically unacceptable messages might have to be screened out in the process of localization.
- Colour conventions: the cultural associations of colour must be considered. As colour is culture-bound, different colours have different associations. Red, for example, means danger in European cultures, but festivity in the Chinese culture.
- Cultural symbols: it should be noted that graphics with a specific cultural symbol, such as a sign of a landmark in a specific place, should be avoided in order not to cause any confusion.

Economic aspects

Economies move at breathtaking speed on a global scale. Telecommunications technology has globalized economies and opened enormous markets. The power of the Internet allows a small company to have an international presence. Localization is to promote products globally so that they are easily understood by target users, regardless of their language or culture.

Localization increases the sale of products. When the sale of a certain product declines in the market, localization might make it profitable in other places. Localization has become a thriving business. It has been estimated that over 70 per cent of software suppliers localize new releases. Take mobile phones as an example. Models that are out of fashion in a certain market might have a huge market in underdeveloped regions. As quoted by Lynne Bowker (2002: 12), ‘Allied Business Intelligence estimated the worldwide market for localization and website translation to be about US \$11 billion in 1999, and they predict that it will grow to US \$20 billion by 2004’. That explains why so many international companies have created multiple-language websites to promote the sale of their products, such as Kodak and Benz.

It is obvious that in an increasingly global economy there is increased pressure to produce high-quality multilingual content on time and on budget. Localization project teams must be as productive as possible to meet tight deadlines. Multiple translation projects have to be managed at the same time to ensure simultaneous shipment of the product. Terminology databases and translation memory databases must be created to reuse previously translated content to maximize efficiency. The economic aspects of a localization procedure should not be neglected.

Legal aspects

Localization has to meet all the legal requirements that are enforced in the user's region. Special attention must be paid to avoid infringement of intellectual property. Copyright and personal data protection, for example, differ from country to country.

Localization project management

When a software product is to be localized, a localization project will be created either by an in-house localization group or an outsourced team, which usually involves the software developer with its in-house translation staff, the software developer's subsidiary in the target language country, the distributor(s) of the software in the target language country, and the localization vendor (Esselink 2000: 5). For the actual management of a typical localization project, a localization team usually consists of a project manager, translator, localization specialist or senior translator, proofreader/quality assurance specialist, localization engineer, and desktop publisher. The project manager schedules the project, assigns resources, reports to the client and monitors the project workflow. The translator is responsible for translating software and linguistic quality assurance. Localization specialists review the work that translators do and manage terminology. Localization engineers are responsible for internationalization, localization engineering, technical quality assurance and all technical aspects of software localization projects. Testing engineers perform the testing of a translated product to ensure that the localized product is fully functional, linguistically accurate, and that no issues have been introduced during the localization process. They often perform tests on a product to ensure that it functions correctly and satisfactorily. It is very important to test software applications before market release and the cost of correcting a problem increases over time. Desktop publishers take care of the layout of the printed or online material and sometimes do the preparation for pre-press production.

Pre-localization stage

At the pre-localization stage, there is extensive consultation to solicit expectations about the localization process and what will be achieved. The availability of human resources to execute localization should be checked, and the solution of possible problems prior to initializing localization has to be worked out.

Localization stage

At the localization stage, the first step is for the project manager to create a project strategy and work out a plan for product delivery. Then the project will be executed with

the help of computer-aided translation tools. Quality assurance of the project is realized through effective communication. The project manager must also make sure that localization is done and delivered to the clients in a timely manner.

- **Project planning:** the project manager should find out the needs of clients and work out costs and then provide a quotation. The project manager, with the input from the localization team, creates a project strategy and plan based on file types, project scope and turnaround time, and provides a time frame for product delivery.
- **Project execution:** this is strictly speaking the translation stage in which translation technology, in particular the computer-aided translation tools such as translation memory and terminology management tools, plays an essential and important role, since recurrence and repeatability is common in localization which involves the translation of user interfaces, manuals, specifications and others.
- **Quality management:** the project manager works closely with their client counterparts throughout the project to ensure effective communication. This is a type of quality control procedure to make sure that issues are quickly identified and promptly resolved.
- **Quality delivery:** at this stage, timely and quality delivery must be observed. In-country reviewers may also be asked to assess the quality of the final product.

Post-localization stage

After the delivery of the product, follow-up work and a maintenance service have to be provided. Adjustment may also be required, based on feedback on the product.

- **Software localization tools and computer-aided translation tools:** both software localization tools and computer-aided translation tools are needed for localization. The former are used for software and document translation while the latter are to achieve efficiency, consistency and quality in the translation process.

Software localization tools

- **PASSOLO (1990 Germany):** PASSOLO, a software localization tool, was originally developed and produced by the PASS Engineering GmbH, a company co-founded by Florian Sachse and Achim Herrmann in 1990 in Bonn, Germany. The company became a subsidiary of SDL in 2007. SDL has so far developed and produced SDL PASSOLO 2007 (see [Figure 25.2](#)) and SDL PASSOLO 2009, which is a specialized software localization tool that greatly speeds up the translation of user interfaces (www.passolo.com).
- **Multilizer (1992 Finland):** Multilizer was first developed in 1995 by Multilizer Oy (Inc.), formerly known as Innoview Data Technologies, which was founded in 1992 in Espoo, Finland. The company has since 1996 focused on the globalization of software. The breakthrough of Multilizer came with its use as a Delphi localization environment at Intel Corp, Xerox, Lucent and IBM. Multilizer, now in version 10, is a localization support tool with a translation memory system developed by Multilizer Inc. In 2006 Multilizer was acquired by Rex Partners Oy, a Finnish technology company. Multilizer is now used in over 5,000 companies and 70 countries worldwide to translate documents and software for the global market (www2.multilizer.com/company).

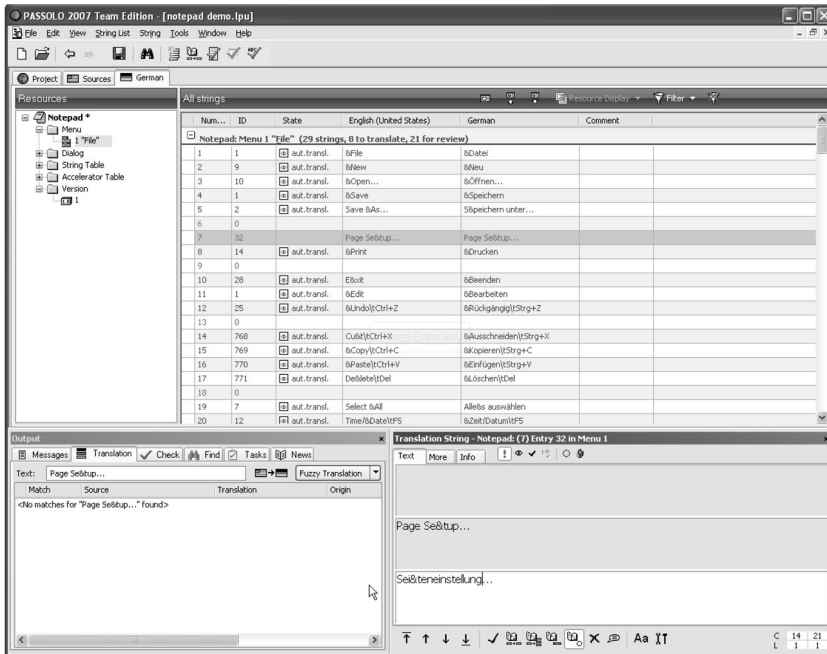


Figure 25.2 Screen shot of the PASSOLO software

- Helicon Translator (1993, Austria): Helicon Translator is a product of Helicon Software Development, which is a small software development company founded in 1993 and based in Austria. Since its establishment the company has developed software for motor vehicle components, personnel planning and visual visitor information systems (www.helicon.co.at/aboutus.html).
- RC-WinTrans (1993 Germany): RC-WinTrans was developed and produced in 1995 by schaudin.com, which was founded in 1993 as a software design company. RC-WinTrans has since 1995 been focused on translation software for multilingual localization (www.schaudin.com).
- Alchemy Localization Suite 2010 (2000, Ireland): Alchemy Localization Suite 2010, developed and released on 8 July 2010 by Alchemy Software Development in Dublin, Ireland, is a comprehensive suite of advanced translation memory products for global content. Alchemy Software Development Ltd was founded in Dublin, Ireland by Tony O'Dowd and Enda McDonnell, the original developers and designers of Corel CATALYST, in November 2000 (www.alchemysoftware.ie/index.html).
- Alchemy CATALYST, a product of the company and now in version 0.8, is the world's most popular visual localization software. Some 80 per cent of the world's largest software companies use it for product internationalization. With over 20,000 licences worldwide, Alchemy CATALYST is the dominant choice among professional development companies, localization service providers and global technology leaders.

Computer-aided translation (CAT) tools

The above advantages can be realized through the use of a wide variety of computer-aided translation systems, which can be alphabetically arranged into 14 types, as follows:

- Authoring CAT system: Star Transit is a typical example. It provides automatic translation suggestions from the translation memory database from a speedy search engine and it is an open system that can integrate with many authoring systems.
- Corporate CAT system: this is a type of computer-aided translation system that targets corporate users. With its corporate translation management system, it can help manage translation projects. Corporate CAT systems can be divided into (i) bilingual corporate CAT systems, such as Across, and (ii) multilingual corporate CAT systems, such as MultiTrans.
- Custom-specific CAT system: this is a type of computer-aided translation system tailor-made to meet the specific needs of the user, such as the Translation Management System offered by SDL and Yaxin Custom-specific Service.
- Example-based CAT system: this type of computer-aided translation system, for example Déjà vu, combines translation memory technology with example-based machine translation techniques – i.e. it can convert fuzzy matches into exact matches, and the exact matches and examples in this type of system are interchangeable.
- Intelligence-based CAT system: this is a relatively new type of system that can translate previously unseen segments by making use of pre-translated and similarly structured examples. The Human Intelligence System is a typical example.
- Language pair-specific system: this is a type of computer-aided system that is developed for translation of a specific language pair, such as Chinese and English, or Russian and Italian. This type of system can be divided into (i) language pair-specific bilingual CAT systems, such as Yaxin in China for translation between Chinese and English, and (ii) language pair-specific multilingual CAT systems, such as Eurolang Optimizer for translation between European languages.
- Memory-based CT system: this refers to computer translation (CT) systems with the function of translation memory. The first type of this system, such as Transwhiz in Taiwan, and MetaTaxis, translates a text by computer translation before using translation memory, improving the quality of translation through customized translation memory and glossary. The second type is a computer translation system with a customized translation memory for the translation of texts in a specific area, combining the advantages of translation and transfer-based computer translation.
- Open source CAT system: this is to turn a remouldable system with open source codes into a custom-specific system, such as OmegaT and Transolution, which improves translation efficiency and quality.
- Sentence-based CAT system: this is the most common computer-aided translation system based on sentence memory, as normally the basic unit of a text in a translation memory is a sentence. SDL Trados and Wordfast are typically sentence-based computer-aided translation systems.
- Server-based CAT system: this type of computer-aided translation system, such as Elanex Translation Inventory, has a centralized storage of all clients' translations and instant availability to all registered users. Some of the major advantages of this type of system are its instant availability anywhere in the world, easier management and better matching due to the storage of a huge amount of data.
- Statistical CAT system: MemorySphere, for example, is a statistical system which scans a source text to match strings against a database of pre-translated text to reuse previously translated materials. It delivers indexes of complete or segmented sentences, creates word and phrase match using a bilingual morphology analyser, aligns and maps on a word-by-word basis. It also has an auto-alignment option. It customizes to each

translator and editor style, creates automatically bilingual translation memories when adding sentences to translation memory, and uses exact match and partial or block match techniques.

- Text-based CAT system: this type of computer-aided translation system, such as Similis produced by Lingua & Machina (France) in 2006, is a translation memory system using a new three-module architecture that includes the server, manager and translation tool. It automatically retrieves bilingual terminology to reprocess sentences and word chunks in context. It can align and translate PDF, HTML, XML and SGML files, and uses unicode to manage unicode characters.
- Translator-based CAT system: this type of computer-aided translation system, such as TransAssist, helps the translator to search the translation memory database for past translations. It allows any number of translation and glossary memory files to be loaded simultaneously and search automatically. The translation memory of the system is used to compare user-defined selected text to find previous translations stored in the database that are identical or similar to the currently selected text.
- Web-based CAT system: this type of system, of which Freeway is an example, is an online service delivery bilingual or multilingual platform. It is free for registered users and provides better collaboration among team members. It also provides better management with centralized, Internet-enabled language asset management systems with translation memory, glossary and machine translation capabilities. It gives higher web services connectivity and it also has better security for data contained within the software.

Localization procedure

There is hardly a standard procedure for localization. It depends on a number of variables, such as the purpose of localization, the type of content, the target user, the release cycle and the size of the product. There are nevertheless some tasks and phases common in the localization workflow. A localization project usually goes through four phases.

Preparation or creation of a new localization project by the localization manager

The major tasks to be performed in this phase are the creation of a project plan outlining the schedule and tasks and financial details of the project as a form of pre-production planning; the set-up of the project team consisting of project managers, engineers and linguists; an analysis of the product with a localizability test to ensure that the product is suitable for localization; and a study of the terminology of the product for terminology development.

Translation of the project by translators

Translators working on localization projects have to be able to use translation technology in their work, such as terminology management systems, computer translation systems and computer-aided translation systems. Of these, the use of computer-aided translation systems, especially the terminology tools and translation memory tools, in the localization procedure is very important as there are some major advantages in using these tools in localization projects, such as:

- Reusing translations for repetitive texts: software documentation tends to be repetitive. For documentary translation, two types of repetitions can be divided – internal repetition and external repetition. Internal repetition refers to textual repetitions in a document itself, while external repetition refers to textual repetitions inherent to a family of documents.
- Re-using translations for updated information: software applications are regularly updated. Existing translations can be re-used in new versions of help files or manuals.
- Terminological consistency by term base and translation memory database: consistency in terminology in team translation is maintained with the use of the terminology database and translation memory database in a computer-aided translation system. The translator can also export and import translation memory exchange (TMX) files to and from translation memory tools.

Engineering the localization project by engineers

Localization engineers extract text strings from the software to localize them. Their tasks include adjusting documentation layout and dialogue box resizing due to text swell, adapting accelerator keys, tooltips, tab order, menu options, buttons and the sorting orders in list boxes, compiling the help files, localizing multimedia files and embedded graphics containing text, and recreating sound effects containing text.

Testing the localized application by the quality assurance team

After the work of translation and engineering is done, the localized application is run and the localization system can check the application for consistency against the localized software, conduct user interface testing, functional testing and cosmetic testing. Regular reviews will be conducted to prevent errors found in testing from recurring in future projects.

The future of the localization industry

In view of the rapid changes in various areas in the present digital age, it is hard to predict how localization industry will develop over the next decade. The size of the industry, moreover, is extremely hard to know and the revenue that can be generated from localization is uncertain. Looking into the future, there are a number of areas that deserve our examination.

The first is the change in the languages for localization. In the past, English has been predominantly the language from which localization is made into other major languages, such as French, German and Spanish. The trend of ‘reverse localization’, or localization into English or other major languages, though starting to emerge, has not been obvious. What is worth noting is the emergence of ‘strategic languages’, which represent new market areas with a potential for new revenue streams, as opposed to keeping a number of ‘maintenance languages’, such as French, Italian, German and Spanish, the market for which has to be maintained and served but with little potential for growth. As far as the growth of localization languages is concerned, Chinese seems to be the number one language at present, followed by Japanese and Spanish.

The second area is about the needs or degrees of localization that software developers and producers deem necessary. According to Singh and Pereira (2005), there are five degrees of web localization: ‘standardized’, ‘semi-localized’, ‘localized’, ‘highly localized’ and ‘culturally

customized'. The differentiations among these lie in the necessity of translation, which is essential for the 'localized' and 'highly localized' options.

The third area is related to the way localization is done. Localization can be done in-house, by localization companies and language-service vendors through outsourcing, by online translation systems such as Google Translate or online translation memory-based Google Translator Toolkit, and by non-professional translators through 'crowd-sourcing'. It can be predicted that more words will be translated in a shorter period of time at a lower total cost through the use of global information management systems on the market or tailor-made for companies.

Localization and translation studies

Localization is still a relatively neglected area in translation studies. To many, localization is an operational procedure in the translation industry, not an academic topic that deserves the attention of translation scholars. During the 11 years from 1995 to 2006, a total of 127 works were published on localization (Chan 2008: 637–49), accounting for only 1.51 per cent of all the literature on translation technology during the period 1984–2006. This shows that much effort is needed to examine the commercial, computational, linguistic and theoretical aspects of localization.

The commercial aspect of localization is of primary importance. It is generally recognized that the fundamental purpose of localization is the commercialization of software and websites through globalization (Cheng 2000: 29–42). Localization is therefore considered by many as a major means of creating new markets with translation technology (Lockwood *et al.* 1995). This will remain an issue for translation scholars to study.

Related to commercialization is the computational aspect of localization. Localization cannot be done without the use of localization tools or systems, which put linguistic texts and software menus into the target language (Esselink 2003: 67–86). One important factor that affects the development of localization tools is the operating system of the computer, which has so far been dominated by Microsoft Windows. Different versions of localization tools were produced to cope with the emergence of new operating systems (such as, in the case of Microsoft, DOS, Windows 95, Windows 98, Windows 2000 XP and Windows Vista). This factor will continue to exert considerable influence on the development of localization systems and other translation tools.

Linguistically, the use of controlled language is essential in localization. Controlled language is defined as 'a type of natural language developed for specific domains with a clearly defined restriction on controlled lexicons, simplified grammars, and style rules to reduce the ambiguity and complexity of a text so as to make it easier to be understood by users and non-native speakers and processed by machine translation systems' (Chan 2004: 44). To achieve language control, authoring systems have been used. Due to the huge differences among languages in the world, however, authoring is not an easy task to perform, as pointed out by Sakson and Johnson (2003). How to write in a controlled way in order to suit a certain system deserves further exploration.

Theoretically, localization is translation in a broad sense. An act of localization is in fact an act of translation. Translatability of cultural terms is, therefore, of considerable concern to translation theorists. As pointed out by Burton Raffel, translation is impossible because no two languages have the same phonology, the same syntactic structures, the same vocabulary, the same literary history and the same prosody (Raffel 1988: 12). According to J.C. Catford, there are two kinds of untranslatability: linguistic and cultural. Linguistic

untranslatability refers to the impossibility of translation due to the linguistic barriers between languages, and cultural untranslatability refers to cultural barriers between languages (Catford 1965: 93–103). The study of translatability in localization is obviously important and fruitful, as illustrated by the work of Kumhyr *et al.* (1994: 142–8).

It is expected that with rapid changes in the field of translation technology, more attention will be paid to both the practice and theory of localization.

Related topics

globalization; internationalization; localization industry; software localization; web localization

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Simultaneous and consecutive interpreting in conference situations (conference interpreting)

Ebru Diriker

The practice of interpreting is probably as old as the first contacts between peoples speaking different languages. As Pöchhacker (2004: 27–8) notes, although interpreting was considered too ‘common’ and unspectacular to deserve special mention until the twentieth century, there is some fascinating evidence on the role and status of interpreters in history. These include the Ancient Egyptian honorific ‘overseer of dragomans’ claimed by the princes of Elephantine in the third millennium BC, the interpreter depicted in the relief of General Haremhab’s Memphite tomb dating from 1546 BC, the scores of salaried interpreters in the service of the far-flung Roman Empire, the early conference interpreters/translators serving ecclesiastic authorities in the Lateran Council in AD 649, the decisive role of Doña Marina (‘la Malinche’) in helping Hernán Cortés take possession of the Aztec Empire, the laws enacted in the sixteenth century by the Spanish Crown to regulate interpreting practices in its colonies, the French and Austrian ‘language boys’ in Constantinople initiated as interpreters into diplomacy with the Ottoman Empire, the French ‘resident interpreters’ serving as key traders and negotiators with native Canadian tribes in the seventeenth century, and the pivotal role of Professor Mantoux interpreting in the peace negotiations after World War I.

History

Hermann’s (2002) work on interpreting in antiquity and Glässer’s (1956, as cited in Kurz 1996) work on interpreting in the Middle Ages are some of the first examples focusing on the history of interpreting throughout the centuries. More recent works include Delisle and Woodsworth (1995), and Kurz (1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1996), among others.

Origins of conference interpreting

The 1919 Paris Peace Conference was an important landmark for conference interpreting between spoken languages. Up until then, French was accepted as the *lingua franca* of diplomacy and countries selected their representatives for international conferences with due regard to their knowledge of French. At the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15, for example,

the participants were either diplomats with a perfect knowledge of French, or high-ranking officials who had been selected expressly because they knew French (Gaiba 1998: 28). However, in Paris, US President Woodrow Wilson and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George succeeded in making English a working language as well. Thus both French and English became the official languages of the Conference and the ensuing Treaty of Versailles (Articles 1 to 26 constituting the Covenant of the League of Nations) (Roland 1999: 122).

This decision created the need to provide interpretation services and the successful results achieved by Paul Mantoux and his colleagues at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 set the scene for the professionalization of ‘conference interpreting’ (cf. Pöchhacker 2004).

While consecutive interpretation and whispering were the main modes employed in the peace talks, the need for a more expeditious means of providing interpretation became apparent with the establishment of international organizations such as the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization (ILO).

Edward Filene, a Boston entrepreneur who had experienced the challenges of holding multilingual conferences with consecutive interpretation during the early 1920s, proposed the idea of developing a simultaneous interpreting (SI) system to Eric Drummond, the League of Nations Secretary General (Baigorri 1999: 31), and went on to develop the ‘hushaphone’, or Filene-Finlay Speech Translator, a hand-held microphone known irreverently in French as *le bidule* (Roland 1999). Filene not only developed the equipment, but also trained the interpreters who eventually used it. As Baigorri (1999: 33) explains, Filene set up a laboratory at the ILO and organized a well-structured training programme for potential interpreters where the physical conditions simulated the real-life situations. Interpreters were required to work with authentic conference materials chosen with a progression scheme and candidates were assessed at the end of the conference so that the most successful ones were selected to work in the real meetings. Interestingly, an ILO report of the time revealed that none of the staff interpreters of the League of Nations took part in the course because of their resistance towards a method that would place them ‘entirely in the background as mere cogs in a machine’ (cited in Baigorri 1999: 33)

During the same period, SI was also used at the 15th International Congress of Physiology of 1935 in Leningrad, where the opening remarks of Mr Pavlov were reportedly translated into English, French and German (Gaiba 1998: 31).

Meanwhile, interpreters at the League of Nations using the IBM Hushaphone Filene-Finlay system rarely performed SI as we know it today. Instead, they undertook what Gaiba (1998: 31) calls, ‘simultaneous successive interpretation’ and the ‘simultaneous reading of pretranslated texts’. With ‘simultaneous successive interpretation’ interpretations were simultaneous with each other, but not with the original speech, since all interpreters took notes on the original speech and after the original speech ended, one of the interpreters stood up and translated consecutively into his language while the rest of his colleagues rendered the same speech into their languages from the booths. In this way, the main consecutive translation ensured accuracy and the remaining SI renditions shortened the time for conveying the same speech to other languages. In ‘simultaneous reading of pretranslated texts’, on the other hand, translators translated the written speeches given to them before the session started and read them at the same time as the original speech.

Nuremberg war crimes trials

SI in the sense that we know it today clearly began during the war crimes trials of Nazi leaders in the aftermath of World War II. This major initiative for SI started during the

pre-trial stage, when it was decided that every Allied nation involved would have the right to use its language during the trials (Gaiba 1998). In order to hold an expeditious trial in four languages, Léon Dostert, who had been US General Eisenhower's interpreter during the war, convinced the organizers to use the Filene-Finlay system (*ibid.*). Though this suggestion initially met with significant resistance from all parties, including the interpreters, it is generally accepted that interpretation services in Nuremberg were a success, opening a new era for SI. With the growing need to ensure effective multilingual communication in international organizations, SI started to become more widespread. Beginning with the United Nations (UN), SI gradually became the norm rather than the exception in international conferences and organizations (see below).

Training

As the evolution of conference interpreting (CI) suggests, the first interpreters at international conferences were self-taught. Both Paul Mantoux and Gustave Camerlynk, another prominent interpreter at the Paris Peace Conference, came from a teaching background, learned to interpret consecutively through practice and did not consider interpreting as a permanent profession (Baigorri 1999: 30). The first effort to train interpreters was made during the preparations for the 1928 ILO Conference, where SI was to be used for the first time (see 'History', above).

The first school to train interpreters was a college for business translators and interpreters founded under the National Socialist regime in Mannheim, Germany in 1930, and subsequently transferred to the University of Heidelberg (Pöchhacker 2004: 28). The School of Translation and Interpreting (ETI) at the University of Geneva was established in 1941, mainly to serve the needs of the League of Nations. The Institute for Translator and Interpreter Training at the University of Vienna followed in 1943.

Antoine Velleman, an important interpreter during the interwar era and the founder of the Geneva School, considered proper training crucial for the making of qualified interpreters. As Williams notes:

Students had to follow courses chosen from among public international law, economics, public finance, social legislation, statistics, constitutional law, bibliography and any other subjects in which they wished to specialize as translators and interpreters ... Velleman was also fortunate to be able to call on a vast store of experience and competence in the persons of the staff of the international organizations in Geneva many of whom were willing to help in the training of his students.

(Williams 1981, cited in Kurz 1996: 28)

In Geneva the use of practising conference interpreters as trainers in interpreting programmes was thus established as a general principle quite early in the history of interpreter training. As it happens, Velleman was initially against the idea of simultaneous interpreting, which he thought could not equal the precision of consecutive interpreting and might therefore undermine the value of conference interpreting. It was only in 1951 that SI became a part of the curriculum at ETI and in 1953 the school inaugurated its first SI room with 10 booths (Kurz 1996: 30).

The University of Vienna, in contrast, used two telephones placed in adjacent rooms as its initial technology to start teaching SI in the 1940s. By the early 1950s the university had already started using its SI room with six booths, equipped with Phillips equipment

(Kurz 1996: 33). Gradually, the number of training institutions increased and started to spread. Today, there are many training institutions around the world (see www.aiic.net/ViewPage.cfm?page_id=3420). Most of the courses offered are at the undergraduate level and tend to be joint programmes in both translation and interpreting, but there is also a visible trend towards postgraduate programmes specializing in conference interpreting. One initiative in this area is the European Masters in Conference Interpreting (EMCI), which brings together postgraduate programmes from around Europe. Funded by the European Union (EU), the aim of the EMCI is to organize training around a core curriculum and structure to enable the accumulation and dissemination of best practices and to facilitate staff and student exchanges (www.emcinterpreting.org).

The Training Committee of the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) has drafted a guideline regarding the best practice in conference interpreter training, summarizing the current understanding in this area. According to this guideline:

- Programmes at postgraduate level are more appropriate to train conference interpreters for entry into the profession.
- Applicants have to pass an aptitude test before being admitted to the school.
- Applicants are encouraged to spend considerable time living and working or studying in a country where their non-native languages are spoken before they consider entering a professional training programme.
- The school and teaching faculty inform candidates before and during their studies about relevant potential employment opportunities.
- The curriculum is posted online.
- Courses are designed and interpretation classes taught by practising conference interpreters whose language combinations are recognized by AIIC or by an international organization.
- Teachers of interpretation have had some teacher training specifically related to interpretation.
- All programmes are delivered by a combination of native speakers of the students' A and B/C (native and non-native) languages.
- The curriculum includes a theory component and a course that addresses professional practice and ethics. These courses should be delivered by practising conference interpreters.
- The final diploma in conference interpretation is only awarded if the candidate's competence in both consecutive and simultaneous interpreting in all working language combinations has been assessed and judged consistent with professional entry requirements.
- Final examinations are conducted in an open and transparent fashion. Candidates should understand the assessment criteria.
- Final examination juries are composed of teachers from the academic programme and external assessors who are also practising conference interpreters. The latter's assessment of each examinee's performance should count towards the final mark awarded.
- Representatives from international organizations and other bodies that recruit interpreters are invited to attend final exams as observers if they are not already present as external assessors.
- The language combinations offered as part of the regular curriculum reflect market requirements.
- Any degree or diploma awarded states the graduate's language combination, clearly indicating active and passive languages.
- All tests are eliminatory at finals.

(www.aiic.net/ViewPage.cfm/page60.htm)

While the principle of practising conference interpreters teaching the applied courses is still upheld, it is widely accepted today that the ideal trainers also need to develop a self-reflexive approach to their own predispositions and an understanding of how to transfer that knowledge and experience to beginners. Thus, there is increased interest in the training of trainers. The most institutionalized initiative in this area is the Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) for Interpreter Trainers offered by the University of Geneva (virtualinstitute.eti.unige.ch). Most parts of the programme are carried out on the virtual learning platform of the university with a one-week study tour to Geneva. In addition to the MAS, Geneva also offers various individual training modules on its online platform. Furthermore, the Training Committee of the AIIC organizes regular seminars for interpreter trainers while the EU institutions provide pedagogical assistance, including trainers' training, to the universities with which they cooperate. Some national associations also offer training opportunities for their members.

One other development of note in the area of interpreter training is the increasing number of theoretically oriented academic programmes that aim to train researchers in the field of interpreting studies. A considerable number of MA and PhD theses are written each year on conference interpreting, and the upward trend is clearly visible in the growing number of entries in the *CIRIN Bulletin*, which publishes information on interpreting-related research, and in online bibliographies such as Translation Studies Bibliography and Translation Studies Abstracts (see also below).

Current practice

Today, conference interpreting – i.e. consecutive and simultaneous interpreting in conferences – is generally accepted as the most institutionalized type of interpreting. This is closely related with the historical evolution of conference interpreting as taken up in the section on history, above. It must be noted, however, that this statement mainly holds true for conference interpreting between spoken languages. While the use of sign language interpreting in conferences is well established in some countries like Canada and Sweden, there is still a long way to go in others, including in most international organizations.

Internationally, conference interpreters are organized under the umbrella of the AIIC. Founded in 1953, the AIIC currently has more than 2,900 members from 90 countries. Admission to the association is based on a peer-approval system. The Association concludes collective agreements with the largest employers of interpreters, such as the EU institutions and the UN organizations, and is quite active in a number of fields such as training and technical infrastructure (www.aiic.net).

Given that the private sector plays a major role in the world economy, it is understandable that most conference interpreters today are freelance interpreters; however, there are also a significant number of staff interpreters working for major international organizations. The largest recruiter of interpreting services are the EU institutions, which currently employ more than 1,000 staff interpreters (European Parliament: 357; European Commission: 582; Court of Justice: 70), and work with more than 3,000 freelance interpreters on their joint list (information provided by the EU Interpreting Services).

According to an AIIC survey, in countries that host international organizations, like Switzerland and Belgium, international institutions can be the main drivers of the demand for interpretation. For most other countries the private market tends to be more dominant (AIIC 2006).

In contrast to the well-known names from the early days of the profession, who happened to be men, most professional conference interpreters today are women. The ratio in the AIIC, for instance, is around 3 to 1, with 2,186 female members vs. 736 men (AIIC 2006). Again in contrast to the early years, when consecutive was clearly the preferred mode, most conferences today use simultaneous interpretation. According to a survey result of AIIC, 80 per cent of the work days reported by interpreters are in the simultaneous mode and only 6 per cent in pure consecutive. Remote interpreting is still in its infancy, at a reported 2 per cent of the workload of interpreters, though in Israel the percentage goes up to a striking 25 per cent (*ibid.*).

Interpreting studies: research and methodology

Parallel to the institutionalization of the profession and the establishment of training centres, conference interpreting has started to attract the attention of researchers as a field of study. While the initial detectable wave of interest in CI began in the 1960s, the first article exploring the work and skills of conference interpreters at the League of Nations and ILO was written by a psychologist as early as 1931 (Sanz 1931, cited in Pöchhacker 2009).

Jean Herbert, who taught at Geneva, wrote the first book on conference interpreting, called *The Interpreter's Handbook: How to Become a Conference Interpreter*, in 1952. Jean-François Rozan, from the same university, wrote his monograph on note-taking in consecutive interpreting in 1956. The first Master's thesis on conference interpreting was written by an interpreter, Eva Paneth, in 1957, and the first PhD thesis on simultaneous interpreting was completed by Henri Barik in 1969.

The initial interest in conference interpreting from a psychologist's point of view proved to be long-lived. A significant share of the first systematic research on simultaneous interpreting was undertaken by psycholinguists who sought to explore various cognitive processes in SI such as simultaneous listening and speaking, memory and attention allocation (e.g. Oléron and Nanpon 1965; Goldman-Eisler 1967, 1972; Pinter 1969; Gerver 1974).

Information-processing models that aimed to map the cognitive processes in SI followed suit (e.g. Gerver 1976; Moser 1976; Kirchoff 1976; Roothaer 1978). The work undertaken by professional interpreters such as Otto Kade (1963, 1967) in Leipzig and Ghelly Chernov (1978, 2002) in Moscow were also pioneering (cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 34). In contrast to translation studies research – which focused on the translated *product* and its *functions* – the majority of investigations in SI focused on the *process*, making the cognitive approach the main focus in SI.

Seleskovitch and the *théorie du sens*

While the first research was instigated by psycholinguists, the most influential theory on conference interpreting was formulated by the interpreter-scholar Danica Seleskovitch, who also founded the Paris School (see also Viezzi, this volume). One of the main tenets of Seleskovitch's *théorie du sens*, also referred to as the 'interpretive theory', was that interpreters did not transfer the words, but rather the 'sense' of a speech in a given communicative situation. According to Seleskovitch, interpretation necessarily entailed a 'deverbalization' stage, arguing that:

Interpretation is not a direct conversion of the linguistic meaning of the source language to the target language, but a conversion from source language to sense, the

intermediate link being nonverbal thought, which, once consciously grasped, can then be expressed in any language regardless of the words used in the original language.

(*Seleskovitch 1977: 28*)

Seleskovitch (1976) also underlined that due to their previous use in numerous contexts, words were loaded with a plurality of meanings. At the zenith of linguistic theories in academia in the 1970s, these views were innovative and challenging. According to Seleskovitch, the fact that oral communication took place in actual contexts allowed interpreters to overcome the challenges of interpretation. Actual contexts enabled interpreters with proper situational and linguistic knowledge to grasp and transfer the ‘sense’ of the speakers’ utterances (Seleskovitch 1976). The importance Seleskovitch attached to contexts was strong – perhaps too much so, because it left little room for the discussion that became prominent in postmodern theories on the way interlocutors co-construct ‘meaning’ *even* in actual communicative contexts.

Possibly because the portrayal of conference interpreters as competent professionals who can access and render the *sense* in the original speech freed the profession and the professional from the straitjacket of ‘lexical equivalence’ and increased its ‘symbolic’ and ‘economic’ capital (Bourdieu 1991), this (re)presentation of the profession(al) was wholeheartedly adopted by a significant share of the main players in this field, including interpreters, professional organizations, interpreter-trainers and a considerable share of those doing research in interpreting (see Diriker 2004 for an analysis of this discourse). While Seleskovitch’s theory exerted a significant influence on the general discourse on the profession, as Pöchhacker (2009: 130) argues, ‘second generation conference interpreting researchers, such as Daniel Gile and Barbara Moser, who were dissatisfied with the established truths about their profession and adopted a more inquisitive approach, started exploring new and scientifically rigorous avenues for research’.

The 1980s were marked by a surge of academic interest in conference interpreting. In addition to the dominant cognitive approach, the interdisciplinary cooperation between interpreting scholars and neurologists in the University of Trieste made neurolinguistic aspects of SI an important field of study (for a review see Fabbro and Gran 1997).

Proliferation and diversification

From the 1990s onwards, conference interpreting research became highly diversified. Too extensive to categorize and cover in a single paper, research on CI today encompasses a wide array of topics related predominantly to simultaneous but also to consecutive interpreting in conference settings.

To give a general idea, in consecutive interpreting research the overarching interest in note-taking that started with Herbert (1952) and Rozan (1956), and developed with Seleskovitch (1975), Kade (1963), Matyssek (1989), among others, still continues (e.g. Andres 2002; and Albl-Mikasa 2007, 2008). In addition to practical books on acquiring note-taking skills (Gillies 2005), a number of studies have explored the language preference in the notes of interpreters, attempting to understand whether interpreters take notes according to where a language is in their own language combination (A, B or C language), where it stands in the specific interactional context (source or target language), or a range of other considerations such as the level of economy a language offers in taking down notes (e.g. Dam 2004; Szabó 2006). There is also interesting research that attempts to compare consecutive and simultaneous interpreting such as in terms of accuracy and quality assessment (Gile 2001; Viezzi 1993).

In the prolific field of simultaneous interpreting research, cognitive studies seek to explore aspects such as memory, attention, anticipation, suppression and effort allocation (for a review see Moser-Mercer 1997; Shlesinger 1998; Englund-Dimitrova and Hytlenstam 2000; Pöchhacker 2004; see Gile 1995 for the effort model). Physiological studies look into the body and health-related effects of factors such as stress and anxiety (e.g. Klonowicz 1994; Kurz 1997, 2003). Directionality research explores the impact of the language direction from and into which the interpreter works (e.g. Godijns and Hinderdael 2005; Donovan 2004). Expertise research attempts to understand ‘expert performance’ in simultaneous interpreting and analyse the skills that distinguish experts from novices (e.g. Liu 2004, 2008; Ericsson 2000; Moser-Mercer 2000; Moser-Mercer *et al.* 2000). Studies on prosodic and syntactic features of the interpreted utterance focus on aspects such as anomalous stress, intonation, interference and shifts in cohesive ties (e.g. Williams 1995; Shlesinger 1994, 1995; Jörg 1997; Ahrens 2005). Research on the work environment concentrates on various factors such as carbon dioxide levels, humidity, temperature, electromagnetic fields in the booths and their impact on the interpreter (e.g. Kurz 1983; AIIC 2002; Diriker and Şeker 2005). Neurolinguistic studies explore the cerebral lateralization patterns in interpreters (e.g. Rinne *et al.* 2000; Tommola *et al.* 2000). Remote interpreting research seeks to understand how new technologies affect the interpreter as well as the interpreting process and product (Moser-Mercer 2003, 2005a, 2005b; see also Mouzourakis 2003, 2006), while corpus-based studies explore large corpora to typify the interpreted utterance (e.g. Shlesinger 1998, 2008; and Setton forthcoming).

Research on training, as a subfield itself, covers a wide spectrum of topics ranging from curriculum and assessment (e.g. Sawyer 2004), to the validity and reliability of various training tools and methods (e.g. Timarová and Ungeod-Thomas 2008), from explorations of new virtual learning environments (e.g. Moser-Mercer *et al.* 2005; Sandrelli and de Manuel Jeréz 2007), to getting started in interpreting research (e.g. Gile *et al.* 2001).

Sociological approaches in CI that remained rather weak in the initial years have also gained ground. Research here includes studies that explore actual interpreting behaviour in real-life situations (e.g. Pöchhacker 1994; Diriker 2004; Monacelli 2009; Eraslan forthcoming), user expectations and quality criteria in CI (e.g. Kurz 1993; Vuorikoski 1998; Cattaruzza and Mack 1995; Moser-Mercer 2008), critical analysis of the professional image of interpreting (e.g. Shlesinger and Sela-Sheffy 2008, 2009; Diriker 2009), interpreting in institutional settings (e.g. Beaton 2007; Vuorikoski 2004; Kent 2009), and interpreting as activism (e.g. de Manuel Jeréz *et al.* 2004; Boéri 2008), among others.

Interest in the history of interpreting has also gained impetus as partly evidenced by the literature referred to above. In addition to bringing new insights, sociocultural and historical approaches have diversified the methods used in interpreting research, triggering a significant interest in ethnographic methods such as participant observation, interviews and recordings (e.g. Monacelli 2009; Kent 2009)

The proliferation in conference interpreting research can also be demonstrated in the increasing number of CI-related entries in online bibliographies such as the Translation Studies Abstracts and Translation Studies Bibliography, as well as in the growing number of specialized journals in interpreting, most notably *Interpreting* which specializes in all aspects of interpreting, and other more recent ones dedicated to various subfields such as training (e.g. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*).

While researchers explore new avenues, many questions still await a more thorough investigation. For instance:

- What is the impact of various technologies (remote interpreting, live broadcasts, webstreaming) on the presence and performance of interpreters?
- How valid and reliable are the methods we use in the investigation of the cognitive and neurological aspects of interpreting?
- Do our methods and tools for training interpreters cater to the needs of future generations? Do we really know what these needs will be?
- Are our current notions of ethics viable? Do/can interpreters comply with the existing ethical rules or are there divergences between what is *said* and what is *done*?
- Can we really talk about ‘general’ and ‘shared’ expectations or quality markers, or are these bound to subjective definitions?
- How does gender play a role in the selection and pursuit of CI as a profession?
- (How) do ideological and power differences manifest themselves in CI settings? How do interpreters deal with them?
- (How) do the presence and performance of interpreters influence the production and effect of the ‘original speech’?
- How visible are interpreters in actual conferences? Do different degrees of (in)visibility influence the performance of interpreters and the general flow of interaction?

Clearly, conference interpreting research tackles and needs to better tackle a range of important research questions that have a bearing not only on interpreting, but also on many other disciplines, including translation studies, sociology, psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, cognitive studies, linguistics, to name just a few. Expert researchers and more efforts at interdisciplinary cooperation will be needed to meet the challenge.

The future

In looking at the future, it appears that conference interpreting stands at the verge of a new era. Important developments and changes in areas that initially led to the creation of CI now bring new challenges. For one, technology has developed exponentially allowing for easy and cost-effective communication and data sharing. International communication and exchange have become the main axes on which our economies, policies, politics, education, production and consumption patterns rest. Furthermore, the nation state is no longer the only or even the primary fulcrum of international relations. Contacts between civil society, the business world and ordinary people have reached unprecedented levels. Everyone feels the need to be in contact with the world in the most efficient way ‘here and now’. This is technologically possible and people are willing to change their ways and means of doing so. Globalization has massively accelerated the already pervasive use of English or, as some prefer to call it, ‘Globlish’.

These developments have serious implications for CI. On the one hand, with the possibility of remote interpreting, an interpreter can be asked to interpret the deliberations in a conference from a location that is thousands of miles away from the actual conference site. Despite resistance from many practitioners, the wheels seem to be rolling and look rather unstoppable. On the other hand, the spread of English raises questions on whether CI will become completely obsolete, at least in some domains (cf. Phillipson 2003; Snell-Hornby 2006).

It remains to be seen whether current concerns over remote interpreting will be replaced by a general ease with and even preference for new formats, the way simultaneous interpreting overcame all initial resistance from the pioneers of the profession who believed

interpreting simultaneously could never be as accurate as interpreting consecutively. It also remains to be seen whether national languages that were at the heart of the nation-building process in the twentieth century, and the pivotal status of which largely facilitated the institutionalization of CI, will be able to maintain their stronghold against Global English in international communication. Without doubt, the future of conference interpreting will be closely intertwined with such world-scale trends, and interpreting studies as an academic field will be challenged with new developments and an ever-growing number of complex questions.

Related topics

history of interpreting; interpreter training; sociological approaches; interpreting research; conference interpreting; simultaneous interpreting; consecutive interpreting

Further reading

- Pöchhacker, Franz (2004) *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, London and New York: Routledge. (A detailed overview of all aspects of interpreting.)
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Simultaneous and consecutive interpreting (non-conference settings)

Maurizio Viezzi

In a recent book (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2009), almost all the contributors stressed and complained about the lack of consistency in the metalanguage of translation, with different words used to refer to the same concepts and different concepts designated by the same words. The situation in interpreting studies does not look so bad, yet not everything is as clear as it could or should be. For example, while there seems to be no doubt whatsoever that what is meant by ‘court interpreting’ is interpreting provided at courts of law, tribunals etc., and while everybody agrees that ‘media interpreting’ is interpreting for the TV or the radio, etc., one often has the impression that ‘conference interpreting’ is used as an umbrella term for simultaneous and consecutive interpreting or even just as a synonym for simultaneous interpreting; and the term ‘simultaneous interpreting’ is ‘often used as a shorthand for spoken-language interpreting with the use of simultaneous interpreting equipment in a sound-proof booth’ (Pöchhacker 2004: 19). In actual fact, strictly speaking ‘conference interpreting’ is not a technique or an interpreting mode, and booths and microphones are not needed for interpreting to be performed simultaneously. It might therefore be useful to make a few fundamental distinctions on the basis of precise criteria.

A first criterion that may be used is the interaction format. If this criterion is adopted, interpreting may be divided into *monologue interpreting* and *dialogue interpreting*. The latter is typical of face-to-face encounters where the form of communication is conversation, whereas the former is typical of events where communication takes the form of one-to-many utterances of varying length with no mutual interaction between speaker and listeners. A second possible criterion regards the setting where interpreting is provided. The use of this criterion leads to the identification of categories such as *court interpreting*, *media interpreting*, *health care interpreting*, *parliamentary interpreting*, *business interpreting* and others, including of course *conference interpreting*, i.e. interpreting provided at international conferences and multilingual meetings. A further criterion is the mode of delivery and production. There are just two options – either the interpreter speaks at the same time as the speaker or he/she speaks afterwards. In other words, interpreting is either simultaneous or consecutive, the adjectives referring to the synchronous or asynchronous delivery of source text and target text and not to any specific setting where either mode is

used. It is important to stress that simultaneous and consecutive interpreting (which refer to interpreting modes) are not equivalent to conference interpreting (which refers to an interpreting setting), nor are they the exclusive preserve of conference interpreting – the interpreters who are involved in a doctor-patient encounter and interpret a single sentence or a single question/answer pair at a time are doing consecutive just like their notepad-equipped colleagues who interpret a welcome speech at a board meeting; and the interpreters whispering their interpretation into their listeners' ears in court or at the White House are doing simultaneous just like their colleagues who, sitting in a booth, interpret an academic paper or a journalist's questions to a politician.

Forms of interpreting

Interpreting is therefore either simultaneous or consecutive, but different forms may be identified for the two modes. As regards consecutive, a distinction may be made between *short* consecutive and *long* consecutive. The adjectives refer to the length of individual segments to be interpreted at a time. In a short consecutive, which may be regarded as the most natural and obvious form of translation, oral or otherwise, segments may range in length from a single word (a question such as 'why?', an answer such as 'yes' or 'no'), to a few sentences and generally interpreters produce their target texts out of memory alone. Short consecutive is the interpreting form of choice in dialogic interaction, with the interpreter interpreting all turns at talk and therefore providing *aller-retour* between A and B languages (exceptions are found in diplomatic/political settings, though, where two interpreters rather than one may be involved in high-level talks). Short consecutive may also be used in monologic interaction, when a speech is broken into short segments. In principle short consecutive may be resorted to in all settings.

Long consecutive is typical of monologic communication. Speeches or speech segments to be interpreted may vary considerably in length and, while the one-hour uninterrupted speeches of the League of Nations definitely belong to the past, they may easily last 10 or 15 minutes or even more. Faced with speeches or speech segments of such length, interpreters generally take notes and their delivery is based on both memorized and noted-down information. In principle long consecutive may also be used in all settings.

As regards simultaneous, the most common case is the one mentioned above, with headphones/microphones and booths. Typical settings are, of course, conference interpreting and parliamentary interpreting, but this form of simultaneous is also used in other settings, such as court interpreting or media interpreting. Simultaneous interpreting, however, may also be performed with headphones/microphones but no booths (*bidule* – a typical setting for which would be a guided tour), or it may be performed without either (*chuchotage* or *whispered interpreting*). In principle, *chuchotage* may be used in all settings and in both interaction formats, the only requirement being the interpreter's expertise.

Two hybrid forms of oral translation may also be regarded as belonging to the simultaneous interpreting mode. The first is *sight translation* (the oral translation of a written text), the second is *sight interpretation* or *simultaneous with text* (the oral translation of a written text that is also presented orally). The latter seems to be relatively common in settings such as conference interpreting, parliamentary interpreting and court interpreting, whereas the former may be found, at least in principle, in all settings.

Finally, another special form of simultaneous interpreting is *sign language interpreting* in which, depending on directionality, either the source text or the target text is not delivered orally.

Simultaneous and consecutive as means to an end

The distinctions that have been made are important. Monologic interaction is not the same as dialogic interaction and the interpreters' relationships with the users in the two formats are also completely different. There are also significant differences between settings – media interpreting, court interpreting and health care interpreting, for example, are hardly comparable in terms of needs, requirements and expectations to be met, goals to be achieved, roles played by the interpreters, power relations in the interaction, emotional aspects, even possible repercussions of the interpreted event on the participants' health or personal freedom (see Fowler *et al.*, and Mikkelsen, both this volume). The two interpreting modes also differ radically in terms of techniques, cognitive processes, skills required of the interpreter, etc. Yet, for all the differences between formats, settings and modes, there is a fundamental unity in interpreting – to some extent interpreting may be said to be always the same however and wherever it is provided.

Whatever the mode, the setting or the format, interpreting is a text-producing activity, with all this may entail in terms of textuality and textuality standards. Additionally, target-text production is source-text induced, that is, the target text is not an autonomous text. Although requirements and practice in terms of closeness of form and content between source text and target text do vary from setting to setting, the speaker's text is the *raison d'être* of the interpreter's text. In this respect interpreting might even be said to be an extreme example of intertextuality. Furthermore, interpreting is a service, which means that it is supposed to meet needs, and the needs to be met are the needs of the participants in the communicative situation. Interpreting does not take place in a vacuum – it is the setting and, within the setting, the specific situation that defines what is (expected to be) done; the communicative situation with its galaxy of players and roles is the crucial element of all interpreting (cf. Pöchhacker 1992) – the context where cross-cultural, cross-linguistic and communication needs are felt, perceived and, when circumstances permit, met. It is certainly important to (try to) understand how simultaneous and consecutive work, what the differences are between the two, what happens in each mode between the moment a word or phrase is heard and the moment something corresponding to that word or phrase is said and it is certainly crucial to describe the strategies that are used by the interpreter. However, simultaneous and consecutive are just means to an end – ways to meet the specific needs that characterize any given situation.

Simultaneous and consecutive compared and contrasted

There are obvious differences between the two interpreting modes. In simultaneous, the interpreter produces the target text as the source text unfolds, which entails a short processing time, the constant need for anticipation, the need to follow the speaker's sequential presentation, the risk of misunderstanding or not understanding, etc. Moreover, the interpreter's delivery is affected by the concurrent and competing listening, analysis and memory efforts and is to some extent disturbed by the speaker's voice. In consecutive, the interpreter produces the target text after the presentation of the source text – he/she starts speaking knowing exactly how the source text has unfolded and ended and therefore knows what the target text is going to be like. Moreover, questions may be asked of the speaker to dispel doubts, clarify obscure points, fill gaps, etc. In simultaneous, the speed and rhythm of the source text have a direct influence on the speed and rhythm of the target text – they may have a negative impact on it or else induce the interpreter to adopt appropriate coping

strategies. In consecutive, the interpreter's delivery is self-paced and is subject to no interference from the source text. A fast source text may affect note-taking, though, possibly leading the interpreter to rely less on notes and more on memory.

Simultaneous tends to be a language-specific activity. It is true that the exponents of the Paris School never accepted that and that the very use of terms such as 'source language' and 'target language' was anathema to them.¹ However, there are good reasons to believe that the syntactic relationship between source language and target language has a considerable impact on the simultaneous interpreting process: the closer the two languages, the greater the opportunity to preserve the syntactic structure of the source text and therefore the lower the cognitive load; conversely, the greater the syntactic differences between the two languages, the greater the need to resort to strategic behaviour to come to terms with the differences, be they related to word order or to any other aspect. Languages also differ in terms of their relative length. English, for example, tends to be much shorter than French or Spanish. As a result, a simultaneous from English into French or Spanish would normally entail the production of a target text significantly longer, and consequently faster, than the source text. In consecutive the relation between the source language and the target language does not seem to have any impact on the process and therefore is not relevant.²

As regards their effectiveness in serving their purpose, in principle there are no differences between the two – there are no reasons why one should be more precise or more reliable or guarantee higher quality than the other. Clearly the different nature of the two makes simultaneous more susceptible to a source text's poor quality (convoluted syntax, confused presentation of concepts, excessive speed, etc.), whereas consecutive permits greater autonomy, for example allowing the time and the opportunity to proceed to some kind of restructuring if deemed advisable; and the interpreting fraternity tends to believe that there are text types or topics for which one mode may be better than the other. Actually, if the text to be interpreted is clear, if the speed is right, if the interpreter is well prepared and technically competent, the two modes are equally good and may indeed be equally effective.

Simultaneous and consecutive – research

Research on simultaneous and consecutive has largely concentrated on the two as interpreting modes used in a conference setting, while research investigating the interpreting activity in other settings has mainly covered cultural, social, sociological, ethical, interactional or quality aspects, often with little consideration of simultaneous or consecutive as such.

As regards consecutive, apart from studies giving thorough accounts of it as an interpreting mode (e.g. Ilg 1980; Abuín González 2007), the aspect that has been paid the greatest attention, often from a teaching perspective, is without any doubt note-taking (e.g. Matyssek 1989; Ilg and Lambert 1996; Andres 2002). The emphasis placed on note-taking clearly derives from the assumption that note-taking is indeed an important stage in the (long) consecutive interpreting process. The assumption, however, is not universally shared. In particular, authors belonging or close to the Paris School have never attached much importance to note-taking.³ Not overemphasizing note-taking may certainly be advisable, note-taking being, after all, just a means and not the end of the consecutive interpreting process. However, it certainly cannot be dismissed as a *faux problème* (Thiéry 1981) – it is hard to see how speeches lasting several minutes could be reformulated with any degree of accuracy if not adequately noted down.

Research on consecutive has also covered cognitive aspects, memory for instance, often in relation to note-taking and often by means of experimental studies involving professionals and/or students (e.g. Taylor 1989). Surprisingly, not much attention seems to have been paid to cognitive aspects of note-taking or, rather, to the concurrent and competing efforts involved in the note-taking process (a significant exception in this respect is Gile 2009). A thorough investigation of *how* notes are taken (what input leads to what notes), or *when* (a sort of ear-pen span, an aspect considered by Andres 2002) would be of extraordinary interest, in particular if carried out under real rather than experimental conditions.

As has been said, forms of consecutive interpreting have been studied with reference to dialogue interpreting in different settings. Significantly, this side of the consecutive research spectrum is fundamentally descriptive and, as such, crucially different from the implicitly or explicitly prescriptive texts that characterized the early years, in particular in the context of conference interpreting (see Diriker, this volume). In these studies, the emphasis is generally not on the consecutive interpreting dimension as such, but rather on setting-specific features, the dialogic dimension or the role of the interpreter as mediator and coordinator of the verbal exchanges. The analytical instruments are often those used in conversation analysis (e.g. Wadensjö 1998; Gavioli 2009).

Studies on simultaneous interpreting appear to have been more numerous than studies on consecutive interpreting. The reason may lie in simultaneous being regarded as more ‘intriguing’ (a *contra naturam* activity) or more promising on account of the cognitive and neurophysiological aspects associated to it and its (potential) capacity to shed light on brain functions, short-term memory, information processing and a host of other aspects which for some time attracted scholars from other disciplines and gave interpreting studies a significant period of multidisciplinary research. Here are some of the topics addressed within simultaneous interpreting research, often in the framework of experimental studies with interpreting students and/or professionals chosen as experimental subjects: processing capacity (e.g. Gile 2009), ear-voice span (e.g. Goldman-Eisler 1972), interpreting models (e.g. Moser 1978; Setton 1999; Gile 2009), neurological, neurolinguistic and neuropsychological aspects (e.g. Fabbro and Gran 1994, 1997; Darò 1996), simultaneous as a language pair-specific activity (e.g. Snelling 1992; Viezzi 1999), strategies (e.g. Kalina 1998; Riccardi 2005), and quality (e.g. Viezzi 1996; Collados Aís 1998; Pöchhacker 2002; Kalina 2005).

Simultaneous has also been considered in relation to its being used in specific settings such as media interpreting (e.g. Kurz 1997; Viaggio 2001; Straniero Sergio 2003), and some attention has also been paid to interpreting in specialized fields, for instance political communication (e.g. Viezzi 2001) and, in a conference interpreting context, medical and technical-scientific communication (e.g. Galli 1990; Garzone 2001). The relative lack of interest in specialized interpreting might be due to the fact that traditionally interpreters tend to be generalists rather than specialists; however, it would be a very interesting area for further research.

The most recent, and very interesting, research field is corpus-based interpreting studies, i.e. the use of corpora to study interpreting and interpreting performances (e.g. Shlesinger 1998; Setton 2002; Bendazzoli and Sandrelli 2009). For years the interpreting research community has been complaining about the limited availability of actual data due to the reluctance of interpreters to have their performances recorded. There are now signs showing that the problem is slowly being overcome or, at least, there are examples of its being overcome and corpus-based interpreting studies seem to have started in earnest. It is a most welcome development – it is a decisive step in the direction of *description* rather

than *prescription*, and it will help interpreting studies go beyond the experimental stage which has always been to some extent unsatisfactory on account of its being inevitably far from real-life conditions and circumstances.

Simultaneous and consecutive – quality

As has been said, there are no reasons why consecutive should be better than simultaneous or vice versa, but as is obvious there are good and not so good performances, be they simultaneous or consecutive. In other words quality is not inherent to either mode, but characterizes to varying degrees each individual performance or each individual product of the simultaneous or consecutive process. Interpretation quality has been widely studied and several approaches have been proposed. What clearly emerges is that quality is very much a relative, rather than absolute, concept – quality requirements, expectations, etc. vary from one setting to another and from one communicative situation to another, and there may always be ‘tension between what is translationally desirable and what is feasible under the circumstances’ (Pöchhacker 2007: 129). This, however, does not mean that there are no universal criteria or determinants of quality on the basis of which to analyse and discuss simultaneous or consecutive target texts in all contexts and settings, but simply that quality is to be considered not in the abstract but under the very concrete circumstances of the communicative situation. The determinants of quality used below are taken from Viezzi (1996).

Equivalence

A first determinant of quality is equivalence – without any doubt one of the most controversial subjects in translation and interpreting studies, often called into question or even rejected, for example as being ‘unsuitable as a basic concept’ (Snell-Hornby 1988: 22) or as not being necessarily relevant, as the supporters of *Skopostheorie* would suggest (e.g. Vermeer 1996). There may probably be good reasons to cast doubts about the suitability of the concept, but if it is not mistaken for identity it appears perfectly acceptable. As for the position of the supporters of skopos theory, there may again be good reasons to share it, as will be seen below, but for interpreter-mediated events in which the communicative situation is shared by all participants, as is often, although not always, the case in interpreting, it is difficult to see how equivalence could be ignored or rejected or not pursued. After all, equivalence seems to be what listeners expect of an interpreter’s text and it is hard to imagine how so many things in society could exist and function without the fundamental assumption that interpreting, just like translation, aims at producing target texts that are equivalent to the corresponding source texts. The real question therefore is not whether there is such a thing as equivalence, but rather on what level it is pursued and/or realized. Neubert and Shreve (1992: 144) suggest that equivalence is a relationship of communicative value; the supporters of the Paris School would say that equivalence is reached by re-expressing *sens*, or the speaker’s *vouloir dire*, and indeed when starting their courses probably all students are told that interpreting is not about translating words, but rather about reformulating ideas (or concepts or sense, etc.), which seems reasonable and commendable and certainly happens in many settings. An analysis of political communication, though, may reveal that simultaneous and consecutive interpreting in a political setting is significantly different.

Political communication is an example of the extraordinary power of words – words used to say and not to say, to assert and allude, to reveal and hide, to promise and

threaten, to assess and denounce, to convince and persuade. Words used in a political setting may have a value and a sense that go beyond what they apparently refer to; political communication tends to be deliberately vague, abstract and undefined – it is mostly about persuasion, about persuading people to act in a certain way, but ‘it is not the verifiable truth of the message which is relevant and likely to impress an audience and make it act upon a certain impulse: it is the way things are said ... irrespective of the amount of genuine information carried by an utterance’ (Sornig 1989: 95). Political communication often makes use of slogans, watchwords, words that are emotionally charged or supercharged; in it ‘meanings are conveyed by the very form of their expression’ (Edelman 1985: 132), which means, as Edelman himself says quoting McLuhan (1964: 7), that in political communication ‘the medium is the message’. Hence the specificity of simultaneous and consecutive interpreting in a political setting.

It would seem that in political communication sense is not so much the *vouloir dire* but rather the *façon de le dire*; not what words refer to, but words themselves – words that are carefully chosen in order to elicit a given reaction. The speaker’s *vouloir dire* may sometimes be a *vouloir ne pas dire*, or a hidden allusion, or a signal sent to an unidentifiable addressee. Which means that equivalence may often be realized by translating words because sense is there, in the words used by the speaker, with their evocative power or their ability to hide reality. If the speaker chooses to be vague, ambiguous or cryptic, or if he/she uses slogans or mottos, the interpreter is expected to reproduce the vagueness or the ambiguity or the slogan (as far as interlinguistic constraints allow), because it is there that sense lies – in ambiguity, in the words or sequence of words used. It is not the interpreter’s role to interfere with the speaker’s communication strategy and equivalence of sense is reached respecting the speaker’s choices, not clarifying what was deliberately left unclear or weakening with an explanation the rhetorical effect pursued by the speaker. Seleskovitch used to quote Lewis Carroll: ‘take care of the sense, words will take care of themselves’; when interpreting political communication, whether in simultaneous or in consecutive, it would be advisable to take care of the words. Sense, if any, will take care of itself.

Accuracy

A second determinant of quality is accuracy, which is to do with the accurate reformulation of the information content of a source text. A discussion of the relative merits of simultaneous and consecutive in terms of accuracy is unlikely to lead to a definitive conclusion. As has been said, in principle there is no reason why either should be better, although some professional interpreters might disagree. Directionality or language pairs, as suggested by Gile (2001) or, very simply, the individual interpreter’s expertise are likely to play a greater role than the interpreting mode per se. One might expect accuracy to be crucially important in all instances of interpreting. However, not all texts are the same, and the need for accuracy varies according to the text to be interpreted, relevance being generally a key factor. Accuracy is all-important when talking about the prescribed medication dose, for example, much less so on other occasions. One example: there are vast areas of the world where people do not know how long (or short) distances expressed in feet are, hence the need for the interpreter to move from imperial to metric. If the measurement he/she is faced with is, say, 50 feet, a well-advised interpreter will know whether to convert it to 15.24m (accurate as needed when talking about some mechanical part) or to 15m (inaccurate, but appropriate when talking of the distance between here and there).

Nor are all settings the same. Media interpreting, for example, is a setting where accuracy may be totally unimportant. Unlike what happens in conference interpreting, media interpreting is often characterized by displaced situationality. The simultaneously interpreted press conferences broadcast live by Italian television after each Formula One Grand Prix race are an example in this respect. The communicative situation may be described as being constituted by two events – the ‘primary’ event, where the only language used is English, with journalists asking questions of the drivers and the drivers answering; and the ‘secondary’ event with the interpreters providing simultaneous interpreting of questions and answers for the benefit of the Italian TV audience. The two events are of course closely related. However, while the interpreter-mediated secondary event depends totally on the primary event, the non-interpreter-mediated primary event is absolutely autonomous and independent of the secondary event. Participants in the primary event communicate directly and are probably unaware that somewhere the press conference is being interpreted simultaneously. Participants in the secondary event are therefore not among the addressees of the participants in the primary event – they might be regarded as ‘overhearers’ who are totally ignored by the speakers (Dressler 1994: 103). In fact they are just *informed* of what is happening at the press conference – what goes on in the secondary event might be called *documentary* interpreting as opposed to *instrumental* interpreting (cf. Nord 1997). What is more, as is often the case in media interpreting, all this happens within an entertainment logic whereby ‘what is important is not so much what is being said as the fact that communication does not break down. Hence the accurate rendition of “technicalities” is not the exclusive, nor even the main, communicative function of this speech event’ (Straniero Sergio 2003: 169). Accuracy in rendering the many technical terms characterizing questions and answers, which would be crucially important if simultaneous interpreting were internal to the press conference, becomes less important or even irrelevant since it is external to it and internal to an event where priorities, and needs to be met, are different.

Appropriateness

A third determinant of quality is appropriateness. The concept refers to the production of a target text overcoming cultural barriers and meeting listeners’ expectations and norms concerning texts exchanged in a given communicative situation.⁴ Interpreters may intuitively pursue appropriateness or else may be explicitly invited to do so. Media interpreting again gives an interesting example in this respect. In 1998 President Clinton appeared before the Grand Jury for reasons related to his ‘inappropriate relationship’ with Monica Lewinski. His testimony was simultaneously interpreted and broadcast by four Italian TV channels. The communicative situation was similar to the one described above, with an interpreter-mediated secondary event made possible by a non-interpreter-mediated primary event on which it had no impact whatsoever. The interpreters’ words would not be heard by the participants in the primary event, and the primary event itself would not be influenced in any way by interpreting or by the people listening to the interpreters. Once again a case of documentary interpreting, therefore. What is significant here is that the interpreters working for one Italian channel were instructed to ignore, dilute or gloss over any instance of scabrous or obscene language that could be regarded as unsuitable or inappropriate to a TV programme potentially viewed by children. Accurate interpreting, i.e. the production of a target text accurately re-expressing information, was to give way to appropriate interpreting, i.e. the production of a target text meeting specific language-related norms obtaining in the setting where interpreting was performed. This would have been impossible had

simultaneous interpreting been internal to the primary event, interpreters in legal settings being required to interpret verbatim even to the point of reproducing linguistic errors (Berk-Seligson 2002: 65), but simultaneous interpreting was internal to the secondary event, where interpreters were involved not in court interpreting, but in court TV interpreting, and listeners depended on interpreters not to acquire information needed to return a verdict, but just to satisfy their curiosity.

All this demonstrates that there can be a role for skopos theory in interpreting as well. Not in conference interpreting, where situationality is shared, but in media interpreting where situationality may be displaced and where the skopos of the source text and the skopos of the target text are not necessarily the same – and definitely they were not the same in the case just described, with President Clinton swearing to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth within a judicial event and the interpreters undertaking *not* to tell the whole truth in an entertainment event.

Usability

A fourth determinant of quality is usability, which is to do with producing a clear and well-presented target text, a text that is easy to follow and easy to understand. Basically, usability is a feature of the target text seen as if it were an autonomous text and its main components are aspects such as coherence and cohesion, clarity, rhythm, pauses, etc. On account of its greater structural and temporal dependence on the source text, simultaneous may not always be conducive to impeccable target texts from the point of view of usability, with false starts, self-corrections, an anomalous phonological/intonational behaviour and perhaps an occasionally vague or somewhat confused target text. Speed is among the factors having the greatest impact on a simultaneous target text and its usability. Too fast a target text imposes on the listener a load that may even become unmanageable. Mention has already been made of the difference in relative length between languages. For example, a fast English text would naturally lead to a very fast Italian text, with 20 or 30 per cent more verbal material over roughly the same amount of time; a very fast English text would require the Italian interpreter to cram an impossibly large number of words into his target text, with the net result of being unintelligible. Hence the desirability or even the need to resort to what Viaggio (1992) calls abstracting and compressing strategies in order to produce a usable text, even at the cost of leaving out some information.

An example in this respect is again provided by media interpreting, and in particular by the 1992 US presidential debates which were simultaneously interpreted and broadcast by Italian TV. Faced with Ross Perot's breakneck speed (an average 200 words per minute) and thick Texan accent, the TV interpreters resorted to quite a lot of smoothly presented summing up (and quite a lot of omissions), producing what turned out to be a perfectly usable (and highly praised) target text (Straniero Sergio 2003). A complete target text delivered at, say, 240 words per minute would have been utterly unusable and therefore useless. As for 're-expressing' sense (or any other similar interpreting goal), once again it is a matter of priorities and needs, and in media interpreting 'it is the *form* and not the *content* that both broadcasters and viewers respond to' (ibid.: 172).

A look at the future

Research is unpredictable and nobody knows which areas or topics will be investigated in the future. However, there are a few directions research may take that would seem to be

potentially very productive. For example, it would be desirable to continue and expand corpus-based interpreting studies. This is perhaps the most promising research line, concentrating as it does on what interpreters actually do, not on what they should do, thus enabling knowledge to be acquired about different aspects of interpreting and interpreter-mediated events. It would also be desirable to acquire a better understanding of the cognitive processes underlying interpreting, both simultaneous and consecutive, possibly through multidisciplinary efforts. Greater attention could then be paid to specialized interpreting and to interpreting in as many settings as possible. Interpreting is always the same yet it changes all the time – a better knowledge of what changes case after case, setting after setting, in terms of interaction structure, interpreters' role, user expectations and needs, communication priorities, etc., would no doubt be beneficial for all the people involved in interpreting – interpreters, users, recruiters, teachers, students, scholars, etc. The role of new technologies for both training and professional practice would also deserve thorough investigation. Then, of course, the hardest task of all will be to integrate the cognitive, the social, the translational, the linguistic and all other aspects of simultaneous and consecutive interpreting into a significant and coherent description of such a complex and multifaceted reality.

Related topics

forms of interpreting; political communication; media; equivalence; accuracy; appropriateness; usability

Notes

- 1 The Paris School, which flourished at the Ecole Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs de La Sorbonne Nouvelle (ESIT) under the guidance of Danica Seleskovitch, proposed the *théorie du sens* (Seleskovitch and Lederer 1986, 1989), one of the most influential theories in the history of interpreting studies. Basically addressing conference interpreting, the *théorie du sens* is still a useful guideline for students and aspiring interpreters, albeit with some questionable aspects such as what Gérard Ilg calls the *mépris du mot* (Ilg 1980: 118), or a sort of dogmatic attitude.
- 2 It should be noted, however, that according to Gile (2001) there might be differences in accuracy in consecutive vs. simultaneous, depending on the language combination.
- 3 One example in this respect is Thiéry (1981: 100), who relegates note-taking to the status of *temps accessoire* in the consecutive interpreting process between the two *temps forts* of *l'enregistrement par l'interprète du message de l'orateur*, and *sa réexpression*.
- 4 The concept of appropriateness may be described with the words used by Brown, talking about conversation: 'the speaker has to decide how to package the message in such a way that it is likely to be understood by the hearer in the context of utterance, while couching the message in a socially appropriate manner. This means taking into account what the hearer can reasonably be expected to know, as well as the nature of the social roles that the speaker and hearer are playing' (1996: 24).

Further reading

- Abuín González, M. (2007) *El proceso de interpretación consecutiva: Un estudio del binomio problema/estrategia*, Granada: Editorial Comares. (A comprehensive analysis of the different stages of the consecutive interpreting process from source-text reception to note-taking to target-text production, with special attention paid to strategic behaviour.)
- Gavioli, L. (ed.) (2009) *La mediazione linguistico-culturale: Una prospettiva interazionista*, Perugia: Guerra Edizioni. (A collection of papers discussing the sociolinguistic aspects of the role played by interpreters when performing short consecutive tasks in non-conference settings.)

- Riccardi, A. (2003) *Dalla traduzione all'interpretazione: Studi di interpretazione simultanea*, Milan: LED. (A thorough investigation of simultaneous interpreting with an overview of the different approaches characterizing the history of the discipline and special focus on strategies and quality.)
- Straniero Sergio, F. (2007) *Talkshow interpreting: La mediazione linguistica nella conversazione-spettacolo*, Trieste: EUT. (A corpus-based study of consecutive and simultaneous interpreting in a TV setting with a detailed analysis of the interpreters' text production and interaction strategies.)

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Community interpreting

Holly Mikkelson

The concept of community interpreting (ComI) has been addressed by a number of different authors (e.g. Gentile *et al.* 1996; Mikkelson 1996a; Pöchhacker 1999; Hale 2007; Corsellis 2008), most of whom point out that scholars and practitioners do not even agree on the label to use for this type of interpreting, let alone the definition. It is also known as ‘public service interpreting’ (Corsellis 2008), ‘cultural interpreting’ (Roberts 1997), ‘dialogue interpreting’ (Mason 2001) and ‘liaison interpreting’ (Gentile *et al.* 1996), but in this chapter the term ‘community interpreting’ (ComI) will be used exclusively.

What is community interpreting?

Hale (2007: 30) defines ComI simply as ‘the type of interpreting that takes place within one country’s own community, and within residents of that country’, whereas Pöchhacker goes into more detail:

In the most general sense, community interpreting refers to interpreting in institutional settings of a given society in which public service providers and individual clients do not speak the same language.

(Pöchhacker 1999: 126–7)

ComI, broadly defined, is as old as the phenomenon of immigration (Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002). Niska (2000: 136) says it has been around for ‘thousands of years’ as an informal, usually unpaid activity. Some writers trace the origins of ComI to the first contacts between European explorers and indigenous inhabitants. For example, Giambruno (2008) writes about interpreters in the Spanish colonies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Roberts (1997) describes interpreting in early contact between French explorers and Iroquois Indians in Canada, and Ozolins (1998) cites examples of such interpreting in the late eighteenth century in Australia. In Europe, professional ComI is said to have begun with the guest worker trend in the 1960s (Niska 2000; Tryuk 2004).

However long it has been practised, it is generally agreed that the ‘turning point’ came when ComI was formally recognized as a profession at the first Critical Link conference

in Ontario, Canada in 1995 (Mason 2001). Subsequent Critical Link and other conferences, as well as the proliferation of scholarly publications on the subject, have served to consolidate its position among the different types of interpreting. One noteworthy feature of the Critical Link conferences is the integration of sign language and spoken language interpreting practitioners and researchers, in marked contrast to the previous treatment of interpreting for the deaf as a distinct profession (Harris 1997). Indeed, some of the leading scholars in the field come from the sign language branch of the profession (Cokely 1992; Metzger 1999; Roy 2000; Harrington and Turner 2001; Napier 2002; Russell 2002; Witter-Merithew and Johnson 2004).

In addition to the previous distinction between interpreting in spoken and sign languages, many authors identify sub-specialities within ComI according to the settings where interpreters work, most commonly legal, medical and social services interpreting (e.g. Garber 2000; Hale 2007; Corsellis 2008), while others, such as Bancroft and Rubio-Fitzpatrick (2009) consider it a separate discipline from court or health care interpreting. The whole idea of breaking down the interpreting profession into distinct categories is rejected by some scholars, most notably Gentile (1997), and some propose that it be viewed as a continuum (Pöchhacker 2007: 12) or overlapping circles (Garber 2000: 15).

Regardless of how broad or narrow the scope of ComI is deemed to be, scholars have identified a number of distinguishing features that set it apart from other interpreting sectors. For example, Hale (2007: 32) provides a table depicting the contrasts between conference interpreting and community interpreting in eight different categories: register of language, language directionality, physical location of the participants, modes of interpreting, consequences of inaccurate rendition, level of accuracy required, relative status of participants, and number of interpreters working on a given assignment. She indicates that community interpreters must contend with a wide range of registers, perform bidirectional interpreting, work in close proximity to the interlocutors of disparate social status (leading to more personal involvement in the interaction), run high risks if they interpret inaccurately, and generally work alone rather than in teams (the norm in conference interpreting).

The serious consequences that could result from interpreted interactions are emphasized by other scholars, who note that 'the interpretation arises out of some sort of crisis in the life of the client' (Garber 2000: 16), such as an illness or a legal problem. Because of the tendency of community interpreters to work alone in high-stakes interactions, Corsellis (2008: 6) points out that their grasp of ethical concepts is especially important. Pressure by the interlocutors to violate the traditional impartiality of the interpreter is commonly described (e.g. Hale 2005, 2007; Zimányi 2009a). The power disparities between the participants that Hale (2007) identifies in her table are emphasized by many authors, who also stress the major cultural gaps that separate the interlocutors (e.g. Fenton 1997; Garber 2000; Mason and Stewart 2001; Mason 2005; Kermit 2007; Valero-Garcés and Gauthier-Blasi 2010). Another of the features often remarked upon in writings on ComI is the triadic relationship created among service provider, client and interpreter and the importance of physical positioning (Mason 2001; Corsellis 2008; Bancroft and Rubio-Fitzpatrick 2009). The 'visibility' of interpreters as they coordinate communication and negotiate turn-taking in this dynamic interaction is also highlighted (Wadensjö 1998; Metzger 1999; Roy 2000; Angelelli 2003; Bot 2003; Hale 2007). A related theme is the role conflict or blurring of roles that results from the triadic relationship and from the participants' inexperience and confusion about the interpreting profession (Corsellis 2008; Mason 2009).

The fact that ComI has been recognized as a professional endeavour only recently, coupled with the multiplicity of languages in which interpreting is needed, explains the

lack of formal training programmes and uniform standards of practice in most countries (Hale 2007; Corsellis 2008). Indeed, the use of *ad hoc*, non-professional ‘interpreters’ – including fellow patients, co-defendants, victim-witnesses, family members and even children – is still distressingly widespread (Morris 2000; Hale 2007; Corsellis 2008; Bancroft and Rubio-Fitzpatrick 2009; Pérez and Wilson 2009; O’Rourke and Castillo 2009). A number of writers report that public service institutions, in an attempt to make the most efficient use of existing resources, have tried to use bilingual employees to interpret, without recognizing the specialized skills required for interpreting or the conflicts that result from this dual role (e.g. Corsellis 2008; Bancroft and Rubio-Fitzpatrick 2009).

The job market for community interpreters is characterized by unpredictable demand and a lack of job security, and the question of who should pay for interpreting services is often raised (Corsellis 2008). The outsourcing that no small number of institutions have resorted to as a means of saving money has eroded even the small gains made towards professionalization and recognition (Morris 2010). The ‘market disorder’ that typifies ComI (Mikkelsen 1996b; Witter-Merithew and Johnson 2004) is another factor contributing to the lack of professional standards, though valiant efforts are being made in many countries to set standards through testing and certification (Roat 2003, 2006; Kelly 2007; Hale 2007; Corsellis 2008).

It is often remarked that if there were an abundance of university degree programmes with widely accepted curricula for teaching ComI, as there are for conference interpreting, certification exams administered by independent bodies might not be necessary (Roberts 1997; Ozolins 2000). Those who have analysed the efforts to professionalize ComI through credentialing programmes have pointed to the vicious circle that is set in motion when high standards are imposed before adequate training is in place (Mikkelsen forthcoming). In turn, the large number of languages and the fact that many trainees are older adults whose formal education was interrupted by strife or war in their home countries further complicate the educational challenges (Corsellis 2008). Nevertheless, curricula and training materials have been developed to address the needs of non-traditional learners in adult education settings, either in university extension programmes, community college courses, stand-alone courses offered by private educational centres, or through self-study. These resources may be oriented towards sub-specialties such as court interpreting (e.g. Mikkelsen 2006) or medical interpreting (e.g. Cross Cultural Communication Systems 2004), or they may focus on community interpreting per se (e.g. Bancroft and Rubio-Fitzpatrick 2009).

The role of the community interpreter

The preceding discussion of definitions of ComI and how it is practised in today’s world reveals the complexity of the activity and the environment in which it is carried out. Indeed, Mason (2001: i) points out, ‘we should marvel that the whole process is even possible and that it is carried out successfully, to the satisfaction of users of the service, on a daily basis world-wide’. Just as there are differing opinions on exactly what ComI is, there are wide-ranging views on the role of the community interpreter. As Pöchhacker and Shlesinger indicate:

practitioners of community-based interpreting have continued to grapple with role definitions and deontological dilemmas as momentous challenges, given the diversity of sociocultural and institutional constraints shaping their work in any given national environment.

(Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002: 340)

Valero-Garcés and Gauthier-Blasi (2010: 97) note that ‘the controversy about the role(s) these intermediaries have to perform in public services seems to be one of the main difficulties to obtain academic and institutional acceptance and recognition’. Roy (2002) writes that a number of metaphors have been used over the years to describe this role, including machine, window, bridge and telephone line. In the early years before professionalization, sign language interpreters who interpreted for friends and family were considered to be ‘helpers’ (a description that also applies to *ad hoc* spoken-language interpreters who assisted monolingual immigrants in their communities). Gradually, the view of the interpreter’s role shifted to the ‘conduit’ model as the notion of impartiality and detachment gained favour, but the limitations of this cold, impersonal term soon became apparent. The next descriptor to be settled upon by the profession was ‘communication-facilitator’, which allowed for professional interpreters to exercise more flexibility and judgement in interpreted interactions. The metaphor evolved further to that of ‘bilingual, bicultural specialist’ as the importance of cultural sensitivity gained recognition.

After reviewing this history, Roy concludes that no single metaphor fully captures the complexity of the interpreter’s role:

Assuming that two speakers truly do not know the other’s language, the only participant who can logically maintain, adjust, and, if necessary, repair differences in structure and use is the interpreter. Because interpreters are the only bilinguals in these situations, 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.

(Roy 2002: 352)

One view that combines all of the above descriptors is the pyramid model first developed by the Bridging the Gap training curriculum (Niska 2000, described in detail by Diversity Rx 2003). It acknowledges that interpreters play different roles at different times, depending on the nature of the interaction, and it reflects the relative amount of time interpreters tend to spend in each role. At the base of the pyramid, occupying the most space, is the ‘conduit’ role, defined as the most basic of the roles, which involves rendering in one language literally what has been said in the other: no additions, no omissions, no editing or polishing. This is the ‘default’ role of the interpreter, which should be adopted unless a clear potential for misunderstanding is perceived (Diversity Rx 2003). The next tier in the pyramid is the ‘clarifier’ role:

In this role, the interpreter adjusts register, explains or make word pictures of terms that have no linguistic equivalent (or whose linguistic equivalent will not be understood by the patient) and checks for understanding. You should take this role when you believe it is necessary to facilitate understanding.

(Diversity Rx 2003)

Above it, occupying a much smaller area as the pyramid narrows, is the ‘culture broker’ role:

In this role, the interpreter provides a necessary cultural framework for understanding the message being interpreted. You should take this role when cultural differences are leading to a misunderstanding on the part of either provider or patient.

(*ibid.*)

Finally, at the very tip of the pyramid is the ‘advocate’ role, a highly controversial notion that has sparked a great deal of debate in the profession (cf. Roberts *et al.* 2000; Niska 2000):

Advocacy is any action an interpreter takes on behalf of the patient *outside the bounds of an interpreted interview*. The advocate is concerned with quality of care in addition to quality of communication. An on-site interpreter would appropriately become an advocate when the needs of the patient are not being met due to a *systemic barrier* such as the complexity of the health care system or racism.

(*Diversity Rx 2003: emphasis added*)

Those who use the pyramid model describe the ‘incremental intervention’ it portrays (Avery 2001) and emphasize its flexibility. In this model, the role of the interpreter is seen as being flexible, ranging from the least intrusive role of conduit, to clarifier, to culture broker and finally, to the most intrusive role of advocate. The model recognizes the need for the interpreter to stay in the background and to support communication and relationship-building directly between patient and provider, while at the same time allowing the interpreter a legitimate way to intervene if she perceives that a misunderstanding is occurring. The level of intrusion that is least invasive yet will adequately facilitate understanding between patient and provider dictates the choice of role (*ibid.*: 9).

Leanza (2007), after describing a typology of interpreter roles similar to the pyramid model, suggests that studies of how interpreters actually behave ‘make it clear that interpreters’ roles differ widely from one context to another. Where there is an institutional need for cultural information or mediation, interpreters will be asked to perform these tasks, moving beyond their specific linguistic skills’ (*ibid.*: 16). In other words, the demands of the institution ‘hosting’ the interpreted interaction prevail over those of the individual participants. He proposes his own model, a matrix in which the interpreter acts as a ‘system agent’, a ‘community agent’, an ‘integration agent’ or a ‘linguistic agent’, depending on the circumstances (*ibid.*: 29). Zimányi (2009a) builds further on this discussion and provides a diagrammatic aid based on an (Im)partiality Axis and an Involvement Axis, pointing out that ‘it is not the environment that determines the position of the interpreter in relation to the two primary participants, rather the nature of the evolving situational relations between the three participants’ (*ibid.*: 65).

Different perspectives

In keeping with the triadic nature of ComI, it is useful to examine the perspectives of the three parties involved in interpreted interactions: service providers, service consumers (i.e. members of linguistic minorities, sometimes known as ‘interpretees’) and interpreters. Numerous studies have looked at how community interpreters view themselves and their role (Pöchhacker 2000; Angelelli 2003; Cheshier *et al.* 2003; Tryuk 2004; McCartney 2006; Hale 2007; Valero-Garcés and Martin 2008; Martin and Ortega Herráez 2009; Pérez and Wilson 2009), and many have addressed the perception that service providers have of the interpreters (Turner 1990; Kelly 2000; Pöchhacker 2000; Leanza 2007; Hale 2007; Zimányi 2009b). Little research has been done, however, on the third corner of the triangle, the interpretees (Hale 2007: 162), for reasons that will be discussed below.

Most of the surveys of interpreters focus on what they think their role should be and what tasks they should perform (e.g. Pöchhacker 2000; Martin and Ortega Herráez 2009), but some delve more into subjective impressions such as job satisfaction and stress (Bahadir

2001; Tryuk 2004; McCartney 2006). As noted above, there appears to be a lot of disagreement on the role of the interpreter, even among the practitioners themselves. Some of the respondents in these studies highlighted the contrast between user expectations and the interpreter's own ideas of what they should and should not do, and between what they were taught in their training courses and what they actually do (Hale and Luzardo 1997; Mikkelson 2008). The guilt and stress felt by interpreters, both because of their own feeling that they have done something wrong and because of the pressures from their clients to violate the code of ethics, has been mentioned in several articles (Niska 1995; Fowler 1997; Morris 1999; Bahadir 2001; Moeketsi and Wallmach 2005). Compounding the difficulties faced by interpreters due to role conflict are the inherently traumatic cases in which they are often called upon to interpret (Fowler 1997; Garber 2000; Bahadir 2001; Zimányi 2009b), and the constant 'tug-of-war' in which they are obliged to negotiate meaning by deciding whether to render what the interpretee *says, means or should say* (Valero-Garcés and Gauthier-Blasi 2010). Leanza reports the frustration felt by interpreters working in health care:

They agreed that they sometimes served as Cultural Informants, but only in a 'one-way' mode (from physician to patient). If they tried to work in the other direction (from patient to physician) they found they were unable to influence the physicians' discourse.
(Leanza 2007: 21)

Perhaps not coincidentally, community interpreters also tend to regard themselves as the poor relations of interpreters in more-developed sectors of the profession, particularly conference interpreting (Niska 1995). Tryuk (2004: 179), for example, writes that the community interpreters in Poland are dissatisfied with their working conditions, feel that they are under-appreciated or demeaned by the service providers with whom they work, and aspire someday to become conference interpreters.

A market survey of interpreters working in all sectors in North America (Kelly *et al.* 2010) found that practitioners are frustrated with the lack of respect shown to them by service providers or the general public, and the difficulty they face trying to make a decent living in a market where there is constant downward pressure on the rates they can charge even though they have to pay high fees for training, certification and professional development. Nevertheless, they also derive satisfaction from engaging in a challenging and morally rewarding profession (Kelly *et al.* 2010: 74–9). Leanza (2007: 22) cited one instance of the more positive view that interpreters have of their work, quoting one description of the role as 'reciting her poetry' and noting that reciting poetry can be seen as a very enjoyable activity, because of the beauty of the language (though this may hardly apply to biomedical specialized language) and because of the pleasure of expressing prestigious knowledge and making a good impression on others.

According to Hale (2007), service providers demonstrate a lack of awareness or concern for the qualifications of community interpreters, and the low levels of remuneration are viewed as appropriate. She notes that few of the Australian medical and legal professionals even bothered to fill out and return the questionnaire that was sent to them, and adds, 'They see the deficiencies of poor interpreting, but take no responsibility for improving it' (*ibid.*: 151). She also describes the conflicting expectations they have of interpreters, indicating that they want interpreters to adhere to the machine model but they also expect the interpreter to make sure their client understands everything, even to the extent of simplifying questions (*ibid.*: 154–5), which corroborates the findings of an earlier study of physicians

in Austria (Pöchhacker 2000). Leanza also found that service providers usually expected interpreters to be invisible and ‘just translate’, but in addition, paediatricians said that:

communication with parents and children was more difficult when an interpreter was present. These physicians found it very hard to get the information needed to do their work properly and manage their time appropriately (according to institution rules). They felt a loss of control in their consultation and at times also felt excluded from the interaction with the parent.

(Leanza 2007: 19–20)

Many researchers have concluded that there is a dire need for training of allied professionals so that they can work more effectively with interpreters (e.g. Hertog 2000; Tebble 2003; Corsellis 2008).

As for the interpretees, a few scholars have included them in their research on attitudes towards interpreters, but the very language barrier that requires them to resort to interpreters in the first place makes it difficult to craft appropriate questionnaires and interview them. Nonetheless, Hale and Luzardo (1997), Mesa (2000), Turner (2007) and Kent (2007) do report on surveys of the users of interpreting services in their own languages. Hale and Luzardo (1997: 11) analysed interviews with speakers of Arabic, Spanish and Vietnamese in Australia over a three-year period, and reported that they were more likely to view the interpreter as a ‘compatriot who was there to help’ rather than an ‘independent professional’. The answers varied according to the setting in which the interpreting took place, however, with legal interpreters more often seen as professionals than their counterparts in welfare or medical situations. In addition, the respondents’ assessment of their own fluency in English seemed to be a factor in whether they regarded interpreters as professionals or helpers. In any case, when given a choice of interpreters, the majority of the respondents said they would prefer a professional (*ibid.*: 15). Another important finding of this study was that interpretees’ expectations of interpreters conflicted with the code of ethics that interpreters in Australia are required to follow, in that they preferred friendly interpreters who introduce themselves and explain their roles rather than those who ‘just interpret’, thereby placing the interpreters in a difficult position (*ibid.*: 16).

Mesa (2000) obtained similar results when she questioned immigrants living in Canada who had used the services of health care interpreters in 12 different languages. Participants in that study said they had more confidence that professional interpreters would interpret accurately and maintain confidentiality than volunteers (including friends and relatives). In general, they expressed appreciation for and satisfaction with the services they received.

The work of Turner (2007) and Kent (2007) stands in contrast to the two studies described above, in that they focus on interpretees’ criticism of interpreters for denying their autonomy or depriving them of decision-making power, though Turner (2007: 182) also acknowledges the shared responsibility of all interlocutors for successful interactions. It is highly significant that the latter researchers are sign language interpreters, because the populations they serve are relatively stable communities consisting of native-born citizens, in contrast to the transient populations of immigrants usually served by spoken language interpreters. Moreover, in recent years deaf communities in the UK and USA, where these two scholars work, have become increasingly outspoken in asserting their rights. Immigrants, on the other hand, especially those who are undocumented or whose status is uncertain as they undergo the asylum application process, are less likely to complain about interpreting services and may even be hard for researchers to locate.

Research methodologies and possibilities

Research on ComI has proliferated tremendously in the past two decades. A special issue of *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, the journal of the Department of Translators and Interpreters, Artesis University College in Antwerp, was published in 2006 for the express purpose of reviewing the work that had been done to date, analysing the methodological issues raised, and charting the future course of the field. Its editors, Hertog and van der Veer (2006: 11), point out that the 1990s was the decade that ‘saw the publication of those seminal studies which would define the research paradigm that really opened up the potential of ComI as a fully fledged academic discipline’. They emphasize that the ‘dialogic discourse-based interaction’ focus of this paradigm (using the term coined by Pöchhacker 2004) shaped much of the early ComI research, but the horizon has expanded to encompass a much broader approach. Other fields besides discourse studies, including pragmatics, sociology and psychology, can contribute a great deal to our understanding of ComI. For example, an article in the issue by Inghillieri (2006) suggests applying a sociological and linguistic-ethnographic approach to ComI. A number of articles analyse the deficiencies of previous research methodologies, including ‘the widespread and questionable use of the ubiquitous questionnaire or interview’ (Hertog and van der Veer 2006: 14) and propose improvements. Others make specific recommendations for subsets of ComI such as sign language, medical and legal interpreting. Remote ComI is given special attention in the journal as a growing field that has hitherto received little attention from scholars (Hertog and van der Veer 2006). Another theme running through the issue is that care should be taken to avoid a strictly ‘ivory tower’ approach and to focus on how research can inform the actual practice of ComI.

Hale (2007: 197) echoes this admonition, lamenting that ‘there seems to be no consistent link between the results of research, the little training available and the practice of interpreters, with these three dimensions often working in isolation from each other’. She goes on to say that many interpreting instructors are ‘experienced practitioners who have not received academic, research-based training themselves, and base their curricula on practical experience alone’ (ibid.: 198). She draws a distinction between basic and applied research, urging strong links between the two, and advocates continuation of the interdisciplinary approach that has characterized much of the research, drawing on the methodologies associated with linguistics, sociology and psychology (ibid.: 203). In this regard, she identifies four main approaches adopted by scholars studying ComI: discourse analysis, ethnography, survey-questionnaires and experiments using methods from psycholinguistics and psychology (ibid.: 204). After describing several research studies that have already been conducted, she concludes by reviewing the principles of scientific inquiry as applied to the social sciences and suggesting additional research projects.

Clearly, ComI is a multifaceted activity that has fascinated scholars in a wide variety of disciplines. Unsurprisingly, the studies that have been done have in turn raised new questions that cry out for answers. For example, are there significant differences between service providers’ perceptions of the interpreting process when their clients are native-born members of linguistic minorities, such as the deaf and French-speaking residents of Quebec or Italian-speakers in Switzerland, as opposed to newly arrived immigrants? Do the former establish long-term relationships with interpreters that affect perceptions of interpreter-mediated interactions? What impact does culture have on expectations of interpreter impartiality? What are the relative differences in outcome between patients treated with interpreters present in the examining room, interpreters connected by telephone, and interpreters connected by video? Are jurors more favourably disposed towards a criminal defendant

who struggles to communicate in English when testifying at trial, or towards one who communicates smoothly through a competent interpreter? Can certain personality traits be identified as indicators of success for interpreter trainees? These are just a few of the myriad questions that ComI research could answer.

Corsellis remarks in the introduction to her book:

Globalization and modern modes of transport have resulted in the increasing movement of people between countries for shorter or longer periods of time. People travel to other countries for work, education and pleasure. They also do so to escape natural and man-made disasters. As a consequence, most countries have multilingual, multicultural populations.

(Corsellis 2008: 1)

Interpreters have therefore become ubiquitous players on the world stage, and as a growing number of people communicate through interpreters in their daily lives, more disciplines will take notice of the impact ComI has on their particular activities. They will either depend on interpreters for conducting their research, or they will research the interpreting process itself. Journalists and anthropologists will want to know what effect interpreter-mediated interviews can have on information gathering; telecommunications companies will want to explore new applications of technology to interlingual interactions and the impact on the users; pharmaceutical researchers will need to understand the linguistic and cultural implications of relying on interpreters when conducting clinical trials in multilingual populations; political scientists, economists and market analysts will be concerned about cost-effective means of delivering interpreting services to burgeoning linguistic minorities, and so on. All of these areas of inquiry provide fertile ground for research on ComI.

Related topics

community interpreting; service providers; service consumers

Further reading

Bancroft, M. and Rubio-Fitzpatrick, L. (2009) *The Community Interpreter: Professional Interpreter Training for Bilingual Staff and Community Interpreters*, fourth edn, Ellicott City, MD: Cross-Cultural Communications. (A firm grasp of the practical challenges that ComI practitioners face in their daily work can be gained from this training manual.)

Hale, S. (2007) *Community Interpreting*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (The best starting place for anyone contemplating a research project on ComI, providing a comprehensive introduction to the field, a review of current literature and recommendations for further research.)

Pöchhacker, F. (2004) *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, London: Routledge; and Pöchhacker, F. and Shlesinger, M. (eds) (2002) *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, London and New York: Routledge. (For researchers not entirely familiar with the interpreting profession as a whole, these two books provide a good overview of the practical and theoretical issues involved.)

The proceedings of the triennial Critical Link conferences, published by John Benjamins, are also extremely helpful for monitoring new developments in this rapidly evolving field.

Several journals regularly feature articles on ComI and related topics, including *Target* (John Benjamins, 2008, 20(2); 2010, 22(1)); *Interpreting* (John Benjamins, 1996, 1(1); 2007, 9(1), 9(2); 2009, 11(1); 2010, 12(1)); and *The Translator* (St Jerome, 1995, 5(2)). These and other scholarly publications frequently devote entire issues to ComI-related topics, as was the case when *Linguistica Antverpiensia* published a special issue on ComI research and methodology (2006, 5). Obviously

there is no shortage of writing on ComI at present; the challenge for the researcher is to glean what is most relevant to a particular focus.

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Legal interpreting

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Legal interpreting refers to interpreting conducted in a legal setting. González *et al.* (1991: 25) have subdivided it into judicial interpreting and quasi-judicial interpreting, with the former referring to interpreting that takes place in a court of laws (what is usually referred to as court interpreting) and the latter to interpreting conducted in other legal settings or law enforcement agencies such as police stations, law offices, immigration offices and prisons, which has a bearing on in-court proceedings. Interpreters working in a legal setting are usually referred to as legal interpreters, court interpreters, judiciary interpreters or even forensic interpreters (Mikkelsen 2000: 1). In this chapter we will use the term court interpreter or interpreting to refer to interpreters working in all legal contexts.

The need for an interpreter

In an ideal world anyone who is not communicatively competent in the language of the justice system, who we will from now on label a foreign language speaker (FLS), would be able to rely on a competent interpreter on all occasions and at all stages when they are involved with the legal system. Involvement can include one or more of the following: initial telephone contact with the emergency services, evidence gathering interviews with police officers, client-lawyer interactions, probation meetings and prison visits, as well as interaction in courtrooms.

Of course, first of all someone needs to recognize that the FLS needs an interpreter, to discover what language(s) the FLS speaks as a native and then to find an interpreter, hopefully one who is trained and qualified. The FLS's first contact with the justice system may be an emergency call to the police, although to be able to make such a call requires some minimal competence in the language, which some FLSs simply do not have. In the UK, if the police telephone operator decides that a caller needs an interpreter he/she normally makes use of a telephone interpreting service. Tragically, some initial encounters are not successfully resolved. In 2007 Robert Dziekański, a Polish man on his way to join his mother in Canada, but unable to speak English, became disoriented and then violent in the immigration waiting area at Vancouver Airport. He died when police officers, unable to establish communication with him as they had no interpreter to help (and had anyway been misinformed that he spoke Russian), attempted to restrain him by tasing.

Ideally the interpreter will be a native speaker of the FLS's language, a competent speaker of the language of the legal interaction and an experienced legal interpreter. However, many situations are far from ideal – there are cases of court clerks asking unqualified individuals, like the victim's son or daughter, to interpret for the defendant when no certified interpreter is available (Mikkelson 1999; see also Berk-Seligson 2002: 26). A recent survey suggests that some 300 languages are spoken on a daily basis in London, but for only a small proportion of these are there qualified UK-based interpreters. Although there may be interpreter training available for the common languages, those wishing to train for languages of the wider world, like Somali, Amharic or Tigrinya in the UK, may find it impossible to find courses. Thus the chances of service users encountering competent, trained and qualified interpreters depends largely upon the languages they happen to speak.

In most countries interpreting services are provided only for linguistic minorities who are otherwise unable to participate in the legal process; however, in a small number of jurisdictions, like Hong Kong for instance, interpreting services have to be provided for the linguistic majority. There the majority Cantonese-speaking population appearing as both defendants and witnesses often has to participate in trials conducted in English.

In extreme situations when an appropriate interpreter cannot be found, it may be necessary to use two interpreters; indeed this is actually standard practice in Hong Kong courts for many cases involving immigrants from Mainland China who are not competent in Cantonese. In such cases there will be a staff interpreter who works with Cantonese and English, assisted by a second interpreter who works from the Mainland dialect into Cantonese. This of course both multiplies the chances of mistakes and also massively slows the evidential process. This highlights the absolute need for a reliable audio record of the interpreting, which at the moment only occurs in a small number of jurisdictions. In the majority of jurisdictions the only permanent record of both police interviews and of all of the courtroom interaction is made only in the language of the legal process and thus any interpreting errors are unrecoverable.

Occasionally the authorities make mistakes with the choice of interpreter. In the 1980s a Punjabi speaker, Mrs Iqbal Begum, an uneducated woman from a village in Pakistan with no formal education of any kind and no English, who had initially apparently pleaded guilty in the Birmingham Crown Court to murdering her husband, later appealed successfully on the grounds that she had mistakenly been understood to have entered a plea of guilty, when in fact she had uttered a phrase in her dialect of Punjabi equivalent to 'I have made a mistake'. For initial instructions, her solicitor had actually engaged an Urdu-speaking interpreter who spoke no Punjabi, while at trial the court had appointed a Gujarati and Hindi speaker, who was not even a qualified interpreter, but an accountant. Mrs Begum had not even understood the difference between murder and manslaughter, and had certainly been unable to follow what was said during her trial. The Court of Appeal ruled that she had not, in fact, been present at her own trial and she was released after having served four years in prison. When giving the Appeal Court's judgment, Lord Justice Watkins observed, 'this is merely an indication of the very great care which must be taken, when a person is facing a criminal charge, to ensure that he or she fully comprehends not only the nature of the charge, but also the nature of the proceedings'. In a Hong Kong case, *R v. Kwok Leung*, two native speakers of the southern Chinese dialect Hoklo, who had been convicted of manslaughter, appealed on the grounds that the evidence given by the prosecution witnesses had not been interpreted for them. The court agreed that it was important for defendants not simply to be present at their trial, but also to understand the proceedings in order to be able to decide what witnesses to call and

whether or not to give evidence. Their appeal was allowed and the conviction quashed (for details see Koo 2009).

Modes of interpretation in legal settings

The usual mode of interpreting used in legal settings is *consecutive*, or *short consecutive* (de Jongh 1992: 38; Mikkelsen 2000: 70), which works with short speech segments, usually at the sentence level. In other words, the speaker stops speaking or pauses and the interpreter renders the speech segment. Thus the speaker and the interpreter take turns, there are no overlapping voices and a question-answer (QA) exchange extends for four turns: Q – IQ – A – IA. However, when it is the accused who is an FLS then, of necessity, the interpreter must work much of the time in *simultaneous* mode, rendering not only the interactions between counsel and witnesses, but also counsel's opening and closing speeches, their submissions and mitigations for the benefit of the accused. In simultaneous mode the speakers do not pause to allow for the interpreter's turn, so the interpreter must render utterances for the FLS while at the same time processing the next utterance. Because most courts do not provide interpreters and their clients with any equipment, such as microphones or headphones, equipment that would be standard in a conference interpreting situation, simultaneous interpreting can only be conducted in a stage whisper, known professionally as *chuchotage*.

Apart from the techniques of consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, sight translation is another technique court interpreters have to master, as their work often involves the need to produce real-time, oral versions of written court documents such as summaries of facts, provisions of law, medical reports, defendants' background reports and probation officers' reports, etc.

The role of the interpreter in the legal process

The conduit model of the role of the court interpreter

Literature on the role of the court interpreter has largely centred on the debate over the interpreter's role as a *conduit* of words as generally perceived by law practitioners or as a linguistic and cultural mediator. In the purely *conduit* role, as Morris (1999: 18) puts it, 'the interpreter is viewed as a neutral machine through which a message passes untouched apart from the change in language'. The notion of the court interpreter as a *conduit pipe* has, however, been challenged by scholars like Morris (1995, 1999) Laster and Taylor (1994), Eades (1994, 1995, 2000) and Fenton (1997). Both Morris (1995) and Laster and Taylor (1994) argue for the court interpreter to be seen as a communication facilitator and to be allowed to go beyond verbatim interpreting. It is now generally accepted that the interpreter always has an impact upon proceedings, and that a completely faithful rendering of a source utterance into the target language is unattainable, despite the expectations of the interpreter as expressed in their codes of ethics.

The conflicting expectations of the role of the court interpreter

The codes of ethics for court interpreters around the globe all emphasize the need to remain unobtrusive, neutral and impartial, and to restrict their function strictly to the practice of interpreting. A review of the literature, however, illustrates that expectations of

the court interpreter have been divergent. While there are law practitioners who insist that interpreters should *translate*, not *interpret* (Morris 1995), there are court personnel, judges and attorneys included, who have little understanding about the role of court interpreters and expect them to also perform the duties of a court clerk or a bailiff, or to explain the defendant's rights (Mikkelsen 1998), not to mention unrepresented defendants or litigants, who see interpreters as their compatriots or even their saviours and expect them to act as legal advisers (see also Morris 1999). Hale (2004: 236) underscores the fact that roles in the courtroom are clearly defined for every participant – except for the interpreter.

Surveys by Fowler (1997), Kelly (2000) and Lee (2009a) all demonstrate these conflicting expectations and perceptions of the interpreter's role by the court personnel and the interpreters themselves. Fowler's study, in particular, indicates that court personnel were not consistent in their practice in court and their expectations of the role of the interpreter: on the one hand, all the magistrates said they expected the court interpreter to 'behave as quietly and unobtrusively as possible' (Fowler 1997: 195); on the other hand, they highlighted the presence of the interpreters by addressing them directly instead of the witnesses/defendants and referring to the latter in the third person. Moreover, many of the magistrates expected the interpreter to display impartiality while at the same time maintaining a 'warm' and 'helping' relationship with the defendant.

Researchers themselves are divided over the role of the interpreter. González *et al.* (1991: 155–6) suggest that 'it is to place the non-[native] speaker, as closely as is linguistically possible, in the same situation as a [native] speaker in a legal setting', without giving 'advantage or disadvantage to the non-[native]-speaking witness or defendant', and that interpreters should not be expected to explain, for example, legal procedures and terminology, or else they would be rendering legal services for which they are not legally qualified and would thus be placed in a 'legal mine field'. Barsky (2000: 58–9) on the other hand, believes that interpreters working at the Canadian Convention for refugee hearings should be allowed the latitude to ask questions and make clarifications, arguing that this range of activities is particularly important, especially when the claimant's lawyer is 'insufficiently interested' or 'inadequately prepared for the challenges of the case'. In other words, Barsky believes the interpreter should, as the need arises, assume some of the functions of a lawyer, even though this is specifically forbidden by the interpreters' code of ethics.

The interpreter as an active participant in the legal process

Despite the prescription in interpreters' codes of ethics that they should remain unobtrusive and preferably invisible, impartial and limit their function strictly to interpreting, empirical studies have proven that this codified role is more of a myth than a reality, because court interpreters clearly depart from this prescription in various ways in the course of interpreting.

Berk-Seligson's (2002) study of the North American courts and Hale's (2004) study of local court hearings in New South Wales both clearly show the interpreter's role as an active participant: interpreters are found to interrupt and clarify material with both counsel and witnesses. In Berk-Seligson's study the interpreters even prompt witnesses and defendants to speak and also to silence them.

Pöllabauer's (2004) study of asylum hearings in the Federal Asylum Office in Graz, Austria, and a later study by Kolb and Pöchlhacker (2008) of appeal hearings at the Independent Federal Asylum Review Board (IFARB) in Austria, both find that interpreters assume an active rather than an invisible and neutral role. In Pöllabauer's study,

which confirms the findings of the interpreters are found to act as coordinator Wadensjö (1998), by taking the initiative to elicit information they deem to be necessary for the outcome of the hearings, omitting or condensing information they consider to be irrelevant and seeking clarifications from the asylum seekers without asking for the investigating officers' approval, thereby taking over some of their functions. Both Pöllabauer (2004) and Kolb and Pöchhacker (2008) demonstrate that interpreters do not always adhere to their normative neutral role, but tend to ally themselves with the investigator or the adjudicator as indicated by their use of an inclusive plural first-person pronoun 'we' or 'us'. Ibrahim's (2007) study of courts shows that court interpreters in Malaysian courts are entrusted with the duties of an advocate or a court officer in addition to interpreting, such as giving procedural advice, coaching and directing unrepresented defendants.

Accuracy in legal interpreting

In legal interpreting, where the stakes are high, *accuracy* is accorded the highest importance because mistakes may lead to miscarriages of justice. Stress is always placed not simply on the faithful rendition of the source-language content, without addition or omission, but also on the register, style and tone of the source language, which should also be conserved as these features have an impact on how the FLS views legal professionals and how they in turn are perceived and thus on their credibility. The interpreter, as González *et al.* point out, being the voice of the FLS, has 'an overriding obligation to ensure that the TL [target language] rendition meets the highest standards of accuracy' so that the witness's testimony can be conveyed precisely and completely (1991: 475–76). González *et al.* (1991) contend that to attain this highest level of accuracy, interpreters must opt for verbatim interpretation and 'conserve every single element of information', including both linguistic and paralinguistic elements such as the source language (SL) register, word choice, obscenities, repetitions, self-corrections, slips of the tongue, pauses, false starts and tone of voice. On the other hand, interpreters must not try to enhance the clarity of the SL message through addition and elaboration, nor lengthen testimony or improve on any nonsensical or non-responsive testimony. What González *et al.* are proposing is twofold: *verbatim* interpretation equates to accuracy; and accuracy in interpreting necessitates a close adherence to both the propositional content and the style of the SL message.

As a matter of fact, there is a generally established definition for *accuracy* in various codes of ethics governing the practice of court interpreting, which emphasizes the importance of a faithful rendition of the SL speaker's message without addition, omission or distortion, and the requirement for the interpreter to preserve not only linguistic, but also paralinguistic elements.

While *verbatim* interpreting is a highly controversial issue and has been challenged in anecdotal evidence as noted above, it is generally agreed among researchers (Benmaman 1992; Berk-Seligson 2002; de Jongh 1992; González *et al.* 1991; Hale 2002; Laster and Taylor 1994) that interpreters should convey not only the content of the utterance, but also the style in which the utterance is made if participants who do not speak the language of the court are to be placed on an equal footing with those who do, because the style in which a message is delivered impacts on how it is received by the listeners.

Studies of *accuracy* in court interpreting have largely concentrated on how court interpreters deal with the style of speakers in the courtroom (Berk-Seligson 1999, 2002; Hale 1999, 2002, 2004; Hale and Gibbons 1999; Pöllabauer 2004; Rigney 1999). These studies demonstrate that interpreters tend to focus on the propositional content of a speaker's

utterance and often fail to preserve the style. Some of these studies examine how interpreters alter the style of witnesses' testimony and potentially their credibility, which may subsequently impact on the outcome of the trial (Berk-Seligson 2002; Hale 2002, 2004), while others investigate how the pragmatics of questions which are counsel's tool of manipulation can be altered by interpreters (Berk-Seligson 1999; Hale 1999, 2004; Hale and Gibbons 1999; Rigney 1999).

While interpreters' codes of ethics require them to render the SL message without additions or omission, Jacobsen (2002) contends that it is impossible for an interpreter to do so without generating additions of various kinds. She draws on Grundy (1995: 16), who, after Grice (1975), explains that speakers frequently convey an implied meaning which addressees, including interpreters, must infer, what Grice called an implicature. Jacobsen, in her study of interpreting in the Danish court, identifies three main strategies used by interpreters when they encounter implicatures. In her study of the pragmatic practices of court interpreters Jacobsen finds that they either interpret the semantic content and explain the implicature, or interpret the semantic content and explain part of the implicature, or interpret part of the semantic content and explain part of the implicature. She suggests that interpreter-mediated communication cannot take place without such additions and explications, since interpreters see themselves as bridging the gap between two speakers of different languages and appear not to want to divorce their role as *conveyers of messages* from their role as *explicators of implicatures*. Thus there is an irreconcilable tension between interpreters' codes of ethics, the courts' naïve expectation that they will render everything that is said *verbatim*, and the interpreters' natural inclination towards explication by adding new information not stated in the source utterance.

Challenges of the profession

All interpreter-mediated interaction presents a range of communicative challenges for all participants, interpreters, professionals and FLSs alike. First, the fact that each institution has its own social hierarchies, rule-governed relationships, power differentials, sociopolitical frameworks, speech styles and spatial organization means that interpreters disrupt normal professional practice.

A wide range of speech styles

Interpreting in legal settings, especially in court proceedings, is a highly complex and challenging task, as legal proceedings require not only the participation of law practitioners, but also of lay people from all walks of life, such as litigants, witnesses or defendants. Courtroom language is therefore not only about law; it incorporates mixed genres and registers, as identified by O'Barr (1982: 25) in his ethnographic observation of a North Carolina courthouse in the USA.

Interpreters in the legal process will therefore encounter a wider range of speech styles within the courtroom than in most other institutional spheres. They will come across a wide variety of accents, dialect features, slang and other speech styles in both native and foreign language-speaking witnesses and defendants. An added complication is that lawyers will strategically, as well as idiosyncratically, deploy different styles according to the context, witness and interviewing strategy within the same hearing. For instance in a trial in an English Magistrates' Court, the reading out of indictments by the court clerk, the swearing of oaths, and the prepared formulae contained in the Bench Book (which are

used as a basis for pronouncements) are at the formal end of the continuum, but the lawyers' questions during examination-in-chief and cross-examination may involve a whole variety of styles ranging along the formal to informal continuum, and the responses from witnesses and defendants can be anything from hyperformal to casual, as defined by Joos (1967).

Lack of preparation

When working at conferences, interpreters are treated as fellow professionals and are by standardly given in advance lists of key vocabulary items, relevant documents and even complete texts of speeches in order to be able to prepare themselves properly. By contrast, the court interpreter is certainly not treated as a professional of equal rank and counsel usually refuse an interpreter's request for access to court files on the grounds of *confidentiality*. This consequential lack of familiarity with the details of the case puts interpreters at a distinct disadvantage compared to defence and prosecution advocates because they must as a result rely almost exclusively on their linguistic competence, rather than on their extralinguistic knowledge.

Cultural differences/different legal systems

Interpreting is essentially a triadic form of mediated communication between two interactants who do not share the same language and who may also not share the same cultural assumptions. There are challenges that originate from the nature of interpreted communication and the transfer of cultural and linguistic concepts from one language to another. As Mikkelsen (1995) points out, this is particularly difficult in the field of law, where jurisprudence has developed differently in different societies, and where such concepts as 'homicide', 'murder' and 'manslaughter' can have variable definitions and associations. Thus *verbatim* interpreting is impossible, although many in the legal professions appear not to realize this.

Interpreter fatigue

Court interpreters, unlike their conference and sign language-interpreting colleagues work, almost without exception, alone. (Sign language interpreters generally work in pairs for 20 to 30 minutes at a time). Conference interpreters, who normally work in pairs, generally perform simultaneous interpreting for no more than 20 to 30 minutes at a stretch before their boothmate takes over, and boothmates, when technically resting, usually continue to listen to and to monitor their colleagues and are available to provide rapid assistance when necessary. By contrast, the court interpreter working for a defendant, unlike any of the other court participants, has no break from speaking and has no one to help in times of linguistic difficulty, in sessions that can last up to three hours without a break. As de Jongh notes:

During a trial, someone is always speaking, and it is seldom the same person. The interpreter, however, must process the words of everyone in the courtroom. For that reason, s/he is the only person in the courtroom who is constantly listening, interpreting and speaking.

(de Jongh 1992: 52)

This leads to interpreter fatigue and highlights the need for team interpreting. An experiment conducted by Moser-Mercer *et al.* (1998) demonstrates that taking long turns in simultaneous conference interpreting has a negative effect on the quality of an interpreter's

output. Interestingly, in the *Benchmark for Working with Court Interpreters* issued by the North Carolina Administrative Office of the Courts,¹ it is suggested that two interpreters should be used for long trials and team interpreting is also recommended by Hale (2010) and de Jongh (1992).

Simultaneous interpretation without equipment

As has been mentioned previously, simultaneous interpreting in court (except, for example, in the US Federal Courts and the International Criminal Court, where simultaneous interpreting is conducted with infra-red systems and standard SI equipment, respectively), is usually conducted with the interpreter whispering into the ear of (usually) the defendant. This inevitably creates acoustic difficulty for the interpreter especially when the speaker has his/her back to the interpreter, as typically happens when counsel is addressing the judge. An added disadvantage of this non-electronic mode of simultaneous interpretation is that it puts the interpreter in close proximity with the defendant, making it easier for the defendant to initiate private conversation with him/her, which can in turn lead the court to have doubts about the interpreter's neutrality.

Future developments

Government-sponsored research on legal interpreting services

There is a need for regular government-sponsored research to discover the extent of the need for legal interpreting services and the degree to which this need is currently being met. Such research will involve discovering the range of languages spoken in a given region plus the number of speakers likely to require interpreting services in any 12-month period and then a mapping of this information against the number and locations of registered interpreters, followed by intervention to make supply fit more closely with demand. The UK government, for instance, chose not to make use of the regular ten-yearly census to discover the range of languages spoken by its citizens and their levels of bi- and multi-lingualism. Unless and until such research is undertaken, interpreter provision and training will continue to be patchy and random, based rather on the availability of specific language combinations than on any identified need. In an ideal world, provision should of course be responsive to particular waves of migration as they occur.

Impact of video-link interpreting in the legal process

Research is also needed to help to optimize the use of existing pools of interpreters – currently interpreters, particularly those working in languages of the wider world, spend too much of their time travelling, although the provision of quality telephone interpreting services may alleviate this situation. It is now common in some countries, particularly the UK and the USA, to link prisons, detention centres and police stations to courtrooms by video so that defendants on remand in prison and arrested persons in police custody can be dealt with faster and more cost-effectively. Prisoners on remand or in custody and detainees in immigration detention centres can apply for bail or have their cases reviewed from a specially adapted room within the prison/detention centre. At the time of writing there is one virtual court in the UK located within a Magistrates' Court and connected to a group of police stations in the London area, and although interpreters generally remain at police stations

for virtual court hearings, the virtual environment in which they are working is a judicial one. Here cases are disposed of and defendants are sentenced from the police station without ever appearing in court in person. Less common are witness video links to the courtroom, but these are particularly valuable when child, vulnerable or intimidated witnesses are involved and appearing in court remotely may be the only way in which they are able to give evidence.

The introduction of videoconferencing into the courtroom setting requires interpreters to make adjustments to their professional practice. However, as yet, there has been very little research into how best to involve the interpreter in these remote hearings, nor into how such a system impacts upon the objective quality of the interpreting, upon a defendant's understanding of their case or even upon the quality of the justice meted out. The vast majority of interpreter training courses do not include anything about video-link interpreting. Judicious (but limited) use of video-link technology may be useful in that it will enable defendants speaking languages that are rare in a given jurisdiction access to quality interpreting services, when currently this is not the case.

Government-sponsored pre-service training and accreditation programmes

Court interpreting is a highly complex and specialized profession which requires systematic and rigorous training to produce high-calibre professionals and to ensure equality of justice for all those involved in the judicial proceedings. Governments across the world must therefore acknowledge their obligation to provide a pool of well-qualified legal interpreters and must plan at every level for their growing multilingual populations in terms of adequate funding for courses, proper and competent training provision, appropriate accreditation systems, and most of all, must introduce the legal entitlement for all citizens to trained and qualified interpreters, no matter what language they speak and no matter what their financial resources. To this end the curricula and examinations provided for interpreters should be of sufficient length and depth and subject to inspection by those qualified to do so. Courses must include an element of work-based training, an infrastructure for the monitoring of practitioners should be introduced, and continuing professional development should be mandatory.

Benmaman (1999) suggests that to prepare for a career in legal interpreting, 'a curriculum of extensive and intensive professional education courses is mandatory and justified'. Hale (2010) points out that compulsory pre-service training is essential to guarantee a minimum standard and professional status for court interpreters and that apart from training in the various modes of interpreting commonly used in court and note-taking skills, interpreters must also acquire bilingual legal terminology and specialized knowledge of the legal system as well as of the discourse practices and strategies used in the courtroom. She also notes that highly trained professionals of a high level of bilingual competence should be treated as specialized experts in court and that adequate remuneration should be provided for these professionals as an incentive to enter the profession.

Training for legal personnel

Guaranteeing quality in legal interpreting is a shared responsibility between interpreters and those with whom they work. Therefore, training for interpreters must be accompanied by training for those with whom they work, such as advocates, judges, lawyers, court clerks and police officers, or else its value will be restricted. Mistakes on the part of judges arising from their misconceptions about the role of the court interpreter include instructing

interpreters to explain trial procedures to defendants, informing them about their legal rights at trial and ordering interpreters not to interpret certain remarks to defendants. As observed earlier, there are judges and counsel who constantly address the interpreter instead of the defendant or witness. Mikkelson (1999) observes that some judges are so arrogant that they refuse interpreters' requests for them to slow down or to speak up, or to grant a request for a recess.

Some efforts have been made in the USA by the National Centre for State Courts to educate court personnel to work more effectively with interpreters, and indeed a book entitled *Managing Language Problems: A Court Interpreting Education Program for Judges, Lawyers, and Court Managers* was published in 1997 (Mikkelson 1999). Mikkelson, recounting her own experience of training sessions she provided in 1995, notes that '[t]he most effective way to jolt these jaded judicial professionals out of their complacency is to make them try a little interpreting themselves', the heartening result of which is the awakening of the judge to the complexities of court interpreting, followed by a favourable change in their attitude towards interpreters.

The need to ensure quality standard in interpreting

There is an increasing trend worldwide for public institutions to outsource their interpreting requirements to private multinational companies. Whether standards can be better guaranteed by state-run agencies (as in Australia, for example) or by commercial ones (where interpreters are paid at lower rates) is another pressing issue. Makin (2006) shows how outsourcing to commercial companies in the UK resulted in a steep decline in the use of registered and qualified interpreters and a concomitant rise in the employment of unregistered and unqualified interpreters. Ozolins's (2007) study of interpreter agencies shows the desirability of accrediting them and suggested that while there remained grave concerns about the interpreting agencies' ability to ensure quality standards, there could, conversely, be a grass-roots movement by the interpreters themselves to use their own good practice to influence commercial agencies into becoming more ethical. The tension between accountability and market pressures is a very real one, and those who commission interpreting services through agencies often have little understanding of the relationship between quality, accountability and risk management when they outsource their services. In the UK context this has resulted in competent and experienced interpreters leaving the profession, and in fewer educational institutions being willing to put on high-quality training courses.

The need for research into more varied legal settings and language combinations

The majority of the academic studies of legal interpreting have concentrated on court interpreting between European languages, in particular Spanish and English, which share linguistic features to a greater extent than pairs from different language families. One interpreter, fluent in seven European languages, observed, after struggling to learn Japanese, 'I now realise that all European language speakers encode the world in the same way and that the Japanese encode it differently'. Thus, problems identified in interpreting between some pairs of languages may not occur with others, and theories generated from studies conducted in one jurisdiction or with one pair of languages may not be helpful for dealing with the interpreting phenomena in another.

Research into legal interpreting involving varied language combinations is needed for more holistic theories about court interpreting to be advanced. Meanwhile, the role of the

court interpreter remains a complicated and controversial one. Different jurisdictions may have prescribed different roles for court interpreters, whose behaviours thus have to be analysed within the context in which they work. Moreover, researchers have yet to examine legal settings where interpreting is provided for the linguistic majority, instead of for linguistic minorities, and where many legal professionals speak not only the language of the court but also that of the witnesses and defendants. Interpreters working in such a setting are subjected to immense external pressure, as bilingual legal professionals may challenge their interpretation.

Power asymmetry in the legal process

Triadic communication is a highly complex process, especially in the adversarial hierarchical courtroom setting, where power asymmetry between those who testify as witnesses and those who have the right to question them is palpable (Walker 1987). This power asymmetry may have a bearing on interpreters' performance. Studies that compare interpreting strategies for powerful participants and for powerless participants may shed light on certain interpreting phenomena. Empirical studies to compare how interpreters render counsel's speech style and that of witnesses into the target language may provide new insight into this issue before any generalization can be made.

Concluding remarks

It can never be stressed enough that quality of court interpreting is of utmost importance to ensure that participants in legal proceedings who do not speak the language of the court will be put on an equal footing with those who do. To engage unskilled interpreters is to create a weak link in the legal process (Colin and Morris 1996: 23). To ensure the highest quality possible, concerted efforts should be made to achieve this, not only by the interpreter, but also by all those involved in the legal proceedings. In addition, pre-service training should be made mandatory for all interpreters working in legal settings. A lack of training or competence on the part of the interpreter, no matter how sincere he/she means to be in his/her oath to 'truly interpret ... to the best of her skill, ability and understanding', will inevitably compromise the quality of his/her interpreting and worse still the administration of justice. As '[N]o amount of oath-swearing can guarantee high quality interpreting from an interpreter who does not have the necessary competency' (Berk-Seligson 2002: 204).

Related topics

court interpreting; judicial process; legal settings

Notes

- 1 *Working with Court Interpreters*, North Carolina Administrative Office of the Courts, www.nccourts.org/Citizens/CPrograms/Foreign/Documents/2007_modelbenchcard.pdf.

Further reading

Berk-Seligson, S. (1990/2002) *The Bilingual Courtroom: Court Interpreters in the Judicial Process*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (This classic is a report of the first and still one of the largest data-based studies into court interpreting in the USA.)

- González, R.D., Mikkelson, H. and Vásquez, V.F. (1991) *Fundamentals of Court Interpretation: Theory, Policy, and Practice*, Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press. (A standard reference book for court interpreter trainers, for serving and would-be interpreters, as well as for those who work with court interpreters.)
- Hale, S. (2004) *The Discourse of Court Interpreting*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (This book draws on and parallels Berk-Seligson by using Australian data.)
- Kredens, K. and Morris, R. (2010) 'A shattered mirror? Interpreting in legal contexts outside the courtroom', in M. Coulthard and A. Johnson (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Forensic Linguistics*, 455–69. (This chapter complements the books in this list that are concerned with court interpreting as it concentrates on non-courtroom interpreting.)
- Mikkelson, Holly (2000) *Introduction to Court Interpreting. Translation practices explained*, Manchester, UK: St Jerome. (This book presents an overview of the practice of court interpreting, and is intended as a course book for both teachers and students.)

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Legal translation studies

Deborah Cao

Legal translation, as a special type of translation, and legal translation studies are increasingly drawing the attention of translation studies researchers and linguists but also of legal scholars and lawyers. The importance of legal translation, both theoretical and pragmatic, cannot be underestimated given its unique status within translation studies and legal studies. Despite the fact that the translation of law has been practised for hundreds of years, systematic studies of legal translation are still at their infancy. This chapter attempts to map out the general contour of legal translation research as well as areas for further research.

Legal translation: definition and typologies

Legal translation is a type of specialist or technical translation, a translational activity that involves a special language use, that is, language in a legal context. In this chapter, legal language refers to the language of the law but also the language related to the law and the legal process. This includes the language of the law, the language about the law and the language used in other legal communicative situations. Legal translation refers to the rendering of legal texts from a source language (SL) into a target language (TL).

Translation is classifiable into various categories (see, for instance, Cao 2007). For our purpose here, if we follow the general, literary and specialist classification of translation that is often used in translation studies (see Cao 2007: 6–7), legal translation falls under the specialist category of technical translation (see Olohan, this volume). Legal translation has the characteristics of technical translation and also shares some of the features of general translation.

Legal translation can be further classified according to different criteria. For instance, legal translation has been categorized according to the subject matter of the SL texts into the following categories: (i) translation of domestic statutes and international treaties; (ii) translation of private legal documents; (iii) translation of legal scholarly works; and (iv) translation of case law (Sarcevic 1997). Legal translation can also be divided according to the status of the SL texts. Thus, (i) translation of enforceable law, e.g. statutes; and (ii) translation of non-enforceable law, e.g. legal scholarly works. Legal translation may also be classified according to the functions of legal texts in the SL: (i) primarily prescriptive,

e.g. laws, regulations, codes, contracts, treaties and conventions; (ii) primarily descriptive and also prescriptive, e.g. judicial decisions and legal instruments that are used to carry on judicial and administrative proceedings such as actions, pleadings, briefs, appeals, requests, petitions, etc; and (iii) purely descriptive, e.g. scholarly works written by legal scholars such as legal opinions, law textbooks and articles, the authority of which varies in different legal systems (*ibid.*: 11).

These are the traditional classifications. One major problem with the existing classifications of legal translation is that they are based on the function or use of the original legal texts in the SL, without due regard to the various TL factors, such as the functions or status of the translated texts. However, there is a need to distinguish the functions of the SL text from those of the TL text (*cf.* Roberts 1992). It is necessary to consider the TL variables, in addition to those of the SL. Another problem of the existing classifications is that many documents that are used in the legal process and translated as such are excluded from the classifications, e.g. documents used in court proceedings. A third major problem is that some of the classifications such as Sarcevic's (1997) exclude communications between lawyers and non-lawyers (clients). The restriction in Sarcevic's 'legal texts for specialists only' disqualifies some text types that make up a large part of the legal translator's workload in real life: private agreements and correspondence between lawyers and clients, for instance (see Harvey 2000).

Hence, such traditional classifications are inadequate given their focus on the SL texts and their status in the SL. They need some change or modification, taking into account the variables of the translated target texts in the target law and legal order. Towards this end, I have classified legal translation into the following categories in the light of the purposes of the TL texts: (i) normative purpose, i.e. the production of equally authentic legal texts in bilingual and multilingual jurisdictions of domestic laws and international legal instruments and other laws; (ii) informative purpose, e.g. the translation of statutes, court decisions, scholarly works and other types of legal documents if the purpose of the translation is to provide information to the target readers; and (iii) general legal or judicial purpose.

Legal translation for a normative purpose refers to the production of equally authentic legal texts. Often bilingual or multilingual texts are first drafted in one language and then translated into another language or languages. They may also be drafted simultaneously in both or all languages. In either case, the different language texts have equal legal force and one is not superior to another, irrespective of their original status. Such legal texts in different languages are regarded as authoritative once they go through the authentication process in the manner prescribed by the law. By virtue of this process, such texts are not mere translations of the law, but the law itself (Sarcevic 1997: 20). Examples of this type of legal translation include the legislation in the bilingual jurisdictions of Canada and Hong Kong, the multilingual legal instruments of the United Nations (UN) and the multilingual laws of the European Union (EU). In the case of the EU, the authentic language versions of EU laws, now 23 languages, have the same legal force and value and can be invoked indiscriminately in appeals to the European Court of Justice by EU citizens or businesses, irrespective of their member state of origin or that country's official language or languages (Correia 2003: 41). They are usually drafted first in English or French to be translated into the other official languages.

This category of legal translation may also include private documents such as contracts, the bilingual texts of which are equally authentic in a bilingual or monolingual jurisdiction. For instance, in a non-English-speaking country, contracts sometimes may stipulate

that the versions of the contract in the official language of the country and English are both authentic – that is, having equal legal force, even though the language of the court and the country does not include English. In this first category of legal translation, the communicative purposes of the SL and TL texts are identical.

Second, there is legal translation for informative purposes, with constative or descriptive functions. This includes the translation of statutes, court decisions, scholarly works and other types of legal documents if the translation is intended to provide information to the target readers. This is most often found in monolingual jurisdictions. Such translations are different from the first category where the translation of the law is legally binding. In this second category, the SL is the only legally enforceable language while the TL is not. For instance, a statute written in French from France translated into English for informative purpose for the benefit of foreign lawyers or other English readers is not legally enforceable. This is different from the first category where, for instance, a statute written in French in the bilingual jurisdiction of Canada is translated into English or vice versa and where both the French and English versions are equally authentic. Sometimes, publishers of translations of laws in the second category include a disclaimer to the effect that the translation of such and such a law is for reference only and that in legal proceedings the original language text of the law shall prevail. Another example is the translation of the legal instruments of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which has English and French as its authentic languages. Here only the original texts written in English and French instruments have legal force, while their translations into other languages are not binding, but for information only. In this category the SL and TL texts may have different communicative purposes (see Cao 2007 for further discussions).

Third, there is legal translation for general legal or judicial purpose. Such translations are primarily for information and are mostly descriptive. This type of translated document may be used in court proceedings as part of documentary evidence. Original SL texts of this type may include legal documents such as statements of claims or pleadings, contracts and agreements, and ordinary texts such as business or personal correspondence, records, certificates, witness statements and expert reports, among many others. The translations of such documents are used by clients who do not speak the language of the court, e.g. statements of claims, or by lawyers and courts that otherwise may not be able to access the originals such as contracts, correspondence or other records and documents. Such translated texts have legal consequences attached to them due to their use in the legal process. In practice, for instance, in Australian courts, a sworn affidavit from the translator is normally required as to the quality of the translation and the competency of the translator. Sometimes the translator is also called upon as a witness in court regarding the translation. For some of these, the otherwise ordinary non-legal documents written by non-lawyers are elevated to legal status because of the special use of the original and the translation. This is similar to court interpreting (see Fowler *et al.*, this volume). Court interpreters in most cases interpret oral evidence of witnesses who may be retelling ordinary events and answering ordinary personal questions. These witnesses could say the same or similar things outside the courtroom in non-legal settings. The main difference is that interpreting the same story in a non-legal setting is ordinary interpreting while interpreting the same in court is legal interpreting, as the interpreted words are used for a legal purpose under special circumstances and conditions. In these situations the language use or translation use is contingent upon the existence of a legal order which must be considered to be part of the communicative situation. The law's institutional character plays a major part in language use in legal settings (Madsen 1997b), thus should be given

prominent consideration in our classifications of legal texts and legal translation. Many parts of the court or litigation documents are the closest to resemble everyday language use in all the subtypes of legal texts.

The third type of translation is different from the second category described above in that it may include ordinary texts that are not written in legal language by legal professionals, but by the layperson. This type of legal translation is often left out in the discussion and classification of legal translation. However, in fact, in the practice of legal translation, it constitutes a major part of the translation work of the legal translator in real life, the 'bread and butter' activities (Harvey 2002: 178). In short, legal translation is used as a general term to cover both the translation of law and other communications in legal settings.

Legal translation research

Partly due to the fact that legal translation is complex and interdisciplinary involving both language and law, there have been a relatively small number of studies and publications in this field.

Published works in English on legal translation so far consist of research monographs and other books, edited collections and individual papers. There are only three books in English devoted exclusively to issues of legal translation, namely *New Approach to Legal Translation* by Susan Šarčević (1997) and *Translating Law* by Deborah Cao (2007), both of which combine both theoretical as well as practical treatment of the various aspects of legal translation, and *Legal Translation Explained* by Alcaraz and Hughes (2002), which is devoted to legal translation from a more practical angle.

Šarčević's *New Approach to Legal Translation* is the first major comprehensive study of legal translation in English. It is an interdisciplinary study in law and translation theory. The main focus is on the translation of texts that are authoritative sources of the law, with examples from laws of the EU and international treaties and conventions among others. The work deals with theoretical as well as practical aspects of the subject matter, analysing legal translation as an act of communication in the mechanism of the law. In a similar and different way, Cao's book *Translating Law* also examines legal translation in its many facets from an interdisciplinary perspective, covering both theoretical and practical grounds and linguistic as well as legal issues. It analyses the basic skills and competence of the legal translator and various types of legal texts. It adopts an interdisciplinary approach combining linguistic and legal theories with translation practice. Legal translation is analysed and discussed in terms of cross-cultural and interlingual communicative act and as a complex human and social behaviour. Legal translation is seen as a text-producing activity. Both books are not bound to any specific languages or legal systems, although emphasis is placed on translation between common law and civil law jurisdictions in both, and this is both a strength as well as a weakness of the two books. In contrast, *Legal Translation Explained* by Alcaraz and Hughes is a more practice-oriented book, focusing on the problems of translating English legal language. It deals with legal English as a linguistic system, special concepts in the translation of legal English, the genres of legal translation addressing practical problems together with discussions of proposed solutions.

These three works, given their subject matter devoted exclusively to legal translation, are thus different from other publications of individual papers or collections of papers. There are two major edited collections of papers devoted to translation and law: *Translation and the Law*, edited by Morris (1995), and the more recent *Translation Issues in Language and*

Law (by Olsen *et al.* 2009). Another early collection is *Langage du droit et traduction (Language of Law and Translation)*, edited by Jean-Claude G  mar (1982), which contains some articles in English and most in French. Morris (1995) contains papers on law and language and translation/interpreting with case studies from the USA, Australia, Hong Kong, Iceland, Israel, Japan and Sweden. The essays range from treatments of historical and philosophical variations in concept and practice to detailed practical advice on self-education and courtroom discourse when different languages are involved with different cultural and legal traditions. Overall, the papers are practice focused from a more legal perspective rather than translation studies. *Translation Issues in Language and Law* is similar, addressing issues arising in legal translation and in relation to law and legal language in Europe and North America.

In terms of the contents and themes, works discussing legal translation usually can be grouped into the following categories:

- General commentaries on legal translation, e.g. Weston (1983) and Weisflog (1987) on problems and principles in legal translation, Madsen (1997a) on a model for legal translation in relation to translation theories, Poon (2002) on translation equivalence and legal translation, Harvey (2002) and Lavoie (2003) on general issues involving legal translation,   ar  evi  's (1997) book as well her various articles (1994, 2000), Cao (2007), and others. For instance, in Weston (1983), the author first identifies the problems of legal translation and then offers general principles and procedures in dealing with such problems, for instance functional equivalence, word-for-word translation, borrowing, neologism and naturalization. In Weisflog (1987), which is a relatively early, significant and very useful piece, the author identifies the scope of legal translation, performance and obstacles to legal translation, and also considers the various legal issues involved in translating law.
- Specific problems of legal translation, e.g. Hjort-Pedersen and Faber (2001) on lexical ambiguity and legal translation, Alcaraz and Hughes (2002),   ar  evi   (1985) and Geeroms (2002) on comparative law and legal translation, Engberg (2002) on legal interpretation and legal translation. For instance, in Meredith (1979), on English legal translation for the Quebec government – that is, translation between English and French – she singles out specific problems for legal translation in this specific context, such as the words ‘rent’, ‘legal person’, ‘legislation’, ‘juridical acts’ and associated words, expressions and legal usage, and the translation of legal notices and judgments between English and Canadian French. In Hjort-Pedersen and Faber (2001), on lexical ambiguity and legal translation, the authors discuss legal translation from English into Danish, and the meanings and translation of ambiguous lexemes or underspecified lexemes as illustrated in the example of the word ‘execute’. They argue that the translator needs to draw on the context to arrive at a specific utterance meaning, and context means knowledge of the interaction of the lexical semantics of the verb with its arguments, i.e. the way the object can be made complete and the way in which the subject can effect this completion; and inferences of discourse relations holding between propositions exploited in such a way as to strengthen the overall discourse coherence (*ibid.*). In Alcaraz and Hughes (2002) one of the features of the book is that the authors focus on practical legal translation problems. They identify and try to suggest solutions to translation problems, for instance, how to deal with specific technical or semi-technical legal vocabulary, collocations of legal English, false cognates and unconscious calques and many others.

- Legal translation issues within a particular jurisdiction, e.g. Correia (2003) on translating EU legal texts, Wagner (2003) on translating common law into legal French, Sin and Roebuck (1992) on translating and transplanting common law into Chinese, Weston (1991) on translating between English and French, McAuliffe (2008) on translation at the European Court of Justice and the role of translation and translators at the EU, and many chapters in Morris (1995) and Olsen *et al.* (2009). For instance, in Morris (1995), there are numerous essays on law-related translating and interpreting issues from the USA, Australia, Hong Kong, Germany, Iceland, Israel, Japan and Sweden, and the essays range from sophisticated treatments of historical and philosophical variations in concept and practice, to detailed practical advice on self-education, covering different languages, cultures and legal traditions in different jurisdictions.
- Legal translation training, e.g. Harvey (2000), Roberts (1987), chapters from Olsen *et al.* (2009), Rayar (1988) on postgraduate training of legal translators, Šarčević (1994) and de Groot (1988). For instance, in Rayar (1988), the paper describes legal translator training in the Netherlands. In Šarčević (1994) the paper discusses legal translator training and qualifications, especially in relation to translators translating authentic legal instruments or parallel texts. It details the practice of such training programmes in Canada and advocates an interdisciplinary approach to such training.
- Bilingual/multilingual drafting and judicial interpretation involving translation, e.g. Revell (2004) on authoring bilingual laws, Robinson (2005) on EC legislative drafting in its official languages, Rosenne (1983), Salmi-Tolonen (2004), Taborý (1980), and Cao (2007) on the interpreting of multilingual legal texts. For instance, in Cao (2007), one chapter is devoted to the translation of international legal instruments. It describes in detail the legal and linguistic features of such instruments as well as the process of bilateral treaty negotiation involving translation as an example for insight into the treaty-making process involving two languages. Then, aspects associated with drafting and translating multilingual instruments at the UN and EU are also discussed.
- Bilingual legal dictionary and terminological and other tools: Šarčević (1991), Lane (1982) and Cao (2007). For instance, in Cao (2007), major computer-aided or -assisted translation (CAT) tools and technology used at the UN and EU are discussed at length, including terminology databases and tools, translation memory technology, documentation databases and resources, machine translation systems and voice recognition technology.

Domain and nature of legal translation research

In translation studies Holmes (1972) originally outlined the name and nature as well as the structure of the emerging discipline of translation studies. His programme vision has proven to be enormously influential and pivotal in the subsequent development of translation studies as a whole (see Malmkjær, this volume). It seems to me that in the fledgling and emerging area of legal translation research, it would be beneficial and useful if research on legal translation as a branch of translation studies could be described in a similar way, marking out its own sub-branches. This is justifiable as legal translation has its own culture, history, mechanisms and special features occupying the whole spectrum of scientific studies. Each area is worth study and reflection, with uniqueness as compared with other types of specialized translation. Legal translation research is relatively new and in need of further investigation for the benefit of translation studies, forensic linguistics (the study of language and law), and legal studies. Such a mapping may also help to identify what has been researched and what has not. By applying the same scheme and vision, I propose to

describe legal translation research in the following manner based on Holmes's original map for translation studies:

First of all, legal translation studies is divided into pure and applied research following the traditional typology. Under *pure legal translation studies* we have theoretical and descriptive studies of legal translation.

As regards *theoretical legal translation studies*, this term refers to general legal translation theory, that is, using the results of descriptive legal translation research and other theories such as legal theory to evolve principles, theories and models which may help to explain and predict legal translating and translation (cf. Holmes 1972: 185). Another sub-branch of the theoretical research is constituted by *partial* or specific studies. If we apply Holmes's schema to legal translation, there are studies in legal translation in the following categories: (i) *medium-restricted*: this refers to the medium of human and machine translation of legal texts, written translation of legal texts and oral interpreting such as court interpreting; (ii) *jurisdiction-restricted*: this concerns translation issues related to monolingual and bilingual/multilingual jurisdictions, and translation issues related to specific language pairs in different jurisdictions; (iii) *rank-restricted*: this alludes to studies of legal translation at the word, sentence and text levels; (iv) *discourse-restricted*: this denotes studies of translation of different legal text types such as statutes and treaties, court judgments, private legal documents and other legal communications; (v) *time-restricted*: this designates studies of contemporary translated legal texts and historical translations of law such as the translation of law from ancient Roman law to English and other European languages, and the translation of legal French into English, while other historical translations of law also include the translation of continental European laws (such as German laws) into Japanese and Chinese in the nineteenth century; and (vi) *problem-restricted*: this indicates studies and discussions of specific translation problems, e.g. equivalence, literal or free translation, issues translating a particular law or area of law, and this is where many of the writings on legal translation so far have focused. All these are general not exclusive descriptions.

As for *descriptive legal translation studies*, following Holmes's classification, we can have *product-oriented*, *function-oriented* and *process-oriented legal translation studies*. This whole area of descriptive legal translation is currently under-studied.

Product-oriented legal translation studies describe existing legal translations or equally authentic parallel legal texts, focusing on the translated texts or comparative analysis of the translated texts with the original texts or languages. *Function-oriented* legal translation studies describe the functions of the translated texts in the TL recipient law and legal order. *Process-oriented* legal translation studies refer to studies of the process or the act of legal translation or legal translator's behaviour. There are some limited studies in this area so far about legal drafting and translating processes in Canada, the EU and, to a lesser extent, the UN. This category could also include the psycholinguistic analysis of legal translators' or court interpreters' mental processing in the course of translation or interpreting.

In the second branch of legal translation studies there is *applied legal translation studies*, for which we can have research into (i) legal translator and legal/court interpreter training, professional development and professional ethics; (ii) legal translation quality testing and assessment, which may also include court interpreter accreditation; (iii) legal translation tools; (iv) case law involving translation; and (v) official language policy and statutory law. As seen from the earlier review, there are limited discussions in these areas.

Legal translation research is interdisciplinary due to its nature and the many facets involved in both language and law. Many of the issues in legal translation can be analysed from both linguistic or legal perspectives.

Reflections on possible future research directions

Legal translation, as other types of translational activities, is a norm-governed human and social behaviour, a text-producing act of legal communication. I believe that legal translation behaviour as a whole has regularities that may evolve into general or generic norms of legal translation and specific norms (see Ben-Ari, this volume) in different language pairs in the respective legal orders. Given the state of legal translation today, a number of areas are singled out for further research.

First, as mentioned above, most of the discussions and studies of legal translation in the world today have been focusing on specific problems or problem-restricted studies, e.g. past discussions of legal translation tend to focus on linguistic equivalence of legal terminology and literal vs. free translation approaches to specific legal translation tasks (see above). As in the general studies of translation, equivalence has been an important central concern in the study of legal translation as well (see Şerban and House, both this volume). However, in recent years the attention on equivalence has seen some shifts in legal translation, as has been the case in general translation theories. Legal translation is increasingly seen as a communicative act and text-producing activity across linguistic and legal barriers. The source text and the source language are not the only concerns of translators or researchers (see early discussion above and Cao 2007). In particular, in the production of parallel legal texts or equally authentic laws in different languages, such a holistic view is necessary.

Second, as we know, translation norms (see Ben-Ari and Hermans, this volume) are relevant to the entire translating operation, not just the actual process or act of translating. For legal translation, this is particularly the case. If we examine legal translation in these terms, there are identifiable norms or norms that are yet to evolve and emerge at various levels. Thus, the study and the identification and characterization of legal translation norms may be an area for future research. It is hoped that more interest in this challenging area of research will be forthcoming in the years to come.

Third, there have been limited descriptive studies of legal translation in most of the areas as outlined above. Generally speaking, there has been a lack of the studies of the functions of translated legal texts and the process-oriented legal translation (as described above).

Fourth, legal translation is complex but it is learnable, a skill that can be acquired. If we think of this in terms of translation norms, learning to translate law means the acquisition of the relevant competence, i.e. the set of dispositions required to select and apply those norms and rules that will produce legitimate translations, translations that conform to the legitimate models (cf. Hermans 1996). As Hermans (ibid.) notes, one of the major tasks of the researcher wishing to account for translation as a social practice consists in identifying and interpreting the norms that governed the translator's choices and decisions. This is another area where studies could be fruitful in the future study of legal translation. Legal translation is no exception despite its uniqueness. Legal translators or would-be legal translators need to learn and refine their skills, and legal translation researchers need to investigate the norms and regularities of legal translation and the functions of translated laws in society. To conclude, legal translation is *sui generis*. It is unlike other types of technical translation that convey universal information. Law is culturally and jurisdictionally specific. So is legal translation.

Related topics

legal translation; legal texts; equal authenticity; bilingual jurisdiction

Further reading

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- Šarčević, Susan (1997) *New Approach to Legal Translation*, The Hague: Kluwer Law International. (A major comprehensive study of legal translation of both theory and practice, focusing on the translation of laws in different jurisdictions such as those of the EU and international treaties and conventions.)

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Scientific and technical translation

Maeve Olohan

In spite of its centrality within the profession, the activity of translating in scientific and technical fields has been rather neglected by translation scholars, if one compares it with the insights that have been gained from theorizing and analysing the translation of canonical literary and religious texts (see Franco Aixelá 2004, for a useful bibliographic survey). Difficulties of categorizing translation by field or genre may, in part, explain the lack of attention; perhaps the classification of texts as literary or sacred is achieved more readily than a delineation of what is technical or scientific, particularly when the latter have to be differentiated, in turn, from prevailing concepts which include specialized translation, LSP (language for special purposes) translation, commercial translation, etc. Moreover, the typical trajectories of many translation scholars, with literary rather than scientific roots and academic training, may also account for the literary focus of much of their work on translation. Franco Aixelá (*ibid.*: 33) also argues that canonicity is an important factor in the choice of objects of study; technical genres, perceived as culturally less prestigious, are therefore considered less worthy of study. Snow (1959) famously initiated debate with his notion of two cultures; he argued, half a century ago, that the term ‘intellectuals’ had become synonymous with literary scholars to the exclusion of scientists, that these two cultures had opposing perspectives on the world, that they were divided by ‘a gulf of mutual miscomprehension’ (*ibid.*: 4). Later, Snow (1963) posited the emergence of a ‘third culture’ in which scientists and literary scholars would succeed in communicating with one another. More recently, literary agent Brockman (1995a) has recycled the notion of a ‘third culture’ to denote scientists who communicate their ideas directly with the public. Speaking in support of Brockman’s ‘third culture’, physicist Gell-Mann is quoted by Brockman as saying:

Unfortunately, there are people in the arts and humanities – conceivably, even some in the social sciences – who are proud of knowing very little about science and technology, or about mathematics. The opposite phenomenon is very rare. You may occasionally find a scientist who is ignorant of Shakespeare, but you will never find a scientist who is proud of being ignorant of Shakespeare.

(*Brockman 1995: 22*)

Thus, although science now occupies a much more prominent position in public culture, not least through communication of science to the general public by both scientists and science journalists, Gell-Mann's perceived remnants of the two-cultures divide in academic contexts may retain some validity in translation studies.

The nature of scientific and technical texts

Although the introductory section of this chapter appears to set up a dichotomy between literary and scientific, or between literary and non-literary texts, I argue, following Hatim and Mason (1997: 3), that this distinction into fields of discourse is not particularly useful and that translation scholars who espouse it tend to overgeneralize the characteristics of one or the other (e.g. science as factual, objective, neutral; literature as expressive and aesthetic). In considering scientific and technical texts, translation studies has been influenced by LSP studies. LSP research has traditionally had a strong focus on terminology, but has also moved beyond the word level to consider the phraseology and syntax of specialized discourse and to perform analysis at the level of the text. Recently LSP researchers have focused more on the communicative activity itself, drawing on cognitive studies and communication theory (see, for example, Schubert 2007). However, as Garzone and Sarangi (2007a: 22) point out, LSP research and its analyses of intrinsic features of specialized discourse have generally served to consolidate a view of science as objective, as consisting of absolute truths, etc., and of its communication as being impersonal, objective, non-involved and entirely referential.¹

Translation studies has also made use of typologies of language functions, text functions and text types. Many scholars have drawn on Bühler's (1934) three functions of language signs: expression (*Ausdruck*), representation (*Darstellung*) and appeal (*Appell*). Some have expanded the typology or recast the types; for example, they are labelled emotive, referential and conative by Jakobson (1960), who adds poetic, phatic and metalingual functions to the original three, while appellative becomes operative in Reiss's (1976) oft-cited typology of texts. These functions provide useful ways into the study of texts, shifting the focus away from the subject matter of the texts – the field of discourse – and towards their function. Functional approaches to translation (e.g. Vermeer's skopos theory; see Nord, this volume) have then sought to describe or indeed prescribe translation strategies or methods in relation to those functions, whether they are to be retained or changed for a new target readership and purpose, and these approaches have been considered particularly applicable to professional translation activities. Although useful, the complexity of this approach lies in the fact that texts usually exhibit more than one language function. It is for this reason that Hatim and Mason (1990: 140) suggest an understanding of the notion of 'text type' as a framework for classification of texts in terms of 'communicative intentions serving an overall rhetorical purpose'. That rhetorical purpose is of course not inherent in the text but is assigned to it in light of contextual factors (*ibid.*: 145). Texts, then, have a dominant focus or purpose but are usually hybrids, fulfilling a combination of purposes, or are shifted from one type to another. In accordance with this understanding, the text types discussed by Hatim and Mason, with due consideration of rhetorical purpose and contextual factors, are expository, argumentative and instructional.

These various typologies, minimally tripartite, encapsulate basic distinctions between language used, respectively, to represent ideas or objects, to show the speaker's or author's attitude to those ideas or objects, and to provoke a reaction or response on the part of the hearer or reader. These are eminently useful distinctions in the analysis of any text. Most

scientific and technical texts have been considered as primarily informative/referential, which places a focus on the text's content, and the overriding concern for the writer or translator is then regarded as accuracy. However, scientific texts are seldom purely informative in function; rather they are the means by which scientists make claims to knowledge and seek to gain consensus for their knowledge claims. Thus, both expressive and operative functions play important but often overlooked roles. As noted by Myers:

Scientific discourse creates the consensus of the scientific community; it turns tensions, challenges, and even bitter controversies into sources of strength and continuity. Scientific texts help create the selectivity, communality, and cumulativeness that both scientists and non-scientists attribute to scientific thought.

(Myers 1990: x)

Myers's study of biology texts shows how insight can be gained into the role of texts in the production of scientific knowledge and in the reproduction of the cultural authority of that knowledge (*ibid.*: ix). In so doing, Myers (*ibid.*: 6) rejects any assumed distinction between literary and non-literary texts, but concedes that the practices of sciences may differ in some ways from the practices of other discourses. He takes some inspiration from earlier research by Bazerman (1988), who considered how the social actions and relations of the scientific discourse community are reflected in texts, in the choice of information to be conveyed, the purposes for which the information is presented, the means of persuasion employed and the uses made of the information. Later work by Swales (1990, 2004), in the framework of genre analysis, with particular reference to English for research purposes, also exemplifies an analytical approach which foregrounds rhetorical moves and purposes in scientific texts. The rhetorical moves in scientific texts have also been considered from a social perspective; Latour (1987) sees them as a major part of the collective process of 'fact-making'. Scientists make claims and enlist allies in their texts to dispel the doubts of dissenters. When those claims, in turn, are adopted and reused by others as allies in their texts, and are accepted by the reader as such, then they are seen to have become facts. Often the allies enlisted are 'technicalities', going deeper and deeper into the conditions that produced the statement; what might otherwise be regarded as the technical nature of scientific texts is therefore really its social character (*ibid.*: 30). Thus, a text is 'scientific' when its claims are not isolated but involve others:

The difference ... between technical and non-technical literature is not that one is about fact and the other about fiction, but that the latter gathers only a few resources at hand, and the former a lot of resources, even from far away in time and space.

(Latour 1987: 33)

Latour summarizes the way in which those resources – citations, references, figures, acronyms, symbols, etc. – are employed for purposes of persuasion through his characteristic military metaphors:

weaken your enemies, paralyse those you cannot weaken ... , help your allies if they are attacked, ensure safe communications with those who supply you with indisputable instruments ... oblige your enemies to fight one another; if you are not sure of winning, be humble and understated.

(Latour 1987: 37–8)

Unlike Bazerman (1988) and Swales (1990, 2004), whose focus is generic conventions, Halliday and Martin (1993) approach the language of science as a register, and they analyse it from the perspective of its lexicogrammatical characteristics; they are interested in how the grammar of a language construes science and constructs knowledge, e.g. through nominalization, whereby processes are reconstrued as realizations of processes. This shift from verb to noun, they argue, is significant because the meaning construed by the nominalization is a new one – an abstract theoretical entity which forms part of a scientific theory. These and other features, like expanded nominal groups, privilege experts and exclude others from accessing scientific discourse.

What emerges from this brief discussion of the nature of scientific and technical texts is that some linguists and sociologists have devoted considerable attention to the rhetoric of scientific texts and the social function of scientific discourse. Although usually in a monolingual context, this research provides an indication of greater complexity not always acknowledged by translation scholars. I argue that translation scholars' emphasis on scientific texts as informative, expository or referential has reflected and perpetuated a primordial understanding of science and knowledge in which science consists of facts about the world, 'as it really is', objectively ascertained and universally valid. Such a realist, universalist and positivist perspective on science will naturally prioritize accuracy of description and preciseness of terminology in the translation process; the translator is seen as governed by the need to convey those facts unambiguously in another language and can generally be seen to achieve this if the correct terminology and syntactic structures are used, since science is transcultural. Coupled with this is the notion of the unity of science, i.e. that there are no essential epistemological differences between different branches of science; the implication for translation is a certain uniformity of translation approach, respective of the particular branch of knowledge. Therefore, to the posited reasons for the privileged position of literary texts in translation studies we can add this realist perspective on knowledge. In general, the more restricted and constrained the translation process is perceived to be, the less interesting it is for translation scholars to study and, in accordance with this perspective on science, the translation of science will lack the richness of features that fascinate in literary texts and will provide little scope for translators to make decisions, exercise agency, etc. Science writer Natalie Angier (2007: 19), although not addressing questions of translation, puts it well when she says that if science is seen as a body of facts, then it becomes 'a glassy-eyed glossary'. It can be noted that many manuals of scientific communication in a monolingual context also reflect this view, eschewing notions of style, rhetoric, etc. in the writing of science. Montgomery's (2003) approach is a notable alternative; his starting point is that the way in which science is communicated is integral to science itself. In giving guidance to scientists so that they will communicate effectively, he advocates eloquence, i.e. writing that fulfils 'all the requirements of good, functional communication in a manner that is rhetorically sophisticated and inventive' (Montgomery 2003: 56).

While scientists generally espouse a realist perspective on their work, sociologists, philosophers, historians and rhetoricians of science have shown, over the past decades, that there are alternative ways of thinking about science and of studying it and its relationship with society.² At the other end of the realist–anti-realist continuum radical social constructivism argues that all knowledge is socially constructed, that scientific facts or truths are moments of intersubjective agreement. While this is too extreme a view for many, there is a vast middle ground occupied by a majority who acknowledge a role for society in the doing of science, while diverging on the exact nature and significance of that role

and its implications. A moderately realist cluster may focus on ‘the relation between the practice of science and the values of the broader society’, and ‘the ways in which social relations and structures of various types figure in the doing of science’ (Kitcher 1998: 45). These scholars accept a social role in issues such as the question of what science projects are funded or not funded, how power and prestige are distributed or manifest themselves in science, how and why certain research questions are prioritized at a given point in time (Sokal 2008: 150), and how the course of scientific development is determined (e.g. Rudwick 1985). The cluster that forms a branch of sociology called sociology of scientific knowledge (SSK) attributes a more central role to society in science, seeking to explain science’s successes and failures in terms of social factors (e.g. Bloor 1991; Collins 1992; Shapin and Schaffer 1985). Thus, scientific findings are shown to be negotiated around social interests and to be locally and culturally contingent. As Longino (1990) points out, this social constructivist view shatters many long-held assumptions about science; not only is science no longer considered to be universal and autonomous, but the integrity of the scientific process must also be questioned, since the very practice of research itself can be influenced by those contextual values and interests, so science emerges as value-laden, not objective or neutral.³

Studying science and technology

As has already been argued in relation to the study of scientific and technical translation, how one views science and technology inevitably influences how one studies it. Historians of science may access the same kinds of archival resources in the same way, but the narratives they produce vary depending on their position on the realist–relativist cline and their approach to historiography. For example, scholars like Rudwick (1985) have sought to emphasize the unfolding of a particular scientific controversy through non-retrospective narratives,⁴ while others (e.g. Golinski 2005: 203) are critical of this narrative method for denying readers any knowledge of outcomes and for not providing readers with information about the author’s positioning of himself and his goals, which influence the framing of the narrative. Other key issues debated among historians of science pertain to the objects of study, with some scholars arguing that there tends to be too much emphasis on canonical figures and canonical works (Jardine 2003: 133), or that by focusing historical studies on one person, the complexity of the social and cognitive interactions are not given adequate attention (Rudwick 1985: 6). Others raise the criticism that many historical accounts are too tightly concentrated on local contexts and microhistories, thus neglecting macro-historical questions, including those about how and why knowledge spreads (Secord 2004: 657) and that these obscure the international character of scientific development (Simon and Herran 2008: 5).

The ethnomethodological approach of SSK research to the examination of historical or contemporary episodes in science is taken an anthropological step further by those who carry out detailed observations of scientists in the laboratory, to find out about science, perceived as practice. The early laboratory studies were initiated by Latour and Woolgar (1979, 1986; Latour 1987) and emphasized science ‘in the making’. While Latour and colleagues focused on the construction of knowledge claims in the laboratory, later laboratory studies by Knorr Cetina (1999, 2007), among others, were more interested in the ‘machineries of knowing’, i.e. the mechanisms that make up how we know what we know (1999: 2–3). This is what Knorr Cetina (2007: 363) calls ‘epistemic cultures’, i.e. ‘cultures of creating and warranting knowledge’. Here the emphasis is on the cultural diversity of

knowledge, across national cultural boundaries but also across the boundaries separating different branches of science. The assumption of the unity of science is challenged by studies of contrasting epistemic cultures. Through observation, Knorr Cetina (1999) identifies how experimental high-energy physics has very different epistemic agents and subjects than molecular biology. At CERN, agency is attributed to teams of perhaps 2,000 physicists and particle detectors, and the communitarian collaboration is reflected in publication practices in which authorship shifts away from the people to the experiment itself. In molecular biology, on the other hand, individuation is paramount, and the person is the epistemic subject. Authorship, even when multiple, is clearly delineated by conventions which indicate the various contributions of the individuals involved.

As noted above, scholars who adopt the tools of rhetorical theory to study scientific texts do so because they see suasion as central to scientific argumentation and, to a greater or lesser extent, they argue for the constitutive nature of rhetoric in shaping knowledge. At one extreme, Gross (1990: 33) declared that science was rhetoric ‘without remainder’, though he later (e.g. Gross 2006) tempered this claim. Others look not only at the arguments and strategies employed in the text but at the processes by which texts are negotiated, produced, reviewed, published or received. As with historical studies, there is a tendency for scholars (e.g. Bazerman 1981; Prelli 1989; Campbell 1997; Gross 1990, 2006; Fahnestock 1999) to focus on canonical texts like those produced by Newton and Darwin, as well as more recent seminal texts, like Watson and Crick’s paper on the structure of DNA. Ceccarelli (2001) examines other texts – well known but not previously analysed rhetorically – which were written as ‘motivational texts’, seeking to encourage colleagues to follow a new avenue of research, and she combines rhetorical analysis with a study of reception. Bazerman (1988) and Myers (1990), among others, have focused their rhetorical analyses on research articles.

Studying scientific and technical translation

It would be possible to discuss yet further conceptualizations of science, technology and knowledge which, in turn, prompt particular research questions and methodological considerations. However, within the scope of this chapter the above discussion serves to indicate that there are several disciplines, the primary preoccupation of which has been with notions of scientific knowledge, scientific practice and scientific discourse, and that those disciplines have interrogated and reflected upon these notions in ways that have been largely neglected within translation studies. Before embarking on that discussion of how translation studies might derive benefit from those disciplines, theoretically and methodologically, I will outline the main strands of research and publications to date on scientific and technical translation.

The works likely to have been most widely consulted are those that act as guides or manuals to scientific translation practice. In the modern era of Western translation studies, they start with Jumpelt’s (1961) contribution, in German, which was relatively enlightened, given the micro-linguistic approach to translation that prevailed at that time. Jumpelt does focus much attention on shifts and transpositions at the level of the word and the grammatical structure, but he also comments on the challenges of knowing about genre and institutional conventions and on the importance of context in producing a functional target text. Works that followed and which have featured on students’ reading lists were those by Maillot (1969, 1981) in French, and by Finch (1969) and Pinchuck (1977) in English. Finch is relatively anecdotal; the other books were firmly focused on providing

scientific and technical translators with techniques for achieving precision and accuracy, particularly on terminological and syntactic levels. Bédard (1986, 1987) produced manuals for both student and teacher. Hann offers something different in the 1990s and 2000s (Hann 1992, 2004) by emphasizing the importance of conceptual understanding when translating science and providing summaries and overviews to fill the scientific lacunae of linguists. Byrne's (2006) contribution also represents a shift in perspective, in approaching technical translation (firmly dissociated here from scientific translation) from the perspective of the usability of the documents produced. He focuses on the production of translations that correspond to readers' cognitive capabilities and fulfil their communicative functions. Other recent additions to the translator training apparatus include, in Italian and German respectively, Scarpa's (2008) and Stolze's (2009) manuals on specialized translation. Several volumes of collected papers on specialized translation also circulate, some of which have pedagogical relevance (e.g. Wright and Wright 1993; Fischbach 1998; Desblache 2001; Gotti and Šarčević 2006), and the journals *Meta* and the *Journal of Specialised Translation* regularly publish articles on the practice of specialized translation. Most recently, a special issue of *The Translator* (Olohan and Salama-Carr 2011) brought together a set of research papers addressing questions related to the translation of professional and popular science from a variety of textual, paratextual, discursal, historical and ideological perspectives.

The idea that translation has played a decisive role in the spread of ideas is something of a truism; yet the enormous potential for studying this role in more detail and in different times and places is seldom realized by historians and, indeed, has been accorded only marginally more attention by translation scholars. Montgomery's (2000) contribution foregrounds translation in studies of how knowledge travels across geographic and cultural borders. From the starting point that 'translation is involved at every level of knowledge production and distribution in the sciences' (ibid.: ix), he analyses translation activity in several historical periods, examining the history of translating astronomy in the West from antiquity to the Renaissance, and of translating science in Japan from the late medieval period into the twentieth century.

With respect to mathematical astronomy, Saliba (1994, 2007) challenges some of the traditional narratives of the development, provenance and movement of scientific thought. According to previous accounts, translations from Arabic to Latin in the Middle Ages were believed to have transferred, relatively intact, Greek science, via translation into and out of Arabic, to Europe. Saliba (2007) argues against this 'classical narrative', i.e. that the ancient Greek sciences were merely appropriated during Islamic times (750–900 AD) so that the golden age of Islamic science and philosophy was really the 're-enactment of glories of ancient Greece', that the interest in Islamic science ended after the translation into Latin of major Arabic texts in the twelfth century and that Europe was then reconnected with Greco-Roman legacy and could 'bypass' Islamic scientific material. The alternative narrative proposed by Saliba is that the Greek astronomical tradition was not simply preserved in the Islamic culture but that it received a very critical assessment, that perceived mistakes were corrected by translators, empirical results were critically re-evaluated, objections were raised to lack of systematic consistency and other scientific aspects were disputed. Rashed (2006: 172) concurs with this view in his studies of the evolution of translation as institution and profession through the ninth century, and he highlights the particular case of Thābit ibn Qurra, whose mathematical translations enabled him to develop his own highly regarded mathematical theory (Rashed 2009). Both scholars conclude that the translation movement was governed by social conditions of the time, that translation was

concomitant with research, contributing to the development and implementation of new research programmes, often through patronage.

Likewise, Burnett (2001, 2005, 2006) has extensively researched the transfer of mathematics and science from the Arab world to Europe through translation, studying, for example, the different approaches taken by translators from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages and revealing how these preferred practices were related to the prestige values attached to the source or target language or culture at particular periods. Gutas (2006: 18) compares these two translation movements – Graeco-Arabic and Arabic-Latin, situating both in their internal and international political and social contexts and thereby observing numerous differences in motivation for the two translation movements.

Other scholars have also devoted attention to these two periods of scientific translation, centred on the misnamed ‘Schools’ of Baghdad (e.g. Salama-Carr 1991, 2006; Gutas 1998) and Toledo (e.g. Hernando de Larramendi and Fernández Parrilla 1997; Foz 1998; Pym 2000), respectively. Other periods, settings and branches of science on which research has been conducted include nineteenth-century transmission of Western chemistry into China by Wright (1998, 2000) and Dodson’s (2005) study of scientific translation into Indian languages in northern India in the colonial mid-nineteenth century.

The previous section highlighted some methodological concerns felt by historians of science with regard to objects of study and these are also of relevance to historians of scientific and technical translation. However, the gaps in translation history are large, which means that there is scope for both microhistorical and macro-historical approaches. Moreover, there are many canonical scientific and technical texts for which the translation and retranslation into particular languages and the reception of those texts have never been studied. It is equally possible to shine a spotlight on translation and intercultural interaction in other ways, e.g. through studying what Jardine (2000) calls the ‘scenes of inquiry’, i.e. the ways in which scientific questions emerged and dissolved, or by focusing on Raj’s (2007) ‘sites of knowledge production’, where new knowledge was constructed and existing knowledge was reconfigured, through intercultural encounters. Collaborative work between historians and translation scholars, combining historiographical and linguistic expertise, could be immensely fruitful in any of these areas.

Translation studies has adopted ethnographic methods for a small number of studies, but only Buzelin has attempted a study of translations ‘in the making’ in the manner of the laboratory studies mentioned above. Like Latour and colleagues, and drawing on actor-network theory, Buzelin’s (2006, 2007) studies of literary translation publishing in Quebec have produced ‘thick descriptions’ (Geertz 1973) of the processes by which literary translations come about and are published, from contract negotiation to the marketing of the book, drawing on interviews, field notes and direct observations as well as the study of materials related to the management of the translation project and different versions of the translations. Although methodologically challenging, similar studies of how technical and scientific translations are produced would be of considerable interest, complementing existing work in the sociology of science and technology, and doubtless of value to that field as well as to translation studies.

Knorr Cetina’s notion of epistemic cultures seems a particularly valuable one in that it accommodates differences both between sciences and across cultures. Bennett’s (2006, 2007a, 2007b) analyses of the hegemony of English academic discourse and the erosion of Portuguese epistemology through translation are centred on the role of the translator as gatekeeper and the ethics of committing this form of epistemicide. Elshakry (2008) notes similar epistemological (as well as literary and authorial) shifts by translators

into Arabic in the ninth and tenth centuries. Although not framed by the particular notion of epistemic cultures, and accessing epistemology only through the texts produced, these studies also provide an interesting angle on the role of translation in the machineries of knowing, with considerable scope for extending the analyses to other linguistic and cultural contexts but also to incorporate additional materialities of science and technology.

Another potential source of inspiration for those interested in researching how scientific ideas circulate is offered by Susam-Sarajeva's (2006) study of the importation of Roland Barthes's works into Turkish and of H  l  ne's Cixous's works into English. Susam-Sarajeva examines the similarities and differences of reception of these authors and their theories across linguistic and cultural boundaries. While the focus is on these literary and cultural theories, similar methods could usefully be employed to investigate how specific scientific theories travel. The starting point for the analysis is Said's (1983) notion of travelling theory, but while Said is interested in what happens to ideas when they travel, Susam-Sarajeva concentrates on *how* the theories travel, through people, including translators, but also encompassing authors, reviewers, critics, etc. The study's focus on the contemporary circulation of ideas also distinguishes it from historically more distant studies.

As alluded to above, English is the lingua franca of science and technology. This does not mean, however, that translation has less of a role to play in relation to the shaping and circulation of science and technology. The dominance of English as the language of science has, in some cases, provided an impetus for translation efforts into other languages; Abu Dhabi's Kalima project (www.kalima.ae/en/Default.aspx), for example, was established to promote the publishing and distribution of translations of classical and contemporary texts into Arabic, many of which are seminal science monographs. Moreover, while the English language dominates international publishing, scientific and technical activities continue apace in local settings and languages throughout the world. If we embark on studying the role of translation in relation to those activities, expanding our range of tools to do so, as suggested in this chapter, we may also need to revise our definitions of translation – self-translation by scientists becomes a relevant area of study, for example – but it is clear that translation is set to remain central to the processes of scientific and technical communication for some considerable time to come.

In conclusion, there remains tremendous scope for the translation of science – past and present – to be studied both more broadly and more deeply. Alongside the traditional sources of inspiration for translation studies, disciplines like history of science, sociology of science and rhetoric of science offer tools and a considerable body of research which can inform studies of translations and translators of science. There is no shortage of discursive and social practices to examine, so perhaps the main challenge facing translation scholars is to formulate and frame research questions about the translation of science in such a way that they will also interest specialists of those other disciplines, prompting synergetic collaborations and enabling multidimensional research projects to address many of the complexities of the role played by translations and translators in the production and circulation of scientific knowledge.

Related topics

sociology of science; rhetoric of science; history of science; text type; language function; epistemic culture; social constructivism

Notes

- 1 As illustration of the more recent trends of considering specialized discourse in its institutional, social or cultural contexts, Garzone and Sarangi (2007) have compiled a collection of papers on ideology in specialized discourse. However, it may be noted that the contributions on written communication in their collected volume revolve around corporate, financial, legal and political communication. Thus, the argument that scientific and technological discourse is also ideologically invested, though convincingly made in the introduction to the volume, is not really exemplified by this selection of papers.
- 2 See Olohan (in preparation) for in-depth discussion of different conceptualizations of science, their historical emergence and some of the implications that they hold for the study of translation.
- 3 Latour (e.g. 2005) goes a step further than the SSK scholars by insisting that science/nature and society are indissociable, so that it is not simply a matter of applying a social theory to science in order to explain science socially. He argues that this would presuppose that there is something called society which can be used to account for the behaviour of actors who are, often unknowingly, manipulating society, but whose manipulation can only be uncovered when they are studied by sociologists. Instead, society itself has to be constructed, assembled, and he proposes actor-network theory in an attempt to provide an alternative framework for doing that.
- 4 The Devonian controversy was a dispute that arose in 1834 in Britain about the identification and correct sequence of strata of rock in Devon, but which eventually resulted in consensus and the development of the Devonian system for rocks formed worldwide during the Devonian period. Rudwick (1985) reconstructed the controversy by studying the large quantity of documentary material contemporary with the events he was analysing (not privileging any particular source), then summarizing the background before presenting a lengthy and detailed non-retrospective narrative, following Geertz's (1973) concept of 'thick description'. For Rudwick (1985: 11), this 'narrative with a purpose' was a methodological necessity in the study of science in the making.

Further reading

- Myers, Greg (1990) *Writing Biology: Texts in the Social Construction of Scientific Knowledge*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. (This book provides a very useful example of how texts can be studied, within a social context, to explore how scientific knowledge is produced. Myers examines drafts and published articles, as well as other texts produced by the biologists he studies, including grant proposals and popularizations. His analysis focuses on the textual but also on the social aspects of the work, looking at rhetorical functions of texts such as grant proposals, the negotiation of the status of knowledge claims through refereeing processes, the controversies and competition in which texts and their authors are engaged, and the ways in which scientific knowledge is employed in society.)
- Olohan, Maeve and Salama-Carr, Myriam (eds) (2011) *The Translator* 17(2), special issue on translation of science. (This volume brings together a selection of research articles addressing questions related to the translation of science from a variety of perspectives and using a range of methodologies. Both popular science and expert-to-expert communication of science are considered, and methodological approaches used include (multimedia) corpus methods, discourse analysis, paratextual analyses and archival research. Key themes addressed by authors include reader-writer interaction, the expression of certainty or epistemic stance, the use of glossing and metaphor in scientific texts. Of central interest are the techniques used by translators in relation to these features and the significance and consequences of translators' decisions. A set of historical studies analyses how and why translators have intervened in their texts to challenge or alter the worldview or ideological stance conveyed by the source text, and some papers examine the role of translation in creating or perpetuating a scientific discourse or discipline.)
- Montgomery, Scott L. (2000) *Science in Translation: Movements of Knowledge Through Cultures and Time*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (This book provides a translation-focused account of science, tracing the complex webs of rewritings, adaptations and displacements throughout the centuries, from Greek to Roman to Islamic science, into medieval and Renaissance Europe. In a separate account, Montgomery also examines the development of science in Japan. His narratives challenge the oft-held notion of scientific translation as straightforward interlingual transfer of universally understood and accepted ideas and foregrounds the decisive role of

translators in knowledge production and circulation, and in the development of textual and intellectual cultures.)

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Literary narrative prose and translation studies

Emily O. Wittman

Literary fiction and non-fiction have long been central to studies of translation. Literary translation refers to the translation of an original text of cultural and aesthetic import, distinguishing it, for instance, from technical and commercial translation. Literary translation is nonetheless a porous category, as tricky to define as literature itself. It is perhaps best understood as the product of a translator who takes seriously the literary nature of the original and translates with the goal of producing a text that will have literary merit of its own, a work that is ‘designed to be read as literature’ (France 2000: xxi).

Until quite recently, the majority of written texts on translation from antiquity onwards dealt with questions raised by literary and Biblical translation (see Long, this volume). The study of translations of literary narrative prose is thus informed by over two millennia of reflections. However, only recently have literary histories devoted significant attention to the part played by translation in the evolution of a literature and in canon formation.

This chapter will provide an overview of relevant theoretical approaches to the study of translated literary fiction and narrative prose before considering specific translations and wider trends in the twentieth-century translation into English of canonical texts, fiction, and non-fiction prose.

Debates on the translation of literary prose

The beginnings

Arguably, the chief issue for theorists of literary translation from Cicero onwards has been linguistic segmentation: should the primary segment of translation be the individual word (leading to a ‘word-for-word’ translation), or the phrase, clause, or sentence (leading to a ‘sense-for-sense’ translation)? At stake is the central concept of equivalence – formulated in numerous ways over two millennia – which serves to describe the variable relationship of a translated text to the original. This relationship between the original text and its translation is cast in terms of form and style or else (and often additionally) in terms of authority, i.e. how successfully the translation captures what the author communicated in the source text.

The choice between word-for-word and sense-for-sense translations is often formulated as a choice between fidelity and fluency. Fidelity and fluency, for millennia, have been regarded as competing ideals for translators, leading a seventeenth-century French writer to speak of '*les belles infidèles*' ('unfaithful beauties') to describe translations that diverge significantly in form and content from the source text. Fidelity in literary translation pertains to the extent to which a translation accurately renders the meaning and stylistic features of a source text without distorting it in any manner. Since Jerome in the fourth century CE, the concept of fidelity has featured prominently in the consideration of translations of sacred texts. However, the concept of fidelity is also used to evaluate a particular translation's relationship to the author's perceived intentions when composing the work in question. Fluent translations, on the other hand, often appear to have originated in the target language. A fluent translation results when a literary translator conforms to the idioms and grammatical and syntactic conventions of the target language. These two approaches are often, but not always, seen as mutually exclusive. A translation that reproduces idioms, conventions and occasionally even the syntax of the source language, is generally referred to as an idiomatic or word-for-word translation.

Many non-fluent translation theories are rooted in German Romanticism, in particular, in the work of German theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher, whose 'On the Different Methods of Translation' (1813) distinguishes between translation methods that move the writer toward the reader and methods that move the reader toward the author. Schleiermacher argued that the latter approach would enhance German culture and the German language. Twentieth-century theorists including Walter Benjamin, Martin Heidegger, George Steiner, Antoine Berman and Lawrence Venuti are indebted to Schleiermacher's foundational text.

Debates about these two fundamentally different approaches to literary translation are frequently prompted by practical and ethical concerns. Which approach better honours the original author or work? Which is more important in a literary work – the content or the style? The criteria used to judge the strategy and success of a translation necessarily vary according to the subject, the precision of the original, the type, function and use of the text, its literary qualities, and its social or historical context.

Walter Benjamin's dense and hortatory essay 'The Task of the Translator' (1923), the preface to his German translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*, is arguably the most widely read and referenced work in studies of literary translation. The true goal of rendering one language into another is, in Benjamin's view, to serve 'the purpose of expressing the central reciprocal relationship between languages' (1968: 72). This can only be achieved through literal translation. Particularly since the 1970s, Benjamin's meditation has prompted a broad range of scholarship that both embraces and contests his views (Yao 2002).

The various 'turns' in translation studies

The final decades of the twentieth century witnessed an increase in research that juxtaposed and compared multiple translations of a literary text in order to determine the ideological, contextual and cultural factors that account for translational choices (see Lefevere 1992; and Venuti 1995). Such comparative analysis also affords insight into the reasons for the changes that literary works undergo in translation over a period of time and helps scholars to understand 'who rewrites, why, under what circumstances, for which audience?' (Lefevere 1992: 7). The translator's 'full range of social action' (Robinson 2003: 151) was recognized.

Following the rise of polysystems theory in the 1970s and 1980s (see Ben-Ari, this volume), the role of translations in literary history is often explored by studying the reception of translated texts as well as the function of translations in the establishment of literary canons (see Toury 1977). Even-Zohar argues that translated literature must be included in any model of a literary system as it is so often the channel for literary innovation and change (1978: 15). Influenced by Even-Zohar's work, questions and debates pursuant to the topic of culture became central to Toury's descriptive translation studies (Toury 1995; see Ben-Ari, this volume).

Susan Bassnett identifies the mid-1980s as the time when translation studies took a 'cultural turn' and considered long-neglected areas of study (Bassnett 1990: 123). New contributions to the field came from feminist and postcolonial theorists such as Sherry Simon, Luise von Flotow, Lori Chamberlain, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Tejaswini Niranjana. Their diverse approaches, often informed by poststructuralist theories of discourse, highlight the relationship between translation and ideology. They question the role translation plays in maintaining, questioning or altering relationships of domination between genders and between cultural and/or national groups. Feminist critics such as von Flotow (1997) question the gendered rhetoric of translation as well as the gendered politics of authority and originality. They reassess canonical construction in part through the recovery and translation (or retranslation) of the neglected writing of women from a variety of literary and cultural traditions (see Godayol, this volume). Important recent work in translation studies explores the role of translation in colonial projects (see Merrill, this volume) and also the translations from minority languages and cultures that are not part of a postcolonial context (see Apter 2006; and Bermann and Wood 2005).

In turn, skopos theorists (see Nord, this volume) propose that a translation is shaped by its proposed function in the target culture. In their case studies of the purpose and reception of translated literature, they argue that however strong and multifaceted the relationship between a target text and the source text, a translation must also cohere with the background knowledge and situation of the projected audience. This target-text approach makes skopos theory particularly useful for investigations of literary prose translations; a good example is Christiane Nord's study of Barbara Teutsch's German translation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Nord 1997).

Reworking Schleiermacher, Venuti (1992, 1995) and Berman (1992) identify an ethical dimension in translational choices: either you domesticate the source text, assimilating it to the ordinary language of the target language culture, or else you foreignize it, thereby allowing it to retain some of its alterity through literalism (see Van Wyke, this volume). Venuti introduced the term 'invisibility' (1995) to describe the translator's status and activity in Anglo-American culture over the last few centuries (ibid.). Venuti's case studies demonstrate that Anglo-American translators tend to produce idiomatic and readable target texts, thereby creating an 'illusion of transparency' for readers (ibid.: 36). In his view, this dominant approach to translation entails adherence to domestic literary canons and aesthetic values. Venuti advocates a translation method that makes visible the presence of the translator and highlights the source text's foreign identity (ibid.: 305), an approach he honours in his prose translations of the experimental nineteenth-century Italian writer I.U. Tarchetti. It is by analysing 'the part played by translations in the receiving literatures and cultures', Lefevere argues, that the study of translation will come to occupy an increasingly important place in the academy (1992: 140). Michael Cronin similarly exhorts us to view the study of translated literature as 'a way into English language and culture itself' (2006: 32).

To sum up, current research in translation studies considers literary translations within their sociocultural contexts, theorizing the work, habits and interpretive moves of translators themselves. To a large extent, the object of study has shifted from broad statements about translation to descriptive studies of what happens in and around translation. Theorists including André Lefevere (1992), Gideon Toury (1995) and Sherry Simon (1996) have interrogated the notions of accuracy, equivalence and fidelity with respect to literary translation, arguing that any assessment of these criteria is inevitably determined by a variety of cultural, political and economic factors. This is evident, for instance, in the literary reviews that compare Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky's retranslations of nineteenth-century Russian novels by Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Leo Tolstoy and Ivan Turgenev, with the long standard translations by Constance Garnett. As the disciplinary status of translation studies is legitimized, theoretical models by which to evaluate literary prose continue to proliferate and gain traction.

New translations of canonical texts

The retranslation of canonical texts in the twentieth century can be attributed to a number of causes, including increased literacy in the English-speaking world and an increase in the supply of affordable books. Although a record number of students enrolled at universities in both the USA and Great Britain, especially after World War II, the percentage capable of reading in foreign languages progressively decreased. Translators consequently produced accessible translations for this new audience. Leonard Tanock, whose 1982 translation of Madame de Sévigné's *Selected Letters* is one of three twentieth-century English-language translations of her work, renders her letters in the voice of a highly educated upper-class British woman. In a 1664 letter to Pomponne, Sévigné writes to her daughter about a man who has just passed two kidney stones: 'The old chap came back jolly and perky, and everyone was truly amazed' (de Sévigné 1982: 50).

Bassnett notes that such translations mark a departure from Victorian approaches to translation, which included, 'literalness, archaizing, pedantry and the production of a text of second-rate literary merit for an élite minority' (Bassnett 1980: 73). This mass retranslation of canonical texts supports Even-Zohar's thesis that specific historical situations determine the quantity and type of translations undertaken (1978).

Given the quickly expanding monolingual audience, twentieth-century translators of the classics introduced new translational norms that privileged fluency. For the most part, these translators ceased imitating literary form and strove instead to produce clear translations suitable for both pleasure reading and academic exegesis. Outstanding practitioners of this new 'plain prose' include translators such as E.V. Rieu, Robert Graves, Michael Grant, Constance Garnett and J.M. Cohen. The Penguin Classics series provided popularized classics, including prose versions of the Homeric epics. J.M. Cohen played a central role in this series; his many notable translations include works by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Michel de Montaigne, Miguel de Cervantes, Madame de Sévigné, Teresa of Ávila and Gustave Flaubert, among others. Because these new translations became staples of university syllabuses, their availability was guaranteed. Indeed, university trends greatly influence what is translated and retranslated (Lefevere 1992: 21).

The amount of attention paid to issues of translation, including the assignment of a specific translator to a text and his or her choice of a translational strategy, appears to correspond greatly to the publisher's sense of how significant and widely read a particular translation will be. Since the nineteenth century, there has been a strong distinction between high and low literature, with the former receiving much more careful translation.

Twentieth-century fiction

Translation played an important part in twentieth-century literary history right from the beginning of the century. Commencing with James Joyce's youthful 1901 translations of Gerhart Hauptmann's plays, translation was inarguably central to modernism, perhaps the defining literary movement of the century. Although many of the Anglo-American modernists trained their efforts on plays and poems, a number turned their linguistic and literary talents to prose. Although his poetry translations are more numerous and well-known, Ezra Pound's prose translations include a version of the *Dialogues of Fontenelle* (1917) and Rémy de Gourmont's sexual treatise *The Natural Philosophy of Love* (1922). Notable examples of translations by modernist writers include three novels by the Italian Giovanni Verga translated by D.H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf's 1922 translations from the Russian (in collaboration with S.S. Kosteliansky) of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *Stavrogin's Confession* and *The Plan of the Life of a Great Sinner*, and her 1923 translation (in collaboration with A.G. Goldenveizer) of *Talks with Tolstoi*.

English novelist and literary patron Ford Madox Ford translated Pierre Loti's *The Trial of the Barbarians* and, in a now well-known episode in modernist literary history, gave a young Jean Rhys the task of translating a novel by French pulp writer Francis Carco. When her literal translation of *Perversity* appeared in 1928, publisher Pascal Covici gave Ford the credit. Ford cleared up the matter but disingenuously argued that he could not have translated the novel, as he was not as familiar as Rhys with the Parisian demi-monde and its slang. Another significant modernist effort is Marianne Moore's 1954 translation of La Fontaine's *Fables*, an effort that she referred to as 'the best help I've ever had' for her development as a writer (Moore 1961: 263). H.D.'s autobiographical novel *Bid Me to Live* (1960) offers a first-hand account of the practice of modernist translation and the possibility of self-transformation for the female translator, as the protagonist Julia Aston details how the act of translating Greek poetry strengthened her devotion to her vocation as a writer.

Anglo-American modernist translations were occasionally the product of notable writers with scant knowledge of the source language. A modernist translator's command of a source language at times had little to do with what he or she would translate and what kind of acclaim a particular translation might enjoy. Translation served as an important part of Anglo-American modernists' general project of cultural renewal by expanding their reach and by helping them move beyond traditional English-language literary practice (Yao 2002: 7).

Dorothy Bussy's translation of the modernist French writer André Gide's voluminous oeuvre, including work that treats homosexual themes, introduced new topics and approaches into the English language in the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, translated writing frequently exceeded domestic writing in the exploration of previously taboo subjects. In the 1940s and 1950s existentialist writing – in particular, the many novels and autobiographical writings of Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus and Jean Genet – were translated quickly from the French for an eager readership. These postwar translations had a crucial impact on English-language thought and literature.

De Beauvoir's landmark feminist work *The Second Sex*, as well as translations of her philosophical multivolume autobiography, was widely read in English-speaking countries. Yet, de Beauvoir's sophisticated language challenged her appointed translators, who often mistranslated important philosophical terms. In his 1963 translation of *Force of Circumstance*, one segment of her autobiography, translator Richard Howard sought to reverse this trend by including an index of important philosophical terms. Critics including Margaret

A. Simons (1995) and Toril Moi (1994) have demonstrated how de Beauvoir's literary achievements and philosophical rigour – particularly in H.M. Parshley's 1953 translation of *The Second Sex* – have suffered in translation due to her publisher's desire to market her as a popular women's writer. In 2009 Jonathan Cape published a new translation of *The Second Sex* by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier.

In some cases, foreign-language literature received more acclaim in English-language translation than in its original context. Translations of the work of experimental Brazilian novelist Clarice Lispector offer an example of this phenomenon. Notable translations of Lispector's work into French and English in the 1980s helped to win her a fame abroad that was still absent in Brazil. Interest in Lispector was fuelled by an interest in experimental writing by women but also by a wider domestic vogue for South American literature. Lispector's translated novels continue to influence experimental English-language writers while also providing important primary texts for literary studies and women's studies. French feminist writing, or *écriture féminine*, with its subversion of traditional gender categories and its criticism of language as a male realm, also fed domestic interests and gave feminist translators the opportunity to subvert 'the process by which translation complies with gender constructs' (Chamberlain 1992: 72).

Translations of Japanese fiction also offer a case of translation reflecting domestic interests. In the 1950s and 1960s established American presses published translations of Japanese novels by authors such as Kawabata Yasunari and Mishima Yukio, novels that registered nostalgia for a seemingly imperilled Japanese way of life (Venuti 1998). American publishers and translators thus established a non-representative canon of Japanese literature that was 'based on a well-defined stereotype' (ibid.: 72). This trend has been corrected, to a large extent, by translations of contemporary writing by experimental Japanese novelists Haruki Murakami and Kenzaburo Oe.

An overview of literary translation in the twentieth century would be incomplete without a discussion of both self-translation (often referred to as 'auto-translation') and collaborative translation. At least since Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into German, it has been widely assumed that a translator translates satisfactorily only into his or her native language. Yet, one of the twentieth century's most celebrated novelists, Vladimir Nabokov, translated his novels both into and out of his native Russian, likening the activity to 'sorting through one's own innards, and then trying them on for size like a pair of gloves' (Beaujour 1989: 90). A notable dissenter from dominant trends in translation, Nabokov observed a strictly literal approach while translating Russian classics such as Alexander Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*: 'The clumsiest literal translation is a thousand times more useful than the prettiest paraphrase' (Nabokov 1975: ix).

Perhaps the most remarkable twentieth-century self-translator is the Irish writer Samuel Beckett. In addition to translating work by other writers from French into English, Beckett wrote in both languages and translated his own work between them, at times simultaneously and at times after some delay. For instance, the French translation of his 1938 novel *Murphy* (1939) was published after a delay of ten years. Many Beckett scholars credit his mid-career decision to write in his adopted language French as a significant factor in his burst of literary activity in the late 1940s, as it allowed him refuge from English-language literary traditions, in particular, the freighted Hiberno-English one in which Joyce figured so prominently. Robert Coe (1983) has questioned the reigning assumption that Beckett was a faithful translator and suggests that his translations function instead as parallel creations or complements: 'Beckett's French linguistic self is not identical with his English-structured linguistic self; nor, even more significantly, are his English translations from his

own French identical rendering from one idiom to another' (1983: 41). By virtue of his self-translation, Beckett, like Nabokov, indisputably created a bilingual oeuvre.

Many writers work collaboratively with translators. Notable examples include the Czech writer Milan Kundera who personally amended the French translations of his novels, the Japanese novelist Haruki Murakami, the Albanian novelist Ismail Kadare, and the Argentine writers Jorge Luis Borges and Julio Cortázar. Like Nabokov, Borges was both a theorist and a practitioner of translation. Between 1967 and 1972 Borges and his American translator, Norman Thomas di Giovanni, worked together on meticulous translations of Borges's writing that won him a place in the canon. However, Venuti notes that di Giovanni assimilated Borges's writing to 'American stylistic canons' in order to 'increase their accessibility to an American readership' (1998: 4). On the other hand, translator Gregory Rabassa honoured the highly experimental nature of Cortázar's fiction. While translating Cortázar's landmark novel *Hopscotch*, Rabassa reproduced his use of gibberish, included some of the original Spanish text, and followed the original by including untranslated French:

Had Julio wanted these spots in English he would have translated them into Spanish in the first place. I also saw no reason to dumb the book down for readers of English and insult them in some way. I also left the Spanish intact sometimes for other reasons. Like any song, tangos are better left in the original or great and sometimes hilarious damage is done.

(Rabassa 2005: 54)

The Yiddish writer Isaac Bashevis Singer assisted his translators and considered this work of critical use for his own writing. He believed that translations 'succeed best where the translator works with the author, or vice versa', but also that 'translation undresses a literary work, shows it in its true nakedness' (1971: 111). For Singer, the shortcomings of a work become clear in translation, as translation 'tells the bitter truth' (ibid.). At the other end of the spectrum, Kundera both denounced and corrected translations of his novels, most notably *The Joke*. He excoriated the publisher and translator of the first English translation, who 'cut out all the reflective passages, eliminated the musicological chapters, changed the order of the parts, [and] recomposed the novel' (1998: 1).

Finally, there is the unusual case of pseudotranslations, often known as 'fake translations'. Toury defines these as: 'texts which have been presented as translation with no corresponding source texts in other languages ever having existed' (1995: 40). Pseudotranslations, which test conventional definitions of translation, are often seen as a way to introduce novelty into a language or culture by misrepresenting a literary work as the translation of a foreign original. Pseudotranslations are also a popular object for postmodern literary theory insofar as they problematize notions of originality and authenticity.

One of the other ways in which translation features in twentieth-century literature is through glossaries and translated dialogue. Translation is thus a technique of composition and not merely a means to render a source text. Translated as well as untranslated dialogue appears in multilinguistic fiction by James Joyce, George Orwell, Lawrence, Ernest Hemingway, Graham Greene and Evelyn Waugh. A particularly rich example of this practice is given in *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), Hemingway's introduction to the Spanish bullfight. Untranslated Spanish words and dialogue abound in the book, which ends with an 80-page glossary. Many of the definitions of Spanish words eschew traditional dictionary organization by illustrating how Hemingway's knowledge of a word originated in a specific experience. For instance, the glossary entry for *tacones* (shoe heels) recounts the

practices of a Catalan heel thief whom the reader will recognize by the scar Hemingway left on his face. Several of the most lengthy glossary entries are not even included in the main body of the book. Overall the extensive glossary suggests that Hemingway sees words not merely as indicators of things for which there are uncomplicated equivalents in other languages. This view pervades Hemingway's entire oeuvre. In his 1940 novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, protagonist Robert Jordan muses that the word 'dead' has no exact equivalents in other languages: 'Take dead, *mort*, *muerto*, and *totd*. *Totd* was the deadliest of them all. War, *guerre*, *guerra*, and *Krieg*. *Krieg* was the most like war, or was it? Or was it only that he knew German the least well?' (Hemingway 1968: 182).

Twentieth-century life writing and literary prose

The different forms of life writing comprise the largest and fastest growing literary prose genre of the twentieth century in Great Britain and the USA. An increase in secularism and a renewal of interest in the individual led to a wider audience for the classics of life writing. This in turn led to a demand for accessible translations of the celebrated autobiographies, biographies and memoirs of writers such as Plutarch, Augustine, Giacomo Casanova, Montaigne, Benvenuto Cellini, Rousseau and Teresa of Ávila.

In the introduction to the *Reveries of a Solitary Walker*, Peter France describes how he made Rousseau's final autobiographical work accessible to twentieth-century readers while also rendering 'something of the music and eloquence which brought Rousseau so many enthusiastic readers in his time' (France 1979: 23). Twentieth-century translators of life writing typically opt for a domesticating method, although there are notable exceptions. Translation approaches often reflect the type of writing being translated, with much more careful attention paid to autobiography than biography and correspondence, albeit with significant exceptions.

The life writing translated into English in the twentieth century corresponds to domestic trends in life writing, but also introduces new themes. Early in the century state-sponsored narratives about great men ceded place to writing about the self by new sectors of society. This domestic trend was stimulated and reaffirmed by translations of life writing that offered new and often experimental approaches. Thus, from the very beginning of the century, translations of life writing both mirrored and augmented domestic literary trends.

Virginia Woolf speculated that biography, like other forms of life writing, was a nascent genre that would 'enlarge its scope by hanging up looking glasses at odd corners' (1942: 195). Fittingly, Virginia and Leonard Woolf's Hogarth Press published the first official translations of Sigmund Freud's work. Freud's principal English translator was fellow Bloomsbury member James Strachey, often assisted by his wife Alix. James Strachey was the youngest brother of both Dorothy Bussy, André Gide's translator, and Bloomsbury writer Lytton Strachey, author of the iconoclastic *Eminent Victorians* (1918). The impact of Strachey's translations of Freud on English-language literature cannot be overemphasized. Strachey translated Freud's German into the fluent and elegant English of an erudite native speaker. His translations of Freud's key analytic concepts altered the meaning and scope of a variety of English words, including complex, fixation, cathexis, repression, regression, symptom, transference and treatment.

A quick turnaround time between original publication and translation into English is often indicative of a pressing and widespread interest. Such translations, rapidly produced for a wide audience, are usually characterized by readability. One significant counter-example is Ralph Manheim's 1943 translation of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (Houghton

Mifflin), the second English-language translation. Manheim, who became a celebrated translator of French and German literature, began his career with this literal translation that pointedly reproduced Hitler's awkward style and grammatical errors, but left the title in German and inserted footnotes to 'clarify stylistic issues' (Hermans 2007). Another important counterexample is Barbara Bray's translation from the French of *Prisoner of Love* (1989), Jean Genet's record of his experiences with the Black Panthers in the USA and with Palestinian soldiers in Jordan and Lebanon. Bray's translation reproduces Genet's 'deliberately subversive style', which, as she argues in the translator's notes, 'had been raised by physical and psychological factors to a level of anarchy unusual even for Genet' (Genet 1992: xxi).

Many of the texts that now comprise what is commonly known as Holocaust literature were subject to a consequential delay in translation that influenced what kinds of testimonials were translated and how. This delay was due in part to foreign and domestic publishers' sense of what would sell. The most circulated Holocaust testimonials, including those of Anne Frank, Elie Wiesel and Primo Levi, were translated and published in the 1950s and 1960s. As André Lefevere (1992) and Naomi Seidman (2006) demonstrate, the work of these young victims was carefully edited and translated in order to become the universal texts so widely read and taught today. In his analysis of the German translation of Frank's Dutch-language diaries, Lefevere illustrates how the translator crafted the target text with specific ideological and commercial considerations in mind.

Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl* (1952) and Wiesel's *Night* (1958) have particularly complex translation histories. Frank's many diaries were edited multiple times for translation. Many references to sexuality and family conflicts were rewritten or eliminated along with anti-German sentiments. Wiesel's *Night* was translated from a French translation, itself a translation of a much longer Yiddish account, originally published for a Jewish readership in 1956. At the behest of the established French writer François Mauriac, Wiesel translated his book from Yiddish into French in 1958. The French translation was then significantly expurgated by Jérôme Lindon, the chief editor at Éditions de Minuit, who removed entire passages in which Wiesel expressed his anger. Seidman thus argues that, 'the canon of Holocaust literature should be read as the *rewriting* of this historical event for new audiences' (2006: 204).

Many postwar European writers question the relationship between the subjective depth of human experience and traditional first-person writing. Consequently, in the last 50 years the translation of life writing has served to introduce stylistic innovations into English. Two notable examples are Richard Howard's 1977 translation of Roland Barthes's *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*, a blend of autobiography and criticism alternating between the first and the third person, and written in the form of an alphabetical list, and David Bellos's 1988 translation of George Perec's *W, or the Memory of Childhood*, a book that alternates chapters of autobiography with chapters of utopian fiction. Writing by Perec and other Oulipo writers challenges translators with its consciously imposed formal constraints. For instance, Gilbert Adair translated Perec's novel *A Void* (2005), which in the English translation, as in the French original, does not include the vowel 'e'. Barbara Wright's translation of Raymond Queneau's *Exercises in Style* (1981) captures his attempt to tell the same story in 99 different styles. Overall, translations of experimental writing are marked more strongly by the presence of the translator by means of footnotes, prefaces, appendices, commentaries, detailed introductions, glossaries and other supplements.

The second wave of feminism in the 1970s occasioned the translation of contemporary women's life writing as well as the rediscovery and retranslation of an extensive tradition

of women's life writing. For instance, writing by Madame de Sévigné and Madame de Staël was retranslated in the twentieth century for a large audience.

Important translations of twentieth-century life writing by women include the journals, letters and autobiographical writings of the French writer Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette, the Italian novelist and journalist Orianna Fallaci, and the Russian-born intellectual Lou-Andreas Salomé. D.M. Low's translation from the Italian of Natalie Ginzburg's *Family Sayings* (1967), which tells a story through citation, is a feat of translation, as is celebrated translator Barbara Wright's translation of Natalie Sarraute's stylistically innovative autobiography *Childhood* (1983). French writer Marguerite Duras's experimental writing was particularly well received in the English-speaking world. Although she wrote many novels, *The Lover* (1985), one of her four autobiographical works, was the most commercially successful. With Duras's approval, translator Barbara Bray honoured the musicality and unusual syntax and vocabulary of the original, even when this entailed a slight change in meaning or else in sentence order. This translation won Bray her third Scott Moncrieff Prize.

Methodologies of the future

Translation has been at the heart of literary culture since antiquity. As Pound mused in 1916, 'A great age of literature is perhaps always a great age of translations, or follows it' (1968: 232). Despite the growth of English as a global lingua franca, literary translations continue to contribute to English-language communities. New translations challenge national traditions and renew classical texts.

Pound's prescient view of translation as a generative literary practice and a form of literary criticism is now commonly held by both scholars and practitioners of translation. In the spirit of Pound, a number of twentieth-century prose translations were accomplished with minimal knowledge of the source language on the part of the translator, partially in the belief that linguistic mastery is not a practical reality as language acquisition and cultural literacy are the work of a lifetime. Likewise, recent theorists have suggested that it is precisely when a translator does not understand the whole source text that the stakes of translation are most evident. Christopher Prendergast, for instance, suggests that we are closest to another culture when 'we fail to understand it, when confronted with the points of blockage to interpretive mastery' (2004: xi). The growing institutional acceptance of translation studies has indisputably fuelled an interest in experimental translation; particularly at the university level, experimentation often goes hand in hand with new theoretical approaches. However, not all translation theorists favour the loose approach. Edwin Gentzler, for one, criticizes the American workshop tradition for making reductive and self-serving use of Pound's method by ignoring his impressive cultural knowledge, making irresponsible use of cribs, and reducing translation to commentary (2001: 31).

An ever-expanding number of scholars, including Michael Cronin, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Emily Apter, Sandra Bermann, Michael Wood and Lawrence Venuti, are concerned with the role and fate of translation in a globalized world. They advocate a responsible pedagogy of translation, one which will demonstrate that 'our translation histories are no longer confined to the internal experiences of the territorially bounded nation-state' and help to counterbalance national linguistic narratives (2003: 78).

These scholars often advocate the inclusion of footnotes, prefaces and commentary by the translator in order to foreground his or her ideological and psychological position. Yet, most publishers across the English-speaking world are hesitant to take risks with

translated titles, let alone experimental translations. The contemporary scholar of translation must theorize the place of translated literature and the survival of literary traditions alongside questions about the literary market. Theorists and practitioners remain optimistic that a commitment to literary translation will permit the emergence of new literary forms and promote linguistic and cultural diversity. However, both acknowledge that globalization has irrevocably altered the relationship between translators, language and power.

Related topics

equivalence; fidelity; translating canonical texts; translating fiction; translating literary prose

Further reading

- Bassnett, Susan and Lefevere, André (eds) (1990) *Translation, History, and Culture*, London: Pinter. (This edited volume highlights three important new areas for the study of literary translation: translation as rewriting, translation and gender, and translation and postcolonialism.)
- Bermann, Sandra and Wood, Michael (2005) (eds) *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (This collection provides a well-balanced collection of essays on literary translation.)
- Lefevere, André (1992) *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, New York and London: Routledge. (This landmark book explores the ways in which translation and rewriting transform literary works for new cultural and ideological frameworks.)
- Niranjana, Tejaswini (1992) *Sitting Translation: History, Poststructuralism, and the Colonial Context*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. (In this seminal book, Niranjana places translation at the heart of the colonial encounter.)
- Simon, Sherry (1996) *Gender in Translation. Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*, London and New York: Routledge. (Both descriptive and prescriptive, *Gender and Translation* is the first comprehensive study of feminist issues in the practice and theory of literary translation.)

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Children's literature and translation studies

Emer O'Sullivan

Children's literature, which first emerged in the countries of north-western Europe around the middle of the eighteenth century, is a specific and distinct segment of the general literary system with its own fields of production, distribution and reception. It has, since its inception, been a site of intense translational activity, and works from other languages have been a key to its very development. However, serious critical interest in the subject of translating children's literature is a relatively recent phenomenon. Translating children's literature is not essentially different from translating other forms of literature, but there are elements peculiar to this domain which call for special theoretical and methodological consideration. Analysis of children's literature in translation therefore focuses on aspects not at the centre of attention in translation studies in general and thus has an important contribution to make to the discipline as a whole.

Specifics of children's literature

Children's literature is a heterogeneous body of texts. It addresses readers from toddlers to young adults and encompasses a wide range of material such as board books for the smallest readers, picture books both conventional and sophisticated, fairy tales, poems, information books, psychological novels, serious fiction and complex adolescent novels, all of which call for different translation strategies. Not only must the wide variety of forms of children's literature be considered when discussing its translation, but the different functions they fulfil are of equal importance. These range from literary texts with primarily aesthetic functions to occasional texts for younger readers like lullabies, jog-along knee songs or bedtime stories, which bear a greater affinity to folklore with its open forms than to written literary texts. They also include primers that are defined by their degree of linguistic difficulty and their role in promoting literacy, as well as information books, in which content is more important than form. This breadth should make it evident that a universal definition of children's literature cannot be gleaned from the actual texts themselves in terms of specific thematic, stylistic or formal textual features shared by every book in this huge domain. However, there is one thing that all these heterogeneous texts do have in common: they are considered appropriate for children by those who produce

them (authors, publishers, etc.), by figures active in the literary market (e.g. reviewers), and by educational institutions (schools, libraries).

Children's literature is literature that is assigned to children by adults (see Ewers 2009); it is defined by its audience and by those who address that audience. The unequal relationship that arises from the assignment of texts by adults to children is a constituent element from which many of the essential differences between children's and adult literature derive. Ostensibly addressed to young readers, children's literature is written, translated, published, reviewed and recommended by adults. Adult librarians administer children's books, teachers use and encourage the use of them, they are purchased by parents, uncles, aunts, etc. This mediating role of adults is a vital one – without it children would have no literature – but a children's book that does not gain adult approval has a harder time making its way to the young addressees. As Shavit (1986: 37) wrote: 'The children's writer is perhaps the only one who is asked to address one particular audience and at the same time appeal to another'; the result is texts with double or multiple address, catering to readers of different ages and with different reading motivation.

The inequality that manifests itself initially outside the text is a central feature of communication within the texts themselves; they must adapt to the requirements and capabilities of their readers at different developmental stages. The literature must bridge the communicatory distance between adult authors and child readers who are unequal in terms of their command of language, their experience of the world, and their positions in society (this inequality decreases in the course of the readers' development), and the distance is bridged by authors (and translators) adapting language, subject matter and formal and thematic features to correspond to the children's stages of development and the repertoire of skills they have already acquired. Klingberg (1986: 10) defines this adaptation as 'the consideration of ... the supposed interests, needs, reactions, knowledge, reading ability and so on of the intended readers'. Asymmetry as a key feature of children's literature, and the forms of adaptation adopted to address it, play a major role in all aspects of the transfer of children's literature across linguistic borders.

A further key feature of children's literature is that it belongs simultaneously to two systems, the literary and the socio-educational; inscribed into it are the social, cultural and educational norms, values and ideas dominant in a given culture at that specific time: 'children's fiction belongs firmly within the domain of cultural practices which exist for the purpose of socializing their target audience' (Stephens 1992: 8). This aspect is particularly relevant for those who study children's literature in translation: they must ask to what degree source text norms may actually prohibit translation or whether (and how) they are adapted to conform to those of the target culture.

Within the literary polysystem, children's literature occupies a peripheral position due to its dual reference to the literary and the socio-educational systems, even if recent global successes such as the *Harry Potter* novels have managed to raise its profile. It is generally perceived to be a more pragmatic than purely literary phenomenon. Its status is influenced by factors as diverse as the nature of the texts themselves and the general assessment of childhood and its standing at a given point in time within a given cultural area. The peripheral position of children's books is reflected in a resulting lack of status for its translators. Picking up Venuti's (1995) metaphor of 'invisible translators', Gillian Lathey (2010: 5) writes that 'translators for children seem to be the most transparent of all'. She subtitles her study, the first extensive history of the translation of children's texts into English, 'Invisible Storytellers', placing the role of the translator firmly in the centre of her account. Since the second half of the twentieth century some awards have worked to

raise the profile of translated children's literature. The Mildred L. Batchelder Award, established in 1966, is conferred annually to an American publisher for the most outstanding book translated into English and published in the USA, and the biennial Marsh Award for children's literature in translation, established in 1996, is given to the British translator of a book published in the UK. The Astrid Lindgren Translation Prize is awarded triennially by the International Federation of Translators for a single translation or for the entire body of work of a translator of books for children.

Specifics of translating children's literature

From this brief account of characteristics that distinguish children's literature from literature for adults, we can extrapolate the key issues specific to its translation.

- Developmental issues and the actual receptive ability of child readers are at the heart of children's literature translation, and these are connected to a central paradox. It is commonly held that books are translated in order to enrich the target literature and to introduce children to foreign cultures, yet at the same time foreign elements are often eradicated from translations heavily adapted to their target culture, allegedly on the grounds that young readers will not understand them. Many translated texts tend to underestimate child readers, wanting to 'protect' them from being over-challenged and adhering to what Tabbert (2002: 308) calls 'the shared belief, initiated by Rousseau, that children have to be protected against anything culturally unfamiliar or morally unbecoming. This leaves little room for vicarious experience of foreignness'. Translating children's literature is therefore a balancing act between adapting foreign elements to the child reader's level of comprehension, and to what is deemed appropriate, and preserving the differences that constitute a translated foreign text's potential for enrichment of the target culture. The decisions made by editors and translators in this zone of conflicting aims are determined by their assessment of child readers. The lack of empirical studies on the reaction of children to foreign or strange elements in texts means there is no evidence in favour of a 'foreignizing' or 'domesticating' translation. What children actually understand, and how much 'foreignness' they can and do cope with is the great black box of translating for children. As Lathey (2006a: 12) rightly remarks, a greater emphasis on empirical research into reader response would inform current speculation.
- From this we also see that the image of childhood in a given culture at a given time (as a site of innocence that has to be protected, for instance) is a hugely influential factor in writing, publishing and translating children's literature. Lefevere and Bassnett (1998: 6) describe translation as one of the most obvious, comprehensive and easy-to-study 'laboratory situations' for cultural interaction, because a comparison of original and translation 'will ... give the researcher something like a synchronic snapshot of many features of a given culture at a given time'. Analysing children's literature in translation reveals much about the image of childhood in the target culture at a given time. The child image in culture and that of the individual translator are perhaps the most influential factors; they determine her or his idea of the reading child and the kind of literature deemed appropriate for that child.
- Due to the asymmetrical communication structure in children's literature, a variety of readers' roles may coexist in texts – adults who read as mediators or who read for their own enjoyment, children of different ages, etc. Different forms of address include single address to the child reader alone and dual or even multiple address to implicit

adult readers and to child readers at different stages. Translators have to be aware of the readers inscribed into children's texts to be able to take them into account when translating.

- Among the other specifics of children's books relevant for their translation is the readability of the text: most books for younger children are written to be read aloud and the sensual dimension of the spoken word is part of that performance. As Oittinen writes: 'The text should live, roll, taste good on the reading adult's tongue' (1993: 77). So far only a few scholars have investigated the specific stylistic acceptability of translations for children and their suitability for reading aloud (see the 'readability' studies by Puurtinen 1989, 1994; and Dollerup 2003).
- The predominance of certain types of material accounts for further differences between the translation of children's literature and other types. The strong reliance of children's books on visual elements and multimodal texts such as picturebooks call for translation strategies specific to those text types. The inextricable relationship between words and pictures in children's books make it necessary for the translator to work on two semiotic levels, neither one of which can be isolated in the translation process. The frequency of nonsense and wordplay in texts for younger readers as well as rhythm, rhyme and onomatopoeia, also call for a special kind of creativity on the part of the translator.

All of these elements exercise a key influence on how children's literature is translated; accordingly they feature largely in children's literature translation studies.

Early research on translating children's literature

Reiss noted with surprise in 1982 that although critics had long been concerned with both the theory and the practice of the complicated and complex phenomenon of translation, scarcely anything had hitherto been said about translating books for children (see 1982: 7). She was, of course, referring to her own academic context of linguistics and translation studies. In the area of children's literature studies first publications on the topic started to appear in the 1960s; Bamberger's observations in 1961 on the importance of translations are among the first to be found in any critical writing on children's literature (see Bamberger 1961; Persson 1962; and Scherf 1969). The focus of these early studies was not linguistic or theoretical; their authors – mainly librarians – were primarily interested in translations as a significant element for fostering international understanding through children's literature. A growing interest in children's literature translation was indicated by the third conference of the International Research Society of Children's Literature in 1976 being devoted to that subject (cf. Klingberg *et al.* 1978; and the survey in O'Sullivan 2005: 9f).

Reiss was, however, the first to attempt a systematic approach to the subject based on her knowledge from the general area of translation studies. She identifies the specific problems of translating children's literature in the context of her typology of texts and names three factors that justify its needing a special kind of study: 'the ... asymmetry of the entire translation process: ... adults are translating works written by adults for children and young people' (1982: 7), the agency of intermediaries who exert pressure on the translator to observe taboos or follow educational principles (cf. *ibid.*: 8), and 'children's and young people's (still) limited knowledge of the world and experience of life' (*ibid.*: 8).

Just as Reiss was writing, children's literature and its translation were attracting increasing attention both within and outside children's literature studies. In the first book-length study by the Swedish children's literature scholar Göte Klingberg, *Children's Fiction in*

the Hands of the Translator (1986), the author's focus is a prescriptive one: he argues that the integrity of the original work must be violated as little as possible and categorizes what he regards as typical deviations from the source text. He systematically lists the culture- and language-specific references that might occur, regarding them as one of the main sources for 'deviations' from the source text in translation.

Around the same time the development of the empirical and descriptive, target-oriented approach known as 'translation studies' in the 1980s gave an important impetus to the study of translated children's literature. The overarching concept of the polysystem (see Ben-Ari, this volume) introduced by Itamar Even-Zohar (1978), which embraced all literary systems from the canon of 'great literature' to non-canonized forms such as popular fiction, was applied by Zohar Shavit (1981) to children's literature, and she showed how decisions made in the course of translation are determined by the marginal position of children's books in the literary polysystem. According to Shavit it permits translators to be very free with these books, often adapting them to models already present in the target system. Shavit's work, together with Gideon Toury's concept of norms of translation behaviour (Toury 1980), as well as the general methodological shift in translation studies from source to target orientation, exerted considerable influence on children's literature research. In the early 1990s an issue of *Poetics Today* devoted to children's literature in translation showed how far-reaching its analysis could be in the context of the polysystem theory and the extended discipline of translation studies, with essays describing the influence exerted on literary translation by the literary, social, political and educational norms of the target culture (see, for example, Ben-Ari 1992; and Basmat Even-Zohar 1992). The early period of translation studies up until the mid-1990s saw a variety of case studies. Many of them dealt with the cross-cultural reception of individual works and authors in other cultural areas, for instance the reception of *Pinocchio* in the German-speaking countries (Marx 1987), the *Biggles* books in Sweden (Mählqvist 1983), or Karl May in Poland (Honsza and Kunicki 1987). The first bilateral and multilateral literary connections in children's literature to be investigated were those between France and Germany (Baumgärtner 1992), between French and Italian children's literature in the nineteenth century (Colin 1995), between Dutch and other literary traditions (Duijx 1994), German-Turkish literary relations (cf. the essays in the journal *Diyalog* 1, 1992), or the international influence on Finnish children's literature in the nineteenth century (Kuivasmäki 1995). The literary connections most thoroughly researched were those between Sweden and Germany (see Klingberg 1973, who casts light on educational as well as literary influences).

The early 1990s saw the widely received study by Riitta Oittinen (1993),¹ who programmatically speaks of 'translating for children' rather than 'translation of children's literature'. Hers is a child-centred theory and she concentrates exclusively on the child reader, disputing any authority for the text. She draws attention to the role and importance of the individual translator's image of childhood, and focuses on important aspects of children's reading, for instance their somatic and physical relation to language, as well as on conditions and elements of reception. She integrates Bakhtin's category of dialogics and writes about the carnivalesque culture of childhood, believing that the translator must not just project and speak, but must also listen, 'join the children and dive into their carnival, not teaching them but learning from them' (ibid.: 34). Oittinen's theory offers much insight on this segment and her approach has stimulated discussion in the field, but it is ultimately prescriptive and, as her analysis concentrates predominantly on translations of books for children of pre-school age, cannot be applied to children's literature as a whole.

Current trends in research on translating children's literature

Today a number of scholars with backgrounds in children's literature, linguistics and translation studies address the subject, examining such diverse areas as readability, tense and translation, norms, ideological factors and censorship, the link between the differential status of sub-genres and translating practice, or the interaction of image and text in the translation of picturebooks, some details of which will be given below. In 2003 a double volume of the translators' journal *Meta* was published, edited by Riitta Oittinen, which encompassed 25 contributions on translation for children by scholars from 16 European, North and South American, and African countries, and documented that the subject of translating for children was, by then, firmly on the map.

New, innovative approaches that pick up theories introduced in earlier phases include the productive application and further development of polysystem theory in the field of children's literature translation by Desmet (2007), who examines questions of status within the subsystem of children's literature, looking at its internal stratification to consider how differential status effects translation. She analyses English narrative fiction for girls translated into Dutch, discusses how novels belonging to the three different text types of formula fiction series, classics and award-winning novels perform different functions, and shows how they are translated accordingly. While the translations of award-winning texts demonstrate a tendency to preserve as much as possible of the aesthetic quality of the source text, Desmet shows how translations of formula fiction reveal a primary concern for the enjoyment of the reader and her understanding of the text (ibid.). Based on categories suggested by other scholars such as Shavit and Klingberg, Desmet provides a comprehensive systematization of the different strategies applied by translators when they translate for children. These include *omission and deletion strategies*, which are strongly linked to the ideological goal of transmitting appropriate values to children, as well as to the goal of making a text easier to understand for its audience; *purification strategies* used to bring translated texts in line with the values of the target culture by purging elements considered inappropriate; *substitution strategies*, an extreme form of which is 'localization' or 'domestication' in order to provide children with easily intelligible texts; *explication strategies*, which include rewording or paratextual explanations in the form of footnotes, etc.; and *simplification strategies* which, on the macro-structural level, affect genre affiliation, structure and organization in chapters, and on the micro-structural level are evident in the use of short sentences, substituting concrete for abstract language, weakening ironic elements and so on.

The influence of target culture norms

Analysis of the influence exerted on literary translation by various norms of the target culture is the single largest area of children's literature translation studies. How an original text is adapted to the cultural and social norms of the target culture in order to make it more acceptable is shown in an exemplary manner in the compilation and extensive analysis of American editions of *Pinocchio* by Wunderlich and Morrissey (2002). It examines the transformations of Collodi's Italian puppet from the first faithful British translation in 1891, though translations and adaptations for various media up to the beginning of the twenty-first century, and reveals how the tale underwent dramatic revisions to suit America's idea of children's literature, and ultimately how the publishing history of *Pinocchio* in the USA 'is a benchmark for measuring social change' (ibid.: xviii).

Seifert 2005 offers an innovative approach by productively blending the disciplines of translation studies and image studies, the latter being traditionally concerned with intercultural relations in terms of mutual perceptions, images and self-images, and their representation in literature (see Beller and Leerssen 2007). She shows how the selection, translation and marketing of children's literature from a given source culture (in this case Canada) is determined by the images of that country in the target culture (in this case Germany). In Weinkauff and Seifert 2006, a study of intercultural aspects of German children's literature since 1945, Seifert analyses the impact of imagological factors on what and how children's fiction from Ireland, Canada, Czechoslovakia and Poland was translated into German.

Ideological factors are at the foreground of the study by Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009), in which she examines the status of translation and publication of East German children's literature during the period of the Cold War. She shows how economic and ideological factors were the most significant criteria influencing translation, and documents her findings with examples from the East German censorship files. The influence of extra-textual factors is also at the centre of Desmidt's study of the translation of Selma Lagerlöf's *Nils Holgersson* into German (Desmidt 2003). In her investigation of 52 German editions of the novel, Desmidt addresses preliminary norms, looking at the selection of texts and the directness of translation. As *Nils Holgersson* was originally also a geography textbook, she further asks, addressing literary and educational norms, whether priority is given to literary entertainment or to the educational aspect of the book, and she identifies tendencies toward simplification and modification.

While a lot of attention has been paid to cultural and ideological norms and their influence on translation (for further studies see, for instance, Fernández López 2000; or Craig 2001), empirical and linguistic approaches to the study of translations are less frequent. Puurtinen (1997) takes syntactic norms of the receiving literature as the yardstick against which she measures translations into Finnish to compare the frequency of complex non-finite constructions in children's books both originally written in Finnish and translated from English to Finnish to show that, while Finnish originals tend to favour finiteness, translations show a higher degree of non-finiteness, failing to conform to a syntactic norm of the receiving literature. The issue of translating dialects and varieties in children's literature, which is highly subject to educational norms regarding linguistic correctness (see O'Sullivan 2005: 87–91), was almost completely neglected until fairly recently – the huge attention accorded to *Harry Potter* in translation has included some reflections on how Hagrid and other speakers with regional or social varieties are transported into different languages (see e.g. Davies 2003; and Jentsch 2006).

Narratology and translation studies

When critics identify 'manipulations' in translations, these are often described in terms of the differing norms governing the source and the target languages, cultures and literatures. Linking the theoretical fields of narratology and translation studies, O'Sullivan (2003) developed, with reference to Chatman (1978) and Schiavi (1996), a communicative model of translation which identifies the discursive presence of the translator in the translated text as that of the (implied) translator. The category of the implied translator as the creator of a new text for readers of the target text identifies the agent of change and the level of communication on which the most significant modifications take place. This model is applicable to all translated narrative literature but, due to the asymmetrical communication in

and around children's literature, is particularly tangible in its translations. Analyses of examples show how translators can use their voices to 'amplify' translations, as in the addition of lines of text to the final, wordless pages in the first German edition of John Burningham's challenging picture book, *Granpa*, where the translator appears to be unable to trust her young German readers to fill textual gaps (see O'Sullivan 2006). Translators can also use their voices to 'reduce' translations, such as the German translation of *Winnie-the-Pooh* of 1928 that eliminates the dual address and omits all of Milne's witticisms intended for an adult audience (see *ibid.* 1993).

Translation studies and the 'internationalism' of children's literature

Literatures most frequently treated in case studies of translated children's literature are German, the languages of the Scandinavian countries, Spanish (or Castilian) and those in other languages of Spain, English and French. Studies on Japanese (Hirano 2006) and Chinese (Li 2006) children's literature have also been published in English in recent years. Translation into and from minority languages are not widely studied, but there are isolated publications like O'Connell (2003), which focuses on dubbing into Irish. Attention to issues of the direction of textual flows (see for example Domínguez Pérez 2009, who points out how, although the opposite direction is very frequent, children's books are rarely translated from Galician, Basque and Catalan into Castilian Spanish), questions of the dynamics of the literary field, the status of children's literature and the traditions of cultural exchange as well as the role of commercial factors have been considered by O'Sullivan 2004 in critical tandem with a look at the ideology of internationalism in children's literature, and by Ghesquière 2006, who asks whether the import of Western children's literature can be a hindrance for the development of native non-Western children's literature.

'International children's literature' and 'international understanding through children's literature' have been important and widely used terms in children's literature discourse since the end of World War II, but they conceal the fact that there is no equal exchange of texts between all countries. The border-crossing process is extremely imbalanced, its direction determined by political and economic factors as well as by the status of the source language and culture. The proportion of translations in developed children's literatures ranges from 1 per cent to around 80 per cent. Heading the league table of translation is Finland, followed closely by the other Scandinavian countries; the Netherlands and Italy produce over 40 per cent of translations, and Germany around 30 per cent. Of all these translations some 80 per cent are from English. Britain and the USA are therefore the greatest exporters of children's books, with English-language editors regarding the international rights market as a rich source to be mined. However, they also import the least: the proportion of translations published in Britain in recent years is between 2.5 per cent and 4 per cent, while in the USA it ranges from just under 1 per cent to 2 per cent (Tomlinson 1998).

Translating picturebooks

Children's literature is the body of literature with the highest proportion of what Kress and van Leeuwen call 'multi-modal texts', that is 'any text whose meanings are realized through more than one semiotic code' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 178; see also Kaindl, this volume). Translations of texts not only consisting of written components but which also integrate audio and audiovisual aspects – film texts and advertising texts, for

instance – are granted special attention in individual articles in *Meta* 2008 (53(1)) and in the volume edited by di Giovanni *et al.* (2010). In her article 'Dutch Picturebooks in Swedish Translation', van Meerbergen (2009) explores how multimodal analysis as proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen can be integrated into a descriptive model for translation analysis by examining the Swedish translations of books by Dutch picture book artist Dick Bruna.

The translation of picture books presents a special challenge. The reception process, upon which all translation is initially based, is one that takes in the words (A) and the images (B); the reception is of the combined, synergetic effect (C), which is more than the sum of A+B. When faced with the task of translating the verbal text (A), it is not always easy for the translator to disentangle the elements that contributed to the overall reception (of C). The result can be problematic: the pictures may stimulate his or her creative linguistic powers, resulting in the articulation of features in the verbal narrative originally only evident in the pictures. In other words, intentional gaps in the source text may be filled by translators in a target text that shifts the balance of the interaction between the elements. Translation of picture books requires, therefore, a special awareness of the quality and role of each of the sign systems in each picture book in order not to duplicate them in translation (see O'Sullivan 2006; and Oittinen 2008). Further challenging issues in translating picture books include the potential conflict of direction between verbal and visual texts in translated Japanese children's literature (Cheetham 2010), and translating intertextuality and intervisuality (Desmet 2001).

Areas for further attention

Despite the increasing multimedialization of children's literature, comparatively little work has been done on the translation of audiovisual texts (see examples in the previous section). O'Connell (2003) surmises that the technical difficulties associated with dubbing, together with its collaborative nature, are the main reasons why the linguistic challenges of dubbing translation for specific audiences such as children have not been studied very closely (see Chaume, this volume).

Compared to the overwhelming focus on narrative texts, drama and poetry for children have received scant attention in translation studies. In the first – and to date only substantial – study of children's poetry in translation, Kreller (2007) uses an historical-descriptive approach to draw up a framework for contextualizing and analysing German translations of English poetry for children, paying equal attention to source and target texts. Metre and rhythm often pose a greater challenge to the translator of poetry for children than for adults, as Kreller identifies, and this is certainly the case when it comes to nursery rhymes and other verses from the oral tradition which make heavy use of onomatopoeia, metre and rhythm. Among Kreller's general findings are that idealized images of childhood and classic poetic forms are more frequently to be found in German translations than contemporary images of childhood or free verse; also of all the wide range of children's poetry in English, little material from countries other than Great Britain and the USA has been translated into German. Australia, Africa, India and the Caribbean – especially the latter, with its innovative forms and strong contemporary voices – are to date underrepresented in German children's literature.

So-called information books, a major umbrella category also called non-fiction, which generally inform readers about the real world (people, places, history, art, science, the environment, ideas), is an additional area needing consideration. Although information books

make up a large proportion of children's literature, and contemporary developments in the media as well as sophisticated printing techniques and paper engineering have led to dramatic changes in style of presentation, they have neither enjoyed as much critical attention in children's literature research as other forms, nor has their translation been seriously addressed. In one of the few articles on the subject, Dartige (2008), editor at the French publishing house Gallimard Jeunesse, highlights the dominance of books in the English language that are produced by means of international co-productions. These enable high-quality illustrated books to be published at lower (because shared) costs, but they also involve technical constraints as predetermined layout prevents the foreign publisher – or translator – from undertaking required or desired changes. A further disadvantage is the tendency of these publishers to aim for an international market, which may leave the books devoid of any local relevance (see examples in O'Sullivan 2005: 101–3; and see Bell 1985 on the restrictions from the perspective of a translator).

As serious investigation of translation in children's literature is a relatively recent phenomenon, and the amount of work done in the area is still fairly limited, there are few major studies that broadly sketch changing patterns in the selection of source texts and languages for translation into any specific target language. The single most important task for the study of translations of children's literature is its bibliographical and historical documentation; an ideal future would see each language and culture setting translations into their language in context, constructing a systematic and historical survey of the various strategies, tendencies, criteria of selection and methods employed. This is far from realization at present, as even the bare bibliographical details of translations have not yet been documented in most languages.² However, 2010 saw the publication of an exemplary, wide-ranging historical study that offers an overview of key developments on the transition of children's texts into English and their impact on English-language literature: Lathey's *The Role of Translators in Children's Literature: Invisible Storytellers*. Covering the period from the earliest recorded translation specifically for children in the eighth century up to the present, it analyses key classical translated works into English, placing the role of the translator firmly at its centre by analysing prefaces and other writings and, in the case of contemporary translators, with extensive interviews illuminating issues of selection, commissioning and marketing translations as well as the qualities required of translators for children. In her conclusion, Lathey (2010: 1999) pinpoints desiderata for future research in the area: the role of female translators for children, for instance, the initiators of translations, children's responses to translations, and more research that focuses on individual translators.

Related topics

children's literature; translation; picturebook; voice of the translator; internationalism; transfer

Notes

- 1 Oittinen's dissertation *I Am Me – I Am Other: On the Dialogics of Translating for Children* was published in 1993; her *Translating for Children* (2000), a bibliographically slightly updated version of the earlier work, is enlarged by a chapter on three Finnish translations of *Alice in Wonderland*.
- 2 The survey of translations in Swedish children's literature is still uniquely comprehensive (cf. Klingberg 1964, 1967; Klingberg and Bratt 1988; and Bratt 1996).

Further reading

- Lathey, G. (ed.) (2006) *The Translation of Children's Literature: A Reader*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. (This reader collates key essays from the last 30 years on the history, challenges and difference of translating for the young reader from a number of disciplines to present a comprehensive account of central approaches and topics.)
- O'Sullivan, E. (2005) *Comparative Children's Literature*, London, New York: Routledge. (Nine constituent areas are outlined in this first overview of comparative children's literature research, with special emphasis on translation which it links with the field of narratology to develop a communicative model of translation. Addressing children's 'classics' and world literature for children, it reveals that this branch of literature is not as genuinely international as it is often fondly assumed to be.)
- Tabbert, R. (2002) 'Approaches to the Translation of Children's Literature. A Review of Critical Studies since 1960', *Target* 14(2): 303–51. (A comprehensive survey article on research on children's literature in translation from its beginnings in the 1960s until 2000.)
- Van Coillie, J. and Verschuere, W.P. (eds) (2006) *Children's Literature in Translation: Challenges and Strategies*, Manchester: St Jerome. (This volume brings together a strong group of contemporary articles on topics such as the ethics of translating for children, the role of translated children's books in the establishment of literary canons, taboo and censorship, translation strategies dealing with character names, and those used in dealing with the dual audience of children's texts in translation.)

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The translation of sacred texts

Lynne Long

Sacred texts may contain historical, narrative, philosophical, literary and poetic material, but their sacred qualities mean that they function for certain sections of the community on another level altogether as Holy Scripture, a message from the deity, divine instructions for living. Their sacredness comes from the holiness in which they are held by the followers of the faith to which they are relevant; their dual status means that their translation has implications beyond cultural and linguistic transfer from one language to another. As such, there is good reason for translation researchers to treat them as a special case when looking at the process of their translation; equally one might argue that if translation theories are significantly to further the practice of translation, they should not exclude any particular text type.

Are sacred texts a special case? Theoretical and methodological considerations

In such a diverse and highly charged area as sacred texts it is hardly surprising that no one coherent research methodology encompassing all sacred texts has yet emerged. Translation occurs most frequently as a result of the transfer of a religion into another culture, but this transfer process has several stages. As a religion develops in a particular area, priorities change. At first, access to the sacred texts is paramount and is often achieved without too much thought about the process of translation. Next comes consolidation of the canon, followed by more translations, followed by analysis and justification of translation methodology. Each process can take centuries to evolve and different religions are at different stages in different cultures.

Certainly Western translation theories owe a good deal to sacred text translation as, because of the special issues involved, the subject area provided a major impetus for comment and argument about authority, translatability and methodology. Jerome's *Letter to Pammachius* (395), Augustine's comments on the use of translations in *On Christian Doctrine* (427), Erasmus's letter to Maartin Lips (1518), Luther's *Circular letter on Translation* (1530), Miles Smith's *From the Translators to the Reader* (1611), are a few examples of early attempts to justify translation processes in the Bible (for reprints see Robinson 2002;

Venuti 2004; Weissbort and Eysteinnsson 2006). Ronald Knox's translation of the New Testament inspired him to write a book on the process (Knox 1949). Twentieth-century translation theory was dominated in the USA by the work of Eugene Nida (1964; Nida and Taber 1969), his students, his fellow missionaries and his opponents (see Stine 2004).

Since the Bible was first translated into Latin by St Jerome, historiographical research has been most prominent in Christian cultures, but this type of investigation has often been undertaken not necessarily by translation specialists but by literary or religious historians as a complement to research into religion. In historical accounts of the development of religion the process of translation is often reduced to a few words only. Over the centuries some more detailed descriptive textual studies have been done usually as a response to a new translation with the express purpose of proving or disproving its authority. These studies are usually translation specific and done with some doctrinal bias (for examples, see Marlowe 2003 on Francis Turretin; or Fulke 1843 on the Douai version of the Bible). Early academic studies comparing different versions of the Bible tend to focus on describing linguistic differences between translations rather than identifying strategies (Newman 1859). Current research interest tends to centre on the many available modern versions of the Bible in English made accessible for comparative purposes by Internet sites such as Bible Gateway. Those actively involved in making new translations of the Bible for evangelistic purposes are highly active in the research and evaluation of translation strategies. The American Bible Society in the USA, and in Britain the work of SIL International (Summer Institute of Linguists) provide research spaces for Bible translation in the form of conferences, seminars, training schools and publications. Broadly speaking the publications from SIL members tend to be mainly linguistic (see Gutt 1991), while Nida's legacy has led the American Bible Society to embrace cultural issues as well as linguistic questions (see Hill 2006).

Interestingly the retranslation into English of the liturgy recently undertaken by the Catholic Church has been influenced to some extent by modern translation theories, or rather by misgivings about their application. The *Adoremus* website contains many valuable references documenting the progress of the new translation, which has taken over ten years to complete even though the changes are relatively few. It also contains a quotation from an address to the Plenary Assembly of the Congregation for Divine Worship by Pope Jean Paul II, in which he says:

I urge the bishops and the Congregation to make every effort to ensure that liturgical translations are faithful to the original [texts] of the respective typical editions in the Latin language. A translation, in fact, is not an exercise in creativity, but a meticulous task of preserving the meaning of the original without changes, omissions or additions.
(*Pope John Paul II, 21 September 2001*)

This quotation illustrates the special case status of sacred text translation within institutions such as the Catholic Church, where the function of the translation is perceived above all as preservation of the original. The question a translation researcher would ask is whether it is ever possible to translate without changing, omitting or adding. Herein lies the tension in sacred text translation and the cause of the historical reluctance to translate at all. The use of modern translation theories such as dynamic equivalence is excluded in *Liturgiam Authenticam* (see the *Adoremus* website) for similar reasons; the original text must be preserved.

The relatively recent mapping of Asian cultural translation traditions has revealed the importance of the translation of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese from the first

to the ninth centuries (Hung 2005: 72). Through the use of classical Chinese these early translators gave access to Buddhist sutra to educated people in Korea, Japan and Vietnam (Wakabayashi 2005: 25). The corresponding impact on culture is still evident. Currently, however, classical Chinese as a language has become a more specialized area of study; it is no longer routinely taught in schools and soon a whole generation will need modernized versions of the classical texts. Interestingly the comparison made between Eastern and Western ideas of translation expose very different attitudes towards the translation of sacred texts through the centuries. Put very simply: in the West fidelity to the source is prioritized; in the East there is more attention paid to oral tradition and the role of the interpreter.

The oral tradition is a complex issue underpinning the translation of sacred texts. Most religions originated by word of mouth. Stories of holy people were told orally long before they were written down; many translators would consider the transfer from oral to written to be the first translation process in a series of transfer processes. Some parts of the Bible show evidence of a combination of narratives and the synoptic gospels provide four versions of more or less the same content, indicating more than one version of the original story. Most religions continue to maintain a strong oral element within their rituals and prayers that extends to the reading aloud and in some cases ritual chanting of scripture. For some members of the religion, oral worship is by far the most important element and sometimes the only element with which they have any contact. In the chronology of religion the writing down came quite a long way down the timeline, sometimes centuries after the events being referred to. It is probably true to say that historically the written element of all religious spirituality and law proceeded from an oral tradition and was restricted primarily to a small elite until literacy and translation made holy texts more generally available. The fact that holy texts are routinely read aloud and used in rituals makes some translation inevitable from time to time within the same language if intelligibility is to be maintained. A living vernacular language changes considerably over time and eventually the words of ritual become strange to the users. To some extent the audience expectations of religious language require some strangeness, some difference between the everyday speech and the gravitas of the liturgy. The difficulty comes in striking the balance between intelligibility and register.

The passage of time is a major factor in the consideration of sacred texts. The time between oral delivery of the religious message and the commitment to writing it down is one in which a certain amount of adjustment may have taken place; the combining of traditions or the highlighting of currently relevant issues. The relative proliferation of copies of the text and the fact that they were originally copied by hand by scribes who did not necessarily understand them led to the inclusion of errors or even the omission of parts of the scripture. Hand-written copies are particularly vulnerable to destruction. With the invention of printing came the possibility of stability, but also the threat of repeating mistakes. The idea of a single source text is not a real possibility given the number of disparate sources; textual scholarship has improved beyond measure through the centuries, but even so the concept of 'original' is flawed. Besides this, many worshippers, perhaps unaware of the history of their particular sacred text, still regard the text in current use as their 'original'.

The translation of sacred texts is not always welcome to those who use them regularly as it implies change and provides the opportunity for a change in interpretation. To some the idea of interference with what they consider to be God's message, the divine word, is unthinkable, and to that extent the sacred is considered untranslatable. There are others who would argue that translation is essential to maintain modern-day relevance in texts that

were written centuries ago and that God's message is better delivered in intelligible language. Religious authorities are very aware of the possible consequences of the translation process in terms of altering perspective on doctrinal points. In addition, religion is embedded in Eastern and Western cultures and holy texts have influenced law, music, architecture, language, literature and the production of cultural capital. One only has to think of the landscape of Europe with the great cathedrals, the amount of classical music written on religious themes and the religious subject matter of many paintings. References to the Bible in Shakespeare and other literary writings are numerous. For centuries Christianity provided the core values of European culture and the Bible was the central text. As André Lefevere puts it:

If a text is considered to embody the core values of a culture, if it functions as that culture's central text, translations of it will be scrutinized with the greatest of care, since 'unacceptable' translations may well be seen to subvert the very basis of the culture itself.
(Lefevere 1992: 70)

The tension between fidelity to the source text and the interpretation of a divine message will always be present in sacred text translation in a way that promotes contention between the users of the texts involved. The added complication of multiple sources – most religions are currently dislocated from their original culture – or the lack of a single original, further disrupts the process of translation. Often the original language, classical Arabic, Hebrew or Sanskrit, is no longer in common use. Sometimes the change is not only from one language to another but from one system of orthography to another, as from Sanskrit to Chinese. Then there is the problem of the chosen canon. Which texts are selected for translation and how available writings are prioritized has a bearing on how their translation is viewed and effected. Some texts remain untranslated for one reason or another and this affects the wider context of a religious canon where texts tend to be read in conjunction with other similar texts (see Crosby 2005: 41). Moreover, translation into a new target language for purposes of evangelization or for the use of diasporic groups of followers is made all the more difficult by the fact that the linguistic space in the target language is already occupied and culturally loaded with indigenous referents (Long 2005: 1). So words such as 'church', 'candle', 'altar', 'priest', 'soul' and 'spirit' in English will already have religious connotations connected with Christianity which may not have the same relevance to another religion (Foiera 2005: 174). Just as individual words accumulate layers of meaning over time or become very specific in their meaning, so the text as a whole accumulates models of exegesis that become embedded and make translation difficult without some form of commentary. Local references and metaphors are a particular problem to translate unless the text is to include many footnotes and alternative renderings.

If sacred text translation is to be counted as a special case, in what way is that specialness demonstrated? One current difference from the case of other literary texts is that of the authority to translate and the existence of 'approved' translations. Organized religion claims ownership of the sacred texts it uses and makes judgements on the people equipped to and with the authority to translate. In the past translators have lost their lives for the heresy compounded in their translations by deviation from the orthodox doctrine. While individuals today are more or less free to make translations of their own if they can find a publisher, the official translations recommended for use by religious authorities are fairly closely controlled. We have evidence of this from the *Adoremus* website of the Catholic Church or from an article assessing English versions of the Quran, which mentions

the Saudi-endorsed versions (Mohammed 2005). Issues such as inclusive language or gender-neutral language are hotly debated: translators need to be able to justify their choices to a much greater extent than in any other area of translation. The search for a single truth, the need to connect liturgy with the relevant sacred texts and the diversity of the audience makes the translation process fraught with difficulty. The source becomes an object to preserve, yet the translation very soon becomes a source in its own right to those who use it. Fidelity to the source or sources does not produce a translation intelligible to a large and varied audience and there are audience expectations to be met – that of solemn and fitting language in a sacred text irrespective of the style of the original.

Major sites of the translation of sacred texts

At certain points in history translating the central text of a religion became a social, political or evangelical necessity. Although not always registered as important in itself at the time, in retrospect we can see that the act of translating a particular sacred text had a considerable impact upon the future direction of a nation or a society. For example, the Buddhist sutra translation movement that began in China in the first century had an effect on Chinese culture that is still very much in evidence today in spite of intervening ideologies (Hung 2005: 84). The extent of the negotiation necessary between the oral culture of Buddhist India and the written culture of China helped to develop a method of translation in which oral transmission played a leading role. The translated sutras promoted Buddhism at the time and instigated further translation activity; the method of translation is currently being researched as part of the wider history of translation in China. The importance of translation methodology in these contexts is being reassessed by modern research and by closer observation of contemporary documents.

Although parts of the Bible had been translated privately into various languages since the expansion of Christianity into Europe, reformation movements in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the catalyst for complete translations into the vernacular. Challenges to clerical authority manifested themselves in translations in the form of the English Wycliffite Bible of the 1390s (Deanesley 2002), Luther's German Bible of the 1520s and 1530s, and a succession of English Bibles starting with Tyndale's 1525 version (Long 2001: 128, 136). In this case the act of translation itself was seen as a challenge to the authority of the clergy since a vernacular version made the text available to the literate Christian without the intervention of the priest. The intervention of the translator was not considered to be as intrusive. However, the Church authorities understood very well that translation provided the opportunity either for reinterpretation or for a change in perspective on certain issues including the power of the clergy. They based their argument against translation on the danger of heresy and the fact that lay people should not read the Bible without instruction on it. There was also a strong elitism surrounding access to things holy. Henry VIII declared himself 'very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel the word of God is disputed, rhymed, sung and jangled in every alehouse and tavern contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same' (Byrne 1936: 421).

The movement of people around the globe has been constant throughout history for various reasons. Trade, exploration, colonization and displacement through wars or persecution have meant that at any one time a culture somewhere is experiencing interference from another. This cultural interference often includes exchanges of language and religion. The sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese explorers took their languages and their

faith with them to South America and imposed them on the conquered races. The advantage of the conquerors in language terms extended to the imposition of their interpretation of religion. Not only did sacred texts and ritual become a site for translation and oral interpretation, but the entire religion negotiated a place within the new linguistic culture. One of the interesting figures of the sixteenth century involved in such exchange was Bernadino de Sahagún, a Franciscan friar born in Spain who spent most of his life studying in Mexico and helping with the evangelization of the conquered tribes. His career shows how at the time, the sites for the translation of sacred texts were an exchange of information as well as an imposition of the dominant language. He wrote important ethnographic works including a history of the new world (known as the Florentine Codex) and a Spanish/Nahuatl dictionary, but among what are often termed his lesser writings in the Nahuatl language included a catechism, sermons, the psalms and an interpretation of the Epistles and Gospels used in the ritual of the Mass (León-Portilla 2002: 4).

Colonial and postcolonial studies of the past two decades, particularly with reference to England and India, have helped to position the control of translation as a major weapon of cultural hegemony (Bhabha 1994; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002). The focus on religion, to borrow Gayatri Spivak's phrase, 'as a cultural tool rather than a mark of cultural difference' (Spivak 1993: 180), has resulted in the unequal exchange of sacred texts between colonizer and colonized. The missionary function of translations of the Bible into indigenous languages paradoxically grew from a principle of approaching the potential converts in their own language. Men like William Carey (1761–1834) were responsible for raising the profile of Indian vernaculars by translating the Bible into Bengali; Indian sacred texts came in exchange through translators interested in bringing the exotic into English literature. Interestingly such translations use the register of established English sacred texts such as the King James Bible for their language, domesticating and to some extent assimilating the foreign text into the English mainstream.

Evangelization required neither colonization nor exploration in order to flourish, although extensive use was made of both situations when appropriate. Individual missionaries and groups such as the Jesuits and the Bible societies found their way into the deepest recesses of foreign cultures and set about translating Christianity to the indigenous population. Mateo Ricci (1552–1610) was one of the most well-documented Jesuit missionaries in China, Francis Xavier (1506–52) in India, and Johann Grueber (1623–80) and Albert d'Orville (1621–62) in Tibet. The story of these missionaries provides a considerable insight not only into sacred text translation but also into the specific problems of cultural transfer of scriptures far removed from the local culture and spiritual philosophy.

Displacement of groups of people through wars or persecution has also been a source of sacred text translation: translation first of all in the literal sense of the word in that the holy text of a community has travelled from one country to another, and then translation in the more specific sense when the same text has become unavailable to the second generation of immigrants who have learned to function in the host language and to whom the holy text is becoming less accessible. Thus the Jewish exiles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the USA prepared versions of the Torah for themselves and their descendants in order to preserve Jewish understanding of the text (as opposed to the Christian reading of the same text), and to improve the style of writing and speaking of the new immigrants (Greenspoon 2005: 61).

The translation of sacred texts has ebbed and flowed through history and followed the fortunes of nations and religions as well as smaller communities and individuals. It is possible here only to outline some of the major sites of translation and to leave to the

reader further research in any given area. The following section intends to highlight some of the more pressing specific problems of sacred text translation, including those of cultural transfer or even in some cases the translation of a single word. It is hoped in this way to point out some of the reasons why sacred text translation might claim special status in translation studies.

Specific sites of contention in sacred text translation

It is in certain aspects of sacred text translation that the discipline is revealed for the dangerous and sometimes life-changing process that it can become. Burning at the stake for Bible translation errors or even for the act of translating the Bible may be a thing of the past, but we shall see how the different perspective of a sacred text translation can change lives and cause considerable difficulty for those people involved. There are many examples from which to choose, so we shall concentrate on a selection that includes a variety of issues.

The first illustrates the problem of gendered words in another language and highlights the inadequacy of one language when translating a specific term in another. The opening sentence of John's Gospel, 'In the beginning was the Word', seems on the face of it a simple enough sentence to translate from the Greek *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*. However, the idea behind the verse is complex and all the connotations of the word *logos* are not easily condensed into either *verbum*, the preferred Latin translation, or 'word' in English. In addition, the Greek word *logos* represents God and the verse continues describing God by using the third person pronoun. In gendered languages the gender of *logos* or *verbum* prescribes the gender of the pronoun required, and if the word selected is feminine (as God could never be feminine) further problems are created (Long 2007: 51). When Desiderus Erasmus (1456–1536), international humanist scholar, published notes on how he thought the corrupt text of Jerome's fifth-century vulgate Latin translation of the Bible might be amended, it was not until the second edition that he dared to suggest that *verbum* be replaced by *sermo*. Such was the outcry from other scholars and theologians that he was forced to publish an explanation of his thinking in the *Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'*. The intervening centuries had allowed the overlay of tradition and exegesis to crystallize the text into an original to which any alteration was viewed with aggression and suspicion. Changing one word could disturb the whole exegetical balance and allow another interpretation to be drawn from the subtext. Classical languages remain relatively unchanged and so provide a stable setting for exegesis and analysis; translation into a fluid vernacular, however, provides space for reinterpretation and the threat of change.

A more modern example of a similar situation is illustrated by the resistance of some commentators to the translation theories of the twentieth-century scholar Eugene Nida. As a result of his experience of Bible translating in the field, Nida evolved a theory of what he first called dynamic equivalence and later renamed functional equivalence. He found that translating a text rich in the imagery of the eastern Mediterranean created difficulties in understanding for peoples living in very different geographical locations sometimes removed from communication with the rest of the world. Nida defined dynamic equivalence as 'the closest natural equivalence to the source language message' (1964: 166). The aim is to make sense of the text for the reader by using cultural equivalents and to produce a similar response in the modern audience to the one originally produced. There are some problems with this rationale. The first is how to ascertain the original response with such a large time and language gap and limited documentation on the customs of the

time. However, the main problem with using this method in the translation of sacred texts is that the target text is prioritized to the detriment, formal equivalent supporters would say, of the source text. As a result of his theories Nida has been strongly criticized by more conservative commentators. The modern-day translation studies researcher might ask what, then, is the aim of translation if not to make the text available to and understood by the reader? This is where sacred text translation can claim a special situation, for certainly in the realm of Bible translation there is also the need to preserve the text as a support to the theology already settled on it, and this fact restrains the use of functional methodology in institutionally authorized versions. The language, imagery and symbolism are intricately woven into the text to the extent that to change a single word runs the risk of breaking the thread of the exegetical pattern.

The major religions of the book – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – are run largely by men, as are Buddhism, Hinduism and Sikhism. With the rise of the Western feminist movements in the twentieth century the overriding masculinity of religious writings, particularly Christian scripture, was brought to the attention of the general public, although there had been earlier attempts by single commentators to redress the balance. The suffragette Elizabeth Cady Stanton, for example, produced *The Woman's Bible* in 1895, to which she added a commentary pointing out the female perspective in each chapter. The use of masculine pronouns to refer to God and the use of 'man' and 'men' to refer to men and women furthered a movement for the use of inclusive language or gender-neutral language in translations of the Bible. Controversy over whether inclusive language should be used has been a major feature of Bible translation for decades; one only has to search the web for 'inclusive language Bible' to see how many organizations have sprung up defending or attacking this particular translation policy.

One person who took the idea very seriously was Mary Phil Korsak, who translated Genesis from the Hebrew in order to cast new light on the creation sequence (see Korsak 1999). The Genesis story has been crucial over the centuries in forming Western perceptions of the relationship between women and men and tells that God created Adam to rule over the earth and created Eve to be his helpmate. Korsak's closer look at the etymology of the Hebrew words and the significance of their interrelatedness shows a less-clear delineation of male and female until the creation of woman. Her focus was with the Hebrew word *adam*, often used in modern society as a first name. She explains: 'In the earlier verses of the first chapters of Genesis, this word "adam", if I give it its Hebrew pronunciation, is preceded by a definite article, *ha adam*. *ha adam* is the human being, and *ha adam* is related to another word, *ha adama*, a feminine word which means the ground. You could use the earth for this *ha adama*, also' (2006). By selecting the words 'groundling' and 'ground' to refer to *ha adam* and *ha adama*, respectively, Korsak avoids gendering the human being first created by God until it is set in opposition to the woman created from its side later in the chapter. Many translations use the word Adam as a proper name from the beginning, even though the word is translated variously as 'human' or 'life form' in modern dictionaries. Korsak elucidates: 'The word "man" does not appear in the text before verse 2,23. In order of appearance the word "wo-man" precedes the word "man". The translation conveys the following message: the word "man" represents a new identity, that of "man" facing "wo-man"' (1999). Korsak's work shows that there are different interpretations and perspectives possible with reference to linguistic analysis but that they may not always sit well with traditional interpretations and perspectives.

The next example of a specific site of contention concerns the holy book of Islam, the Quran. The traditional view of the Quran is that it cannot be faithfully reproduced in any

other form than the original Arabic, since that language has a range of meanings that cannot be translated into any other one language. As a result, any translation of the Quran into another language is considered as an interpretation and usually has a title to indicate this, such as *The Quran Interpreted* (Arthur Arberry's version) or *The Message of the Quran* (Muhammed Asad's version). Many of the early translations of the Quran were hostile and performed so that the doctrine contained in it could be refuted by Christian theologians (Mohammed 2005: 59). Contemporary translations have been made to serve the needs of diasporate and convert communities in Europe and the USA and to assist the study of those whose knowledge of classical Arabic is not good. Laleh Bahktiar's version (2000–9) is called *The Sublime Quran* and has the distinction of being the first complete translation produced by an Iranian-American woman. Following the first edition and the controversy it generated, Bahktiar produced a concordance and an Arabic/English version with the source text available. She also created a website where she defends her translation strategy in sura 4:34. The controversy was caused by her rendering of the word *daraba* in sura 4:34 as 'go away from' rather than the traditional 'beat'. The sura is translated in Muhammed Asad's 1980 version (as in most renderings) as follows: 'And for those women whose ill-will you have reason to fear, admonish them (first); then leave them alone in bed; then beat them; and if thereupon they pay you heed, do not seek to harm them. Behold, God is indeed most high, great!' Bahktiar argues that although the word in question, *daraba*, has been consistently interpreted as 'beat', it has over 25 meanings. She points out that the traditional meaning given goes against the legal and moral principles expressed in the Quran, which in sura 2:231, the section on divorce, forbids injuring the woman. Furthermore, the prophet did not beat his own wives, but he did on occasion leave them alone. Her translation of the verse is as follows: 'But those (f) whose resistance you fear, then admonish them (f) and abandon them (f) in their sleeping place then go away from them (f). And if they (f) obey you, surely look not for any way against them (f). Truly God is lofty, great.'

Conclusion and future projects

Sacred texts, particularly the Bible in the Western communities, provide a wealth of material for the translation studies researcher and a well-documented translation history unparalleled in any other area of literature. The richness of material is reflected in the large number of translations of the same text into many languages, making corpus work exciting and allowing for comparative studies impossible in other areas. Texts may be compared both diachronically and synchronically. The various styles of translation currently available reflect the functionalist ethos of the age in which we live. The challenge lies in the connecting up of all the pieces of information available. Often the translation methodology or biographical details of the translator are submerged in other information on theology or social history.

Throughout the centuries assumptions have been made and traditions founded that have been accepted for generations and are now challenged by modern scholarship and research. There is still much to be done in all aspects of sacred text translation. One interesting study would be the effect of theological knowledge on the translator. Would there be serious differences, for example, between an official translation and one completed by a translator with no theological insights? Another area in need of development is research into the amount of participation in sacred text translation by women. Why is this still an area in which men play the major part? What kind of women translate sacred texts and for what

reasons? Is the aim always in an attempt to redress the male/female balance of the text or change the perspective on the position of the woman in religious society? How important is the study of translation in revealing the processes at work in the interpretation of sacred texts? There is also much opportunity for comparative study of the translation traditions of the different religions. Comparative research on the various methodologies practised is beginning to be explored (Moir 2009), but leaves much scope for development. The extent of prescriptive translation within the Catholic Church, the traditions of translation within Islam, the relationship between oral and written sacred texts and the tradition of commentary and editing as an integral part of the translation process, are all areas where research projects would find much of interest and relevance.

Related topics

sacred texts; Bible; Quran; Buddhism; culture; gender; tradition; oral

Further reading

Baker, Mona (ed.) (2008) *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, London and New York: Routledge. (Provides the new researcher with an overview of all aspects of sacred text translation, albeit under a variety of different category headings. The Bible, Jewish and Christian article provides a brief history of Bible translation including information on the current translation institutions, and the South-East Asian Tradition section gives an account of the main sacred languages and literatures of the region. The Quran chapter approaches issues such as translatability and legitimacy of Quran translation. Sacred texts are also mentioned in the sections on hermeneutics and on retranslation. The bibliography is extensive and provides many excellent starting points for research.)

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Poetry translation

Jean Boase-Beier

There is a general consensus among those who write about the translation of poetry that it is what Jones (2011: 1) calls ‘a difficult job’. Translated poetry also faces difficulties in publishing and marketing, particularly in the English-speaking world. Yet in spite of these difficulties, a brief survey of the past ten years shows both small publishers such as Arc Publications, Bloodaxe Books or Anvil Press, and larger publishers such as Princeton University Press or Faber & Faber, publishing a vast array of poets translated into English from many different languages, including Hungarian, Japanese, Estonian, Chinese, Finnish and Catalan as well as the more common German, French and Italian.

From the point of view of assessing the readers’ perception of translated poetry, an important issue is whether it is the original poet or the translator who matters most. David Connolly (2003: 11), for example, maintains that his readers are mainly concerned with reading the original poet, Yannis Kondos, and do not buy the book because of its translator. However, many translators of poetry are published original poets: Seamus Heaney, who has translated from Anglo-Saxon (e.g. 2000) or Susan Wicks, who has translated from French (e.g. 2009) are likely to be known primarily for their original poetry. Here it is the translator’s standing as a poet that helps to persuade readers to read translations of poetry from eras, cultures or poets with which they are unfamiliar. Often the poet, not entirely proficient in the source language, is aided by a native speaker, as in the case of James Kirkup’s co-translations of Mutsuo Takahashi (Kirkup and Makoto 2006), or Ted Hughes and János Csokits’s translations of Pilinszky (Hughes and Csokits 1976). However, the perception of such poet-translators among the reading public may vary. The poetry of Michael Hamburger, for example, sometimes seemed overshadowed by his work as translator of Hölderlin (Hamburger 1966) and Celan (Hamburger 2007). Yet in fact the two aspects of his work were closely intertwined: his German origins, his studies of European poetry and his translation work gave his English poetry a voice that was often similar to his translating voice (cf. Boase-Beier 2011a: 64), and he himself commented on the influence of Hölderlin’s poetry on his own (Honig 1985: 172). For many poets, the translation of the work of others is not just a way of communicating that work to their own community, but is also a task they see as essential to enliven and improve their own poetic technique (cf. Silkin 1989: 178).

Particularly successful poetry translators often become associated with a specific poet, with whose work they may be involved over a long period of time: Hamburger, for example, produced four different Hölderlin translations (Honig 1985: 172). However, it can also be the case that a particular poet attracts many translators: the German poet Rilke, first translated into English in 1939 by J.B. Leishman (1939), has recently been translated by Stephen Cohn (1992), Michael Hamburger (2003), Don Paterson (2006), Ian Crockatt (2011) and many others, and the Hungarian poet Radnóti by Wilmer and Gömöri (1979), Jones (2000), and others. It could in fact be argued that what marks out great poetry from the commonplace is that it possesses the very 'inventive singularity [that] provokes translation' (Attridge 2004: 74).

Of particular importance to understanding poetry translation are descriptions of the detail of actual practice. Jones (2011) uses interviews with a number of anonymous poetry translators to obtain such details. Honig (1985) carried out a series of interviews with named translators. Other common methods of gaining insight into procedures and processes, all of which Jones (2011) uses to supplement his interviews, are translators' statements, think-aloud protocols (TAPs), and scholarly articles. Statements about theory or method are also often to be found in the prefaces to translated books (see for example Elsworth 2000; or Christie 2004). TAPs, in which translators voice their thoughts while translating, are a way of achieving direct access to 'translators' real-time processes, problem-solving strategies and textual shifts' (Jones 2011: 109). Most scholarly articles and books written by translators of poetry about their work (e.g. Jones 2000; Scott 2008; or Weissbort 1989) discuss the interaction of translation theories with translation practice.

It is almost certainly true to say that most scholars of poetry translation are themselves also translators of poetry. Jones, for example, is the translator of Dizdar (Jones 1999) from Bosnian, Radnóti (Jones 2000) from Hungarian, and others, and Weissbort is the translator of Lisnianskaya (Weissbort 2006) and Derieva (Weissbort 2009) from Russian. Scott's (2000) book on Baudelaire is simultaneously a reflective description of translating the French poet and a discussion of how an understanding of the poet and of the translation process are thus built up, and James Holmes, who is usually credited with founding and naming the discipline of translation studies in the 1960s, was himself a translator of Dutch poetry (see e.g. Holmes 1994: 7–64).

Poetry translation as a whole presents a complicated and apparently contradictory picture. The promotion of translated poetry in England *as* translation (as opposed to being reviewed or marketed merely as foreign poetry) is generally more successful than the promotion of translated prose in this way, partly because poetry translation is heavily subsidized by the government (or was until recently) and partly because of the well-known literary figures involved. Furthermore, the narrative and development of character and place in a novel cause the emphasis, in discussion of translated versions, to be placed on the sense of what is foreign (the 'Nordic darkness' of recent crime novels, for example) rather than on the act of translation. Yet translated poetry sells less than prose. If poetry translation is 'difficult' in all these ways, analysing that difficulty should help us to understand the complex picture better. In the following sections there will inevitably be a bias towards the Western context, and it is important for the reader to be aware both of that bias itself and also of Susam-Sarajeva's (2002: 193–4) caveat about defining any situation according to its perceived Western-ness.

The specificity of poetry translation

If poetry translation is difficult, this is perhaps partly because poetry itself is difficult. It could indeed be argued that it is poetry's 'resistance to facile communication' (Shepherd 2007: 71)

that makes it work. An important area of current debate is thus concerned with how our understanding of poetry impacts on our understanding of its translation. A very simple definition of poetry is that it is literature ‘arranged differently on the page’ (Furniss and Bath 2007: 3) as compared to prose. This sounds too straightforward to explain the complex nature of poetry and the difficulty of translating it, let alone allow us to look beyond the present time and culture, but in fact the special layout on the page (cf. Boase-Beier 2011a: 113–42) means that repeated elements in texts such as sounds or rhythms, which are common to both poetry and prose, can in poetry be part of larger patterns. Both prose and poetry, for example, have rhythm, but only poetry has metre, the regular grouping of elements of rhythm into a recognizable pattern. What counts as metre, or what counts as poetry, will of course differ according to the particular cultural and historical context, as will any definition of translation.

For poetry translation this means that in addition to issues of transfer of content, form, function and so on that play a role in all literary translation, the translation of the particular shape of poems is also a major factor. Thus, without an understanding of the notion of shape, repetition and pattern and how these are viewed in both source and target cultures – that is, without an understanding of poetic style – poetry translation cannot possibly result in texts that are themselves poems. As we shall see in the next section, the ability of translated poems to work as poems is at the heart of most – though not all – theoretical approaches.

In the history of definitions of poetic style, the notion of foregrounding has played an important role. Originally described as a textual device by Prague structuralist Havránek (in the translation by Garvin 1964: 6), it has more recently been explored by stylisticians as the ‘effect brought about in the reader’ (Leech 2008: 61) by striking structures in a text that cause changes to ‘customary perception’ (Miall and Kuiken 1994: 392). The dual nature of poetic foregrounding – as a textual device and as the effect it has on the reader – also applies to prose and drama, but the effects of foregrounding in poems are often related to their lineation. Thus, for example, a translation of R.S. Thomas’s lines ‘The wrinkles will come upon her/calm though her brow be’ (2004: 282) must be able to recreate the effect of uncertainty as to whether the object of ‘come upon’ is ‘her’ or ‘her calm’, and the implied reference to water that the second reading suggests. Such moments of uncertainty, heightened awareness and increased reader engagement are commonplace in poems wherever the lineation cuts across syntactic units.

Besides the particular type of foregrounding caused by the shape of poems, other features of poetic style that play a role in the translation of poetry are its use of inventive language (Eagleton 2007: 46) and its openness to different interpretations (Furniss and Bath 2007: 531–59).

The inventiveness of poetic language is often seen to arise inextricably from the acoustic qualities of the source language (Carper and Attridge 2003: 6), and this presents a particular difficulty for translation. Often it is not merely the properties of the source language but also the language politics of the source culture that lead to poetry’s subversive inventiveness. Susan Wicks, translating the French poetry of Valérie Rouzeau, describes how the Académie française’s official condemnation of foreign words has had ‘poetic consequences’ in that Rouzeau takes it as ‘an invitation’ to use language ‘new-minted’ (Wicks 2009: 13). An example Wicks mentions in her preface is ‘*pas mouranrir désespérir*’. This seems a mixture of *mourir* (to die), *désespérer* (despair), and *espérer* (hope), and suggests a child’s emerging morphology. Wicks translates it as ‘not deaying oh not desperish’, thus keeping the childlike distortion of the words, but the translator is not merely echoing the

linguistic characteristics of the source text; she is suggesting an undermining of authority, which is equally resonant in the target culture and which, for readers who have read the preface, will still carry the sense of subversion of the peculiarly French linguistic norms.

The ambiguity of poetry leads to a different potential problem for translation. Most definitions of translation (cf. Hatim and Munday 2004: 3) suggest that meaning is a large part of what translation transfers, and most modern definitions of poetry (cf. Furniss and Bath 2007: 269–71) suggest that the open-endedness of its meaning, which allows different readers to interpret it differently, lies at the heart of poetry. How, then, can meaning thus open to interpretation be transferred into a target text? An obvious answer is that every poem will have several translations (or even that a poem that can only be translated in one way is not a poem). Some poetry translators, such as Tourniaire (1999) thus offer several versions of specific poems. One could maintain (cf. Szirtes in Jones 2000: 14) that multiple translations by different translators lead, if read together, to a deeper understanding of the complexities of poetry, because each translator will interpret differently. Thus, for example, Celan's 'der Schnee des Verschwiegenen' becomes in Hamburger's (2007: 95) version 'the snow of that left unspoken', while Melin (1999: 89) has 'the snow of the unsaid' and Felstiner (2001: 657) 'the snow of what's silenced'. Their comparison suggests subtle but important differences of interpretation. Hamburger's suggestion of agency emphasizes what we choose not to say, Melin's deverbal noun focuses attention on the unspoken thing itself, and Felstiner suggests something that has intentionally (and possibly by another agency) been rendered incapable of expression. All these meanings are present in 'des Verschwiegenen', but it is unlikely that they could all be suggested by a single translation.

The translator needs to take into account that all such stylistic features of the text have psychological effects upon the reader. In particular, communicative views of translation (e.g. Gutt 2000) argue that a large part of the purpose of a literary translation is to communicate such effects to a new set of readers. Gutt refers to these as poetic effects (*ibid.*: 166), a term also used by Pilkington (2000) and by Boase-Beier (2006, 2011a). Poetic effects, which include the sort of changes in perception mentioned by Miall and Kuiken (1994), but also emotions such as fear, joy or grief, are the effects that arise as a direct result of reading a text as poetic and entertaining 'poetic thoughts' which are 'relatively ineffable ... [and] difficult to express and communicate accurately' (Pilkington 2000: 12). Herein lies a further problem for poetry translation: if poetry uses all the means at its disposal to express in language something ineffable, it is likely to become diffuse, and thus lose its effects, when translated into another language. One way of explaining how poetry translators overcome this difficulty is to link psychological effects to those elements of the language that go beyond meaning in the sense of propositional content, that is, to the various implied and suggested meanings with which poetic style abounds (Boase-Beier 2006: 50). A thorough stylistic analysis of the original can uncover such implied meanings and their likely effects, thereby providing a basis for their recreation: this is what Jakobson (2004: 143), himself a poet, as far back as 1959 called 'creative transposition', a term that has influenced later views of poetry translation (cf. Weissbort and Eysteinnsson 2006: 330; Gaffney 1999: 54).

It would be interesting to speculate whether there might in fact be a division among poetry translators in that those who see themselves primarily as translators (Jones, Connolly or Elsworth) are more concerned with characteristics of the source poem and those who primarily see themselves as poets (Paterson, Hughes or Hamburger) are more concerned with the effects of the target poem. However, this pleasing dichotomy would in fact be simplistic and, to the extent that it exists at all, will have more to do with whether or not the poet-translator has actually theorized the nature of translation.

Research in poetry translation

Many poets translate and many translators translate poetry, and it is also true to say that much of translation theory centres around poetry. Weissbort and Eysteinsson's (2006) historical reader on translation, for example, anthologizes under contemporary views those of 23 scholars, 15 of whom are writing about the translation of poetry. This is partly because poetry translation is especially challenging, but partly also because it is almost impossible to earn a living as a translator of poetry alone, and so poetry translators are often academics. The recent development of translation studies as an academic subject, especially in the English-speaking world, shows the influence of poetry translators such as Holmes and also draws directly on the work of poets and poetry translators in the early structuralist tradition such as Jakobson. Its development has thus been greatly influenced by the central concerns of structuralist linguistics and anthropology such as the varying worldviews of different languages and cultures, and the importance of poetic language as language that is not purely referential. Such concerns have helped recent research into the translation of poetry to focus on questions of translatability and the nature of poetic language. Schulte and Biguenet (1992: 7) trace a direct line back from these concerns, as exemplified by Jakobson, to earlier work by Schopenhauer (e.g. 1891), Schleiermacher (e.g. 1838) and Goethe (e.g. 1819) in the early nineteenth century. However, such work, like the anecdotal writings on poetry translation by Pope (e.g. 1715; see Pope 1996) or Dryden (e.g. 1680; see Dryden 1992) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, tended to be fairly prescriptive, and it was only with the development of modern linguistics and stylistics by scholars such as Jakobson that a more descriptive approach to the translation of poetry became possible.

Research methods in poetry translation

We can assume that poetry translation theory, in common with any theory of translation in the descriptive tradition (cf. Toury 1995: 1–4), is based on a reconstruction of what has been done, using data obtained either by analysing the process of translation or the product, the translated poem. Because theorists are often practitioners, introspection by poetry translators themselves can be added to the various methods of obtaining data about the process mentioned above (interviews, statements and TAPs). Such introspection results in process-based studies which in some cases set out the supposedly distinct 'stages' of translating a poem (c.f. Bly 1984; Barnstone 1993: 49), describing the various strategies involved. Others discuss the reasons why particular poets or poems were chosen (see Jones 2011: 10; Weissbort 2009: 9), or describe the translation of poems from particular perspectives: while Boase-Beier (2004) argues for the importance of stylistic analysis for the translation process, Folkart demonstrates in particular the need for an 'understanding of the writerly processes' (2007: xv) involved. Jones, who maintains that poetry translation can best be described using 'social-network models of human agency' (2011: 13), including all their various human and non-human factors, locates his process-based study within the development in translation studies since the late 1980s towards 'viewing translation as not just a textual act, but also as a psychological and social one' (ibid.: 11), a development that parallels that in poetic stylistics, mentioned above, which has seen features such as foregrounding increasingly viewed in psychological terms. This movement from text-based to context-based studies can also be seen in cognitive poetic studies of translation such as Boase-Beier (2011a) or Strack (2007), where it involves relating

textual style to the mind projected in the text and the effects upon the reader. Such studies are usually based on the description of translation as both process and product.

Product-based studies, among which Jones (2011: 11) includes Holmes (1994) and Boase-Beier (2004), typically theorize by using the target-language poem to reconstruct the processes that led to it. If the translator and theorist are the same person, as in many product-based studies of translated poetry, it can be difficult to distinguish product from process: product-based studies in such cases involve the translator's own introspection and reconstruction of process. Other product-based studies involve well-known poets: Salines (1999) on Baudelaire's translations of Poe, or Gaffney (1999) on Leyris's translations of Hopkins are typical examples. Such studies often explore the reconstructed 'link between translation and creation' (Salines 1999: 19) or the particular difficulties of poetic translation (Gaffney 1999).

Current debates in poetry translation

All studies of the translation of poetry, whether based on its processes or its products, raise the question of the relationship of theory to practice. Some poetry translators are keen to distance themselves from theoretical views, stating that they 'have no theory'. These are the words of Christopher Middleton in an interview documented in Honig (1985: 186) and they are echoed very closely by others, e.g. Donald Gardner (2007: 8). In fact, it could be argued that carrying out poetry translation is proof that the translator has a theory, given the impossibility of performing any action without one. What such translators mean, presumably, is that they do not subscribe to a rigid a priori theory but that their theory tends to arise from their practice. For Holmes, the theory-practice relationship was not just about which came first. He said that a translator 'must perform some (but not all) of the functions of a critic, some (but not all) of the functions of a poet, and some functions not normally required of either' (1994: 11). In speaking of the functions of a critic, he was suggesting that a reconstruction of the poet's choices is similar to the analysis of poetry undertaken by the critic. Yet against this it has been argued (for example by Bell 1998: 186) that we read differently when we are intending to translate. The question of how translation relates to reading is widely debated, and will be returned to in the final section.

In saying that the translator of poetry fulfils only some of the functions of a poet, Holmes was touching on another important theoretical question: is the creative investment of the translator of poetry less than that of the original poet? Holmes seems to suggest it is, a view not shared by Felstiner (1989), or Lin (2006), who argue strongly for the creativity of poetic translation. Indeed, much current debate in England and America (and in China, as Lin 2006 demonstrates) centres around the notion of creativity, with some writers, such as Paterson (2006) maintaining that there are two types of poetic translation: 'translations' that aim to keep close to the original, and 'versions' (a term taken from Heaney, as Tymoczko 2007: 58 points out) that are 'trying to be poems in their own right' (Paterson 2006: 73). Certainly there are some translations of poetry that would seem to fit clearly into Paterson's first category: a small number of translators, for example Burnshaw (1960) and Rees (1990) have argued for a translation of poetry into prose, with the implication of strict 'discipline in the rendering of sense' (ibid.: xxiv). This is a strictness that poetic translations might not wish to claim, in particular because of the open-endedness of meaning in poetry mentioned in the previous section. Almost all recent translators of poetry have argued for a translation into poetry, thus underlining the creative nature of poetic

translation and the importance of the aesthetic properties of the target text, such as those described in the previous section.

Views on how to make the translated poem work poetically have not always been and will not always be those current in England in the early years of the twenty-first century. They vary over time and across cultures, though the central debates have much in common. If early poetry translators such as Pope spoke of the importance of keeping the ‘spirit’ of a poetic text, and Dryden advocated a middle course between paraphrase and ‘latitude’ (see Robinson 2002: 192, 172), recent poetry translators (e.g. Felstiner 2001: xxxiii) have argued for a similar balance between faithfulness to the source poem and creative freedom. Some have argued for more freedom, as Lowell (1990) did in his ‘imitations’, and some for greater closeness, as Michael Hamburger does in saying that the source text should not merely be a ‘springboard’ for one’s own work (in Honig 1985: 177). The notion of keeping the ‘spirit’ of the text is echoed in the debate in China about what Lin calls ‘beauty beyond the text’ (Lin 2006: 107), or that which can only be found by reading the mind of the original poet, a view reminiscent of much cognitive poetic theory (cf. Boase-Beier 2011a: 85–112). It is this notion of ‘spirit’ or ‘essence’ (Lin 2006: 100–1), tenuous though it may seem, that tends to distinguish the faithfulness-freedom debate of poetry from the foreignization-domestication debate begun by Schleiermacher in 1813 (Robinson 2002: 225–38) and revived by Venuti (see e.g. 2008), which tends to focus on prose translation (though Scott (2000: 13) argues for a ‘foreignizing translation’ of poetry). However, it should be remembered that the modern version of this debate was heavily influenced by the sometimes unacknowledged Prague structuralist notion of foregrounding as used by Havránek, Mukařovský and others. Mukařovský (in Garvin 1964: 17–30), for example, considered foregrounding especially central to poetry. One could thus argue that foreignization is what poetry does, and the translation of poetry into poetry will automatically foreignize.

Weissbort locates the faithfulness-freedom debate in the person of the translator, saying that ‘poets, dabbling in translation’ say they are writing new poetry, while the sort of ‘scholarly literalism’ to which he himself aspires (Weissbort 2009: 9), and which leads back to the source text, is presumably not new poetry. This is a similar view to that held by Michael Hamburger, mentioned above, and the fact that it is a view held by poets such as Weissbort and Hamburger, and, according to Weissbort (2000: vii–xi), by Hughes, underlines the fact that differing positions in the debate do not depend on whether writers primarily see themselves as poet or translator, but on their view of translation. Comparisons of individual translators’ renderings suggest there are indeed differences in practice: Paterson’s translation of Rilke’s ‘Orpheus’ has ‘And then within that silence/he made the sign, the change, and touched the lyre’ (2006: 3), whereas Ranson and Sutherland echo the German closely with ‘But even in this silence/came transformation, new signs, and beginning’ (2011: 183). In the latter only the order of noun phrases varies from the original, but Paterson has introduced the lyre, because its assonance with other words in his translation such as ‘ear’ and ‘lair’ allows him to re-create the *abab* rhyme of the original. However, rather than making a terminological issue of such differences, as Paterson does, it seems more reasonable to see the term ‘translation’ as what Tymoczko (2007: 83), following Wittgenstein (1953), calls a ‘cluster concept’. While Tymoczko was arguing for a cross-cultural understanding of translation, this same catholic understanding could be applied within a culture: a translation can be different things, and translators, scholars and readers have different views.

Tymoczko’s main point, however, is that it does not make sense, especially in an area concerned with the crossing of boundaries, to ignore the views of other cultures. She is thus arguing for the internationalization of translation theory. While communication with

other scholars working on the translation of poetry in non-English-speaking countries suggests that similar debates are current, these are of course influenced by particular contextual factors that arise from historical, cultural, geographical and other differences, including those of poetic convention, such as the relative unimportance of rhyme in Japanese poetry (Strack 2007: 67), or the influence, in Japan, of the need to read Chinese texts, which is often seen to have made an extremely foreignizing style of translation more acceptable (Hung and Wakabayashi 2005: 8). Recent studies of Korean poetry and translation (e.g. Hyun 2005) point to the influence of debates in Korea in the 1920s and 1930s among well-known translators of poetry about experimental translation upon the development of modern Korean poetry (*ibid.*: 161), and about the creation, through the influence of translation, of a new poetic language. Discussions with Chinese scholars suggest that besides the question of creativity in poetic translation, mentioned above, principles of poetic translation are widely debated (see also Jin 2003: 52–4).

Of course, none of these debates are independent of one another, especially since the 1980s when the spread of Western translation theory from Great Britain and the USA to the rest of the world has exerted its influence everywhere (cf. Tan 2009: 283). All the more reason to learn from the research methods and theories of others.

A poetics of translation

The statement by Holmes (1994: 11), quoted above, suggests that poetry translation involves ‘functions’ that go beyond both the critical reading of the source poem and the writing of the target poem. There is a need, therefore, for a specific poetics of translation which will attempt to explain what these extra functions involve. A poetics of translation will thus explain: (i) why the translator reads the source text in a particular way; (ii) how that text achieves its effects upon the reader in the person of the translator; and (iii) how the translator creates (or recreates) similar effects upon the target language readers (see Boase-Beier 2011a: 85). Many translators (e.g. Felstiner 1989: 36) note that being a good reader of the original poetry is a prerequisite for the translation. What is involved in reading, especially with a translator’s sensibility, is not merely the words on the page; as we saw in the last section, scholars in various different traditions have tried to locate the ‘essence’ of the poem in various places beyond the words (cf. Lin 2006). Riffaterre (1992: 217), for example, locates it in the implicatures of those words, as does Boase-Beier (2004), that is, in those elements of meaning implied by the form of the text. Many studies of poetry and translation link these non-propositional, inferential aspects of poetic language with the aesthetic, emotional or physical effects on the reader, as suggested above. These effects can be seen more precisely to result from the ‘tension’ in poetry (Fabb 2002: 216) caused by a contrast between patterns which set up two different sets of expectations, such as metre and meaning, or such as imagery and psychological process (see Boase-Beier 2011b). If the text’s ability to cause poetic effects and the reader’s consequent engagement with the text are what characterizes poetry, then it must be a large part of what poetry translation needs to convey, and what a poetics of translation needs to describe.

A poetics of translation as outlined above is thus primarily descriptive. However, the stylistically aware reading that (i) entails, the understanding of the effects of poetic style on the translator, as in (ii), and on the target reader (iii), are also useful to translators of poetry themselves. If the translation of poetry is to be a creative undertaking, as Jakobson (2004: 143) suggested, then it needs to take as its basis the reader’s (including the translator’s) engagement with the source text and recreate similar possibilities for engagement

for the readers of the target text. To translate poetry is thus not merely to translate the source text as product, but to reconstruct the poetics of the original poet, a point made also by several poetry translators. Christie (2004: 11), for example, speaks of the Turkish poet Bejan Matur's successive paring down of language in order to achieve 'mystery'. Christie tries to use similar procedures when writing the target text. While Christie arrives at Matur's poetics through discussion with the poet, other translators reconstruct from the poems themselves, either because they have no access to the poet, or because they see such a large part of their task to lie in engaging with the difficulty of the text from the reader's point of view.

Poetry translation research and practice: the future

This article began with the difficulty of translating poetry. That difficulty, which arises because of the necessary imaginative engagement with a difficult source text, combined with the creative capacity to fashion a translated poem that is open to similar engagement, is the key to all debates around and theories of translated poetry mentioned in the previous sections. It is also the key to possible future developments.

As we saw in the previous section, translating poetry involves close critical reading – what Attridge (2004: 72) calls 'creative reading' – and this can be demonstrably enhanced by the comparison of different translations (see Boase-Beier 2011b). The fact that recent years have seen so many multiple translations of particular poets such as Rilke may indicate something more than just a fascination with those individual poets. It is at least in part related to an understanding that there is never one definitive rendering of a poem, and that the multiplicity of its interpretations calls for a similar multiplicity of responses. Where existing comparative studies (Tourey 1995; Strack 2007: 123–56) focus on the possibilities of translation, they can also be used to tell us more about the original work. Such studies could, in the future, lead to a much greater understanding of exactly those poets whose work typically gives rise to varied readings.

In his book *Translating Style* (1998), Parks, analysing modernist novels, argues that a translation should be examined together with its source text in order to see where the greatest deviations occur, because at this point we gain access to the 'vision' (ibid.: vii) that informed the style of the original author. The same can be said of poetic texts. A study of the translation of Wilfred Owen's poem 'Futility' shows that the translation of 'clay' as 'Staub' by Utz (1993) has interesting consequences for the way we understand 'clay' in the original. This is partly because 'Staub' (dust) captures some aspects of 'clay' but not others, thus throwing those other aspects into sharp relief. The aspects it misses are to do with the specific nature of clay, as that from which human beings are said to come, and to which they return, and as the physical clay of the war-torn Belgian landscape where, and about which, Owen wrote his poems and letters. 'Clay' is thus ambiguous, suggesting human potential, human remains and earth, just as the very ground Owen and his companions walked on was ambiguous, being partly composed of the mineral substances that usually make up clay and partly of human remains. Beyond this, a contrast of 'clay' and 'Staub' not only reveals the finer ambiguities of 'clay', but highlights a particular location in the poem at which a series of patterns converge and which could be referred to as 'The Eye of the Poem' (Boase-Beier 2009). Again, the comparison performed here is not for the purpose of recovering a translation process and thus reconstructing translation theory, as in Tourey (1995: 65), but for the purpose of discovering more about the source poem and the original poet. Such studies, like comparisons of different versions, are a still under-used

tool in understanding individual poets, and a possible future development of poetry translation is thus in the direction of more close comparative studies of this type. One of the interesting things about such studies is that, starting with translations of specific poems and poets, we can extrapolate to particular features of poetry, as the example above illustrates. As Gaddis Rose (1997: 13) puts it, ‘what translating does is to help us get inside literature’. Critics such as Attridge (2004: 73) have observed that translation is not just one possible literary response to a text, but is that which constitutes a ‘necessary process’ of transformability in different contexts. What such observations suggest is that there is a much closer link between literary critical theory and the theory of translation, especially in the area of poetic translation, than is sometimes imagined, and which is worthy of further development.

Studies based on creative or critical reading that starts in translation and extends to a deeper understanding of poetic processes, and which aim to develop poetry translation as a branch of poetics, can then also become part of the study of creative writing. These possibilities are hinted at in works such as Perteghella and Loffredo (2006), but are currently underdeveloped.

Further developments can also be expected to arise from an increasingly internationalized research basis. As scholars learn more about how poetry and translation are seen in cultures other than their own, they can hope to achieve a greater understanding of what the translation of poetry involves. Furthermore, the theory of poetry translation in the areas where it dovetails with other types of theory is also experiencing, or likely to experience, interesting developments. Tymoczko’s plea for the ‘openness of the concept translation’ (2007: 53) is likely to inform much future work in the translation of poetry, not only in increasing awareness of the world beyond one’s own but also by leading to more cross- and interdisciplinary research, for example, to the exploration of issues such as the social and political effects of poetry translation, including the scope of poetry for what Andrew Motion calls ‘documentary lyricism’ (2011) and how this particular documentary aspect of poetry (that is, its ability to recreate the emotion associated with real events) affects and is affected by its translation.

As suggested above, the theory of poetry translation has always benefited from insights obtained in other areas and disciplines. In the past 30 years, such insights have come from linguistics (Riffaterre 1992), from literary criticism (Scott 2000), from stylistics (Boase-Beier 2011a), and from sociology (Jones 2011: 13). Part of the interest of such approaches that lie at the borders of what might generally be considered to be the remit of translation studies is that, as Holmes pointed out in 1972, the discipline itself is broadened or a ‘new sense of shared interest’ (Holmes 1994: 67) arises. As the discipline moves beyond its infancy, such ‘shared interest’ with other disciplines can also lead to new ways of viewing translation and the translated poem. Studies such as St André’s (2010) collection on metaphors of translation, or notions such as the translated poem as a conceptual blend (cf. Boase-Beier 2011a: 67–72) can help scholars of poetry translation to consider the extent to which the way we describe a translated poem or the act of translating poetry affects what translators do, how the translated poem is read, and what influences can be brought to bear on our understanding of translated poetry.

Related topics

poetry; poetry translation practice; poetry translation theory; poetry translation research; translated poetry; style; poetics of translation

Further reading

- Boase-Beier, J. (2011b) 'Translating Celan's Poetics of Silence', *Target* 23(2): 165–77. (This looks at what the study of the translations of a poem can tell us.)
- Holmes, J. (1994) *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*, Amsterdam: Rodopi. (Much of this seminal book is concerned with the translation of poetry.)
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- Jones, F. (2011) *Poetry Translating as Expert Action*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. (A study of the network of factors involved in the translation of poetry.)
- Weissbort, D. (ed.) (1989) *Translating Poetry: The Double Labyrinth*, London: Macmillan. (A collection of articles and notes by practising translators of poetry.)

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Part V

Future challenges

Translation and globalization

Michael Cronin

The dominant paradigm for describing the contemporary world is that of globalization. No account of changes in the world from the 1970s onwards can fail to account for a whole series of globalizing processes. One of those globalizing processes is translation and globalization is quite literally unthinkable without the operation of translation and translators.

Globalization: definition and main issues

Before describing the nature of the globalizing processes, it is necessary to define what we understand by globalization. Anthony Giddens, a leading theorist of globalization, has characterized globalization as ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’ (1990: 64). If we look more closely at this definition, it is clear that globalization has been a feature of human history for a very long time and is not confined to developments in the second half of the twentieth century. The Greek, Roman, Chinese, Ottoman, British, French and Islamic empires at different historical moments through trade, military conquest or religious conversion linked distant localities in ways that had a profound effect on local cultures. Part of that effect were the translation consequences of this imperial contact which has been an object of study for translation scholars (Robinson 1997; see also Merrill, this volume). There are, however, three salient aspects of the contemporary globalization period that makes it markedly different from earlier forms of imperial or commercial proto-globalization.

The first aspect is perceptual. One of the most widely disseminated images of the Apollo space missions was that of the Earth itself, a fragile blue planet presented against a background of infinite, abyssal darkness. The image suggested in a striking manner a notion of a planetary or global identity that would be hugely significant in mobilizing ecological awareness around the vulnerability and interdependence of the inhabitants on the planet. The world was now perceived as one global entity rather than as a series of discrete, local units.

The second aspect is institutional. The late modern period has been characterized by an exponential growth in international organizations such as the United Nations (UN),

the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the World Health Organization (WHO). Alongside the emergence of international organizations has been the move towards forms of supra-national governance of which the most notable example is the European Union (EU). Parallel to these institutional developments has been the creation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace and Médecins sans Frontières with a significant global presence. As both the origins and consequences of problems – pandemics, environmental catastrophes, poverty, genocides, financial governance – are seen to be cross-border and global, localized, national responses are no longer felt to be effective and coordinated efforts at a transnational level are deemed necessary.

The third distinctive aspect of globalization is economic, the emergence in the late modern period of the network-based or reticular economy. The activities of the reticular economy are underpinned by the existence of informatics and telecommunications networks which allow a business to operate at a global level in real time. In essence, this means that production and distribution activities can be coordinated across the globe through the near-instantaneous connectivity that is offered by information technology. Such connectivity facilitates the emergence and operations of giant transnational corporations (TNCs). Underlying the formation of the reticular economy is a basic shift in business model from the Fordist mass production of the immediate postwar period (1945–73) and the shift to the post-Fordist model of lean production from the 1970s onwards. Whereas the Fordist model primarily depended for its efficacy and profitability on the economies of scale of the mass production of standardized goods, the post-Fordist model concentrated on niche, small-batch production of differentiated goods with the emphasis on getting the product as quickly as possible from producer to consumer ('time to market'). In the post-Fordist world, advertising and product branding take on particular importance as a premium is set on responding to increasingly volatile consumer preferences, preferences that are in turn stimulated by further marketing as maintaining consumption is crucial to the success of the model. A notable consequence of the conjunction of the reticular economy and the post-Fordist business model is the decentralization of production. The dominant paradigm for much of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century was the 'workshop of the world' concept, with raw materials sourced in colonies and finished goods produced in the imperial centres for export to the rest of the world. The closing decades of the twentieth century saw a move away from this paradigm and a shift towards delocalization of production in low-cost centres across the globe. Taken together, these three aspects – perceptual, institutional and economic – of contemporary globalization means that the geographical extent and speed of impact of globalizing forces are now greater than at any other time in human history.

Globalizing processes: space and time

The repeated representation of the global through visual icons such as the blue planet obscures the highly differentiated nature of places and communities on the planet. A fundamental difference that is more often heard than seen is the multilingual nature of the human community. No engagement with globalization can ignore this fundamental fact of the human condition, that its tongues as much as its conditions are various. By extension, any discussion of globalization of necessity involves translation, as a planet without translation is a planet without languages. Historically, translation in periods of proto-globalization has both shaped and been shaped by forces of global exchange. In the period of the

Protestant Reformation, for example, the spread of the ideas of the Protestant reformers was critically dependent on having their ideas disseminated as widely as possible in different languages. As happens in later periods with Enlightenment thinking and Marxism, translators ensure that ideas enjoy the global currency that defines their transnational reach. On the other hand, it is the commitment to the vernacular and plain speaking in the ideology of Protestantism that will inform Protestant translations of the Bible in different parts of the world. In a similar way, translators in national cultures function as crucial intermediaries for the arrival of ideas from elsewhere, but they are also strikingly to the fore in the development and elaboration of national languages (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995). Translators participate both in the centripetal drive in cultures, the assimilation to dominant global practices or paradigms, and the centrifugal, the desire to assert and maintain specificity.

In the twentieth century a clear manifestation of the centripetal movement has been the exponential growth in international organizations. The twentieth century and in particular the period since the end of World War II has seen an unprecedented increase in the growth of international or supra-national organizations. In 1909 there were 37 intergovernmental organizations and 176 international NGOs, but just 80 years later, in 1989, that number had grown to 300 intergovernmental organizations and 4,200 international NGOs. The UN, IMF, WTO, EU and Council of Europe, to name but a few, are seen as evidence of the movement away from exclusive concentration on the sovereign nation state towards models of political and economic governance that are deterritorialized in nature. It is possible to see these global institutional structures as part of the globalization process and to situate them in a wider, historical framework that includes colonial administrations, transnational corporations, world banking, international labour organizations, the international religious structures of Christianity and Islam, and global media corporations. The proliferation in supra-national organizations is in part linked to an eco-planetary consciousness symbolized by the 'earthrise' photographs of the Apollo space missions and given concrete expression by very real concerns over the greenhouse effect, acid rain, global warming and water pollution. The industries of the few affect the lives of the many and a salient characteristic of what Ulrich Beck has called the 'risk society' has been the need to organize on a global basis in order to protect the biosphere that sustains life on the planet (Beck 1992). If economic wealth is dependent on external trade, environmental well-being is dependent on external management of risk, which implies cooperation with others. The category of risk does not just apply to the environment as such, but involves any number of areas, from arms control to aviation, to drugs trafficking and prostitution.

If the slogan of real estate agents is 'location, location, location', there could hardly be a better definition at some level of what translators do. Part of the business of the translator is to understand what people actually say in a particular location and to bring this knowledge to another location, the target language. This is why the education and training of translators take years. It is not so much an abstraction from as an engagement in local attachments that is demanded by the translator's task and this task takes time. When the American tourist Richard (played by Brad Pitt) in Alejandro González Iñárritu's *Babel* (2006) desperately seeks help for his wife, Susan (Cate Blanchett), who has been inadvertently shot, he shouts out the English word 'help' to a Moroccan motorist, who, bewildered and alarmed, speeds off. The visual promise of the holiday is undercut by the linguistic reality of his surroundings. The inability to translate foregrounds a cultural blindness on the part of the traveller who finds he is not so much an empowered citizen of the world as the unwilling denizen of a place. In this sense what the failure to translate

does is to reinstate the importance of a particular kind of time in overly spatialized and visualized models of the global. The importance of instantaneous time is repeatedly emphasized by commentators on globalization who see the availability of cheap, ubiquitous computing as the portal to a flat world of instant, limitless connectedness (Friedman 2007). This standard time-space compression thesis lends itself effectively to panoptic ideals of global simultaneity where the variousness of the world can be captured on a multiplicity of screens.

However, this perception is in marked contradiction to the intensely local, place-bound existence of the majority of inhabitants on the planet. Geraldine Pratt and Susan Hanson, for example, argue that, 'Although the world is increasingly well connected, we must hold this in balance with the observation that most people live intensely local lives; their homes, work places, recreation, shopping, friends, and often family are all located within a relatively small orbit' (Pratt and Hanson 1994: 10–11). Overcoming distance requires time and money and this means that for the great majority of human beings, the everyday events of daily life are well grounded within a circumscribed arena. This is not to argue, of course, that place cannot be shaped by influences from elsewhere, even if people do not move. On the contrary, from the spread of Buddhism in China to the initiation of rural electrification projects worldwide, local lives can be dramatically transformed by developments that have their point of origin many thousands of kilometres away. What the prevalence of local lives does mean, however, is that local languages have a reality that resists the easy sweep of the comparative cartographic gaze.

A further implication is that an idea of durational time must be invoked alongside the more commonly represented notion of instantaneous time. That is to say, any notion of an understanding of another culture, many of which in a multilingual world involve another language, implies a potential three-phase level of translational interaction which is at the constituent core of any understanding of translation in globalizing contexts.

- Phase one interaction is heteronymous translation which involves relying on someone to do the translation for you, whether it is the interpreter in the real estate office in France or the Polish PA negotiating for the foreign business person with local suppliers in Warsaw. Interpreting, no matter how proficient, takes time and already there is a sense in which time is beginning to 'thicken' in phase one translation exchange.
- Phase two is the shift towards semi-autonomous translation, where subjects want to begin to learn the language themselves and in a sense do their own translation. They begin to invest a certain amount of time in the process so that the durational reality of time begins to take precedence over the instantaneous. Alison Phipps describes the experiences of 'tourist language learners' in a Scottish context and demonstrates how tourists' perception of time and place alters with the shift to semi-autonomous translation (Phipps 2007). The place of escape mutates into the time of discovery.
- Phase three is full-autonomous translation, where subjects become fully functioning bilinguals or multilinguals whose competence involves extensive expenditure of time either as a result of circumstance (being brought up in bilingual/multilingual environments) or acquisition (formal language study).

All three phases involve the acknowledgement of the state of translation with the shift from the heteronymous to the autonomous modes of translation indicating a gradual shift from recognition to implication. All three phases equally imply the restoration of durational time as a dimension to the experience and understanding of space. What the inevitable

fact of translation contests in a sense is conventional understandings of globalization which draw the world ever further from the matrix of lived experience.

One of the fundamental misunderstandings of ‘flat-earthers’, the euphoric cheerleaders of a friction-free globalization, is to substitute distance as a physical fact for distance as an economic reality. To present the world as a smaller place because planes fly faster or computer messages are delivered at greater speed is to assume that proximity is a function of time and closeness is simply a matter of real or virtual cohabitation. However, distance for human beings is primarily social rather than physical (Massey 2004). In other words, living near to or close to someone does not imply that contact is therefore immediate, instantaneous and unproblematic because matters of income, class, gender (in particular instances) may make any meeting or interaction a distinctly remote possibility. To take one example out of many, Michael Förster, David Jesuit and Timothy Smeeding in their study of regional poverty and income inequality in Central and Eastern Europe in the period after the collapse of the Soviet bloc noted marked and continuous rise in income inequalities as the economies of the region became increasingly integrated into the global economy. They further observed that in the case of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, income inequality tended to be particularly marked in the capital cities (Förster *et al.* 2003).

So as the world’s economy drew closer, the income disparities between citizens of the same territories grew larger. The physical proximity to a global reticular economy was enhanced but the social distance between groups was enlarged. The social nature of distance is a vivid illustration of the realities of local life which may be very much at variance with more abstracted or detached notions of global citizenship with its accompanying utopia of friction-free possibility. Distance as a socio-economic construction also underlines the centrality of translation to thinking about forms of distance in the contemporary global order.

Globalization and migration

In 2005 the United Population Division projected that in the period 2005–50 the net number of international migrants to more developed regions would be around 98 million. In the period 2000–5 net immigration in 28 countries either prevented population decline or at least doubled the contribution of natural increase (births minus deaths) to population growth (United Nations Population Division 2005). Two main contributory factors affecting increased migration are, of course, ageing populations in wealthier countries and the huge labour demands of service-intensive economies. Thus the combined effects of demographic disparity and the exponential growth of the tertiary sector in developed economies means that the demands for economic migrants, despite the vociferations of political parties on the Far Right, are set to continue, if not increase. As many migrants are brought in initially, at any rate, to perform poorly paid, relatively unskilled jobs, the sense of social distance can be relatively acute as the affluent diners in the upmarket restaurant will have little in common with the migrant kitchen help working 50 metres away behind closed doors.

The distance can of course be even more marked in that what the increasingly global search for migrant workers has done, despite the many obstacles put in place by national governments, is to alter the linguistic composition of workforces. Bischoff and Loutan, for example, reporting on the interpreting situation in Swiss hospitals, noted the consequences for translation and language awareness of a shift in migration patterns. In earlier decades, migrants had largely come from countries that spoke a Romance language such as

Portuguese, Spanish and Italian. Towards the end of the last century the situation began to change and they found in a nationwide survey of interpreter services in Swiss hospitals that the languages requiring interpreters were, among others, Albanian, south Slavic (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Bulgarian), Turkish, Tamil, Kurdish, Arabic and Russian (Bischoff and Loutan 2004: 191). Thus, there was a shift from relatively low levels of linguistic awareness due to a real or assumed familiarity with cognate Romance languages, to a situation where radical linguistic dissimilarity made the fact and existence of language otherness inescapable. Hence, the recourse to language mediation in the hospitals was the acknowledgement of distance and the need to bridge this distance in some way.

Tollefson (1989) in his study of Indochinese refugees working in the USA showed how difficult it may be for migrants to integrate linguistically into a host community. His subjects working long, unsocial hours in poorly paid, largely unskilled jobs had few opportunities to meet or socialize with Anglophone co-workers. An ability to communicate in the dominant host language or to translate what was being said often compounded a situation of isolation and exploitation. Therefore, when growing multiculturalism is presented as evidence of a shrinking planet or versions of vernacular cosmopolitanism are offered as incontrovertible proof of the emergence of the global village, it is necessary to invoke the socio-economic dimension to distance and the increasing linguistic hybridity of migrant workforces to restore a proper sense of complexity to place in globalized settings. More significantly, from the perspective of translation studies, the proper understanding of what it is to be a person living in a particular locality in the context of global mobility (and immobility) makes the task of the translator more rather than less important. In other words, accelerated mobility rather than continuously smoothing out differences in the sense of the frictionless circulation of a global economy of signs and spaces makes the presence of translation issues even more salient. What the inexorable rise in the demand for translation worldwide indicates alongside the increasing prominence of community interpreting (see Mikkelsen, this volume) in translation studies debates (Blommaert 2005: 219–36) is the return of the repressed detail of local situatedness to debates too often dominated by the visual shorthand of the global paradigm.

Globalization: transnational to transarchitectural

Invoking notions of place, durational time and situatedness in an era of globalization helps to shift an exclusive emphasis in translation history and analysis from the transnational to the translocational. One of the singular virtues of the emergence of translation history as an important preoccupation in translation studies at the end of twentieth century was the manner in which it effectively contested the dominance of the nation state paradigm in the writing of the histories of national languages, literatures and cultures. The history of nations could no longer be understood as a *sui generis*, internal development within immutably fixed borders but was presented increasingly as the result of an intense traffic of influences from elsewhere through the medium of translation. Indeed, part of the marginalization of translation as an activity was the tendency of nationalist historiography to exclude narratives that called into question founding myths of originary purity. The emphasis on the transnational also complemented, of course, the accelerated flows of goods, peoples and services commonly associated with the emergence of globalization in late modernity. There may be a sense, however, in which an undue attention to the transnational still leaves analysts operating within the implicit paradigm of the national (if only in terms of scale), and what is required is smaller-scale, more spatially located and temporally

durational forms of enquiry such as the model provided by Sherry Simon's *Translating Montreal* (2006). In her exploration of one specific city and the manner in which the inhabitants of the city over time have engaged with the fact of translation, Simon shows not only how detail clarifies but how through translation it is possible to conceive of a politics of place beyond place. That is to say, concentration on one particular place becomes an opening out rather than a closing down, a foregrounding of a complexity of connectedness rather than a paean to singular insularity. Although not written from a translation studies perspective, Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse's history of Wrocław equally shows the macro/micro design of translational connexity in the centuries-old history of one location (Davies and Moorhouse 2002). Translocational analyses of translation practice invite us to revisit assumptions about the nature of space and time in recent and not so recent human history, but they also, more urgently, cause us to consider the consequences for places where people live and interact of the failure to take cognisance of the full complexity of target cultures.

Globalization as it is currently understood and practised would be inconceivable without the advent of information technology. The pre-eminence of information technology has in turn contributed to the meteoric rise in localization (see Chan, this volume) as translated versions of electronic content are disseminated through electronics and telecommunications networks (Esselink 2000; Pym 2004). One of the most notable developments in the last two decades has been the shift from stand-alone PCs, located at fixed work stations, to the spread of distributed computing in the form of laptops, wireless PDAs, mobile phones with Internet connectivity and so on. It is not only humans but their machines that are on the move. As the British sociologists Dennis and Urry put it, 'This trend in distributed computing is developing towards a shift to ubiquitous computing where associations between people, place/space, and time are embedded within a systemic relationship between a person and their kinetic environment' (2007: 13). Ubiquitous computing sometimes referred to as the 'third wave of computing' is one 'whose cross-over point with personal computing will be around 2005–20' and which may become 'embedded in walls, chairs, clothing, light switches, cars – in everything' (Brown and Weiser 1996). Greenfield has talked of 'everyware', where information processing is embedded in the objects and surfaces of everyday life (2006: 18). The probable social impact of everyware can be compared to electricity that passes invisibly through the walls of every home, office and car. The transition from fixed locations of access to increased wireless presence coupled with the exponential growth of Internet capability means that greatly augmented information flows become part of an information-immersive environment.

A consequence of the emergence of ubiquitous computing is that computing capacity dissolves into the physical surroundings, architectures and infrastructures. Marcos Novak has developed the term 'transArchitecture' to signify 'a liquid architecture that is transmitted across the global information networks; within physical space it exists as an invisible electronic double superimposed on our material world' (2009). William Mitchell in the 1990s had already spoken of a 'city of bits' where the combination of physical structures in urban spaces with the electronic spaces and telematics would be known as 'recombinant architectures' (1995: 46–105). It is difficult to conceive of the transarchitectural in contemporary urban spaces without factoring in the multilingual. That is to say, part of the thinking about next-generation localization and globalization is precisely the role that translation will play in the era of distributed, ubiquitous computing. It is possible to conceive of buildings – government offices, university halls of residence, transport hubs – that would be multilingually enabled. A hand-held device such as a mobile phone would

allow the user to access relevant information in the language of his or her choice. Thus, rather than the static and serial presentation of information in a limited number of languages, such a development would allow for a customized interaction with the language user with the possibility for continuous expansion in languages offered and information offered.

Advances in peer-to-peer computing and the semantic web further favour the transition from a notion of translation provision as available in parallel series to translation as part of a networked system, a potentially integrated nexus. In other words, rather than content being rolled out in a static, sequential manner (e.g. separate language information leaflets at tourist attractions), translated material would be personalized, user-driven and integrated into a dynamic system of ubiquitous delivery. The semantic web points up the potential for forms of collaborative, community translation that are already a conspicuous feature of translation practice in late modernity. In the online social network of Second Life almost three-quarters of the 900,000 monthly users are non-English native speakers. The site has been localized by volunteer translators into German, French, Japanese, simplified Chinese, Turkish, Polish, Danish, Hungarian, Czech, Korean and Brazilian Portuguese. The volunteer translators were involved not only in translation but in terminology management and in editing and testing localized versions (Ray 2009). Facebook has also used a crowdsourcing model to translate contents into languages other than English and fan translation is increasingly widespread in everything from the translation of Japanese anime to Korean soap operas (O'Hagan 2009). The advent of 'Wiki Translation' indicates that the rapid dissemination of online social networking practices not only generates new translation needs but has far-reaching consequences for the profession of translator in an age of globalization. Interactive, user-generated content which is a core feature of Web 2.0 is now informing translation practice, and in this context, translation consumers are increasingly becoming translation producers. The growing prevalence of web-based machine translation (MT) services in the guise of Google Translate and others calls into question the traditional status of the translator, with norms of professional translator training coming under pressure from collaborative forms of translation practice mediated by new translation technologies such as the Google Translator Toolkit. As regards the visibility of the translator, the move towards web-based MT services would appear to render invisible the labour of translation, whereas the development of Wiki Translation would indicate the making visible of the demands of translation for large groups of global users.

Understanding globalization: ecology, history and culture

A dominant theme of life in the age of globalization has been the ecological future of the planet. The notion of sustainability is a core concept in debates around viable futures for human and animal populations. The Scottish theorist Alastair McIntosh has described a 'cycle of belonging' which he sees as integral to any notion of the sustainable. The cycle has four elements, which follow on from each other: a sense of place (grounding), which gives rise to a sense of identity (ego/head), which carries with it a sense of values (soul/heart), which generates in turn a sense of responsibility (action/hand) (2008: 235). In emphasizing the role of place, McIntosh is trying to formulate a basis for collective togetherness and responsibility which has an inclusive civic basis rather than an exclusive ethnic basis. The concern with place has equally pressing pragmatic concerns which are to do with the sustainability of human communities. For humans to live like the average Indian, half a planet would be needed; to live like an average European, three would be needed; and to live like the average American, seven planets would be required. McIntosh concludes that, 'It is

only if we can find fulfilment in close proximity to one another and local place that we can hope to stop sucking what we need from all over the world' (2008: 71–2). It is the disconnection from place where agricultural land is drained, rivers are straightened and concrete is poured over ground that once served as a vital sponge, which leads to the catastrophic flooding in various parts of the world, aggravated by increased rainfall due to climate change. However, fundamental to any ethics of sustainability or cycle of belonging must be an understanding of place not only as an object in space but as a phenomenon in time.

The historical dimension fundamentally relates to the role of translation history in re-presenting histories of place. In this respect, it has much in common with contemporary 'global history' which crosses national frontiers, takes a long-term perspective, is comparative in spirit, draws on several disciplines and is particularly interested in questions of contact, exchange, hybridity and migration (Testot 2009: 7–8).

In tracing histories of contact and exchange in urban settings, scholars show that any proper or fuller understanding of place involves bringing to light the multiple, embedded stories of how language communities have negotiated their relationships through translation down through the centuries. What is made apparent is that places have a multiplicity of origins and what contemporary migratory developments bring to the fore is the buried multiple histories of specific places. Timothy Brook in *Vermeer's Hat: The 17th Century and the Dawn of the Global World* draws on the material objects found in Vermeer's paintings (a beaver fur hat, a china bowl) to chart the relationship between Dutch cities and forms of proto-globalization (Brook 2008). The objects are used as evidence to show how local lives were intensely connected with and affected by currents of migration, exchange and influence. None of these connections would have been possible were it not for the existence of translators and translation moments. In a sense, what is being suggested is a form of translation history that explores the local place for its connections outwards, its interdependence on other languages, cultures, places.

One common way of discussing both historical and contemporary developments in the context of translation and globalization is to speak about 'cultural translation' (see Merrill, this volume). In discussing cultural translation part of the difficulty lies with the way in which culture itself has assumed a foundational role in contemporary society. If, in previous ages, God or Nature was seen as the ground on which all else rested for its meaning, in the postmodern age it is Culture that is summoned to the basement of epistemic and ontological coherence. The sense that culture goes all the way down satisfies the essentialists who see culture as a set of immutable attributes passed from one generation to the next. Conversely, the notion that anything can be understood as a cultural construction cheers the relativists, who can disassemble the handiwork of national chauvinists. The primary difficulty is that both camps explicitly or implicitly subscribe to culturalist readings of social and historical phenomena, which has the disadvantage of marginalizing structural questions in political discourse and analysis. In other words, whereas formerly racial or class difference was invoked to justify exclusion and inequality, it is now culture that is recruited to justify surveillance and marginalization. 'They' are not like 'us', not because they eat differently or dress differently or speak differently; the differentialist racism of societies becomes culturalized.

This is one of the reasons why a common response to the highly mediated and mythologized 'crisis' of multiculturalism is to focus on the cultural shibboleths of integration, notably the language and citizenship tests, designed to elicit appropriate cultural knowledge. However, the point about citizenship tests is not that most British or German or Danish or Dutch citizens would fail them: that is not what they are there for. The purpose is explicitly

performative. The aim is to subject migrants to the public gaze, where the state can be seen to exact a particular form of linguistic or epistemic tribute. However, what is crucial to note is that 'integration', which is held up as the telos of the tests, is not a static but a dynamic category, which can be indefinitely reframed depending on the exigencies of the moment. That is to say, if the other becomes too well 'integrated', too well 'translated', if they enthusiastically embrace the language, institutions, the habitus of the host society, they become equally suspect as the 'fifth column', the 'enemy within', who dissimulate treachery through feigned assimilation.

The murderous forensics of anti-Semitism in European history fed off precisely the highly volatile reconfiguration of what it meant to be 'integrated' or fully translated into a dominant host population. The question that might be asked in the context of translation and globalization is whether the very term 'cultural' translation is not complicit in the de-politicization of the public sphere. When migrants are being asked to translate themselves into the dominant language and value system of the host community, they do so from a vantage point that is almost invariably structurally defined by categories of class and race, yet these structural conditions or contexts for the translation process (the telos, or the successful 'translation' of which is often indefinitely postponed) are rarely made explicit as such.

Translation historians have detailed the co-option of translation for the process of nation-building and the manner in which linguistics in certain manifestations has posited a reified notion of what might constitute a speech community. It is possible to argue, however, that the notion of cultural translation highlights an even more fundamental feature of contemporary societies than the oft-repeated lingering hegemony of nation-states – namely, an intolerance of conflict. As even the most rudimentary translation exercise soon reveals, translation is above all an initiation into unsuspected complexity. The simplest of texts turns out to be not as straightforward as we thought. Putting what we find in one text into another language and text and culture throws up unsettling questions about our sense of our own language and makes the familiar alien. What this schooling in complexity reveals is the radical insufficiency of cultural shorthand. That is to say, the cultural categorization of society as made of recognizable types designated by labels, 'dyslexic', 'epileptic', 'Paddy', 'gay', 'Muslim', reduces the multidimensional complexity of humans to one defining trait. Once someone is described using one of these labels, that is all you need to know about them. They become transparent. What gay rights activists and the women's movement in various parts of the globe and at different times have attempted to do is to restore multidimensionality and complexity to the lives of human beings who were deemed to be instantly intelligible as 'gay' or 'woman', gender or sexual orientation revealing all.

Transparency, of course, is a kind of invisibility and this is conventionally how translation is perceived in unreflective theories of globalization, as an unproblematic transcoding process. The practice is predictably different and translators must of necessity engage with the multi-dimensionality of texts, languages and cultures. Nothing can be taken for granted (novices take a lot for granted, hence the culture shock of translation). Words are not what they seem and cultures are maddeningly plural. However, there is particular quality to the agonistic basis of translation. In the classic binaries of translation theory, source language (SL) and target language (TL), source and target culture, author and translator, translator and reader, we find the binary logic of specular confrontation. Entities with fixed identities face up to each other in a zero sum of binary opposition. However, translation as conflict is not confrontation: it is conflict as engagement with the multidimensionality of texts, languages and cultures. It contests the culturalist versions of contemporary biopower

which denies translation and interpreting rights to internal minorities in the name of avoiding a ‘clash of civilizations’ where all conflict is presented as confrontation through the binary stereotyping of Us and Them.

An agonistic conception of translation, which runs directly counter to the beatific visions of universal understanding underlying many public pronouncements on the subject, takes as a basic premise the incomprehensibility of the other. That is to say, translation is not simply the revelation of what is already there. If that were the case the statistical chances of a relatively large number of students, for example, producing identical translations would be high, whereas in reality this almost never holds true. The reason is that in translation we have the creation of some form of shared sense, some degree of commonality, which gives substance to the idea of translation as not the uncovering of a universal substrate, waiting to be revealed, but the contingent construction of bottom-up commonality. It is in this conflicted sense that translation can provide a way of thinking about contemporary multilingual and multicultural societies in globalized settings in a way that moves beyond revealed universalism and schismatic relativism. Christopher Prendergast, drawing on the work of Victor Segalen, claimed that we ‘are never “closer” to another culture (and hence liberated from the traps of ethnocentrism) than when we fail to understand it, when confronted with the points of blockage to interpretive mastery’ (Prendergast: 2004: xi). If translation is about the eternally deferred, asymptotic attempts to get close to another culture, it also brings into sharp relief the material, social and historic situatedness of peoples, their languages and their texts. As globalization evolves and mutates translation will remain inescapably central to the human story.

Related topics

globalization; history; ecology; migration; technology; space; time; political economy

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The impact of new technologies on translation studies

A technological turn?

Minako O'Hagan

This chapter seeks to shed light on the underlying implications of new technologies for translation studies. Here 'new' does not merely signify chronological order but is used in a similar manner as in 'new media', highlighting the novelty of their profound impact in engendering 'new' social practices (Flew 2008: 1–4). This means that the topic is not confined in scope to technologies that have emerged in the twenty-first century, nor to those in translators' immediate surroundings; rather, the chapter attempts to provide a critical analysis of unfolding technological changes affecting translation in broader contexts.

Technologies in translation: the practical dimension

In an age of ever-accelerating technological advancements, the interrelationship between translation and technology is only deepening. As illustrated by earlier initiatives such as the Language Engineering for Translators Curricula in the late 1990s (LETRAC 1998), the need for technology literacy has been recognized for some time now as part of professional competence for translators not only by the translation industry but also by academia; the importance of technology for translation is such that some consider translation technologies as a new emerging academic discipline in its own right (Alcina 2008). Technologies have significantly affected both the translators' microcosm, shaping their immediate local work environment, and also their macrocosm of global operating contexts in which new technologies are creating new content or products which require translation, as well as affording new ways of doing translation as illustrated by the current trend of crowdsourcing (Howe 2006, 2008). However, in contrast to the increasing evidence of technology seeping into all aspects of translation practice, technology per se has not made any significant epistemic impact on the academic discipline of translation studies. The rather fragmented nature of the translation industry, which comprises many freelance translators as well as large public sector and private language service providers makes it difficult to paint an average picture of the impact of new technologies as perceived by the different stakeholders. For this reason, rather than seeking to represent today's typical technology

use in the translation industry, this chapter focuses on the relatively high-end and emerging technology trends in an attempt to gauge the nature of the impact already made by technology and its potential for the near future.

Key technological impacts on translation are discussed in terms of two categories: (i) the development of translation tools and platforms directly providing a (support) infrastructure for translators, which could be considered as shaping translators' micro environment; and (ii) the emergence of new types of source text or content and new ways of doing translation, leading to new translation practices, such as crowdsourcing, which could be seen as affecting translators' macro environment. A further, associated category includes tools to facilitate translation research that have become available thanks to advances in technology.

Impact on micro environment: translation tools and platforms

The most visible impact of technology affecting translators' immediate work environment can be observed in the development of tools and platforms to support translators' work. In the current commercial translation sector computer-aided translation (CAT) is the prevalent *modus operandi*. Given the widespread use of computers in translation, some argue that the term CAT is, in fact, redundant and even misleading, 'since almost all translation is done with computers ... so all processes are "computer-aided" to some extent' (Pym 2010: 123). While more general computer applications were earlier included in its definition (Bowker 2002), the scope of CAT is increasingly focused on a specialized set of tools that are designed specifically with translation in mind.

By the late 1990s translation memory (TM) had become the main CAT tool, following its commercialization in the mid-1990s (Somers 2003: 31). Motivated by the idea of leveraging the repetitive nature of a certain type of document or across different documents, TM is designed to allow the translator to recycle previously translated segments (i.e. sentences or any other stand-alone textual entities). The system stores them as translation units, pairing the source and the corresponding target language segments in a database. This involves the technique called alignment which explicitly links two corresponding segments in the source and the target language. As the translator moves from one segment to another, TM searches and retrieves identical and similar (fuzzy match) segments from those stored in the database in relation to the current segment being translated. Most commercial TM tools also incorporate terminology management as well as concordance functions, so that a consistent use of terminology and other subessential phrases can be made. Server-based TM allows sharing of memory content in real-time among translators working from different locations on the same project while TM data sharing across the IT industry is underway with initiatives notably by the Translation Automation User Society (TAUS 2009) in search of more matches. Furthermore, the development of open source TMs such as Open TM2 by initiatives involving IBM, LISA, Welocalize, Cisco and Linux¹ is making the tools freely available as compared to proprietary systems.

TM is designed primarily to increase the translator's productivity by eliminating the need to translate the same segment more than once. As much as it is accepted as a productivity tool, TM has triggered research interest because of its shortcomings. For example, TM equates the quality of translation largely to consistency in translating in an identical manner the same segments and sentence constituents. In reality, however, this may lead to 'sentence salad' (Bédard 2000: 45) due to over-recycling of textual fragments

drawn from different memories, compromising the text cohesion. Described as ‘peep-hole translations’ (Heyn 1998: 135) translators may opt for deliberate lexical repetitions to yield more matches through TM. Furthermore, translators may develop ‘blind faith’ in TM match proposals where translators prioritize them even if they are wrong (Bowker 2005). TM is designed on the assumption that the identical segments are immediately reusable without any change, while fuzzy matches only require some minor editing, taking less time than translating them from scratch. Yet some of these assumptions are not supported by empirical evidence and are being challenged by studies, for example, focusing on translators’ cognitive processes (e.g. O’Brien 2006, 2008; see also Hansen and Muñoz Martín, both this volume).

Despite a number of shortcomings, the CAT paradigm based on TM is prevalent and illustrates an invasive way in which technology has become integrated into the human translation process in modern commercial translation settings. In particular, high-volume translation users who deal with repetitive texts such as those in the localization sector continue to move towards a greater degree of automation in the continuum from human translation (HT) to machine translation (MT), as first discussed in Hutchins and Somers (1992: 148). In an increasingly automated workflow, TM is now often used in conjunction with MT where segments below a user-defined TM match threshold are automatically routed to MT and reassigned to the human translator via TM. This may be described as ‘MT-assisted TM’ (García 2010), where the workflow is primarily based on TM, but combines MT. In a further integrated translation workflow used at large organizations that are bulk users of translation, such as SAP and Symantec, the process starts with authoring of the source text with controlled language (CL) to make the source text more amenable to MT. The more recent initiatives with CL other than English include those in Japan promoting what they call ‘Technical Japanese’ particularly with reference to patent translation, also aim to increase international competitiveness of wider business sectors by making technical documents more readily translatable by MT generally (Isahara 2010). Similarly to the increasing use of predictive text techniques applied in mobile phones and search engines, the recent application of TM as ‘authoring memory’ leverages and propagates repetition during the authoring stage with an auto-complete functionality. As authors type a sentence, the system prompts them with possible formulations of the segment based on the existing memory (Hartley 2009: 119).

MT and TM technologies date back to the 1950s and 1970s, respectively (Somers 2003), but it is their interrelationship to each other that continues to evolve, in turn renewing the role of the human translator in CAT scenarios. For example, more recently the case of ‘TM-assisted MT’ is observed with developments such as the Google Translator Toolkit (GTT), where the centre of control shifts further to automation with MT (García 2010: 9). Launched in June 2009, GTT is designed for ‘any web-enabled and motivated bilingual’ (ibid.: 8) and presents the user with pre-filled MT output as a preferred default setting. While its impact on the professional community is yet to be seen, such developments are noteworthy especially in the context of volunteer-based translation crowdsourcing, which has recently emerged on the back of social networking media (Kelly *et al.* 2011). In parallel with CAT tools, which are primarily aimed at professional translators, the development of free translation tools and platforms open to a wide range of users ties in both implicitly and explicitly with the new trends of ‘community translation’ (O’Hagan 2011) by parties who normally fall outside of the strict realm of professional translators. These developments only highlight the dynamic nature of the technological landscape affecting translation in a broader context, as we discuss below.

Impact on macro environment: new types of text and practices

In parallel with these technologies that directly affect the translation process, there are broader influences of technologies exerted at a macro level, shaping the wider translation environment. For example, some technologies create new types of source text or content, leading to new translation practices. Localization is a case in point whereby digital products such as computer software and websites necessitated new approaches and processes to perform language transfer, involving a greater use of technological tools. The extent of the changes as viewed by the industry was such that the new term 'localization' instead of translation came into use (see Chen, this volume). Localization of video games represents the more recent example within the sector, blurring the boundary between localization and audiovisual translation (AVT; see Gambier, this volume). Constituting a complex interactive multimedia system, modern digital games are culturally rich artefacts and, as such, call for special adaptation processes to meet game-specific technical, cultural and linguistic transformations, which are specific to target territories (O'Hagan 2007). This gave rise to a new form of translation practice called 'game localization' (Chandler 2005).

Also at a macro level, the second-generation Internet technologies called web 2.0 are currently posing a potentially significant challenge for the translation profession as a whole. So-called social networking media are affording a greater scope of interaction and collaboration among Internet users, in turn promoting user participatory culture (Jenkins 2006), as manifest in various forms of user-generated content. In the context of translation, a large number of Internet users are turning into volunteer translators, contributing 'user-generated translation' (O'Hagan 2009). As demonstrated by the high-profile case of Facebook Translation (Losse 2008), this user-based volunteer translation phenomenon is today referred to variously as 'social translation', 'community translation' or 'open translation' (DePalma and Kelly 2008; Ray 2009). In general business discourse this is now commonly called 'crowdsourcing' (Howe 2006), where the Internet provides a platform for distributed problem-solving, relying on the wisdom of the crowd of self-selected Internet users. In a crowdsourcing model of translation, usually a large number of volunteer translators on the Internet collaborate to produce a translation. In contrast with the traditional model of translation undertaken within a closed network of preselected professionals, the new model allows an organic development of interaction and collaboration among unspecified users as *ad hoc* translators. This new formation of volunteer translation communities is in turn stimulating the development of new kinds of translation platforms and tools to accommodate particular types of collaboration. Wiki, for example, provides a platform to support large-scale collaborative authoring as used in Wikipedia, allowing serial editing while keeping a record of all changes made. The launch in January 2010 of another online cloud-based Wiki application, TermWiki by CSOFT International,² has introduced a collaborative open source terminology management platform. In this way, a wider technological environment is affecting translation as a volunteer-based social activity in parallel with a professional one.

Technologies in the context of translation studies

The above overview of technological impacts on the practical dimension of translation only makes evident the inherent interrelationship between technology and translation. However, despite technology becoming such an indispensable part of translation, it has been 'relatively neglected in mainstream theory of translation' (Munday 2009: 15). Indeed, technology per se seems to have made a relatively minor contribution to translation

studies. This is not to say that no attempt has been made to address and tackle the challenge. For example, in the context of globalization and translation, Cronin (2003: 112) argued extensively how technology is altering the very identity of translators by ‘externalization of translation functions’. Cronin’s view of translators as ‘*translational cyborgs* who can no longer be conceived of independently of the technologies with which they interact’ (ibid.: 112, emphasis in the original) further points to an invasive impact of technology and a deepening interrelationship between technology and the translator. The lack of theorization of the rapidly developed practice of localization has more recently been addressed by Pym (2010: 120–42), who explores it as ‘a paradigm of translation theory’. Nevertheless, the general lack of interest by translation studies has so far left the conceptual relationship between localization and translation ambiguous. For example, as highlighted by Hartley (2009: 107), the industry treats localization as a special form of translation ‘that takes into account the culture of the location or region’ and yet this is ‘simply a commonly accepted definition of translation itself’ in translation studies.

This is further evidence of how technology has largely remained an isolated factor without providing any fundamental influence on the discipline as a whole, having made significant inroads into translation practice as well as training. In the meantime, language technology research at the nexus of translation and technology in the computing and engineering disciplines have been progressing steadily without the benefit of insight from translation studies. Advocating the problem articulated earlier by Martin Kay (1980), Hartley (private communication 2011) maintains that it is how translation problems are defined by technologists on the basis of their scant knowledge of translation that is the issue. Most literature on language technology written from a computing or engineering perspective neglects translation theories, as highlighted by Quah (2006: 36). In this way cross-fertilization at a conceptual level between translation studies and these other disciplines engaged in translation research and seeking solutions to translation problems with technology has at best been extremely limited. At worst, it can be seen as mutual indifference to the other side of the story, leading to independent rather than intersecting development, as earlier noted by Snell-Hornby:

areas like terminology, language technology (with translation memory systems) and machine translation have continued their own independent rapid development, largely however through neighbouring disciplines like linguistics and computer science and alongside, rather than actually within, Translation Studies.

(Snell-Hornby 2006: 134)

While blame can be put on both sides, this brings home the fact that technology is something that has been missing from the heart of the discussion in translation theories, leading to their lack of explanatory power in relation to translation phenomena rapidly unfolding from technological developments. This general lack of engagement by translation studies on the topic of technology may have resulted in contemporary translation theories confined to limited scope in the eyes of translation technologists.

Addressing the absence of intimate connection between technology and the main translation theoretical discussions, Quah (2006) refers back to the taxonomy of the translation discipline mapped by Holmes (2000), suggesting its further expansion and reorganization to take into account the recent advancements of translation technology. According to Holmes’s map, the discipline is divided into *pure* and *applied translation studies*, with the latter further subdivided into *translator training*, *translation aids*, *translation policy* and

translation criticism (see Malmkjær, this volume). Most technology-related research interest within translation studies has tended to fall under these applied categories, particularly of training and translation aids. Technology is indeed a recurring theme in the area of translator training, leading to various pedagogical inquiries (Dimitriu and Freigang 2008; Pym *et al.* 2006, 2012). Specific aspects explored include the implication of the use of translation and corpus tools for translator training (e.g. Kenny 2007; also Kim, this volume), online translator training resources (e.g. Secară *et al.* 2009), and specific challenges posed by translator training in e-learning mode (e.g. Kenny 2008), to mention just a few examples. More recently in the framework of process-oriented translation research, Massey and Ehrensberger-Dow (2011) investigated formation of information literacy as a key area in translation competence, probing into the use of tools and external information resources by translators. This research was motivated by an increasing importance of information literacy in an information age.

While their contribution is undeniable in highlighting particular characteristics of the given technology or technological environments and how they affect translators' work and training, these insights have generally not culminated in theorization or modelling of translation in the 'pure branch' of translation studies. This indicates a disconnection between the applied and the pure branches as far as technology-oriented topics are concerned. Despite the fact that Holmes had originally envisaged that '[t]ranslation theory ... cannot do without the solid, specific data yielded by research in descriptive and applied translation studies' (1988: 22, cited in Snell-Hornby 2006: 43), the two-way flow does not seem to have taken place. More recently this gap in the flow from the applied branch into the pure branch has been identified with a plea to redress their relationships (Scarpa *et al.* 2009; Vandepitte 2008). Scarpa *et al.* (2009: 32) highlight how the applied branch is treated as 'just an extension' of translation studies proper, where theoretical statements are transmitted unidirectionally from the pure to the applied branch. Similarly, Vandepitte highlights as problematic the separation between translation aids and the translation process:

Obviously, translation tools, which Holmes would classify among translation aides, are used to facilitate the translation process and should form an integral part of that process.

(Vandepitte 2008: 573)

Indeed, as translation technology becomes increasingly integrated into the HT process forming technology-mediated translation, the impact of technology on the human process as well as on the profession cannot be separated. To this end, a cluster of studies has emerged, seeking to collect data in the tradition of empirical research, often using newly available research tools. Their findings are adding to the body of knowledge under descriptive translation studies (DTS), and potentially contributing to the theorization of technology-mediated translation (see below for further examples). For now it suffices to say that a noticeable gap remains within translation studies reinforced by mutual failings where translation theory is not paying enough attention to technology-oriented research, while the latter fails to consider implications for theory. Similarly, there has been a negligible influence from and on the other neighbouring disciplines involved in the related research areas of language and translation technology. However, the missing links may finally be forming as the spotlight falls inescapably on the multifaceted impact of the continued technologization of translation.

Technology-focused and technology-enabled research

In response to the call for a more empirical basis (Holmes 2000), Bowker (2002: 18) had earlier identified research potential arising from electronic corpora and translation memories as they provide researchers with 'large quantities of easily accessible data that can be used to study translation'. True to this suggestion, corpus-based and corpus-driven translation research demonstrates an important role played by technology as research tools (see Laviosa, this volume). During the last decade translation research itself has begun using newer tools to delve into the less explored human cognitive process involved in translation (see also Muñoz Martín, this volume), as well as in the user reception and perception of translation products. The recent literature on cognition in translation (e.g. Göpferich *et al.* 2008; O'Brien 2011; Shreve and Angelone 2010) indicates the increasing popularity of the use of modern eye tracker tools in translation process research. While eye trackers have long been used, especially in the field of psycholinguistics as well as in some reception studies in AVT (see d'Ydewalle *et al.* 1987 for an early example), the use of the modern version of the technology has led translation process research to take 'another leap forward' (Göpferich *et al.* 2008: 1), opening up new avenues for studying translator behaviour.

A relatively new AVT practice, the so-called pop-up gloss which appears together with subtitles, is increasingly used, particularly for Japanese TV animations (anime) when they are distributed on DVDs in flexible menu-driven, user-specified AVT formats. Inspired by characteristics of fan translation similar to the anthropological approach known as thick translation (Appiah 1993), the pop-up gloss is designed to provide supplementary explanation in the target language in relation to verbal or non-verbal culture-specific references present in the scene of the film. A study by Caffrey (2008) attempts to gain insight into the effect of such new AVT practices on end-users in terms of their cognitive strain perceived by the viewers themselves and also measured via eye tracking as their autonomous physiological response. Using consecutive (questionnaire) and simultaneous (eye tracker) data collection methods, the study analysed the processing speed of viewers of the pop-up gloss appearing together in the presence of subtitles (both one-line and two-line) on the same screen. The study confirms that when the pop-up gloss is present in addition to subtitles the viewers are subjected to greater cognitive strain. The percentage of subtitles skipped was shown to be higher while the gaze time on the subtitling area was significantly lower when the pop-up was showing. The pupillometry data further suggested a significant correlation between the length of the subtitle and the pop-up gloss, where the latter demanded more effort when shown with two-line subtitles. This study sought to collect empirical data to understand the effect of a newly emerging mode of translation on the user, while exploring the suitability of less-tested data types based on pupillometry. These studies illustrate the impact of technologies, on new modes of translation and on research tools.

Against the generally disconnected position occupied by technology within translation studies so far, Munday hints at an emerging sense of change:

Although they do not represent a new theoretical model, the emergence and proliferation of new technologies have transformed translation practice and are now exerting an impact on research and, as a consequence, on the theorization of translation.

(Munday 2008: 179)

Munday identifies corpus-based translation studies, AVT, and localization and globalization as the most affected areas, each of which is considered to be 'making use of or being

determined by new technologies', leading to 'an exciting re-evaluation of translation practice and theory' (ibid.: 194). As already mentioned, the tangible impact of technology on corpus-based studies is evident where the availability of vast bilingual parallel corpora together with corpus tools lends to investigation of translation phenomena. In Munday's view, AVT and localization are identified respectively as 'the site for new creative practice' and 'the most evident locus of contact between technology, translator identity and the postmodern world' (ibid.). For example, in the area of AVT 'fansubs' as fan-created subtitles and video game translation are highlighted as 'knock-on effects of technology', creating new forms of translation (ibid.: 190). Fansubs further relate to new modes of AVT such as the use of pop-up cultural reference gloss, as mentioned above, while fan translation can be viewed as a forerunner of today's crowdsourcing model leveraging volunteer translation (O'Hagan 2009). These can be considered a macro impact of new technologies, which are bringing about social changes where online user collaboration has become a mass social phenomenon. In the domain of localization, Munday observes how new terms provided by translation practice are serving translation theory (2008: 191). For example, the concept of 'internationalization' as a pre-processing approach to make the source content amenable to localization has captured some attention in translation studies (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2002; Pym 2004, 2010).

The above examples highlight new directions in the context of technology-oriented research in translation studies. As technologies produce new translation tools the human translation process is inevitably affected by the nature of the particular tool. The more invasive the tool, the more profound the impact will be on the HT process and possibly on the resulting translation, showing links to both process-oriented and product-oriented studies. Similarly, technology will continue to present new content to be translated and give birth to new translation modes and practices, as exemplified by game localization. Large-scale interdisciplinary projects funded by the European Union FP6 programme such as Eye-to-IT³ used electroencephalograms (EEG) in addition to tools such as eye tracking and keystroke logging tools, seeking further physiological data that can provide a more comprehensive picture of the human cognitive process during translation (see also Muñoz Martín and Hansen, both this volume). Technology is providing a new impetus for translation research by affording new research tools while giving rise to new modes of translation to investigate. Translation studies in turn needs to equip itself with the research capacity to apply new tools as well as to accommodate the emergent translation phenomena.

A technological turn? A technological future for translation studies

MT research and its deepening connection to HT

In parallel with the development of translation tools and platforms designed to facilitate the HT process, MT research aimed at automating the process has been ongoing. Since the late 1990s the field of MT research had undergone a paradigm shift from the earlier, rule-based MT (RBMT), to data-driven MT, such as example-based MT (EBMT) and especially statistical MT (SMT). The concept of EBMT is widely attributed to Nagao (1984), who perceived the human translation process as 'translation by analogy' whereby translators allegedly draw on prior examples as a guide. Likewise, EBMT is designed to work on the basis of earlier similar text providing a clue as to how to translate a new sentence. Subsequently, Isabelle (1992: 3) formulated the concept articulating that translation solutions are to be found in existing translations, promoting the use of bi-text in reference to

pairing of source and target texts. The similarity between these analogy concepts of EBMT and the principle behind TM is obvious as Hartley (2009: 119) points out how the EBMT label has, in fact, been ‘poached’ by TM developers. In all of this it seems apparent that a great opportunity was lost for translation studies to contribute a human translation model that could have been used in developing the new paradigm of analogy-based translation. However, over two decades later it remains an open question whether or not translation theories are now able to offer something applicable that can serve the MT community. Such questions lead us to think about the need for a technological turn in translation studies.

Originally proposed by IBM researchers in the late 1980s (Brown *et al.* 1988), SMT has now come to dominate MT research while commercial MT products on the market are still mainly RBMT systems such as Systran. SMT relies on a large aligned corpus to train the system and uses statistical probabilities rather than the manually coded rules of RBMT. Earlier word-based SMT models are now replaced by state-of-the-art phrase-based SMT (PB-SMT), which derive a translation based on word sequences rather than the translation of individual words in isolation (Koehn 2010). Compared with RBMT, which involves detailed encoding of linguistic knowledge, SMT can be built much more quickly, but it requires a large aligned parallel corpus in an appropriate domain. Another application of SMT increasingly being recognized is its role in automatic post-editing known as statistical post-editing (SPE) (Roturier and Senellart 2008). Using an aligned monolingual corpus in the target language made up of raw RBMT outputs and corresponding human translations, an SPE system calculates probabilities of likely changes required to be made on raw RBMT outputs, thus automating the post-editing process to some extent. Given the advantages and disadvantages of different MT architectures, much of current research is directed at hybridization (Way 2010).

Another noteworthy and relevant development to appear during the last decade in relation to MT was the introduction of automatic evaluation metrics such as BLEU (Bilingual Evaluation Understudy) (Papineni *et al.* 2002). Now regularly used by MT researchers and developers, regardless of their correlation to the human evaluation, these metrics were developed in search of a cheap, consistent, fast and language-independent evaluation method geared at MT output in view of the inherent disadvantages of human-based evaluation in terms of subjectivity (thus inconsistency), time and cost. The key principle behind most of these automatic evaluation approaches is based on the difference between MT output and one or more ‘reference translations’ by a human, including human post-edited MT output. The difference is assessed by means of ‘string edit distance’, automatically calculating the differences in terms of the number of edits required for the MT output to match the reference translation. So, the fewer changes required (i.e. the less the distance), the better the MT output quality is deemed to be. The pertinent connection to human translation of both SMT and the automatic evaluation metrics becomes clear here in that they require human translation or a human post-edited MT output, as basic data for use as training data or as reference translations, respectively. For example, in their research on the application of SMT to subtitle translations, Volk and Harder (2007) call for ‘feedback translations’, which are SMT subtitles post-edited by a human to feed them back into its training set to improve the system performance. These areas could provide a logical connecting point between translation studies and the computing and engineering disciplines undertaking language and translation technology research and development. For example, the automatic metrics have sparked research interest in their correlation to human evaluation (e.g. Aranberri-Monasterio and O’Brien 2009; Callison-Burch *et al.* 2007), but their implications for the issue of translation quality assessment in translation studies remain largely unexplored. Similarly, other MT researchers have not followed up Trujillo’s (1999: 3) earlier reference

to a functionalist approach in the form of skopos theory linking it to MT's goal of 'fit for purpose'. The critical comment by Way (2009: 25) on the lack of acknowledgment by the SMT community of 'the important role of translators and linguists in the SMT process' is relevant and reminiscent of the early days of MT development which rarely involved human translators or incorporated translation theories. However, given the generally lacklustre response to technology by the discipline of translation studies, which tends to segregate technology-oriented research rather than integrate it, both sides are to blame for this neglect.

While cross-fertilization of knowledge through collaboration is an obvious response, in reality, truly inter- or cross-disciplinary research on language and translation technology engaging fully with translation studies perspectives remains rare. Anecdotal evidence indicates that technology-driven research projects tend to give less priority to views of humanities partners as may be reflected in the outcome of many large-scale translation technology projects led by a science discipline. In order to be able to take advantage of emerging research opportunities as well as needs arising from further technologization of translation, redressing this deficiency is an urgent issue for translation studies. Recent developments in digital humanities may provide a relevant lead here. The translation discipline has undergone many turns (Snell-Hornby 2006) and we may now be able to justify identifying 'a technological turn', whereby translation theories begin to incorporate the increasingly evident impact of technology, in turn providing a relevant theoretical framework for language and translation technology researchers. This will allow translation studies scholars to expand their knowledge to gain insight into the increasingly inseparable interrelationship between translation and technology.

Social media technologies and translation

Looking to the future, there are a number of emerging research directions that were mentioned earlier and are now revisited here in greater detail. One of the impacts of new technologies on translation can be seen in the crowdsourcing model applied to translation, in which large-scale volunteer translation is realized, increasingly supported by CAT-like platforms that mirror their professional counterparts. These volunteer groups are often formed organically in the context of translating materials associated with their own interest, be they open source products or any topic or interest pursued by hobbyists, fans or supporters of certain causes. Since late in 2007 Facebook's website has been rapidly translated into a wide range of their member languages, using the web-based translation platform developed by Facebook. As is the case with the Facebook translation, a crowdsourcing model typically implements quality assessment based on user voting whereby the translations with the most votes are considered to display the best quality (O'Hagan 2009). Working without any monetary reward, participants in these forms of translation community largely rely on self-motivation and their collaborative spirit facilitated by technological platforms. Motivation of translation crowdsourcing participants forms an increasingly relevant and critical area of research on the impact of technology on translation (Dombek, 2011).

On the basis of the success of Wikipedia in using the collaborative authoring platform Wiki, a group at the National Research Council in Canada has been developing a translation platform to facilitate large-scale translator collaboration on the basis of observations of interactions between human translators and how they use tools (Désilets *et al.* 2006). Today there are many community-based initiatives such as Worldwide Lexicon, Traduwiki and dotSUB, each providing its own volunteer translation platform (Hartley 2009: 124). However, the increasing interest in the development of the crowdsourcing model

by potential translation clients (Ray 2009) is raising serious concerns from professional translators (e.g. Stejskal 2009). This has also led to ethical questions, including the vulnerability of volunteer translators who may not be made aware of the full implications of their participation in such initiatives (Mc Donough Dolmaya 2011). Crowdsourcing illustrates how technological consequences challenge the conventional *modus operandi*, disrupting a well-established practice with another, often completely different approach. New phenomena such as this are calling for research input to inform the translation as well as the business community enabling them to assess the full implications of this new approach and how best to implement the new way of working in view of professional translation.

Mapping technology into translation studies

We have examined the status quo and the emerging technological trends relating to translation while highlighting the relative lack of influence of technology *per se* on translation studies. This state of affairs in a discipline which otherwise continues to broaden its horizons contrasts with the reality of the wide-ranging impact of new technologies on translation practices. In fact, the image of technology-averse translators treating MT as a threat has now largely been replaced by that of translators co-existing with an increasing integration of technology into their work environments. Practising translators are well aware of market demands for various technological artefacts arising from globalization, in turn making it necessary for them to use computer-based tools.

Ironically a new, unexpected source of disquiet for professional translators today may be the increasing visibility of volunteer translators equipped with the relevant tools to facilitate their translation freely given as a labour of love. The sheer size of social networking platforms, such as Facebook alone in excess of 830 million registered users (Internet World Stats n.d.) at the time of writing, tells us something: should even a tiny fraction of that population take up translation as part of their social activities, this Internet crowd could have profound implications for the future of translation. Crowdsourcing translation organizers attempt to maximize the level of interaction among the user-cum-translators, encouraging them to critique and improve on one another's work. These trends, seen together with freely available tools such as Google's GTT and the recent open source TM are further facilitating user-generated translation. Similarly the open source SMT toolkit Moses is proving to be the most popular MT in terms of downloads and access volume (TAUS 2010), although it is unclear if and to what extent the users of the technology have expanded beyond the MT community. Indicating a future trend of translator training, Doherty et al (2012) present a pilot study reporting the introduction of a self-service SMT package into a postgraduate translation technology module. Allowing the students to build and customize their own SMT systems, the authors argue that the tested SMT curriculum aimed to 'empower rather than instrumentalize them in SMT workflows'. In the meantime certain professional translation environments with sophisticated high-end technology users are heading in the direction of MT-assisted TM while paying attention to how the source text can be authored in a technology-friendly manner. This increasing integration of technologies is likely to affect translators' cognitive processes in performing translation, in turn influencing the end translation products as suggested earlier.

Technological advances are also making new research tools available to collect data to understand in a more holistic manner what goes on during the translation process. Translation activities including the evidence of translators' cognitive processes could be captured in electronic form through video recordings, keystroke logging, eye tracking or measuring brain

activities via EEG, in turn leading to methodological innovation (Shreve and Angelone 2010: 6–8). Translation products, which are available in digital format, be they websites, DVDs, digital TV or eBooks, also provide a means to collect the data in electronic form for further analysis by computational means, although copyright issues will need to be overcome in order to gain permission for the use of some such materials protected by intellectual property.

With the advent of these new technological possibilities, translation studies indeed is facing a rethink in terms of research methodologies, theoretical framework and research design, as well as mapping of the discipline itself to allow a space for the increasingly prominent impact of new technologies. The need for research to address widespread technological impacts on translation is only likely to increase so as to gain insight into dynamic changes being made in translators' microcosm and also their macrocosm. In these scenarios we are now back to the original challenge of defining translation problems. Currently this seems to be done in a very different manner by scholars of translation studies and computational linguists working with MT or commercial developers of translation tools. This gap has stubbornly remained since the time of early MT research over half a century ago. Furthermore, an advanced use of translation tools is calling for an understanding of the nature of mediation by technology to uncover the complex relationship being formed between the translator and the tool. With advancements in the area of cognitive translology (Muñoz Martín 2010, this volume), research fields such as cognitive technology (CT), which seek to understand the human condition in the technological world (Gorayska and Mey 2004), will become relevant to translation studies. These approaches are also needed to elicit the nature of the relationship between translation of a technological artefact and its users, for example, as in the case of video game localization where an intricate set of territory-driven technical and cultural adaptations take place. New innovations are constantly fed into everyday technologies, be they smartphones or digital entertainment technologies highlighting localization and translation issues as affecting the human-computer interface (HCI) when these products are shipped all over the world. AVT, for example, is now considered by some researchers as a form of 'media accessibility' (Remael 2010: 14). In this way, new technologies are presenting a new challenge for translation to break the barrier created by technical and associated user parameters.

Translation studies as an independent discipline has expanded over a relatively short period of time and its next phase of growth arguably could hinge on the stance it takes on technology. A focus on technology will provide a worthy direction for translation scholars who seek to deepen their understanding of the nature of the translation task in dynamic technologized environments. The discipline offers a wide scope of research avenues in the event of new translation phenomena unfolding due to technological changes. An increased recognition and interest in technology-oriented inquiry with a technological turn may eventually see the map of translation studies redrawn, firmly integrating technology in its core and tightly weaving applied research into theory.

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Related topics

computer-aided translation; machine translation; localization; audiovisual translation; cognitive translology; new media studies

Notes

- 1 See www.opentm2.org.
- 2 More details available at www.csoftintl.com/termwiki.php.
- 3 See cogs.nbu.bg/eye-to-it for further details about the project.

Further reading

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Multilingualism as a challenge for translation studies

Reine Meylaerts

Traditional definitions considered translation, implicitly or explicitly, as the *full* transposition of *one* source language message by *one* target language message for the benefit of a *monolingual* target public. Accordingly, the translation process would transfer the source language message from the source culture into the target culture, translations thus taking place between linguistically and geographically separated cultures.¹ Obviously this has been unmasked as an idealized construction and as too simple a conceptualization. Messages, people and societies are more often than not multilingual in themselves. Consequently, multilingualism, commonly defined as ‘the co-presence of two or more languages (in a society, text² or individual)’ (Grutman 2009a: 182) is inextricably linked with translation. At the heart of multilingualism, we find translation. Translation is not taking place *in between monolingual* realities but rather *within multilingual* realities. In multilingual cultures (assuming there are such things as monolingual cultures), translation contributes to creating culture, in mutual exchange, resistance, interpenetration. The translational phenomena are likely to transcend the traditional notions of foreignness based on the postulate of a monolingual culture; they are the prolongation of the source messages, adding in turn to their significance (Simon 2006). Since the idea of a *geographical* transfer of the translated message becomes rather virtual, the distinction between ‘source’ and ‘target’ may lose part of its conceptual pertinence. Due to the relativity of geography as a distinctive cultural feature, translations, both as a process and as a product may also belong to the source culture. The latter may co-determine the translation initiative, the selection of material to translate, the translation strategies, the reception of the translations and the interruption of translation contacts (Meylaerts 2004). In short, questioning the binary opposition between a so-called source and target, translation in multilingual cultures discusses one of the key postulates of descriptive translation studies (see Ben-Ari, this volume): ‘translations are facts of the target culture’ (Toury 1995: 29).

It is only recently that the complex connections between multilingualism and translation have gained attention from translation studies. A simple search based on the keyword ‘multilingualism’ in Benjamin’s *Translation Studies Bibliography* shows how half of the publications related to translation and multilingualism between 1972 and 2010 have appeared during the last decade. They cover a vast array of methodologies, of fields and

topics – literary translation, audiovisual translation, localization, machine translation, language management, community interpreting, teletranslation and teleinterpretation, language policy, etc. (see e.g. Hernández 2008; Kruger *et al.* 2007; Valero-Garcés 2007) – and a wide range of geographical and institutional settings – Australia, South Africa, Nigeria, Israel, the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU) (see e.g. Kofoworola and Okoh 2006; Weissbrod 2008), etc. The following paragraphs will reflect upon the complex but fundamental relations between translation and multilingualism at the level of texts, people, institutions and societies. Of course, these levels are fundamentally intertwined and are only separated for the sake of the argument.

Multilingual texts

Research on multilingual *texts* has a solid tradition in *literary studies*. Literary multilingualism may take on numerous forms according to the quantity (one single word vs. entire passages) and the type of foreignisms used (dialects, sociolects, foreign languages, etc.). It can fulfil various functions in terms of plot construction, character discourse and behaviour, mimesis, etc. (cf. Schogt 1988; Stratford 2008). Literary multilingualism is an historical reality (Forster 1970; Stratford 2008), with Dante's *Divina Commedia* (1304–21), Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532), Lawrence Stern's *Tristram Shandy* (1760), Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1868–9), Anthony Burges's *A Clockwork Orange* (1962), or Umberto Eco's *Il nome della Rosa* (1980), just to name a few canonical examples. Still, nineteenth-century Romanticism and the romantic ideology of 'one language and one literature for one nation' gave it a negative image. Since the birth of the nation state in the nineteenth century, literature and nation have been closely connected (Anderson 1991). Writing in a national language implied more than ever taking part in the construction of a national literature and culture. Writers considered their national literary language to be an expression of their national identity (being a French writer, an English poet, an Italian playwright, etc.) and they developed a (sometimes strong) loyalty to this national literary language (Grutman 2000). Language mingling was easily associated with a flavour of treachery to the national literature, the people and the nation. From the postcolonial era onwards, literary multilingualism has gained new impetus. Postcolonial writers are commonly appreciated for using pidgins or creoles, 'which are a mixture, or blend, of imported European languages and local vernacular languages', as aesthetic, sociological and historical writing techniques (Bandia 1996: 147). Since the 1980s, partly as a result of postcolonial studies, multilingual texts have also become a conventional research object and are appreciated as a source of innovation and creation (Meylaerts 2006a).

Scholarly attention soon went beyond the postcolonial paradigm. It was Rainier Grutman who, in his study of the Quebec nineteenth-century novel (1997), coined the term heterolingualism (*hétérolinguisme*), referring to the use of foreign languages or social, regional and historical language varieties in literary texts. Designed to explain the *effects* of language mingling in literary texts, the concept offers a functional alternative for Bakhtin's more normative heteroglossia. Hybrid languages, typical of literatures in multilingual cultures, often create *translation effects* in the text: disparate vocabulary, unusual syntax, linguistic deterritorialization.

The writing and reading act of multilingual literary texts has been defined as an ongoing *translation* process between the languages involved. In *Translating Montreal*, Sherry Simon shows how deviant forms of translation like translingual poetics, creative interference and translation without an original (literary writing emanating from a bilingual or multilingual context where writing and translating overlap in a creative act that is not based on any

original) ‘are some of the techniques that drive writing in both English and French’ in the city of Montreal. ‘These are “warm” forms of translation, which turn translation away from its normative function, disturbing the boundaries of each cultural space’ (Simon 2006: 15). For the sake of the monolingual reader, the foreignisms may be followed by in-text translations in the form of explanations, translations or glosses. Translation being *in* the text, not *in between* texts, and the original and its translation being present side by side within the same text, literary multilingualism challenges the traditional definition of translation as the substitution of one language for another and of one literary text for another.

Research on the *translation* of multilingual literary texts (translation covering here a more traditional sense than the above-mentioned types) has gained ample attention from translation studies (see e.g. Delabastita and Grutman 2005; Goldfajn 2006; Suchet 2009). For a long time it has remained associated with translation *problems* or even *untranslatability* (Stratford 2008). Whatever may be the problems of translating multilingual texts (that it is problematic is beyond dispute), this approach fails to do justice to the specificity of the phenomenon (basically *anything* can be a problem in translation and can be approached as such), and is, moreover, based on the questionable postulate of perfect equivalence between ‘original’ and ‘translation’. Eventually the translatable vs. untranslatable dichotomy revives illusions of fidelity, authenticity and understandability which have been discarded by post-modern philosophies of language. We do not fully understand texts, multilingual or not, translated or not.

Away from these normative lines, research on multilingual literary texts in translation has ‘blown apart the traditional dichotomy of source text versus target text, as well as many other structural notions such as fidelity and equivalence’ (Suchet 2009: 151). It thus has once again the potential to lay bare the blind spots of translation studies’ models. Since multilingual literary texts often embody the larger *tensions* between codes of different literary value and prestige within a multilingual culture, their translation may highlight multilingual cultures’ internal cleavages, their linguistic and identity conflicts. How multilingual can or has a translation to be in a certain context? What are the modalities and identity functions of literary multilingualism in literary translations (Meylaerts 2006a, 2006b)? Until now, these questions have not got the attention they deserve. They expose in an important way the idealizing monolingualism of traditional translational models and the reductive binary opposition between the categories of monolingual vs. multilingual. Consequently, functional descriptive analyses of multilingualism in translation may improve our understanding of identity construction and of cultural dynamics in past and present multilingual and multicultural contexts.

Multilingual people

According to the United Nations 2006 report on international migration, about 200 million people, or some 3 per cent of the world population, live outside the country where they were born. More than 50 per cent of them live in the wealthy democracies of Europe and North America. One effect of these massive migration flows is to change the linguistic landscape of these societies. The linguistic diversity of people, especially in the modern metropolis, is enormous. ‘There are now more than three hundred languages spoken in London alone’ (Blackledge 2005: 65). In Miami (Florida) 75 per cent of the population do not speak English at home, whereas 20 per cent of the inhabitants of California speak poor English. Similarly, in officially bilingual Brussels, 20 per cent of the inhabitants do not use French or Dutch for their private conversations.

At home, at school, at work, on an evening out, in chat rooms on the Internet, in casual talk in the street, etc. an individual often uses a plurality of languages, typical of life in the actual multilingual world. Today's 'new' nomadic citizens are characterized as polyglots travelling in between languages, in a permanent stage of (self-)translation.³ However, it is important to recast catchy words like 'nomad', 'multilingual', etc. as analytic, functional descriptive tools for accurate and layered description: who precisely is multilingual, when, where, for what purpose, etc? Indeed, unlike naive impressions of unlimited and growing multilingualism, sociolinguistic studies have long since given evidence of the fact that switching back and forth between languages in multilingual societies 'doesn't take place randomly, nor does it depend on individual initiatives, but is socially regulated and follows collective patterns of speech behaviour' (Grutman 2009b: 13).⁴ This is especially the case for *institutionalized* language use like communication between national authorities and citizens (see below) and literary language use.

Multilingual societies seem indeed to provide the ideal context for multilingual writers and/or self-translators.⁵ 'Within the emerging body of non-territorial post-national literary paradigms, the counterpoint between writer and translator is increasingly found in the same subject' (Stephanides 2004: 103). A writer's multilingualism may be the result of his/her personal life story and/or of the specific societal context in which he/she grows up. Some are born in a bilingual family or grow up in a multilingual society, while others spend part of their life in an allophone culture. Multilingual writing and self-translation were common practice since antiquity, through the Middle Ages until early modern Europe. Without ever totally disappearing, they 'diminished during the consolidation of the nation-states' (Hokenson and Munson 2007: 1), to resurge in the postcolonial era. Just as with heterolingualism, translation studies has so far neglected multilingual writing and self-translation. Hokenson and Munson distinguish two reasons for this.

First, most obviously, the keepers of the canon rather strenuously insisted on the linguistic purity of its foundational figures, such as Chaucer and Dante, and they routinely ignored the founders' youthful translations of foreign texts ... It is clear that well before the German Romantics extolled the mother tongue in such decisive terms, leaving translation theory with some heavy baggage, Renaissance commentators had already cleared the way for the West's long embrace of nationalistic monolingualism. For centuries, theories of nation and genius erased the intercultural origins of literary innovation.

(Hokenson and Munson 2007: 1–2)

That is, translation studies followed the national literature's paradigm and conceptualized multilingual writers and self-translators as monolingual nationals, even for past periods. It also established a reductive, idealized distribution of roles between authorship and translatorship and reserved the creation ideal exclusively for the former. Second:

the conceptual problems are daunting: Since the bilingual text exists in two language systems simultaneously, how do the monolingual categories of author and original apply? Self-translation, the specific ways in which bilinguals rewrite a text in the second language and adapt it to a different sign system laden with its own literary and philosophical traditions, escapes the categories of text theory, for the text is twinned.

(Hokenson and Munson 2007: 3)

Just as translators work in zones of overlap between cultures, i.e. in so-called intercultural (Pym 1998), so self-translators and multilingual writers embody ‘such linguistic and cultural overlap par excellence, in person as in literature’ (Hokenson and Munson 2007: 4). From a methodological viewpoint, analyses of texts resulting from multilingual writing or self-translation, instead of focusing on the dissimilarities between the various versions, should ‘begin at a level more basic than current binary theoretical models of “gaps” between texts, languages and cultures. One must start from a point closer to the common core of the bilingual text, that is, within the textual intersections and overlaps of versions’ (ibid.).

Although multilingual writing and self-translation are, just like heterolingualism, historical realities, the majority of multilingual literary actors, who in principle have the potential to become a multilingual writer or self-translator, stick to the role of being a monolingual writer. Those who do become a multilingual writer or self-translator either limit their activities in time – e.g. the start of their literary career – or to certain genres – often less legitimate genres like children’s literature (Meylaerts 2010a). Why do writers so often leave the opportunity to reach a larger reading public? This may be partly due to a lack of linguistic competence, real (perfect multilingualism is after all a rare phenomenon) or perceived. As for the latter, since the romantic ideal of originality and of the writer as an inspired genius, literary writing received an aura of creativity and uniqueness and is easily associated with a more than perfect command of languages, with stylistic tours de force, etc. Unlike non-literary translators who see themselves as mere craftsmen, multilingual writers and self-translators associate themselves with inspired, ‘independent spirits’ (Sela-Sheffy 2005: 18) whose linguistic competence rarely reaches the required perfection. This is why multilinguals may develop a career as a professional translator (e.g. of technical texts, in parliament) and simultaneously a career as a writer, but without ever becoming a multilingual writer or translating their fictional writings (Meylaerts 2008).

Still, for multilinguals who in principle could be multilingual writers or self-translators, additional sociolinguistic, sociocultural and sociopolitical factors may play a role in their reluctance to do so. The key here is institutionalization. Languages and literatures are also and still heavily institutionalized practices. This is not innocent: multilingual writing and self-translation deserve to be rediscovered from an institutional viewpoint since literature is always more than just literature, it is one of the symbolic values of our societies just like sports or business. Understanding the socially regulated and collective patterns of multilingual writing and self-translation requires insight into the complex ways in which they are articulated through the divergent institutionalization of languages and literatures in multilingual societies (Meylaerts 2009b). In so many past and present multilingual societies the monolingualism of institutions (administration, legal affairs, education, army, political life, media, etc.) and a monolingual ideology contrast with the multilingualism of people on the ground. This is/was the situation in numerous Western nation states; this is also the case in a modern metropolis like New York or London, where there is ‘a clear mismatch between the multilingualism of the people and the monolingualism of the dominant ideology’ (Blackledge 2005: 65). In such a context the institutionalized language is the majority language,⁶ the language of the most prestigious literary productions. The minority languages are not or are much less institutionalized⁷ and the literary works written in the minority languages have a less prestigious, less legitimate status. In short, this type of widespread institutionalization implies very hierarchical, sometimes even very oppositional relationships between languages, literatures and their actors and precisely these hierarchies co-determine the nature and the patterns of multilingual writing and self-translation – among other things because literary actors interiorize these

hierarchies in various and variable ways and perceive their (inter)cultural positions in interaction with these hierarchies.⁸

As a general principle, the stronger the institutional hierarchy, the more important it is for minority groups to learn the majority language. In search of social mobility, of participation in the legitimate culture, of literary prestige, the minority groups thus become multilingual, often through education in the majority language. The majority groups in general do not deem it worthwhile to learn the minority language(s). Knowledge of minority languages offers them only limited symbolic, social or economic capital. Moreover, even if multilingual writing and self-translation are in theory possible for every multilingual cultural actor, in practice many among them develop a career as a monolingual writer. Because of the very pronounced linguistic and literary hierarchies that result from unequal institutionalization, the different literary languages symbolize antagonistic and sometimes irreconcilable values and positions. The so-called 'free' choice for a literary language is rarely perceived as neutral, but on the contrary as being part of an outspoken literary, sociocultural, sociopolitical position-taking that renders multilingual writing and/or self-translation problematic. Writing and/or self-translating in the dominant language certainly offers visibility and literary prestige but, especially in situations where the minority cultures are struggling for their linguistic emancipation, it is easily perceived by the minority groups as a treachery towards the minority language and literature, supporting the prestige and dominance of the majority language and literature. Instead, writing and/or self-translating in the minority language is perceived by the majority groups as an attack against their linguistic and literary supremacy (Meylaerts 2009b). Whenever hierarchies are outspoken, multilingual writers and self-translators risk having a hard life.

Multilingual institutions

The relations between translation and multilingualism are not confined to literature but are also constitutive for the whole domain of information services (e.g. printed and audiovisual media, press agencies, news rooms), of international institutions, of law and politics, of business, of technology, etc. in today's global world. Within these institutional settings, written and oral communication processes are for the largest part multilingual and the object of multidirectional translation. The concepts of 'source' vs. 'target', of 'original' vs. 'translation' appear insufficient, altogether misleading categories because every message is a collage of many messages in multiple languages in an often continuous translation chain. In their external communication, and unlike the aesthetic and ideological functions of language mingling in literary texts, multilingual institutions usually produce parallel monolingual versions. They thus tend to mask the multidirectionality of the translation process, the multilingual origin of their written and oral communication, the structural language contacts and the language mingling of people within the institution. They confirm and continue in other words the doxa of monolingualism within a multilingual society. Unlike the problematics of literary multilingualism in translation, questions of fidelity, authenticity and translatability are often subordinate to the pragmatic function of efficient communication. Once translated, the target messages lose their translational status and function as an 'original': they cease to be (seen as) a translation. Moreover, in the legal and juridical domain all translated versions have the authority of an original: they have to function as authentic, perfectly equivalent versions. Likewise, it is often impossible, and even impertinent to know which (part of a) version is the original. As Gagnon 2006 rightly stresses, we need open definitions of translation for the description and explanation of these and

other processes of translation in multilingual institutions. These definitions can lead us to an understanding of the basic but often hidden decisions in multilingual institutions concerning translation, language policy, identity and ideology.

According to Pym (2008) international public non-profit organizations, i.e. non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) present an interesting case in point to analyse the relations between translation and multilingualism. 'By their very nature, they embody a collective being, with rich complexes of public ideologies, open debate and evolution', and are as such 'influenced by discussions about translation and language policy' (ibid.). Pym distinguishes three possible communication strategies for these IGOs and NGOs. (i) The institution functions in one or two official languages 'obliging speakers of other languages to learn and operate in them' (ibid.). 'Most scientific and technical organizations' are monolingual, while institutions like the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) or North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have 'just two official languages' (ibid.). When international institutions fall back on language learning as a communication strategy, they either opt for non-translation (one official language) or keep translation restricted to an internal bilateral operation between the two official languages. They thus confine multilingualism at the level of the individual. (ii) NGOs and IGOs can, however, also be radical multilingual and opt for the opposite strategy of multilateral translation: 'all languages translated into all other languages' (ibid.). The example par excellence is the EU's translation policy which is based on multilingualism both in its internal and external communication. Following the EU maxim of 'equal rights for all languages' (ibid.), all European officials and all European citizens have the right to communicate respectively within and with the EU in their 'own' language. Therefore, European regulations, directives, decisions, recommendations, opinions, etc. are translated into all 23 official and working languages⁹ recognized by the EU. Also, 'documents may be sent to EU institutions and a reply received in any of these languages'.¹⁰ Both on the internal and external communication levels, however, pragmatic considerations interact with the ideal of institutional multilingualism by means of multilateral translation. As for the external communication, the 23 languages being the national languages of the member states, the EU's translation policy is based on the monopoly of the national language and on the monolingual ideology of the nation state. EU citizens' language rights are national language rights, not extendable to regional, minority or migrant languages. So, for example, although Catalan, Galician and Basque are co-official languages in the respective Spanish regions Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque country, they do not belong to the official EU languages and EU outgoing communication is only translated into Castilian.¹¹ As for internal communication among EU officials, 'due to time and budgetary constraints, relatively few working documents are translated into all languages. The European Commission employs English, French and German in general as procedural languages, whereas the European Parliament provides translation into different languages according to the needs of its Members'.¹² In short, till further notice, multilingual NGOs or IGOs operating through complete multilateral translation giving all speakers the possibility to remain monolingual in 'their' language – whatever this may mean – turn out to be an illusion. (iii) The institution functions in one or two languages used on the inside (within the professional intercultural), whereas translation is limited to communication between the inside and the outside, between the professional intercultural and the client monocultures. This strategy would be the 'trend not only of international non-profit organisations ... but also of most multinational marketing' (ibid.). Translation permits the individual client/consumer to remain monolingual, 'to be served in his/her own language', saving him/her from the burden of foreign language learning.

As far as today's clients/consumers are mobile and multilingual though, multinational marketing strategies remain inspired by the romantic ideology of people sharing one (national) language within one (national) territory.

Multilingual societies

Translation and multilingualism are also inextricably connected at the level of national, regional or local linguistic territoriality regimes (García González 2004; Cuvelier *et al.* 2007; Beukes 2007). The notion of a linguistic territoriality regime refers to 'a set of legal rules that constrain the choice of the languages used for purposes of education and communication' (van Parijs 2010: 4). The latter covers the language of legal affairs, of political institutions, of the media and of administration. What strategies national, regional or local authorities deploy for communicating with their citizens is a question of key importance for both the authorities and the citizens. All over the world authorities are confronted with multilingual populations, whether these are historical minorities or new immigrants.¹³ Since democratic societies are based on the ideal of participating citizenship and since participating citizenship presupposes, among other things, the citizens' *right* to communicate with the authorities, a fair linguistic and *translational*¹⁴ territoriality regime is a vital need for the survival of any democratic society. It is also an essential factor in minorities' identity and integration because it determines their right to vote, to go to school, to receive official documents from the administration, etc.

Within a continuum of regimes, national authorities have four prototypical options for communicating with their citizens (Meylaerts 2009a, 2010b, 2012): first, complete institutional monolingualism – one language regulates communication between authorities and citizens in education and public settings. Often this is the so-called national language, the status of which is inscribed in the Constitution or is the object of special linguistic laws.¹⁵ Minorities have thus *no affirmative right* to claim a *translation* of a document or service in one of the minority languages. In other words, a policy of institutional monolingualism presupposes a policy of non-translation often by means of an explicit legal interdiction to translate into the minority languages. Translation is not an enforceable right in a multilingual society that reserves communication with the authorities to those citizens who are capable of understanding the one institutionalized language. Non-translation obliges minorities to learn the national language and operate in it for communication with the authorities. After one or two generations a linguistic transfer may have completely replaced the former minorities' mother tongues by the institutionalized language, thus reducing the multilingual character of a certain territory. Recent studies and surveys testify to an increasing support for a non-translation policy and its concomitant learning of the national language as the best way to ensure minorities' integration (see e.g. Schuck 2009, and Wong and Pontoja 2009 for the USA; Schäffner 2008 for the UK; Lahav 2009 for the EU members of parliament). The EU policy towards immigrants is a good example here. The fifth principle of the 2004 EU's common basic integration principles of immigrant policy says that 'access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration' (quoted in Joppke 2007: 6). The fourth principle, however, claims that 'basic knowledge of the host society's language' is indispensable to integration (quoted in Joppke 2007: 6). That is, for the EU, immigrants' rights are secured through language learning not through translation. Adversaries of such a non-translation policy claim it is discriminatory, it reinforces social structures of inequality

and exclusion, leads to ghettoization and immigrants' loss of identity. While the jury is out on the pros and cons, in reality complete monolingualism and non-translation is a very exceptional regime since it is contradictory to a democracy's ideal of participatory citizenship and thus problematic for its own survival.

The second strategy, situated at the other end of the continuum, is a linguistic and translational territoriality regime characterized by *complete* institutional *multilingualism* with *obligatory multidirectional* translation in all languages for all. This overall translation strategy guarantees absolute institutional equality of all languages and speakers and thus complies with the fifth EU integration principle: all people have access to institutions, to public and private goods and services in 'their own language'. At the same time, it enables minorities to stick to their mother tongue and exempts them from language learning. It is thus in contradiction with the fourth EU integration principle. Obviously, the full implementation of this translational regime for all allophone minorities would lead to a dead end. To begin with, it would be a real financial burden. Even if exact calculations are not available, translation costs would amount to a multiple of the actual annual cost of \$150 billion just for multilingual immigration and naturalization services in the USA, or to a multiple of the annual £110 million actually spent for translation and interpreting services in the UK (Schäffner 2008: 169). Additionally, in theory each and every newcomer would have the everlasting right to receive complete language and translation services in his/her language: a real utopian principle. According to its adversaries, this regime would imply high risks of ghettoization, impede integration, social cohesion and national identity (van Parijs 2008; Schuck 2009). Often, minority communities themselves seem convinced of these drawbacks (see Schäffner 2008, for an example).

Thus, both the first and second regime reveal incompatibility with a democracy's ideal of participatory citizenship and with, respectively, the fourth and fifth EU common integration principle. Authorities therefore often opt for a third, intermediate strategy: a linguistic and translational territoriality regime characterized by institutional monolingualism combined with *occasional* and *temporary* translation into the minority languages. In comparison to the first regime of non-translation, this strategy foresees *limited* translation rights in well-defined situations in attendance of minorities' learning of the institutionalized language. That is, specific legal dispositions condition the restricted presence of the minority language(s) in the public sphere or in certain institutions. They give, for example, the right to translate public inscriptions or services, to obtain a translated document or an interpreter in certain well-defined circumstances: in court, in health care, in administration. However, through minimal restrictive implementation, these translation rights do not endanger the monolingual ideology. Translation remains temporary and occasional: a granted exception, in anticipation of immigrants' linguistic and other assimilation (see, for example, the conclusions of the 2007 British Commission on Integration and Cohesion).

In some specific cases, a fourth regime, which is in fact a combination of the three other ones, is applied: institutional monolingualism at the local level and institutional multilingualism with multidirectional obligatory translation at the superior (e.g. federal) level. This linguistic and translational territoriality regime seems to be reserved for minority *groups* who can claim *historical territorial* rights (e.g. in Belgium). The higher (e.g. federal) level institutions are multilingual with multidirectional translation into all institutionalized languages (e.g. French and Dutch in Belgium). At the level of local institutions, monolingualism and non-translation prevail. Within 'their' respective territory (e.g. Flanders and Wallonia¹⁶) and in communication with the higher-level authorities, the historical territorial minority groups are thus always and everywhere served in their own language.

This regime creates monolingual institutional islands under a multilingual umbrella, preventing multilingualism from applying at all institutional levels. The fundamental difference with the second one is that the immigrants' languages do not benefit from the multidirectional translation rights. They fall either under the first or the third regime.

What type of linguistic and translational regime gives the best chances for participatory citizenship and for minorities' integration remains unclear. Whatever the regime, it has virtues and flaws as well as passionate advocates and detractors. So many *ad hoc* regulations used by local and national authorities worldwide illustrate the hesitations, or even the dilemmas that are faced. All these regulations indeed have to function in a complex web of conflicting factors. The impact of a given translation or non-translation measure can be perceived both as a means of oppression and as an attempt for emancipation, according to the beneficiaries, the context, etc.

Future challenges

At the heart of multilingualism we find translation. The recent understanding of cultures, past and present, as multilingual therefore constitutes a true challenge for translation studies.

Research on multilingual literary texts in/and translation points to the need for a reconsideration of disciplinary boundaries that used to be language-bound. The complex practice called 'literature' can no longer be fully apprehended (if it ever could) along separate linguistic lines, or within constricting frameworks like 'space' or 'nation'. We need to examine how these disciplinary boundaries routinely obscure diversity within so-called monolingual literatures and cultures. This questioning of linguistic, spatial or national boundaries in relation to which separate literatures are constructed, moreover urges translation studies to rethink the nature of the relationships *between* literatures. New forms of literary translation emerge *within* multilingual cultures, from relations of proximity instead of distance, from contact zones instead of isolation. They create 'expanded definitions' of literary translation as 'writing that is inspired by the encounter with other tongues, including the effects of creative interference' (Simon 2006: 17). Translation, then, is 'the source of culture "at home"' (ibid.). Does translation studies offer appropriate concepts and methods to analyse these new literary cartographies? Among other things, translation studies should be prepared to transgress the distinctions on which it has built part of its *raison d'être*, to make explicit the discipline's presuppositions, but also the rationale behind the choice of translation corpora, and to (re)assess the translational metalanguage based on inadequate, reductive, binary distinctions. This concerns in the first place the familiar distinctions between 'source' and 'target' or between 'import' and 'export'. The concept of 'translation' itself, complemented with the epithet 'cultural', seeks to broaden its signification, until now restricted to an intertextual and interlingual scope.

The same goes for the concepts of literary writer and literary translator. Research on multilingual writers and self-translators makes us aware of the partially artificial distinctions between the two roles and calls for a new implementation of the concepts of authorship and translatorship. Originality and creativity are no longer to be located exclusively at the author's side but are interwoven with multilingual writing and self-translating and thus also with translating. Translation studies can therefore contribute to a new and flexible conceptualization of agent roles within a continuum of overlapping practices between author, multilingual writer, self-translator, translator. This will uncover the similarities between the field of literary translation and other fields, where the overlap of agent roles (translator, copywriter, transeditor, etc.) has already received due attention.

Research on societies' linguistic and translational territoriality regimes points to the need for empirical research and theories 'identifying the most crucial levers of change that contribute to bringing outsiders in' (Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009: 314). How to ensure linguistic and translational justice in a world in which the territorial and monolingual principles of the nation state are at odds with the mobility and multilingualism of their populations? At this point, there seem to be more questions than answers. The elaboration of a fair language and translation policy is indeed part of 'cross-portfolio policy making' (Ozolins 2010: 196), in which a variety of factors such as political and social attitudes to immigrants and minorities, models of citizenship, of public policy responsibility, of social welfare, of equal access to education, administration, public health care, integration, etc., play a role that is yet to be determined. The issues to be investigated are thus inescapably social, political and ethical. Future research therefore needs to be more interdisciplinary, exploring the complex relations between translation and linguistic justice, integration and equal opportunities. It places translation studies in front of its social, ethical and political responsibilities, responsibilities that are shared with political and social sciences, anthropology, sociolinguistics, etc.

Related topics

multilingualism; literary translation; migration; institutionalization; self-translation; integration

Notes

- 1 We use the term 'culture' as 'the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people, and by the individual members of the group, for the organization of life'; 'society' refers to 'a large group of people living on a certain territory' (Even-Zohar 1997: 355–56) and is thus more related to institutional and territorial aspects.
- 2 In theory multilingualism is not confined to texts but encompasses more generally all kinds of messages (oral speeches, films, etc.). Although partially overlapping, multilingualism in audiovisual messages (multiple languages spoken in one film, subtitles, voice-over, etc.) also concerns quite different aspects and will not be considered as such here. See Lambert 2004.
- 3 Multilingualism is, of course, not confined to the present time or to the West; only its modalities have changed due to recent technological, political and other developments.
- 4 The term diglossia was first used by Ferguson in his seminal 1959 article with the same title. It refers to a society (not an individual) 'where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play' (1959: 325). This definition has since been enlarged to functionally differential language varieties of whatever kind and number (see also Fasold 1984; Fishman 2002).
- 5 Two remarks are important here. First, unlike heterolingualism referring to texts, literary bilingualism or multilingualism applies to people. A writer is a bilingual respectively multilingual writer if his/her total text production comprises at least two or more languages whatever the respective part occupied by each of them. These texts, for their part, can be heterolingual or not. Second, unlike Hokenson and Munson (2007), we consider the distinction between multilingual writing and self-translation as gradual and relative and as such not pertinent for the present discussion. The use of different concepts is more revealing of normative definitions of translation than of anything else. When, for example, an author reveals himself to be very creative in translating his own work, he is often called a multilingual writer instead of a self-translator.
- 6 The concepts 'majority' and 'minority' do not refer to numbers but to power relations, resulting from unequal institutionalization. On linguistic power relations, see e.g. Bourdieu 1982.
- 7 Of course, institutionalization is a continuous process: a certain minority language may be institutionalized in local administration but not on the national level, while another minority group may have the right to offer primary (but not secondary or university) education in 'its' language, and another group may publish newspapers or possess radio channels or TV channels in its languages, etc.

- 8 On the process of interiorization of social structures, see Bourdieu's habitus concept (Bourdieu 1972; see also Meylaerts 2008, 2010a).
- 9 These languages are: Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish and Swedish.
- 10 ec.europa.eu/education/languages/languages-of-europe/doc135_en.htm.
- 11 However, in November 2006 an agreement was signed 'to allow citizens to complain to the European Ombudsman in any of the co-official languages in Spain (Catalan/Valencian, Galician and Basque) ... According to the agreement, a translation body, which will be set up by the Spanish government, will be responsible for translating complaints submitted in these languages. In turn, it will translate the Ombudsman's decisions from Spanish/Castilian into the language of the complainant'. Available at: www.ombudsman.europa.eu/release/en/2006-11-30a.htm.
- 12 ec.europa.eu/education/languages/languages-of-europe/doc135_en.htm.
- 13 The distinction between the two is often arbitrary. In comparison to the natives, for example, all other inhabitants of the USA or Canada are immigrants. However, descendants of nineteenth-century European immigrants, although originally multilingual, have institutionalized a form of 'English-only' policy that actually prevails over the natives' and new immigrants' languages (Spanish, Arabic, Chinese ...). In general, and as illustrated by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, historical minority languages are better protected than immigrant languages. We'll use the term 'minority' to refer to both historical minorities and immigrants.
- 14 Since there is no linguistic regime without a translational regime, we broaden the concept into a 'linguistic and translational territoriality regime'.
- 15 So, for example, since 1992 article two of the French Constitution stipulates that 'la langue de la République est le français'. As for the USA, section 767 of the S.2611 Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006 declares that 'English is the national language of the United States', and that 'unless otherwise authorized or provided by law, no person has a right, entitlement, or claim to have the Government of the United States or any of its officials or representatives act, communicate, perform or provide services, or provide materials in any language other than English' (frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=109_cong_bills&docid=f:s2611es.txt.pdf).
- 16 The Brussels-Capital Region is officially bilingual (French/Dutch). For German speakers, living in the Eastern Cantons, other regulations apply.

Further reading

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Quality in translation studies

Juliane House

One of the most important questions asked in connection with translation¹ is the question of how to tell whether a translation is good or bad. This question cannot be answered in any simple way, because any statement about the quality of a translation implies a conception of the nature of translation; in other words, it presupposes a theory of translation. Different theoretical stances will necessarily lead to different concepts of translational quality, different ways of going about assessing (retrospectively) the quality of a translation and different ways of ensuring (prospectively) quality in the production of a translation. Theoretical stances can be grouped and subjected to a ‘meta-analysis’ by examining how they take account of, and formulate rigorous statements about (at least) the following issues: (i) the relation between the original text and its translation; (ii) the relationship between (features) of the text(s) and how they are perceived by the author, the translator and the recipient(s); and (iii) the consequences that views about these relationships have when one wants to distinguish a translation from other types of multilingual text production.

In this chapter I will first discuss the most important issues relating to translation quality assessment. Then I will review a number of different approaches to evaluating translations with a view to whether and how they can throw light on the three questions formulated above. Third, I will present my own model of translation criticism, and fourth, look at some new developments in the field. Finally, I will deal with the crucial distinction between linguistic analysis and social evaluation.

Main issues in translation quality assessment

Equivalence in translation

Equivalence is the core concept in translation theory. It is rooted in everyday folk linguistic understanding of translation as something that is essentially a (comparable) ‘reproduction’ of something originally produced in another language – and it is this everyday view of what makes a translation a translation which, in a sense, legitimizes the notion of translation being in a double-bind relationship. Translations are doubly constrained texts: on the one hand to their source text and on the other hand to the (potential) recipient’s

communicative conditions. This double linkage is the basis of the translational ‘equivalence relation’, i.e. the relationship between an original and its translation.

Equivalence is a relative concept in several aspects (Koller 1995). It is determined by the sociohistorical conditions in which the translation act is embedded, and by the range of often irreconcilable linguistic and contextual factors, among them at least the following: source and target languages with their specific structural constraints; the extra-linguistic world and the way it is ‘cut up’ by the two languages resulting in different representations of reality; the original reflecting particular linguistic and stylistic source language norms; the linguistic and stylistic norms of the translator and the target language and culture; structural features of the original; target language receptors’ expectation norms; the translator’s comprehension and interpretation of the original and his ‘creativity’; the translator’s explicit and/or implicit theory of translation; translation tradition in the target culture; and interpretation of the original by its author.

Overt and covert translation

The distinction between two different types of translation, *overt* and *covert translation*, is essential in all thinking about translation quality assessment. This distinction goes back to Schleiermacher’s (1813) famous distinction between ‘*verfremdende*’ (alienating) and ‘*einbürgernde*’ (integrating) translations, which has had many imitators using different terms. What sets the overt-covert distinction apart from other similar distinctions and concepts is the fact that it is integrated into a coherent theory of translation criticism, inside which the origin and function of the two types of translation are consistently described and explained. The basic distinction is as follows: in an overt translation the receptors of the translation are quite ‘overtly’ not being addressed, an overt translation is thus one that is overtly a translation, not a ‘second original’. The source text is tied in a specific manner to the source language community and its culture, it is directed at source culture addressees but also points beyond the source culture community because it is also of general human interest. Source texts that call for an overt translation have an established worth in the source language community; they are either overt historically source texts such as those tied to a specific occasion in which a precisely specified source language audience is/was being addressed, or they may be timeless source texts, i.e. those transcending as works of art and aesthetic creations a distinct historical meaning.

A covert translation is a translation that enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture. The translation is covert because it is not marked pragmatically as a translation text of a source text but may, conceivably, have been created in its own right. A covert translation is thus a translation the source of which is not specifically addressed to a particular source culture audience. A source text and its covert translation are pragmatically of equal concern for source and target language addressees. Both are, as it were, equally directly addressed. A source text and its covert translation have equivalent purposes; they are based on contemporary equivalent needs of a comparable audience in the source and target language communities. In the case of covert translation texts, it is thus both possible and desirable to keep the function of the source text equivalent in the translation text. This can be done by inserting a ‘cultural filter’ (see below for details) between original and translation with which to account for cultural differences between the two linguistic communities.

The distinction between overt and covert translation can be given greater explanatory adequacy by relating it to the concepts of ‘frame’ and ‘frame shifting’, ‘discourse world’

and ‘world shifting’. Translation involves a transfer of texts across time and space, and whenever texts move, they also shift frames and discourse worlds. A frame often operates unconsciously as an explanatory principle, i.e. any message that defines a frame gives the receiver instructions in his interpretation of the message included in the frame. Similarly, the notion of a ‘discourse world’ (Edmondson 1981) refers to a superordinate structure for interpreting meaning in a certain way, for instance, when a locutionary act acquires an illocutionary value by reference to a newly operant discourse world.

Applying these concepts to overt and covert translation, we can state the following: in overt translation, the translation text is embedded in a new speech event, which also gives it a new frame. An overt translation is a case of ‘language mention’ (as opposed to ‘language use’ in the case of covert translation), and it is thus similar to a quotation. Relating the concept of ‘overt translation’ to the four-tiered analytical model (function-genre-register-language/text) (see the model of translation criticism below), we can state that an original and its overt translation are to be equivalent at the level of language/text and register as well as genre. At the level of the individual textual function, functional equivalence, while still possible, is of a different nature: it can be described as enabling access to the function the original has in its discourse world or frame. As this access is to be realized in a different language and in the target linguistic and cultural community, a switch in discourse world and frame becomes necessary, i.e. the translation is differently framed, it operates in its own frame and discourse world, and can thus reach at best second-level functional equivalence. As this type of equivalence is, however, achieved though equivalence at the levels of language/text, register and genre, the original’s frame and discourse world are co-activated, such that members of the target culture may eavesdrop, as it were, i.e. be enabled to appreciate the original textual function, albeit at a distance. In overt translation, the work of the translator is important and clearly visible. Since it is the translator’s task to permit target culture members to gain access to the original text and its cultural impact on source culture members, the translator puts target culture members in a position to observe and/or judge this text ‘from outside’.

In covert translation, on the other hand, the translator attempts to recreate an equivalent speech event. Consequently, the function of a covert translation is to reproduce in the target text the function the original has in its frame and discourse world. A covert translation operates quite ‘overtly’ in the frame and discourse world provided by the target culture and no attempt is made to co-activate the discourse world in which the original unfolded. Covert translation is both psycholinguistically less complex than overt translation and more deceptive. The translator’s task is to betray the original and to hide behind the transformation of the original; he is clearly less visible, if not totally absent. Since true functional equivalence is aimed at, the original may be legitimately manipulated at the levels of language/text and register using a cultural filter. The result may be a very real distance from the original. While the original and its covert translation thus need not be equivalent at the levels of language/text and register, they have to be equivalent at the level of genre and the individual textual function.

In evaluating a translation, it is essential that the differences between these two types of translation be taken into account. Overt and covert translations make different demands on translation criticism. The difficulty of evaluating an overt translation is reduced, in that considerations of cultural filtering can be omitted. Overt translations are ‘more straightforward’, the originals being taken over ‘unfiltered’ and ‘simply’ transposed from the source to the target culture in the medium of a new language. The major difficulty in translating overtly is, of course, finding *linguistic*-cultural ‘equivalents’, particularly along the dimension

of tenor and its characterizations of the author's temporal, social and geographical provenance. However, here we deal with *overt* manifestations of cultural phenomena which must be transferred only because they happen to be manifest linguistically in the original. A judgement of whether a 'translation' of, for example, a dialect is adequate in overt translation can ultimately not be objectively given, i.e. the degree of correspondence in terms of social prestige and status cannot be measured in the absence of complete contrastive ethnographic studies – if, indeed, there will ever be such studies. Such an evaluation must be necessarily remain to a certain degree a subjective matter. However, as opposed to the difficulty of evaluating differences in cultural presuppositions, and communicative preferences between text production in the source and target cultures, which characterizes the evaluation of covert translation, the explicit overt transference in an overt translation is still easier to judge.

In connection with evaluating covert translations, it is necessary to consider the application of a 'cultural filter' in order to be able to differentiate between a covert translation and a covert version. In the following section the concept and function of the cultural filter will be discussed in more detail.

The 'cultural filter' in translation quality assessment

The concept of a 'cultural filter' by House (1977) is a means of capturing sociocultural differences in expectation norms and stylistic conventions between the source and target linguistic-cultural communities. The concept was used to emphasize the need for empirical bases for any 'manipulations' on the original undertaken by the translator. Whether or not there is an empirical basis for changes made along the situational dimensions would be reflected in the assessment of the translation. Further, given the goal of achieving functional equivalence in covert translation, assumptions of cultural difference should be carefully examined before changes in the original are made. The unmarked assumption is then one of cultural compatibility, unless there is evidence to the contrary. In the case of the German and Anglophone linguocultural communities such evidence is now available, which has important consequences for cultural filtering. Since its first proposal, then, the concept of cultural filter has been given some substance and validity through a number of empirical contrastive-pragmatic analyses, in which Anglophone and German communicative differences and priorities along several dimensions were hypothesized. Converging evidence from a number of cross-cultural German-English studies conducted with different data, subjects and methodologies suggests that there are German communicative preferences that differ from Anglophone ones along a set of dimensions, among them directness, content-focus, explicitness and routine-reliance (cf. House 2006).

For the comparative analysis of source and target texts and the evaluation of covert translations, it is essential to take into account whatever knowledge there of is about cultural differences between target and source communities. It must be stressed at this point that there is a need for empirical research in the area of language-pair specific contrastive pragmatic analysis, and that there is a strong research desideratum in this field, an important field for translation studies, and in particular for translation criticism.

Distinguishing between different types of translations and versions

Over and above distinguishing between covert and overt translation, we need to make another distinction: between translations and versions. Covert versions must be clearly differentiated

from overt versions. Overt versions are produced whenever a special function is overtly added to a translation text. There are two different cases of overt version production: (i) when a ‘translation’ is produced which is to reach a particular audience – examples are special editions for a youthful audience with the resultant omissions, additions, simplifications or different accentuations of certain features of the source text, etc., or popularizations of specialist works (newly) designed for the lay public; and (ii) when the ‘translation’ is given a special added purpose – examples being interlingual versions or ‘linguistic translations’, résumés and abstracts, where it is the express purpose of the version producer to pass on only the most essential facts of the original.

A covert version results whenever the translator – in order to preserve the original’s function – applies a cultural filter non-objectively and consequently undertakes changes on the situational dimensions, i.e. the original has been manipulated without support by research.

In discussing different types of translations, the distinction between a translation and a version, there is an implicit assumption that a particular text may be adequately translated in only one way. The assumption that a particular text necessitates either a covert or an overt translation does, however, not hold in any simple way. Thus any text may for a specific purpose require an overt translation, i.e. it may be viewed as a document of ‘independent value’ existing in its own right, such as, for example, when its author has become, in the course of time, a distinguished figure, and then the translation might be evaluated as an overt translation.

Further, the specific purpose for which a ‘translation’ is made will, of course, determine whether a translation or an overt version should be aimed for, i.e. just as the decision as to whether an overt or a covert translation is appropriate for a particular source text may depend on factors such as the changeable status of the text author, so clearly the initial choice between translating or version-producing cannot be made on the basis of features of the text, but may depend on the arbitrarily determined purpose for which the translation or version is required.

Integrating empirically verified cultural filters into the evaluation process might be taken to mean that there is greater certainty as to when a translation is no longer judged to be a translation but rather a covert version. True, in the past 20 years or so many studies have been done in the field of contrastive pragmatics involving many different language pairs such that a better basis now exists for evaluating covert translation in a non-arbitrary way. However, given the dynamic nature of sociocultural and communicative norms and the way research tends to lag behind, translation critics will still have to struggle to remain abreast of new developments to help them judge the appropriateness of changes through the application of a cultural filter in any given language pair.

Different approaches to translation quality assessment

How do we know when a translation is good? Making statements about the value and worth of a translation has always been both an academic and a popular undertaking: philologists and philosophers, journalists and essayists, poets and novelists as well as all manner of lay people have expressed their (more or less qualified) opinions on what it is that makes a ‘good translation’. The first comprehensive scholarly treatment of translation quality assessment is arguably the present author’s 1976 doctoral thesis on the subject. This work was published in 1977, and revised in 1997 and 2009. It is, to my knowledge, still the only comprehensive, consistent and coherent, theoretically sound and practically applicable

model of translation quality assessment. In what follows I will first discuss several different approaches to translation that are (partially) relevant to translation quality assessment. However, none of these can be said to have developed a full-length model of translation evaluation.

Psychosocial approaches

- *Mentalist views*: mentalist views are reflected in the century-old subjective, intuitive and anecdotal judgements of ‘how good or how bad one finds a translation’. In the majority of cases these judgements are based on impressions and feelings, and as such they lead to global, undifferentiated valuations like the following: ‘The translation doesn’t capture the spirit of the original’; ‘The tone of the original is somehow lost in the translation’. In recent times, this type of vague comment is replayed by scholars of the so-called Neo-hermeneutic School of Translation, who believe in the legitimacy of subjective interpretations of the worth of a translation (cf. e.g. Steiner 1975; Stolze 1992). Propagators of this approach believe that the quality of a translated text is intimately linked to the translator whose interpretation of the original and moves towards an ‘optimal translation’ are seen as rooted in intuition, empathy and interpretative experience and knowledge. Translating is regarded here as an individual creative act, in the process of which the ‘meaning’ of a text is also ‘created’ anew. There is no meaning in the text itself; the meaning is, as it were, in the ‘eye of the beholder’.

Most mentalist approaches to translation evaluation emphasize the belief that the quality of a translation depends largely on the translator’s subjective decisions, which are based on his experience. With respect to the three questions above, it is obvious that the subjective and neo-hermeneutic approach to translation evaluation can only shed light on what occurs between the translator and (features of) the original text, as it represents a selective view of translation focusing on the translator’s processes of interpretation. The original text, the relation between original and translation, the expectations of target text readers are not given the attention they deserve, and the problem of distinguishing between a translation and various types of versions and adaptations is also ignored.

- *Response-based approaches*: in contrast to followers of the above subjective-hermeneutic approach to translation quality assessment, proponents of response-based approaches believe in more reliable ways of judging translations. There are at least two variants of response-based approaches to translation quality assessment, which I will discuss in turn.
 - *Behaviouristic views*: this tradition was influenced by American behaviourism, and it is associated with Nida’s (1964; Nida and Taber 1969) seminal work on translation. He suggested several behavioural tests to enable translation evaluators to formulate more ‘objective’ statements about the quality of a translation. The tests used broad criteria such as ‘intelligibility’ and ‘informativeness’, and they were based on the belief that a ‘good’ translation is one leading to ‘equivalence of response’, a criterion linked to Nida’s famous principle of ‘dynamic equivalence’, i.e. that the manner in which the receptors of a translation respond to the translation should be equivalent to the manner in which the source text’s receptors respond to the source text. In the heyday of behaviourism, several imaginative tests were suggested, such as reading aloud techniques, and various cloze and rating tasks, all of which took observable responses to a translation as measuring its quality. However, in hindsight it is safe to say that these tests ultimately failed

because they were unable to capture something as intricate and complex as the ‘overall quality of a translation’. Even if one accepted the assumption that a translation of optimal quality should elicit an equivalent response, one would still be left with the awkward question as to whether it is possible to operationalize such ‘grand’ concepts as ‘intelligibility’ or ‘informativeness’ and proceed to measure an ‘equivalent response’. If this were not possible – which indeed turned out to be the case – it would be futile to pose such behavioural criteria in the first place. Further, the source text is largely ignored in such tests, which implies that nothing can be said about the relationship between the original and texts resulting from different textual operations.

- Functionalistic, skopos-related views: proponents of this approach (most notably the German translation scholars Reiss and Vermeer 1984; see Nord, this volume) maintain that it is the *skopos*, or purpose, of a translation and the degree to which target culture norms are heeded in a translation that are of overriding importance for evaluating a translation. It is the translator or more frequently the translation brief that the translator is given by the person(s) commissioning the translation which decide on the function the translation is to fulfil in its new environment. The notion of function is, however, never made appropriately explicit, let alone operationalized, so one can only hypothesize that ‘function’ is conceived here as referring to the real-world effect of a text, i.e. an extralinguistically derived entity. Exactly how the global skopos of a text is realized *linguistically*, and how one can determine whether a given translation fulfils its skopos, remains unclear. Given the crucial role assigned to the ‘purpose’ of a translation and the concomitant reduction of the original to an ‘offer of information’, which the translator is licensed to manipulate as he/she sees fit, one can see the closeness of this approach to the mentalistic approach described above, where it is also the case that the translator is given the responsibility over how he manages her or his translational task. What is ignored here is the crucial fact that a translation is never an ‘independent’ but always a ‘dependent’, derived text. By its very nature, a translation is simultaneously bound to its original *and* the presuppositions governing its reception in the target linguocultural environment. To stress only the latter factor is unwarranted because it prevents determining when a text is no longer a translation but a text derived from different textual operations. With regard to the three questions, it is thus with reference to the issue of distinguishing a translation from other forms of texts that the functionalistic approach is inadequate.

Text and discourse-oriented approaches

The approaches that can be placed in the category ‘text and discourse-based approaches’ are descriptive translation studies, post-modernist and deconstructionist views, as well as linguistically oriented approaches to translation quality assessment. They will now be briefly discussed:

- Descriptive translation studies (DTS): in this descriptive-historical approach associated primarily with the work of Toury (e.g. 1995; see also Ben-Ari, this volume), a translation is evaluated predominantly in terms of its forms and functions inside the system of the receiving culture. Here the original is of subordinate importance: the focus in DTS is on ‘actual translations’, i.e. those which are, in the context of

the receiving culture, regarded *prima facie* as translations. The procedure followed in this paradigm is a retrospective one, from the translation to the original text. The concept of equivalence is retained, but it does not refer to a one-to-one relationship between original and translation text but to sets of relationships that characterize translations under a specified constellation of circumstances. Translation equivalence is thus never a relationship between source and target text, but a ‘functional-relational notion’ – a number of relationships established as distinguishing appropriate modes of translation performance for the particular culture in which the translation must operate.

The characteristic features of a translation are ‘neutrally described’ according to how these features are perceived by native culture members. They are not ‘prescriptively pre-judged’ in their correspondence to, or deviation from, features of the original text. However, if one wants to evaluate a particular translation, which is never an independent, new text in a new culture alone, but is related to something that ‘was there before’, then such a view of translation and translation evaluation seems strangely skewed. With respect to the three criteria, this theory is deficient with regard to illuminating the relationship between source and translation texts.

- Post-modernist and deconstructionist approaches: proponents of this approach, e.g. Venuti (1995), attempt to critically investigate translations from a philosophical and political stance in order to reveal unequal power relations and manipulations in the textual material. In a plea for making translations and translators more ‘visible’, adherents of this approach focus on the ‘hidden persuaders’ in texts, the ulterior, often power-related motives which are to be brought into the open. Emphasis is also placed on which texts are chosen for translation, and exactly how and why an original text is skewed and twisted in the interests of powerful ideologies reflecting group and individual interests. However, one may hold against such a predominant interest in ‘external pressures’ on translation, that translation is after all a *linguistic* procedure – however conditioned this procedure may be through ideological shifts and skews. Before adopting a critical stance emphasizing the importance of a macro-perspective, one needs to seriously engage in a micro-perspective, i.e. conduct detailed, theoretically informed analyses of the linguistic forms and their functions in the texts on hand.

With respect to the three issues (relationship between original and translation, and between (features of) the texts and human agents, and delimitation of translation and other textual operations), the critical, post-modern approaches are most relevant in their attempts to find answers to the first question, and also to the second one. However, no answers are sought for the question of when a text is a translation, and when a text belongs to a different textual operation.

- Functional-linguistic and pragmatic approaches: seminal early work is by Nida (1964) and Catford (1965) and the many seminal contributions of the Leipzig School of Translation Studies (cf. e.g. Neubert 1985) and Koller’s (2007) authoritative and historical overview of the discipline. In more recent times many more linguistically oriented works on translation evaluation have appeared, e.g. Baker 1992; Hatim and Mason 1997; Steiner 1998; Munday and Hatim 2004; Teich 2004; Munday 2008. They all widened the scope of translation studies to include speech act theory, discourse analysis, pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics.

Functional-linguistic and pragmatic approaches attempt to explicate the relationship between (features of) the text and how these are perceived by authors, translators

and readers, but they differ in their capacity to provide detailed procedures for analysis and evaluation. Most promising are approaches that take account of the interconnectedness of context and text, because the inextricable link between language and the real world is definitive in meaning-making and in translation. Such a view of translation as recontextualization is the line taken in linguistic models of translation evaluation by House (1977, 1997, 2009), to be described below.

A linguistic model of translation criticism

In this section the present author's functional-pragmatic model of translation quality assessment as well as some underlying assumptions will be presented. In this model (House 1977, 1997) translation is defined as the replacement of a text in the source language by a semantically and pragmatically equivalent text in the target language, and an adequate translation is a pragmatically and semantically equivalent one. As a first requirement for this equivalent, it is posited that a translation text has a function equivalent to that of its original.

The use of the concept of 'function' presupposes that there are elements in a text which, given appropriate tools, can reveal that text's function. The use of the concept of function is here not to be equated with 'functions of language' – different language functions clearly always co-exist inside any text, and a simple equation of language function with textual function/textual type is overly simplistic. Rather, a text's function – consisting of an ideational and an interpersonal functional component in the Hallidayan sense – is defined pragmatically as the application or use of the text in a particular context of situation, the basic idea being that 'text' and 'context of situation' should not be viewed as separate entities, but rather the context of situation in which the text unfolds 'is encapsulated in the text through a systematic relationship between the social environment on the one hand and the functional organization of language on the other' (Halliday 1989: 11). This means that the text must be referred to the particular situation enveloping it, and for this a way must be found for breaking down the broad notion of 'context of situation' into manageable parts, i.e. particular features of the context of situation or 'situational dimensions'.

The linguistic correlates of the situational dimensions are the means by which the textual function is realized, and the textual function is the result of a linguistic-pragmatic analysis along the dimensions with each dimension contributing to the two functional components, the ideational and the interpersonal, in characteristic fashion. Opening up the text with these dimensions yields a specific textual profile which characterizes its function, which is then taken as the individual textual norm against which the translation is measured. The degree to which the textual profile and function of the translation (as derived from an analogous analysis) match the profile and function of the original is the degree to which the translation is adequate in quality. The set of situational dimensions is thus a kind of 'tertium comparationis', and this model provides for a detailed linguistic-textual analysis by distinguishing for each individual dimension lexical, syntactic and textual means of realizing certain features of the context of situation. In evaluating the relative match between original and translation, a distinction is made between 'dimensional mismatches' and 'non-dimensional mismatches'. Dimensional mismatches are pragmatic errors that have to do with language users and language use, and non-dimensional mismatches are mismatches in the denotative meanings of original and translation elements and breaches of the target language system at various levels. The final qualitative judgement of the translation comprises a listing of both types of errors and a statement of the relative match between the two functional components.

In House's (1997, 2009) revised model, the classic Hallidayan register concepts of 'field', 'mode' and 'tenor' are used. The dimension of field captures the topic, the content of the text or its subject matter, with differentiations of degrees of generality, specificity or 'granularity' in lexical items according to rubrics of specialized, general and popular. Tenor refers to the nature of the participants, the addresser and the addressees, and the relationship between them in terms of social power and social distance, as well as degree of 'emotional charge'. Included here are the text producer's temporal, geographical and social provenance as well as his intellectual, emotional or affective stance (his 'personal viewpoint') vis-à-vis the content he is portraying and the communicative task in which he is engaged. Further, tenor captures 'social attitude', i.e. different styles (formal, consultative and informal). Mode refers to both the channel – spoken or written (which can be 'simple', i.e. 'written to be read', or 'complex', e.g. 'written to be spoken as if not written') – and the degree to which potential or real participation is allowed for between writer and reader. Participation can also be 'simple', i.e. be a monologue with no addressee participation built into the text, or 'complex' with various addressee-involving linguistic mechanisms characterizing the text. In taking account of (linguistically documentable) differences in texts between the spoken and written medium, reference is also made to the empirically established, corpus-based, oral-literate dimensions hypothesized by Biber (1988). He proposes correlates of medium by suggesting dimensions along which linguistic choices may reflect medium, i.e. involved vs. informational text production; explicit vs. situation-dependent reference; abstract vs. non-abstract presentation of information.

The type of linguistic-textual analysis in which linguistic features discovered in the original and the translation correlated with the categories field, tenor, mode does not, however, as in the original model, directly lead to a statement of the individual textual function (and its interpersonal and ideational components). Rather, the concept of 'genre' is newly incorporated into the analytic scheme, 'in between', as it were, the register categories field, tenor and mode. The category of genre is an important addition to the analytic scheme for assessing the quality of a translation, in that it enables one to refer any single textual exemplar to the class of texts with which it shares a common purpose or function. Although the category register (field, tenor, mode) captures the relationship between text and context – of prime importance for translation and translation criticism – establishing functional varieties of language use by correlating language-specific features with recurrent features of the situation in which the text is conventionally used, register descriptions are basically limited to capturing individual features on the linguistic surface. In order to characterize 'deeper' textual structures and patterns, a different conceptualization is needed. This is attempted via the use of 'genre'. While register captures the connection between texts and their 'micro-context', genre connects texts with the 'macro-context' of the linguistic and cultural community in which the text is embedded.

The resultant scheme for textual analysis, comparison and assessment is shown in [Figure 39.1](#).

Taken together, the analysis provided in the evaluation model along the planes language/text, register and genre building one on the other in a systematic way yields a textual profile characterizing the individual textual function. Whether and how this textual function can be kept up, however, depends on the type of translation sought for the original. In the following section, different types of translation and versions will be discussed.

Returning to the three basic questions mentioned above – relationship between original and translation, between texts and human agents, distinction between translation and other secondary textual operations – the assessment model presented above is firmly based on a

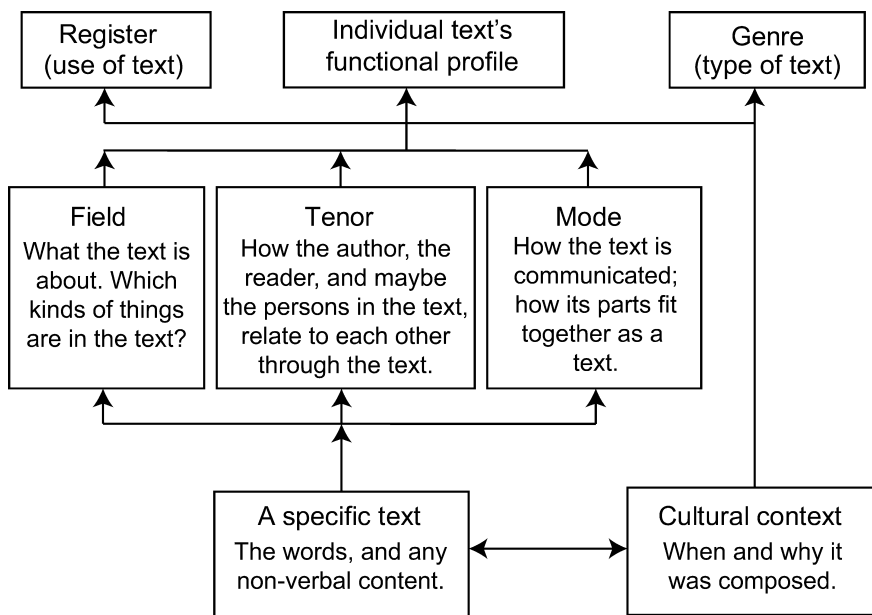


Figure 39.1 A system for analysing texts for translation purposes

view of translation as a double-linkage operation. As opposed to a one-sided concern with the translation, its receptors and the translation's reception in the target culture, the model takes account of both source and target texts by positing a cline along which it can be shown which tie of the double-linkage has priority in any particular translation case – the two endpoints of the cline being marked by the concepts overt translation and covert translation. The relationship between (features) of the text(s) and the human agents involved (as author, translator, reader) is explicitly accounted for through the provision of an elaborate system of pragmatic-functional analysis of original and translation, with the overt-covert cline on which a translation is to be placed determining the type of reception sought and likely to be achieved. Finally, by specifying the conditions necessary for a translation to become a version explicit means are provided for distinguishing a translation from other types of textual operation.

Globalization and its impact on translation quality assessment

Globalization (see Cronin, this volume), which characterizes much of contemporary life, has brought about a concomitant rise in the demand for texts that are simultaneously meant for recipients in many different languages and cultures. Until recently translators and text producers routinely applied a cultural filter. However, due to the impact of English as a global lingua franca, this situation may now change, leading to a conflict between culture specificity and universality in textual norms and conventions, with 'universality' really standing for Anglo-Saxon norms. While the influence of English on other languages in the area of lexis has long been acknowledged, its impact on the levels of syntax, pragmatics and discourse has hardly been researched. Rules of discourse and textualization conventions often operate stealthily at deeper levels of consciousness and thus present a particular challenge for translation evaluation.

In the Hamburg project ‘Covert Translation’ (for an overview see Baumgarten *et al.* 2004; House and Rehbein 2004; Becher *et al.* 2009; House 2010; Kranich *et al.* 2011), we have been examining the influence of global English on covert translations of English science and economic texts into German, French and Spanish, using the evaluation model outlined above, as well as a diachronic tripartite corpus (original texts, their translations and comparable texts in the target languages) and larger reference corpora. Results have pointed to an impact of English texts on certain linguistic elements and structures realizing subjectivity and addressee orientation.

The most important consequence of the results of this work for translation evaluation would be the following: if in covert translation from English cultural filtering no longer takes place such that dominant Anglo-Saxon norms ‘take over’, giving rise to culturally alien genres and genre mixtures, a new translation typology needs to be set up with different transition modalities from translation to version. If texts that hitherto called for adaptation processes in cultural filtering are now increasingly translated overtly, we also need a different conception of ‘overt translation’. The type of overt translation resulting from superimposing Anglo-Saxon norms onto texts in other language clearly no longer resembles the classic overt translation that involved co-activation of source and target discourse worlds and presented itself as a ‘hybrid text’. Rather, the new overt translation (replacing formerly covert translation) is the result of domination and conquering. It is ‘hybrid’ in a different, yet unexplored way, and does not allow for any co-existence of discourse world. Since we are at present only at the beginning of such revolutionary changes in translation and multilingual text production, much more research using larger corpora and different language pairs is needed before definitive conclusions can be drawn.

Linguistic analysis versus social evaluation

In translation criticism it is important to be maximally aware of the difference between (scientifically based) analysis and (social) judgement in evaluating a translation; in other words, there is a difference between comparing textual profiles, describing and explaining differences established in the analysis, and evaluating the quality of a translation.

Instead of taking complex psychological categories like intuition, reaction, belief as cornerstones for evaluation, a functional-linguistic approach focuses on texts, the products of (often unfathomable) human decision processes. However, such an approach does not enable the evaluator to pass judgements on what is a ‘good’ or a ‘bad’ translation. Any evaluation depends on a large variety of factors that necessarily enter into a social evaluative judgement. It emanates from the analytic, comparative process of translation criticism, i.e. the linguistic analysis provides grounds for arguing social evaluative judgement. The choice of an overt or a covert translation depends not on the translator alone or on the text to be translated, or on her subjective interpretation of the text, but also on the reasons for the translation, the implied readers, on publishing and marketing policies, i.e. factors that have nothing to do with translation as a linguistic procedure. Such factors are social factors, which concern human agents as well as sociocultural, political or ideological constraints and which tend to be far more influential than linguistic considerations or the translator herself. Translation is also a linguistic-textual phenomenon. The primary concern for translation evaluators remains linguistic-textual analysis and comparison. Social factors are, if divorced from textual analysis, of secondary relevance. Linguistic description and explanation should not be confused with evaluative assertions made on the basis of social, political, ethical or individual grounds. It seems imperative to emphasize this distinction given the current climate where the criteria of

scientific validity and reliability are often usurped by criteria such as social acceptability, political correctness, vague emotional commitment or fleeting 'Zeitgeist' fashion. Translation as a phenomenon in its own right, as a linguistic-textual operation, should not be confused with issues such as what the translation is for, or what it should, might, or must be for.

Like language itself, translation evaluation has two functional components: an ideational and an interpersonal one. They lead to two separable steps. The first and primary one is linguistic analysis, description, explanation based on knowledge and research. The second and secondary one refers to value judgements, social and ethical questions of relevance and personal taste. In translation, we need both. Judging without analysing is irresponsible, and analysing without judging is pointless. However, we must also concede that while judging is easy, understanding is infinitely more complex.

In summary and to conclude, translation quality assessment has always been and still is a challenge for translation studies. In future, studies of intercultural communication and more extensive language pair-specific contrastive pragmatic research might be used to provide substance to the construct of the cultural filter in translation evaluation. Making use of the methodology and results of qualitative and quantitative corpus studies (House 2011) for translation quality assessment, integrating psycholinguistic and behavioural research (keystroke logging, screen recording, eye tracking, pupillometrics, etc.) as well as the results of various new neurolinguistic methods (fMRI – functional magnetic resonance imaging; PET – positron emission tomography; and ERP – event-related potential) might give new and exciting impetus to translation quality assessment studies.

Related topics

equivalence; meaning in translation; recontextualization; genre; register; globalization; English as a lingua franca

Notes

- 1 In this chapter I use the term 'translation' in a generic sense to comprise both the written mode, standardly referred to as 'translation', and the oral mode, usually referred to as 'interpreting'.

Further reading

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Translation and ethics

Ben Van Wyke

Throughout history translation discourse has been predominately concerned with issues of fidelity and equivalence, i.e. with the perennial question of what translators should do in order to achieve the most appropriate reproduction of the foreign or domestic in another language and context. Considering that ‘ethics’ generally refers to systems of values and moral principles that should guide our notions of right and wrong and, thus, discipline our conduct, it is fair to say that the history of translation studies has been, for the most part, also the history of translation ethics. At the same time, no attempt to articulate an ethics of translation or a particular approach to conducting research into translation ethics can be divorced from general notions of ethics or from particular views of what is considered ‘good translation’. For much of the history of translation discourse in the West, ethics has not been addressed directly because it has been understood that the ‘correct’ behaviour of the translator is fidelity to the text and author, and that a ‘good translation’ is one that is most identical to the original. Ethical translators, in their quest to be faithful, have been expected to respect the hierarchy that places them under the authority of the author and to remain invisible, repressing any authorial desire that may produce visible signs of their interventions in the texts of others. However, over the past 20 years or so there has been a serious reconsideration of this notion of ethics, which, as even a cursory glance at the history of translation discourse will suggest, has dominated the basic conception of this activity throughout the ages.

Tradition and the ethics of sameness

Around 20 BCE, when discussing the first translations of the Hebrew scriptures that would become part of the Bible, Philo Judaeus takes for granted that ‘to make a full version of the laws given by the Voice of God’, translators must ‘not add or take anything away’ and ‘must keep the original form and shape’ (2002: 13). Similarly, in 1430 King Duarte of Portugal states that translators must ‘render [a sentence] entirely, neither changing, nor augmenting, nor diminishing in any way that which is written’ (2002: 60). Almost 400 years later Alexander Tytler claims that in order to produce a ‘faithful transfusion of the sense and meaning of the author ... it is necessary, not only that the translation should contain

a perfect transcript of the sentiments of the original, and present likewise a resemblance of its style and manner, but that the translation should have all the ease of the original composition' (2002: 210–11). This viewpoint is echoed all the way to the twentieth century when Vladimir Nabokov, for example, asserts that the translator 'has only one duty to perform, and this is to reproduce with absolute exactitude the whole text, and nothing but the text' (2000: 77).

Given that translators have been expected to reproduce 'with absolute exactitude' somebody else's text in another language, they have also had to recognize that they occupy a very different position than that of the author. In 1697 John Dryden summarized this sentiment by saying that the author 'is master of his thoughts and words', whereas the 'wretched translator' is a 'slave' who 'labour[s] on another man's plantation' (2002: 175). It is understandable, then, that throughout the ages translators have viewed their work as inferior to the originals they seek to reproduce and often denigrate their versions with negative labels such as those given by John Florio or August Wilhelm von Schlegel, who respectively call their work a 'defective edition' (Florio 2002: 131) and an 'imperfect approximation' (von Schlegel 2002: 218).

These notions have been ingrained in our understanding of translation and are reflected today in some form or another in the majority of the 'codes of ethics' or 'codes of professional conduct' produced by governments and organizations dedicated to translation. Translators and interpreters employed by the State of California in the USA, for example, must sign a document in which they acknowledge that they 'shall render the message faithfully, conveying the content, spirit and cultural context of the original message', and understand that '[t]his means the interpreter or translator shall interpret everything the speaker or document says without changing the meaning, conveying what is said and how it is said, without additions, omissions or alterations' (California Government State Personnel Board website). Similarly, the American Translators Association (ATA) requires that translators seeking their certification take an oath of fidelity in which they 'will endeavor to translate or interpret the original message faithfully' (ATA website). It is further explained that a 'faithful translation' is 'one which conveys the message as the author intended it' (*ibid.*). Apart from the requirement of fidelity, these codes typically stress the importance of translators being invisible – that is, that they remain at the margins of the production of meaning in the texts they produce, and simply transfer the meaning intended by the author. The *Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs* (FIT), for instance, maintains that '[t]ranslators and interpreters shall carry out their work with complete impartiality and not express any personal or political opinions in the course of the work' (FIT website).

However, although notions of fidelity have been the basis for understanding the ethical duty of translators for at least two millennia, there has not been a consensus as to what exactly 'fidelity' means or to what one is supposed to be faithful. For example, the recurrent distinction between strategies termed 'author-to-reader' and 'reader-to-author' signals very different understandings of the translator's ethical duty. With the first, translators are expected to adapt the source text to the conventions of the target language and culture in order to create a similar effect on the target audience as the one experienced by the readership of the original, often with the goal of producing the effect that the translation has been originally written in the target language. A 'reader-to-author' strategy, however, seeks to maintain foreign elements, both cultural and linguistic, in the translation so that the target audience is exposed to cultural difference and, thus, has some sense of the context of the original.

These two approaches, while differing in their views of what constitutes translation ethics, reflect a common underlying assumption that by adhering to one of these particular strategies one can truly and faithfully reproduce the alleged essence of the original. Nicholas Perrot d'Ablancourt, who practised what can be called an extreme version of the 'author-to-reader' approach, felt he had to radically revise certain aspects of the original in order to recreate the 'same' author in another language (2002: 158), whereas German Romantics such as Johann Gottfried von Herder maintained that only by bringing the reader to the author could the target audience see authors as they 'truly' are (2002: 208). The common belief underlying these two approaches is that translators can and should recover the *true* meaning of a text, a belief which suggests that, in spite of their differences, they both subscribe to the traditional notion of translation ethics that is firmly rooted in Platonism.

Plato's general formulation of truth holds that everything in this world (objects, concepts, words, etc.) is a representation of an ideal 'form', which is the perfect and eternal essence that embodies the truth of what is being represented. In Book X of Plato's *Republic*, while investigating what would constitute his ideal society, Socrates begins detailing his basic view of representation with the example of a bed (or couch, depending on the translation). Although carpenters cannot make 'the being of a bed', if they pursue the form they can make individual beds that reflect enough of its essence to be recognized as such (1992: 597a). For Plato, ethics is centred on ascertaining forms and using them to guide our actions. Carpenters must look to the form when fashioning their beds and, likewise, soldiers, for example, must seek the form of courage when modelling their actions. Forms exist only in the realm of ideas and are apprehended via rational examination of their particular manifestations in the physical world. That is, a carpenter can deduce the essence of bed by identifying the essential characteristics of individual beds (*ibid.*: 596a). However, not all representations point in the direction of truth since some are modelled not on their corresponding form but, as is the case with a painting of a bed, on other representations (*ibid.*: 598c). Socrates warns that these 'imitations' have the power to mislead people with respect to truth because they are not created with direct knowledge of the form. He takes particular issue with poetry because it relies primarily on aesthetic and emotional reactions and believes that poems are 'easily produced without knowledge of the truth (since they are only images, not things that are)' (*ibid.*: 598e–9). Socrates ultimately expels poets from his ideal society because he does not want to risk having them lead the inhabitants astray in the constant pursuit of the forms upon which they should model their lives.

Translation has historically been viewed in accordance with this Platonic model. Although translators are expected to represent the essence of an original text, their task also falls into the same category as painting and poetry because, as is said in *The Republic* of painters, the translator is often considered 'an imitator of what others make' (Plato 1992: 597d). Translation has been suspect throughout history precisely because it has the power to mislead readers with respect to the original's essence. Whereas Socrates expels the poets from his *Republic*, in Book X, in Book III he allows them to practise their craft, but only in accordance with strict guidelines that he feels will point readers in the direction of truth and instil in them the qualities that he believes are desirable in good citizens. Likewise, throughout history translation discourse has been concerned primarily with establishing guidelines that will lead translators to, if not copy every aspect of the original, at least accurately reflect its essence (see Van Wyke 2010 for a more detailed account of the relationship between Platonism and our general notion of translation).

New horizons: an ethics of difference

Towards the end of the nineteenth century Friedrich Nietzsche embarked on a radical critique of Platonism that shook the foundations of the Western notion of truth. In Platonic thought, truth is something that is reflected in, but exists outside, language. Nietzsche, on the other hand, maintained that what we call truth and essences are constructions made with and within language, and cannot therefore be ‘discovered’ in any rational, unbiased manner. Language is an historical construction that bears signs of ideologies and power structures and, therefore, so too does truth. This claim has great implications for ethics because Nietzsche destabilized the idea of absolute and universal foundations upon which it has traditionally been based. In this scenario, ‘fidelity’, for example, cannot refer to an unchanging, ‘pure’ idea, but will always be bound to contexts that are anything but neutral. What is more, as all truth is a construction, brought about through interpretation, the possibility is opened that it could be constructed differently. Nietzsche’s work provided most of the foundation for the kind of reflection associated with postmodernism, which throughout the twentieth century rearticulated his project of calling into question the traditional, Platonic basis of our conception of truth.

The most extensive exploration of Nietzsche’s work specifically in the context of its implications for translation is probably that stemming from Jacques Derrida’s deconstruction. Whereas most translation discourse has historically been dominated by the idea that translation should transport the meaning of the original to another language, according to Derrida, because an original is an unstable object that can be interpreted in various ways, and because languages are fundamentally different from one another, translation can never be a ‘transferral’ of meaning but will always entail its ‘transformation’ (1981: 20). The idea of difference has historically been shunned in discussions of translation, but in the context of postmodern thought difference is a key concept that reveals the reality of interpretation and representation. Consequently, translators can no longer be seen as impartial mediators, but, instead, as agents who play a fundamental role in the production of meaning that constitutes their translations. In brief, they will never be able to produce a translation that forestalls difference, one that provides *the* unequivocal meaning of an original, or one that is itself immune to multiple interpretations.

The absence of universals upon which one could found a universal ethics of translation does not mean that translators have license to simply transform a text in any way they please. On the contrary, following the rationale of deconstructive thought, the recognition that translators must make decisions without absolute guidelines that could guarantee correctness in all contexts does not imply the end of ethics but, rather, that difficult ethical decisions are inevitable at every level of the process (see Davis 2001: 93). Consequently, translators must take responsibility for their decisions and cannot pretend they are invisible by hiding behind the notion that they are simply repeating what they find in the original or what the author might have intended.

At the same time, translators cannot be freed from the conventions that ultimately govern their decisions; translation is ‘transformation’, but, more precisely, as Derrida adds, it is a ‘regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another’ (1981: 20). Without conventions and norms, language would not function and translators must still, according to Kathleen Davis, ‘take law, rules, and as much else as possible into account’ (for translation, obviously, this includes grammar, linguistic and cultural conventions, genre, historical context, etc.), for these act as “the guardrails of responsibility” (2001: 97, quoting Derrida 1993: 19). However, this does not mean that one must accept all conventions and

norms, or the values that they embody, at face value. In fact, many contemporary translation theorists who subscribe to what has been called an ‘ethics of difference’ contend that the ethical responsibility of translators should lie in questioning and destabilizing conventions that usually suppress the fact that other realities can be reflected in language; conventions that have been presented as neutral and natural but, nevertheless, reflect certain interests and biases (see Davis 2001: 92).

One of the most influential theorists in recent years associated with this ‘ethics of difference’ is Lawrence Venuti. Much of his work has sought to destabilize the traditional ethics that revolve around the notion of the translator’s invisibility, especially in the context of translating into the most dominant of languages, English. For Venuti, what we typically see as invisibility is, in fact, conformity with certain expectations and interests from dominant forces that demand ‘fluid’ translations that appear as if they were not even translations (2002: 1). Far from providing a transparent reproduction of the original, what we consider to be ‘fluid’ translation often serves to reinforce ethnocentric values by assimilating foreign elements into the dominant discourse of the target language, thereby obscuring differences both between the source and target texts and cultures, as well as within the language and culture of the translation. As part of his own ‘activist’ ethics of translation, Venuti has proposed different strategies for confronting these ‘domesticating’ tendencies. Reminiscent of the German Romantics, and particularly influenced by Friedrich Schleiermacher, he advocates a ‘foreignizing’ strategy, one that resists assimilating the foreign into the values of the receiving language and culture, thus upsetting the hegemonic expectations of the target audience and bringing to their awareness a sense of cultural difference and otherness (*ibid.*: 96–8, 264, 266). Unlike the Romantics, however, Venuti does not imply that this approach can provide readers with ‘unmediated access to the foreign’ (*ibid.*: 19–20). In vein with his ‘foreignizing’ translation, elsewhere he focuses on what he calls ‘minoritizing translation’, which ‘issues from an ethical stance that recognizes the asymmetrical relations in any translation project’, and seeks to ‘promote cultural innovation as well as the understanding of cultural difference by proliferating the variables within English’ (*ibid.* 1998: 11). His projects aim to call attention to differences between cultures and also within the target language (in his case, English), thus resisting ‘this assimilationist ethic by signifying the linguistic and cultural differences of the text – within the major language’ (*ibid.*: 12). For Venuti, it is unethical for translators to simply accept and conform to the paradigms that have dominated the production of translations.

Other contemporary trends in translation studies such as those associated with gender and postcolonial studies are also founded on a similar kind of activism and a refusal to accept the dominant paradigm. While there is certainly not one specific notion of ethics associated with these tendencies, they stem from the belief that language, far from being neutral and natural as it has historically been presented, has typically served the interests of powerful entities that have used it to, in the examples above, for instance, subordinate women and colonial subjects to men and colonial powers, respectively, thus (mis)representing the former by assimilating them into the discourse of the latter and concealing alternative realities. For example, feminist translation theorists such as Barbara Godard, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow have identified the patriarchal, male bias in many languages that subjugates women by framing them within masculine discourse, effacing the possibility of a different reality that does not portray women as inferior (see Simon 1996: 1–2; also Godayol, this volume). Similarly, from the perspective of post-colonial translation theory, represented by Tejaswini Niranjana, Vicente Rafael, Gayatri Spivak and Maria Tymoczko, to name a few, the identities of the colonial subjects were

constructed in the languages of the colonizers, who, speaking from a position of power, were able to instil their views in the colonial subjects, thereby converting the latter into reflections of the former, overshadowing pre-colonial history (see Merrill, this volume). As Niranjana writes, the colonial powers fixed the ‘colonized cultures, making them seem static and unchanging rather than historically constructed’ (Niranjana 1992: 3).

The traditional ethics of fidelity and invisibility has aided in perpetuating these inequalities because it ignores power differentials between languages and cultures as well as the fact that in order to produce the effect of what is considered ‘invisibility’, translators are required to simply follow dominant modes of representation. However, although translation has participated in this history of subjectification, many contemporary projects have also seen it as a possible tool of resistance. Feminist translators, for instance, have sought to reveal, destabilize and subvert the view that language is an unbiased portrayal of reality by taking a visible and active role in their projects in order ‘to make language speak for women’, as Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood (1990: 9) says, thus effecting changes in the status of women in both language and culture. Postcolonial projects similarly call attention to and, at times, try to ‘correct’ certain representations imposed by the colonizers on their subjects. While part of Niranjana’s project in her book *Siting Translation* deals with exposing the role translation played in the colonization of India, the last part focuses on retranslation and the attempt to offer an alternative vision of various Indian poets whom she felt were interpreted and translated by the British through the filter of European ideology (1992: 171–86).

The idea that translators cannot be invisible and that the traditional demand of simple fidelity is unrealistic and even, perhaps, unethical, is gaining ground throughout translation studies and is leading to more reflection on how translators (and we as societies) relate to otherness in the exchanges between the peoples of the world, and this reflection is of utmost importance in our increasingly globalized world. As Sandra Bermann states in the introduction to *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, ‘[i]n a world of rapidly transforming populations and technologies, where language and citizenship are caught up in tightly woven webs of economic, military, and cultural power, language and translation operate at every juncture’ (2005: 1). In other words, even outside of specific feminist and postcolonial projects, translation cannot be contemplated as if it functioned in a vacuum, free from the cultural, political and economic factors within which it works. However, this is how it is often understood by those who seek translation services. For example, translators and interpreters have played an integral role in the so-called ‘war on terror’, translating intelligence documents and serving as interpreters in war zones such as Iraq and Afghanistan or in the interrogation rooms of facilities like the infamous Guantanamo Bay prison. They are viewed as mediators between the languages involved and the manner in which they perform their duty is constantly under scrutiny because any perceived bias on their part opens the possibility of ‘sabotaging’ the war effort (see, for example, Schmitt and Shanker 2003). Their job is seen as a mechanical one in which they must simply repeat what was said in a different language, nothing more, nothing less. However, the task of these translators is not so simple. Moira Inghilleri, for example, says that ‘a translator’s apparent role as mediator may conceal his/her actual role as a pawn in a literal or a metaphorical war’ (2008: 212). In other words, what appears as impartiality might, in reality, be simply conformity with the expectations of the more powerful party in the exchange, and will tend to obscure different views of reality and the complexities involved in the cross-cultural interaction taking place. Inghilleri points out that the limits to traditional codes of ethics can be seen in cases ‘where questions of impartiality and loyalty’ to these professional

codes clash with ‘questions of justice and individual conscience’ (ibid.: 219), therefore casting doubt on the traditional, simplistic notion of translation ethics exemplified in the kind of codes we saw in the first section.

Conundrums of an ethics of difference

Rethinking ethics and developing an approach to translation that takes into consideration its highly complex nature does not imply that we could ultimately arrive at one particular code of ethics that could universally guarantee that translators behave ethically. No amount of information or knowledge accumulated by translators with respect to the source and target languages and cultures, and no amount of thought given to the power relations that exist between them can forestall the possibility that others may consider their translation unethical. What is more, translators that advocate a particular approach in certain contexts may find it unacceptable in others. For example, the Brazilian translators Haroldo and Augusto de Campos present their translation practice as a cannibalistic endeavour and have captured the attention of postcolonial theorists who understand these brothers’ work as a form of resistance to colonial dominance. In their strategy, which is often considered to be a form of radical domestication, they feed on foreign works which are then digested and rewritten in a manner that distinctly reflects the Brazilian culture and language, sometimes with the stated intention ‘to erase the origin, to obliterate the original’ (de Campos 1981: 209). In their introduction to *Post-colonial Translation*, the editors Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi praise de Campos’s work, characterizing it as a ‘far cry from the notion of faithfulness to an original, of the translator as servant of the source text’ (1999: 5). However, a paragraph later, when discussing the history of European translation, they refer to the ‘shameful history of translation’, in which ‘texts [were] translated *into* European languages for European consumption’ and that ‘European norms ... dominated literary production’ (ibid.). One may wonder why assimilating foreign texts according to Brazilian literary and cultural norms is seen as something good, whereas similar actions on the part of Europeans on behalf of their culture is not. Bassnett and Trivedi, though, seem to justify this discrepancy based on the unequal power dynamics that distinguish these two contexts. According to them, in the first, translating from a peripheral culture, de Campos attempts to establish a dialogue between original and translation on more equal terms, whereas the Europeans maintained, and sought to perpetuate, the view that their culture was superior to that of the texts they translated. Post-colonial translation theory does not seem to pretend that we can simply do away with power dynamics but rather proposes that we question and combat the traditional politics of representation and take it into consideration when weighing an ethical approach of dealing with otherness (see Merrill, this volume). However, we should be cautious of prescribing any particular approach based on power dynamics. In other words, would it not be simplistic to suppose that when translating from a peripheral culture, the ethical stance of translators should always be one of appropriation whereas those translating from dominant cultures must attempt, as best as they can, to suppress the production modes and tastes of their target audience?

Douglas Robinson, for instance, who, on one hand, expresses great respect for postcolonial translation projects, takes issue with the fact that ‘foreignization’ has been often cast as *the* ethical approach for politically minded translators seeking to disrupt the hegemonic force unleashed by colonialism. He questions the frequent opposition of domestication/foreignization that views the former as ‘communicative, accessible, assimilative ... and

therefore part of the problem’, and the latter as ‘noncommunicative, inaccessible, non-assimilative ... and therefore part of the solution’ (1997: 109). Robinson also notes that foreignizing can have a colonizing rather than liberating effect if one considers that, in certain contexts, this strategy can resemble the ‘authoritarian discourse of textbooks, legalese, etc.’ (ibid.: 111), and, on the other hand, what appeals to the populace as ‘familiar’ and ‘ordinary’ is not necessarily ‘reductive, assimilative’ and, therefore, ‘colonizing’ (ibid.: 111–12). Moreover, Robinson wonders if there is not an inconsistency when one opposes, as Niranjana does, foreign interpretations of a culture made, for instance, within the framework of Christianity or Romanticism, while embracing foreign ones inspired by contemporary French thinkers associated with poststructuralism (ibid.: 110).

A certain inconsistency has also been pointed out with respect to some of the feminist translation projects mentioned above. Rosemary Arrojo considers that some feminist translation theorists operate under a ‘double standard’ that seems to allow them to criticize the violence of the patriarchal tradition that appropriates texts in accordance with their own ideological interests, while praising similar types of violence when it is carried out to serve a feminist agenda (1994: 154). She notes that von Flotow, for example, draws on the ‘Derridian revision of key concepts in Western philosophy’ to justify her view that the feminist translator has ‘the right, even the duty to “abuse” the source text’ (ibid.: 156, quoting von Flotow 1991: 80). At the same time, von Flotow, in a manner similar to other feminists, attacks the abusive violence wrought by the masculine translation tradition. Arrojo is not attempting to delegitimize feminist approaches to translation but, rather, draw attention to the fact that feminist translation tactics are guilty of the same ideologically marked violence they critique. Any translation will, in a sense, always entail violence because, as Arrojo claims, ‘every contact between any subject and what we may call “meaning” is inevitably marked by some form of “abuse” or “violence”’ (1994: 158), since it will necessarily reflect the translator’s vision of what this meaning allegedly might be. It is in this sense that, following Derrida, Arrojo says that meaning cannot be ‘reproduced’ or ‘recovered’ but is always ‘recreated anew’ (1994).

Approaches to ethics: now and into the future

In recent years, issues of translation ethics have gained considerable visibility within the discipline and have attracted the attention of scholars not necessarily interested in approaches associated with postmodernism, feminism or postcolonial studies. One illustration of this growing interest within mainstream translation studies is the fact that the subject is now being included in encyclopaedias and handbooks in the discipline. In addition to publications such as this present volume, the recent *Handbook of Translation Studies, vol. 1* (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2010), or *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies* (Munday 2008), it is worth noting that the second edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, unlike the first edition, has added an entry on ‘ethics’ (Baker and Saldanha 2009). There have also been special editions of journals that are specifically dedicated to ethics such as the 2001 special issue of *The Translator* edited by Anthony Pym, entitled *The Return to Ethics*, or the special issue of *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* called *Ethics and the Curriculum* edited by Mona Baker and Carol Maier (2011). These publications show that there is not only a growing interest in the complexities of translation ethics, but, more importantly, that there is also a great variety of methodologies for approaching the topic. It is also clear from these publications that, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, our view of translation ethics is inseparable not only from

broader questions of ethics and particular notions of what a ‘good translation’ is (see Chesterman and Arrojo 2000: 154), but also from our specific perspectives on what we think is valuable for translation research in general. In fact, since one cannot even begin to talk about translation without specifying what is meant by a ‘good translation’, it is safe to say that one cannot make pronouncements on translation without implying some notion of ethics.

For example, specialists who use an empirical approach to researching translation, most notably those working from a perspective of descriptive or corpora studies, approach ethics from the point of view of ‘norms’ that are determined from analysing translations and their reception. David Katan and Francisco Straniero-Sergio, for instance, in their article ‘Look Who’s Talking: The Ethics of Entertainment and Talkshow Interpreting’ (2001), question the traditional notion of the interpreter’s duties by presenting a large corpus of interpretations done on Italian talkshows and highlighting the fact that while at times violating traditional codes, the interpreters in the corpus produced translations that the authors consider ethical in this specific context. What is ‘ethical’ here is contextual and based on a shared acceptability by the viewing public. We could also use as an example those who approach translation primarily from *Skopostheorie*, according to which a ‘good translation’ is one that fulfils the specific purpose of the translation project. The ethics of translation from this perspective would involve determining the ‘functionality’ of a particular translation (see Nord 2001). These are just two examples of how research into translation ethics is tied to one’s general approach to translation, and there are at least as many ways to undertake research into the ethics of translation as there are approaches to researching translation itself.

Although it is not the case with the general public or with beginning translation students, there seems to be a consensus among the majority of scholars undertaking research into translation ethics, especially in the last decade, that we must move away from the simplistic idea of fidelity that has dominated the field for so long. In the introduction to *The Return to Ethics*, Pym declares that the articles in the collection are united by some ‘general principles’, which include the refusal to return to the traditional notion of ‘the ethics of linguistic equivalence and fidelity’, as well as the belief that ethics should be understood as a ‘broadly contextual question, dependent on practice in specific cultural locations and situational determinants’ (2001: 137). Furthermore, as Pym makes clear, the articles acknowledge the translator’s ‘engagement in a social practice’ and are not interested in ‘aspiring to detached neutrality’ (ibid.). At the same time, the desire to move beyond ‘linguistic equivalence and fidelity’ does not necessarily entail a break from the Platonic tradition that dominates traditional notions of ethics. In spite of seemingly recognizing the impossibility of neutrality, similar to many other attempts to forge new paths in research on translation ethics, Pym does not seem to be able to give up the age-old search for universals that is at the heart of any Platonic notion of translation or ethics. As he writes, some of the articles in the collection demonstrate ‘brave aspirations to universal values’ (ibid.). Such ‘aspirations’ are compatible with a conception of ethics that needs to count on the possibility of some stable, universal foundation, the same kind of foundation that has always been considered as the object of appropriate fidelity. How could a search for ‘universal values’ be compatible with a disposition to give up any aspiration to ‘detached neutrality’?

Another example can be found in Chesterman’s article in the same journal, entitled ‘Proposal for a Hieronymic Oath’, which provides a very helpful overview of some of the historical notions of ethics, as well as some of the problems associated with them. Like Pym, he seems to be interested in moving away from traditional notions of translation and from the project of founding an ethics of translation on universal ‘values’. In spite of

that, however, he proposes to replace ‘values’ with the equally problematic notion of ‘virtues’ to ground his ‘alternative route to an ethics of translation’ (2001: 144–5). By ‘virtue’ he means ‘an acquired human quality that helps a person strive for excellence in a practice’ (ibid.: 145), and part of Chesterman’s aim is to establish a translator’s oath upon which ‘the profession (or practice) of translation as a whole could eventually agree’ (ibid.: 153). As Chesterman elaborates, the translator ‘must *want* to be a *good* translator, must strive for excellence in the practice’ (ibid.: 146, his emphasis), and follow other virtues he puts forward such as ‘trustworthiness’, ‘truthfulness’, ‘fairness’, ‘clarity’, or ‘understanding’ (ibid.: 145–6). First of all, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a translator who would admit to *not* wanting to be a good translator. Second, how would one’s explicit desire to be a good translator ensure ethical behaviour? Most importantly, though, how could one define ‘virtuous’ once and for all, and outside a particular context? Is Chesterman also searching for universal conceptions of ‘virtues’ such as ‘excellence’, ‘fairness’ and ‘truthfulness’? How would these ‘virtues’ aid translators in developing a translation ethics that takes into consideration the kind of issues raised, for example, by proponents of translation strategies associated with feminist or postcolonial approaches? Surely we can speculate, for instance, that the majority, if not all of those who translated the Bible throughout history desired to be good, virtuous translators while attempting to represent the truth of the Bible, but this did not make them immune to the criticisms of, to name one example, some feminist scholars who have identified the overtly masculine bias that has been historically perpetuated in these translations (see Simon 1996: 111–33). The attempt to found ethics on universal principles will necessarily ignore the power relations that define and select these ‘universals’, thus bringing us back to the same kind of framework that took for granted the virtue of fidelity.

Considering Pym’s and Chesterman’s apparent difficulties in truly accepting the implications involved in understanding ethics as a ‘broadly contextual question, dependent on practice in specific cultural locations and situational determinants’, one might say that a major challenge for translation studies with respect to ethics is precisely how to come to terms with the fact that any proposal of guidelines for ethical translators cannot achieve any universal validity or status. No matter how hard they work and how earnestly they declare their good intentions, translators will always have to make choices, choices that may not be acceptable everywhere and by everybody. Given the multiple agendas and points of view involving different translators in infinitely different contexts and situations, how could any one code of ethics, such as the one proposed by Chesterman, for example, be taken seriously? In spite of the difficulties, it is promising, however, that there has been so much interest in discussing ethics, and that valuable space is being opened for debate on this highly complex issue. While we will quite probably never arrive at a universal code of ethics that will guarantee that the translator’s actions are always considered ethical by everyone, the constant pursuit of ethics, the continuous examination of the positions we occupy as mediators between languages and cultures is, in itself, an ethical endeavour.

In our ever more globalized world, translation has been gaining more and more attention from countless sectors – business and commerce, politics, the media, the military, publishing, etc. – which are increasingly aware of the fundamental role it fulfils for them to function. However, those who seek translation services still predominately understand it as a primarily mechanical task and, in a sense, underestimate the complexities involved in translation as well as in the intercultural exchanges that it makes possible. Perhaps one aspect of the ethical duty of translators that can be shared by most scholars in translation studies is related to the idea that translators and scholars should actively seek to educate

clients and the readership about the difficulties involved in this activity as well as the impossibility of the traditional ethical demands that still predominate in the world at large. As the complexities of translation gain more visibility, translation studies can also shed light on the multifarious nature of the cultural encounters and relationships among the peoples of the world, thus, it is hoped, fomenting a more realistic assessment of the global situation and, perhaps, helping us to develop a more realistic view of ethics in general.

Related topics

ethics; codes of ethics; ethics of difference; Nietzsche; Plato

Further reading

- Venuti, Lawrence (1998) *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*, London and New York: Routledge. (One of the most quoted books related to contemporary ethics in translation, *The Scandals of Translation* not only offers an introduction to Venuti's strategy of minoritizing translation, but also a critique of the way translation has been understood in, for example, copyright laws, the publishing world and the process of globalization.)
- Davis, Kathleen (2001) *Deconstruction and Translation*, Manchester: St Jerome. (This book is not only an introduction to the relationship between translation and deconstruction and, consequently, the relevance of Derrida's work for contemplating an ethics of translation, but it also serves as an excellent introduction to deconstruction in general, which I have barely been able to touch upon in this article.)
- Simon, Sherry (1996) *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*, London and New York: Routledge. (Simon's book is perhaps the most comprehensive critical overview and introduction to the vast realm that is feminist translation theory both past and present, and offers great insight for the general contemplation of translation ethics as well as literary activism.)
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