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Translation: A Multidisciplinary Approach

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In memory of Martha Cheung

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1
Introduction

Juliane House

In this introduction I will firstly try to address the basic question of what translation is, look at several crucial concepts and trends in translation studies and the increasingly important role which translation plays today in different domains of practice. Secondly I will provide a brief introduction to the chapters in this volume.

1.1 What is translation?

Translation can be defined as the result of a linguistic-textual operation in which a text in one language is re-produced in another language. However, this linguistic-textual operation is subject to, and substantially influenced by, a variety of different extra-linguistic factors and conditions. It is this interaction between 'inner' linguistic-textual and 'outer' extra-linguistic contextual factors that makes translation such a complex phenomenon. Some of these factors are:

- the structural characteristics;
- the expressive potential and the constraints of the two languages involved in translation;
- the extra-linguistic world which is differentially 'cut up' by source and target languages;
- the source text with its linguistic-stylistic-aesthetic features that belong to the norms of usage holding in the source lingua-cultural community;
- the linguistic-stylistic-aesthetic norms of the target language;
- the target language norms internalised by the translator;
- intertextuality governing the totality of the text in the target culture;

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- traditions, principles, histories, ideologies of translation holding in the target lingua-cultural community;
- the translational 'brief' given to the translator by the person/institution commissioning the translation;
- the translator's workplace conditions;
- human factors: knowledge, expertise, ethical stance and attitudinal profiles of the receptors of the translation as well as knowledge, expertise, ethical stance, attitudinal profiles of the translator as well as his/her subjective theories of translation.

So while translation is at its core a linguistic-textual operation, a multitude of other conditioning and constraining factors also impinge on its performance. As the different perspectives and approaches united in this multidisciplinary volume nicely show, the complexity of both translation and the field of translation studies results from the fact that each of the factors listed above – and possibly many more – can be taken singly or in multiple combinations as a starting point for investigating translation. So we find in this volume approaches that focus on literature in translation, discourse and cross-cultural communication, language contact, socio-political, cognitive, narrative and pedagogic perspectives on translation, corpora, media, assessment. It is this enormous breadth, depth and richness of translation which makes it such a fascinating multidisciplinary field.

However, despite the multiple conditioning of translation, one may still, as a common core, retain the minimal definition of translation as a replacement of an original text in one language with a text in another language. Seen more negatively, one might say that a translated text is in principle 'second-best', that is, a kind of inferior substitute for the 'real thing'. On this view, translation is by definition a secondary act of communication. Normally, communicative events happen only once. In translation, communicative events are reduplicated for persons or groups otherwise prevented from appreciating the original communicative event. More positively, however, translation can be seen as enabling access to a different world of knowledge, traditions and ideas that would otherwise have been locked away behind a language barrier. From this perspective, translation has often been described as a builder of bridges, an extender of horizons providing its recipients with an important service enabling them to go beyond the borders of the world staked out by their own language. As Ludwig Wittgenstein famously remarked: 'Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt' (the limits of my language mean the limits of my world). It is through translation

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that lingua-cultural barriers can be overcome, translation being one of the most important mediators between societies and cultures in which different languages are spoken.

Translation gives readers access to a message which already exists. This 'derived nature' of translation also means that in translation there is always both an orientation backwards to the existing previous message of the original text and an orientation forwards towards how texts in a corresponding genre are composed in the target language. This type of 'double-bind' relationship is a basic feature of translation.

1.2 Translation as intercultural communication

Translation is not only a linguistic act, it is also an act of communication across cultures. In fact, translation is one of the major means of constructing representations of other cultures. Translation always involves both different languages and different cultures simply because the two cannot be separated. Language is culturally embedded: it serves to express and shape cultural reality, and the meanings of linguistic units can only be understood when considered together with the cultural contexts in which they are used. In translation, therefore, not only two languages but also two cultures come into contact. In this sense, then, translation is a form of intercultural communication. Over and above recognising the importance of the two larger cultural frameworks, however, the translator must also consider the more immediate 'context of situation'. This more local situational context has to do with questions concerning who wrote the text, when, why, for whom and who is now reading it, for what purpose etc. These different questions in turn are reflected in how the text is written, interpreted and read. The context of situation is itself embedded in the larger sociocultural world as it is depicted in the text and in the real world.

If we regard translation as a form of intercultural communication between members of different lingua-cultural groups with their often diverging knowledge sets, values, histories, traditions, legal systems, attitudes, social and regional backgrounds, we need to briefly look at the main research traditions in the field of intercultural communication. In what one may call 'the old thinking about intercultural communication', we find essentialist generalisations linking 'culture' with races, nations, states, regions, serving to propagate cultural stereotypes, mentalities and 'national characters'. The roots of this line of thinking can be found in colonisation, trade, diplomacy, military invasions or

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so-called 'peace research' as well as other domains where 'the other' needed to be understood if only to enable easier routes of domination. Intercultural communication in these contexts is both simplified and instrumentalised for the expansion of neo-liberal capitalism, tourism, military 'humanitarian' intervention in the name of progress, peace, security, aid and 'understanding'. The literature in this tradition is vast and extremely popular (cf. e.g. Hall 1976; Hofstede 1980; Thomas 2003). While real sociocultural diversity and superdiversity, complexity, hybridity and individuality are largely ignored in this literature, the 'new thinking about intercultural communication' takes account of this complexity and regards culture as diversified, dynamic, fluid, hybrid, constructed and emergent, and recognises that boundaries in the globalised world are increasingly blurred and negotiable, and 'cultures' are interconnected in multiple interactions and exchanges. (cf. e.g. Blommaert 2005, 2010; Piller 2011). Notions such as 'small cultures' (Holliday 1999; 2013) and 'Community of Practice' (Wenger 1998) have come to be seen as more useful than that of a monolithic 'culture', with intercultural communication being regarded today more often than not as social practice in motion. Questions about the influence of 'culture' on individuals and groups and on translation need to be found as responses to questions concerning, for example, who makes culture relevant to whom, for which purpose where and in which context. Such responses also help in assessing intercultural understanding, an important prerequisite for evaluating translations. In studies on intercultural understanding in the past we find a focus on failure, 'culture shock', 'clashes of civilization' or misunderstanding (cf. Coupland et al. 1991; Agar 1994; Huntingdon 1997; House et al. 2003). More recently, however, alongside the new thinking on intercultural communication, we can find a shift towards examining how intercultural understanding is managed in certain communities of practice (Bührig et al. 2009; House 2012).

Intercultural understanding is also the basis of a crucial concept in translation: that of functional equivalence. Functional equivalence is a condition for intercultural understanding defined as the success with which intercultural communication is made to function through the provision of 'common ground' (Clark 1996). The link between functional equivalence (as a conceptual basis of translation) and intercultural understanding (as a basis of intercultural communication) is highlighted in functional pragmatics via the concept of the 'dilated speech situation' (*die zerdehnte Sprechsituation*, cf. Ehlich 1984). The notion of the dilated speech situation is crucial for viewing translation

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as a type of written communication through texts. Texts are agents of the transmission of messages from writers to readers who are *not* at the same place at the same time. Through such a transmission by a text, the original speech situation becomes 'dilated'. In translation, however, a rupture occurs due to the linguistic-cultural barrier between author and reader. This rupture may be repaired through translational action. It is this rupture-repairing by the translator which makes translation necessarily a highly reflective and cognitively demanding action.

1.3 Translation as social action in context

The inherently reflective nature of translational action reveals itself in a translator's focus on the situatedness of a text, and his/her recognition of the interconnectedness of text and context. As texts travel across time, space and different orders of indexicality in translation, they must be re-contextualised. Exploring text in context is thus the only way of exploring text for the purposes of translation as re-contextualisation (House 2006).

Recently, such re-contextualisation in translation has involved contexts characterised by radically unequal power relations between individuals, groups, languages and literatures. Translators are here asked to play an important role in questioning and/or resisting existing power structures (Baker and Perez-Gonzalez 2011: 44). In these contexts, translation does not function only as an action to mediate and resolve conflict but rather as a space where tensions are signalled and power struggles are played out. An extreme case of such tensions is the positioning of translators in zones of war. In such a context, translation scholars have looked at the impact the performance of translators has had on the different parties in a war zone, whether and how translators align themselves with their employers or refuse to do so, and how personally involved they become in situations of conflict and violence (cf. Baker 2006; Maier 2007; Inghilleri 2009). One of the recent disciplines used to demonstrate discursive negotiations of competing narratives of war and conflict through translational acts is narrative theory (Baker 2006).

In the wake of rapid technological advances and the need to spread information quickly and efficiently through instant mediation, translation has substantially grown in importance in the globalised, de-territorialised space. While this trend is certainly financially advantageous for the translating profession, there has also been criticism of the instantaneous flow of information, and its reliance on English in its role

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of a global lingua franca in many influential domains of contemporary life. The impact of English as a lingua franca has recently been investigated in corpus-based investigation of translation as a site of language context in a globalised world (cf. Kranich et al. 2012; House 2013b).

Corpora have been an important methodological tool in translation studies for a number of years, facilitating detailed analyses of patterns of translation shifts and changes, and enabling translation scholars to compare vast numbers of translations with originals in the two languages involved (cf. e.g. Kruger et al. 2011).

New information and communication technologies in a globalised world play an increasingly important role in enabling a novel participatory culture where professional and ad hoc lay translators engage in the production of free translations for widespread public consumption. Several activist translator sites such as Indymedia or Tlaxcala are now challenging the established global news agencies with their grass-root reporting and volunteer translating, giving rise to a new culture of participatory collaborative translation. The impact of new media cultures and new practices on translation and the necessity to take into account complex new audiences is one of the foremost challenges in the field of translation studies today.

Another recent development in translation studies is the concern with questions of ethics in translation. (cf. e.g. Goodwin 2010; Baker and Maier 2011). This concern goes hand in hand with the increased visibility of translators through their involvement in violent conflicts and various, activist, translator groups, activist centres and sites and the concomitant broader awareness of translators' role in making transparent human rights issues and the suppression of minorities.

1.4 Translation as a cognitive process

Apart from the social contextual approach to translation, there is another important trend which looks at translation as a cognitive process. Cognitive aspects of translation and the process of translation in the translator's mind have been investigated for over 30 years with a recent upsurge of interest (cf. O'Brien 2011; Shreve and Angelone 2011; Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2013). This increase in interest about 'what goes on in translators' heads' owes much to the availability of modern instruments and methods for the empirical investigation of particular aspects of a translator's performance such as keystroke logging, eye-tracking or screen recording as well as various neuro-psychological techniques. As O'Brien (2013: 6) has pointed out, translation process

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research has heavily 'borrowed' from a number of disciplines: linguistics, psychology, cognitive science, neuro-science, reading and writing research and language technology. The influence of these disciplines and their particular research directions and methodologies on translation studies is at the present time something of a one-way affair, but given time, a reciprocal interdisciplinarity may well come into being, such that translation studies will not only be a borrower but also a lender.

Over and above a concern with new technological and experimental means of tapping the cognitive process of translation, a new combination of a theory of translation and a neuro-functional theory of bilingualism has also recently been suggested (House 2013a). This new linguistic-cognitive orientation in translation studies emerges from a critical assessment of the validity and reliability of introspective and retrospective thinking-aloud studies (cf. Jääskelainen 2011), and of various behavioural experiments and the usefulness and relevance of recent bilingual neuro-imaging studies. Given the shortcomings of much of the current methodologies, it is advisable to look firstly for a theory which would provide the necessary descriptive and explanatory potential. As an initial step towards such a theory, House has suggested a combination of a translation theory with Paradis's (2004) neuro-linguistic theory of the bilingual mind. Paradis's theory is relevant for translation in that he presents an explanation for the cognitive representation of two languages as a key to the essential translation processes of decoding, comprehending, transferring, newly assembling and re-verbalising. Particularly important in his model is the importance he ascribes to the L1 and L2 pragmatic components that impact on the conceptual system and the various linguistic levels in a bilingual person's (and a translator's) cognitive structure. The importance assigned by Paradis to the pragmatics component suggests the possibility of combining his model of the translator's bilingual brain with a functional pragmatic translation theory (House 1997, 2009). This theory is designed to explicate how pragmatic, textual and lexico-grammatical meanings are rendered in a different context, with the translation being either functionally equivalent to the original text or a complete contextual adaptation to the new socio-cultural environment. The two fundamental types of translation – overt and covert translation – hypothesised in this theory are outcomes of different types of re-contextualisation procedures making qualitatively different cognitive demands on the translator: overt translation is cognitively complex while covert translation is simple. An overt translation signals its 'foreign origin', the L1 and L2 pragmatics

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being mentally co-activated, while a covert translation through the use of a 'cultural filter' lives entirely in the new context and often involves massive interventions on the part of the translator. Paradis's model can explain the differential cognitive loads in covert and overt translation: the former involves a complete switch to L2 pragmatic norms involving only one pragmatics-cum-linguistic representational network; the latter leads to an activation of a wider range of neuronal networks across two pragmatics-cum-linguistics networks in the translation process (for a more detailed discussion of the difference between covert and overt translation see Chapter 13 of this volume).

Translation, as we have seen in the above sections, can be looked at from two perspectives: a social perspective which takes account of the macro and micro contextual constraints that impinge on translation, and a cognitive perspective which focuses on the 'internal' way a translator goes about his or her task of translating. Both are complementary, and both can be split up into different domains and fields of inquiry such as different genres (e.g. literary translation) or the role translation has played in language learning and teaching, or the assessment of the quality of a translation. This range of interests and perspectives clearly shows that translation is a multidisciplinary and complex field, which the present volume is designed to reflect.

1.5 The content of this book

The book is divided into two major thematic blocks: a first block, which tackles issues of general theoretical relevance to the entire field of translations studies and comprises the first seven chapters of this book; and a second block, which addresses the role of translation in specific domains and genres, with relevance to particular methodological or technological issues. In the following I provide a brief explanatory overview of what the reader may expect to find in the chapters of this book.

Following this first introductory chapter, Chapter 2 discusses the crucial concept of 'equivalence' in translation. It looks at the reasons behind the controversy about the legitimacy of this concept which has deeply divided the field of translation studies for the past decades. Monika Krein-Kühle suggests that the debate about the necessity or uselessness of maintaining the notion of 'equivalence' in translation can only be resolved on the basis of solid, corpus-based, empirical research. She argues that the concept of 'equivalence' is not only important for the theory of translation, but also for applied concerns to do with translator training and translation quality assessment.

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Chapter 3 deals with another fundamental concept in translation studies: that of discourse. Like equivalence, discourse has been discussed in translation studies for many years. In his view of translation as a socially situated practice, Ian Mason draws on critical discourse theory which stresses the role of discourse in constructing, negotiating and challenging power relations, and places discourse and translation within the framework of multiple communities of practice. Such a decidedly social perspective on discourse and translation implies a comprehensive account of the act of translating including negotiations of meanings, identities and positionings of all participants involved. By way of exemplifying this social perspective on discourse, Mason closely examines a specific case of an act of translating, and he demonstrates how theory can be related to the types of choices and decisions translators are bound to make in practice.

In Chapter 4 another salient, much discussed topic in translation studies is taken up: the view that translation is a special form of intercultural communication. Martha Cheung looks at a case of Chinese discourse as intercultural communication exemplified by 'the story of "jihe" (geometry?, mathematics?)', where the present meaning of 'geometry' is revealed as resulting from an historic interaction between western and Chinese cultures. According to Cheung, each translational act is a site for the analysis of cultures in contact. In her careful analysis, the author shows how a particular western concept is interpreted and rendered for the Chinese readers, and she documents an interesting and complex interactional history where an originally much broader concept turns out to be subject to rhetorical and ideological forces and different ulterior motives, when imported into the Chinese knowledge system.

Closely related to translation viewed as a case of intercultural communication is a cross-cultural pragmatic perspective on translation, taken up in Chapter 5 by Marie-Noelle Guillot. She looks at interlingual and intercultural transfer in museum texts, a field of inquiry that has recently gained importance in translation studies. In a global context, with the steady increase in international museum visitors and global dissemination of cultural products, looking at the translation of museum texts is a relevant and worthwhile undertaking in that issues of linguacultural representations serve to highlight revealing pragmatic and contextual differences in audience expectations, museum policies and support media. The author exemplifies pragmatic-contextual concerns in the translation of museum texts by presenting an empirical study of translation students' responses to translated museum text material,

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with subsequent pilot work featuring picture-label texts (English and French), for a particular type of museum event: the in-situ, thematic, visual art exhibition. As a conclusion of this study, Guillot recommends that the deep lingua-cultural underpinnings of texts and the contextually conditioned expectation norms of international museum visitors need to be carefully analysed and explicated in the practice of culturally informed translation.

With Chapter 6 we turn to a recent influential research strand that combines socio-linguistic with psycholinguistic inquiry, namely translation seen as a specific type of language contact both in the mind of a bilingual individual (the translator) and in the context of the external world where languages in use meet and are dependent on a variety of different conditioning factors. The product of this contact may result in interference of linguistic features of the original with the translation into the second language. If this interference is realised repeatedly in translations from one particular source language, the resulting new linguistic features in the translation may well spread to non-translated, monolingual text production in the target language. Svenja Kranich shows that the translation-initiated process of innovation via language contact is similar to that which has been documented in other types of language contact, although these studies have so far ignored the role of translation in language contact. The author goes on to present ten hypotheses about what takes place in language contact through translation, and tests them on the basis of different language pairs.

In Chapter 7, we are introduced to a bringing together of cognitive and social-contextual perspectives on translation. Sandra Halverson presents her innovative ideas about a re-orientation of the field of translation studies which she argues would result in a much more important position for the individual translator. Her argument is based on an interdisciplinary view of translation in which research on bilingual cognition is combined with philosophical ideas about the emergence of the social world. In outlining her approach, the author draws on a number of socio-cognitive concepts such as 'situated cognition', 'common ground', habitus or background. In suggesting a new and fruitful convergence of cognitive and social approaches, Halverson provides an important impetus for a future comprehensive perspective on translation.

The second thematic block of this book starts with Chapter 8 and Cees Koster's discussion of literary translation, a genre which the author considers to be as complex and hybrid as translation itself. Literary translation reflects cultural mediation in a specific context situated

between two, often, but not always, very different national literatures and cultures. Today, literary translation tends to be not only subject to local influences of the receiving literary system but also, and increasingly more so, global factors of cultural exchange. These two contexts exert an influence on the literary translator, who positions herself both within her own local context and the intercultural space of the translation. The translator's role as an in-between actor reveals itself in her multiple positioning as addressee and sender, and reader and author, which impacts on her reflective actions and conscious literary stylistic decision. As concerns literary style, the author suggests that in future an integration of cognitive stylistics focusing on the cognitive context of reading and writing in translation studies will be a fruitful way of restoring the age-old field of literary translation to its place of prominence.

Mona Baker discusses translation as a case of re-narration in Chapter 9. The author first provides an overview of narrative theory and its relevance for translation theory, emphasising the fact that narrative theory can elucidate the complex roles translation can play in society. Baker sets out to distinguish different types of narratives (for example personal narratives, public narratives, conceptual and meta-narratives), describing the difference and the interplay among some of these narrative types. In addition to establishing this typology, Baker also describes a set of concepts that can illuminate how narratives are construed, identifying several functions such as appropriation, relationality or causal emplotment. Finally, the author offers an example illustrating the important role of translation in generating narratives that construct a potential 'enemy' as a target for war. Baker pleads for future translation research to integrate narrative theory and to engage in a variety of different genres and types of media leading eventually to a possible refinement of the methods of narrative analysis.

In another methodologically oriented chapter, Chapter 10, Federico Zanettin explores the impact of corpora on translation studies as an important part of computer-assisted study of language in use. The author provides an overview of the use of corpora for descriptive, explanatory and applied purposes and discusses research findings and implications for translator education and professional translators. As a basis for synchronic and diachronic research using quantitative and qualitative methods, corpora have played an important role in translation studies. One of the standard methodological procedures in corpus-related translation research is to compare translated texts with both their original texts in the source language and with comparable monolingual texts in the target language in order to establish recurrent patterns and

regularities in the translated as opposed to the original texts in the two languages involved. Another focus of corpus-related translation studies is the investigation of norms and regularities of translator behaviour beyond those of individual linguistic performance. The use of corpora facilitated through technological progress has great potential in offering generalisations that go beyond traditional exemplar-based research.

Chapter 11 by Luis Pérez-Gonzalez investigates amateur translation in the context of global media. The author examines how this increasingly important phenomenon in translation within the global news media context has been theorised in recent years, and discusses the implications technological changes in the distribution of global news media have for the blurring of news production, consumption and translation. He goes on to examine the social processes that have led to the rise of amateur activist communities of journalists/translators as dynamic communities of practice in the digital mediascape. The author argues that these new trends have implications for the future development of translation studies in that they may encourage a shift from semantic accuracy to narrative negotiation. This view is illustrated with a case study on subtitling in a political news interview by amateur translators.

In Chapter 12, Henry Widdowson addresses the role of translation in the context of second-language learning and teaching – a topic with a long history of controversial discussion and debate. The author discusses the traditional viewpoint long dominating the learning and teaching of second languages where the use of learners' mother tongues and translation were to be avoided. Seen differently, translation can be viewed as an entirely natural and indeed unavoidable process in any language learning and teaching activity: in their meaning making, learners will always draw on all the linguistic resources at their disposal. Using linguistic resources for pragmatic effect will help learners attain not an, in principle, illusory native speaker competence, but rather a capability for 'languaging' in the Vygotskyan tradition. Widdowson argues for the necessity of a radical shift in perspective with regard to the use of translation for language learning and teaching, and he gives a number of practical suggestions for bilingually designed classroom activities involving translation.

The final chapter of this volume addresses the issue of translation quality assessment. Juliane House describes several traditional approaches to translation evaluation from the perspective of a range of theoretical frameworks, showing how, in future, translation quality assessment can be enriched by incorporating a number of different new approaches and procedures. These can include corpus linguistic

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methods, contrastive pragmatic discourse analysis as well as a range of psycholinguistic, socio-psychological and neuro-linguistic experiments.

Taken together, the chapters and discussions in this volume provide the reader with exciting new perspectives on translation, an increasingly important field in applied linguistics. They make stimulating reading both for researchers and practising translators, setting the scene for further advancement in translation studies as a multidisciplinary field of research and practice.

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2
Translation and Equivalence

Monika Krein-Kühle

Equivalence is a fundamental, but also controversial issue in translation studies (TS). This chapter will try to identify some of the reasons behind the controversy and the misunderstandings still prevailing in the debate about the concept. It looks into the etymology of the term, gives an overview of the concept in TS and sheds light on the relationship between equivalence and translation. This chapter suggests that the future of equivalence lies in more empirical research into carefully selected, theoretically well-framed and contextualised translation corpora in order to take due account of the nature, conditions and constraints governing the concept. The results of such research can feed directly into the applied areas of TS, that is, translation teaching, professional translation and translation quality assessment/translation criticism.

2.1 Introduction

While some translation theorists have tried to (re)define the equivalence concept and consider it an integral part of the discipline, even if they understand it in different ways (e.g. Catford 1965; Neubert 1970, 1988; Wilss 1982, 1996a, 1996b; Koller 1995, 2011; Pym 1995, 2010; House 1997; Nida 2003 [1964]; Zybatow 2010), others question its universal usefulness (Hatim and Mason 1990; Reiß and Vermeer 1991; Nord 2009) or even reject it outright (Holz-Mänttäri 1984; Hönig and Kußmaul 1984; Vermeer 1984; Snell-Hornby 1988 [1995], 2006; Prunč 2007). Certainly, the concept of equivalence has been a fundamental though controversial issue (cf. Kenny 2009) ever since the early days of writing on translation, and its perceived ambiguity has led to very different interpretations and definitions, some of which have tended to cloud the issue rather than clarify it. Even today and after more

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than 50 years of research – if we date the advent of translation-related discussions of the concept back to Jakobson's (1959 [1992]) concept of 'equivalence in difference' – basic misunderstandings and scientifically debatable misrepresentations of the concept continue to prevail in the literature. Recently, for example, in Prunč (2007: 153, 176ff.), we find equivalence still being denigrated as a linguistic-systemic, surface concept, a stance which implies pushing the debate about equivalence back to a pre-scientific status. It is not surprising, therefore, though unfortunate and somewhat obsolete, when dictionaries of translation terminology contain similarly debatable definitions: Delisle et al. (1999: 137) define equivalence as a 'relation of identity' in their English entry and as an 'Entsprechungsrelation' (*relation of correspondence*) in their German entry (ibid.: 337), showing that the etymology of the term, which has been the object of conflicting representations (Snell-Horny 1988: 17ff.; House 1997: 26), still deserves some scrutiny (see Section 2.2).

Pym (1995) rightly reminds us that equivalence has scored well in counteracting 'theories of untranslatability', has contributed to the 'institutional legitimation' of TS, has 'defended the existence of translation as a vital social practice' (Pym 2010: 19) in the period of structuralism, and has helped distinguish translation from non-translation. The latter is an important aspect at a time when the boundaries of translation are being stretched beyond a meaningful use of the concept (Schreiber 1993) and when the theoretical premises of translation and equivalence seem to have become shakier than ever before. Although the concept still appears in modern translation encyclopaedias (Kenny 2009), in introductions to TS (Munday 2012: 66–83) and in course books on translation (e.g. Baker 2011), its usefulness is seen as being restricted to the practical side of translation, and it is considered 'marginalized' in a theoretical context (Munday 2012: 77); sometimes equivalence is even denied a 'theoretical status' (Baker 2011: 5). Such a standpoint, which ignores the interdependence of the applied and theoretical/descriptive areas of TS, amounts to relegating equivalence to the realm of mere subjectivity or speculation. Indeed, equivalence is also under attack for involving a 'subjective judgement from the translator or analyst' (Munday 2012: 68). This view neglects the fact that translation is a highly constrained activity, since it operates in a field of tension between loyalty or fidelity to the source text (ST) and its reproductive transformation in accordance with target text (TT) and target culture requirements, and that a comprehensive account of the

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constraints involved can considerably reduce such alleged subjectivity. Equivalence is a notion of quality (House 1997: 29ff. and this volume), in that it reflects the extent to which the translator managed to negotiate these constraints. This implies a need for well-underpinned value judgements from scholars, teachers or critics who analyse translations. Therefore, a theoretical contextualised account of the nature, conditions and constraints defining equivalence remains a central task of our discipline in order to make our research results more robust, comparable, and amenable to generalisation and intersubjective verification. The stark contrast between the low theoretical status of the concept and the high demand for competent professional translators and for high-quality translations in the professional field alone should be motivation enough for us to undertake this task.

In order to take a fresh look at the concept and properly situate our reflections within the current debate, the following sections will discuss the etymology of the term and its first appearance in TS (Section 2.2) and give a brief overview of the various approaches adopted in the field (Section 2.3). Any definition of equivalence requires a definition of translation and its delimitation from other concepts, such as adequacy and correspondence (Section 2.4). Section 2.5 will discuss the future of equivalence from a research and training perspective and the Conclusion (Section 2.6) will briefly summarise our account and provide some suggestions for future research.

2.2 Etymology of the term and its first appearance in the field

A look at the etymology of the term alone would have pointed the way to a potentially more useful understanding of the concept in the translation context. Proceeding from its Latin origin, we can break down the adjective 'equivalent'/'*äquivalent*' into '*aequus*' (equal) and '*valere*' (to be worth) to obtain 'of equal value'.[1] On the basis of its Latin origin, relevant dictionary entries[2] and as shown by previous research into the origin, meaning and use of the term (Albrecht 2005: 33ff.), equivalence is not about sameness, but about similar use, function, size or value, or about having an equal effect. Such an understanding of the concept may raise different questions, such as those about what has to be kept invariant in translation in order to achieve what kind of equality, what kind of value, and using what linguistic means in the target language (TL), pointing to more complex aspects of the concept. It is

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not clear when exactly the term 'equivalence' first emerged in writings on translation. Zenner (1971: 3) considers the development of machine translation, where equivalence first appears about 1955, to be the reason for the appearance of the term in pre-modern TS. It was presumably Jakobson who introduced the term 'equivalence' as 'equivalence in difference' in his 1959 publication. Jumpelt (1961: 45) introduced the term *Gleichwertigkeit* ('equal value') in the German literature on translation, and argued that correspondences are governed by the *Gleichwertigkeit* of statements within a specific context and situation, an approach that pointed already to a more comprehensive understanding of the concept. Wilss (1982: 137–1 38) claims that the term has been taken over from mathematics; yet, it is precisely the key characteristics of mathematical equivalence (for example, symmetry, reversibility, etc.) that do *not* apply to the translation relation and have sparked much criticism of the concept. However, in the 1950s' studies in machine translation, it was already becoming clear that reversibility/symmetry is a myth in the translation context and that linguistic-structural knowledge of languages is not sufficient to account for the complex task of translation. Since then, other disciplines have been drawn upon as well, and their respective terminologies have entered TS. Early researchers like Jakobson (1959 [1992]), Jumpelt (1961) and Vinay and Darbelnet (1958 [1977]) did not understand equivalence as a symmetrical relation between languages or source and TTs, but they were already pointing to some of the complexities involved (see Section 2.3). Viewed against this background, rejection of the term on the grounds of an alleged 'illusion of symmetry between languages' (Snell-Hornby 1988: 22) in the translation context can have no etymological or scientific basis. If we proceed strictly from its Latin origin, the term 'equivalence' (*Äquivalenz*) in the sense of 'being of equal value' may be considered a very suitable term, when it is referred to a theoretically well-described concept that is amenable to intersubjective verification. That is, however, where the problem lies, as will be shown in the brief overview of different interpretations and definitions of this concept in the following section.

2.3 A brief overview of the concept of equivalence in TS

Early linguistic approaches discussed translation-relevant aspects not only at word or sentence level, though this was their testing ground, but also already pointed further ahead. Jakobson's contribution (1959 [1992]) elucidates the problem of structural asymmetry involved in translation in order to arrive at an equivalent message in the TL

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('equivalence in difference') and helps counteract the untranslatability assumptions held by linguistic relativity theory. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958 [1977]) point to the relevance of stylistic appropriateness of translation solutions in corresponding contexts of situations on the basis of their hypothesis of 'situationally equivalent texts'. Catford (1965) already refers to the textual aspect of equivalence and claims that the underlying conditions of translation equivalence are situational. What were missing at that time were robust theoretical and methodological frameworks to account for all aspects relevant to translation and equivalence. Such frameworks are still missing in some quarters today and, in fact, the results of some recent corpus-based studies have hardly gone beyond Catford's equivalence probabilities (ibid.: 30). The communicative turn in writings on translation gave way to the view that translation is, above all, a means of communication (e.g. Nida 2003 [1964] and the Leipzig school, especially Kade 1968, 1977). Nida describes dynamic equivalence as the principle of equivalence of effect and a dynamic equivalence translation as '"the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message"' (Nida 2003: 166). Nida shifted the focus from the form of the message to the response of the receptor taking due account of target readers' expectations, but still considered the translational '"double-binding" relationship' (House 1997: 29) and the approximative character of equivalence. Although equivalence of effect is notoriously difficult to establish, as has often been claimed, and although a strongly target culture-oriented approach may reflect an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to the cultural values pertaining in the TL (Venuti 1998), Nida's contribution can still be seen as the 'birth certificate' (Schreiber 2006: 31, translated[3]) of modern TS, where reader orientation is crucial in the translation of 'pragmatic texts' (including informative and operative text types, Schreiber 1993: 84). It was Neubert (1970: 451) who stressed the fact that translation equivalence must be considered a 'semiotic category' that comprises a syntactic, a semantic and a pragmatic component. These components are hierarchically related: semantic equivalence takes priority over syntactic equivalence, and pragmatic equivalence governs and modifies both syntactic and semantic equivalence. Since equivalence relations unfold on the basis of texts, Neubert (1988) considers all translation to be text-bound. Neubert's three-category model already points to a more comprehensive text-based understanding of equivalence and the requisite hierarchisation of the components involved. Wilss (1982), too, speaks of 'text-pragmatic equivalence' and points the way towards a relativised, dynamised (Wilss 1996b) text typology-related and language

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pair-specific understanding of the concept. How equivalence can be assessed within a comprehensive 'multidimensional' framework has been demonstrated by House (1997). The most comprehensive account of equivalence as a text-related category, presupposing the requisite delimitation of translation from other forms of text (re)production, has been presented by Koller (2011). Koller (ibid.: 218–277) distinguishes five frames of reference to define translation equivalence: denotative equivalence, connotative equivalence, text-normative equivalence, pragmatic equivalence and formal-aesthetic equivalence (for an overview in English see Munday 2012: 73–75). Unlike Kade (1968), who suggests four types of equivalence at the lexical level, Koller (2011: 230–243) speaks of correspondences in his description of denotative equivalence, taking due account of the fact that dictionaries, glossaries, etc. can only contain correspondences or, at most, potential equivalents, whereas we can only establish on a text-in-context basis whether a particular correspondence can be considered an equivalent (see Example (1) below). Koller rightly claims that a hierarchical structuring of equivalences has to be established for each text according to the communicative situation, although how this is actually done has not yet been clarified. As this brief overview has shown, early German research – that is often, and unfairly, criticised for having adopted a narrowly defined notion of the concept or for having allegedly 'underrated, ignored or even opposed' the aspect of interpretation/understanding (Snell-Hornby 1988: 19) in translation – has made valuable and detailed contributions to the clarification of the concept and pointed to a consideration of contextual-situational constraints involved.

In the 1980s, and in tandem with the 'pragmatic turn' in linguistics, the functionalist paradigm shifted the focus of TS towards a consideration of culture and the extralinguistic setting of translation. In the wake of culture-specific 'translatorial action'-based (*Translatorisches Handeln*), functionalist and *skopos*-oriented approaches to translation, in which the actual language transfer plays only a subordinate role, 'equivalence' has been either degraded to a special form of 'adequacy' (Reiß and Vermeer 1991: 139–140) or completely abandoned (Holz-Mänttäri 1984; Vermeer 1984). The *skopos* or purpose is seen as the dominant factor in translation (Reiß and Vermeer 1991: 134), involving a perception of the ST and, indeed, translation itself as a mere '*Informationsangebot*' ('offer of information') (ibid.: 35ff.), and an upgrade of the translator to a 'co-author'. It is not surprising that such a permissive stance has generated debatable concepts such as the '*notwendige Grad an Differenziertheit*' ('necessary degree of precision')

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(Hönig and Kußmaul 1984: 58ff.), which have had far-reaching consequences for translator training. The insight that translation is purpose-bound and that translators do not 'merely transcode words' is hardly a flash of genius among functionalist or *skopos* theorists of translation (as still suggested, for example, by Snell-Hornby 2006: 167). Indeed, it is almost a truism that a meaningful notion of equivalence must consider extra-linguistic/extra-textual factors, but certainly cannot rely on such factors, such as purpose, alone. The problem with functionalist and *skopos*-oriented approaches to translation is their apparent assumption that special cases of translation (such as adaptations) are the norm rather than the exception in the translation context, whereas most run-off-the-mill professional translation work testifies to the contrary. Paradoxically, then, these approaches may fail to satisfy the needs of the applied side (that is, translation teaching, professional translation and translation quality assessment), although it is precisely the needs of professional translation that they claim to cater for. Not surprisingly, the harsh tone vis-à-vis equivalence has, in the meantime, become softer in some *skopos* quarters (Kußmaul 2007).

Descriptive approaches to literary translation even extend the definition of translation further to include '"assumed translation"' (Toury 1995: 31ff.). Equivalence is seen as something that 'is of little importance in itself' (ibid.: 86) or is assumed to exist *per definitionem* (ibid.) Although Toury makes a strong case for empirical investigations that take due account of the TL cultural situation, the problem remains the loosely defined concept of translation, which makes it hard to establish whether a text is a translation or not and to define the criteria for evaluating such events (cf. House 1997: 8). Descriptive TL culture-oriented approaches share with functionalist and *skopos* approaches the emphasis on the appropriateness of the translated text in the TL cultural setting, the relative unimportance of the ST and the lack of a need to delimit translation from other forms of text (re)production. These approaches in tandem with some corpus-based approaches that claim that 'the move away from STs and equivalence is instrumental in preparing the ground for corpus work' (Baker 1993: 237) and an increased focus on peripheral aspects of translation (as criticised by Zybatow 2010: 229) may have pushed the concepts of translation and equivalence to the periphery of our discipline. This may explain the low theoretical status of the two concepts, although, from an applied side they have remained key issues, in particular when seen against the background of the increasingly stringent national and international quality requirements to be met by the translation product. To overcome

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the discrepancy between practical needs and theoretical neglect, the following section will present and discuss definitions of the two concepts (that is, translation and equivalence) and the relevant notions involved.

2.4 The relationship between translation and equivalence – defining the concepts

The delimitation of translation per se ('*eigentliche Übersetzung*', Koller 2011: 77) from other types of text (re)production (Schreiber 1993, 2004; Koller 1995, 2011) on the basis of a prototypical approach (e.g. Halverson 1999) that views translation per se as 'the *central* ("prototypical") object of TS, but *not as the only one*' (Schreiber 2004: 269, translated, emphasis added), can take account of both the needs of historical-descriptive research and of the requirements of the theoretical and applied branches of TS. This distinction is necessary to allow the description of 'syntactic, semantic, stylistic and pragmatic *regularities* in the relationships between STs and TTs' (Koller 2011: 208, translated) and to work out the conditions which underlie translation and which govern a selection from among potential equivalents at the various textual levels (ibid.: 208). According to Schreiber (1993: 43), translation is governed by invariance demands, such as sense, style, effect, intention, etc. (ibid.: 31), and adaptation by variance demands, such as the intention to change the original (ibid.: 104–105) or its function in the TL, such as the popularisation (in the TL) of a highly technical medical text (in the source language [SL]) for a wider non-expert audience. 'A translation is an interlingual text transformation based on hierarchized invariance demands and always involving an interpretation of the source text' (Schreiber 1993: 43, translated). His definition of translation includes 'text translation' ('*Textübersetzung*') and 'context translation' ('*Umfeldübersetzung*'), the former being governed by predominantly text-internal invariants (form or content) and the latter by text-external invariants (intention or effect); cf. similar binary distinctions, such as 'overt' and 'covert' translation (House 1997: 66–71). Certainly, much professional translation work operates between these two translation types and may occasionally also include translations with well-motivated elements of adaptation, such as the correction of ST defects that can occur in all genres in the translation of informative and operative texts. The most common notion of translation per se in a prototypical sense views a translation as having the same text function as the original or serving the same intended function. Text function can be defined as 'the application or use which the text has in the particular

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context of a situation' (ibid.: 36), a definition that goes beyond more general language functions and takes due account of the genre/register-related aspects of individual texts (ibid.: 107–108). Functional constancy, therefore, is a necessary condition for translation and can be viewed as the defining criterion of translation.

In modern TS terminology, equivalence refers to translation quality (House 1997, 2014), it is not a definitional criterion of translation. If it were, 'all text transformations that do not achieve this ambitious goal would have to be classified as adaptations … and there would be no scope for assessing translations on a "felicitous" to "poor" continuum', as Schreiber (1993: 56, translated) rightly argues – a view that helps counteract definitional circularity. Whereas most scholars regard equivalence as an approximative concept and 'total' equivalence as a *contradictio in adiecto* (contradiction in terms) (Albrecht 1990), Schreiber claims that total equivalence can be achieved with short texts, such as 'No smoking' – *Rauchen verboten*. Schreiber (1993: 57), therefore, suggests using the term 'equivalence degree' ('*Äquivalenzgrad*'), which does not exclude optimal equivalence, but still points to the fact 'that invariance demands cannot be fully satisfied at least as regards more complex texts' (ibid., translated). Since ST and TT are bound together by what has to be kept invariant in translation, the *tertium comparationis*, in relation to which equivalence is aimed at, comes into play. This notion is less indeterminate or subjective than some scholars seem to think (Munday 2012: 77), since translation is subject to various textual constraints, such as grammatical-syntactic, lexical-semantic, terminological-phraseological, genre/register-related constraints, and extra-textual constraints, such as domain-related, contextual and situational constraints, and – in establishing the intended sense – operates within the cognitive framework of a 'common ground shared', 'common knowledge' and 'shared expertise' (Clark 1996: 92ff.). Various scholars have suggested different potential invariants depending on text genre and translation strategy, such as 'sense', 'response', 'effect', 'author intention', etc. (Schreiber 1993: 31). Invariance demands can be hierarchically ordered on the basis of a detailed ST analysis (e.g. Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1994) and by taking due account of the requirements of the TL communicative situation. Such analysis should also consider the intercultural/interlingual differences in genre and register conventions, which are accessible via multilingual corpora or Language for Specific Purposes (LSP) research results. In the following example, the notion of sense/intended sense (see de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 84 for the difference between 'sense' and 'meaning'), which optimally complies with the 'facts of

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the case' ('*Sachverhalt*', Kade already 1964: 94) and the informative-communicative ST function are considered the highest invariants, with SL-TL differences in genre and register conventions being viewed as relevant constraints:

Example (1)
ST: Germany closes seven of its oldest reactors[4]
TT1: *Deutschland schließt sieben seiner ältesten Reaktoren*
[Germany closes seven of its oldest reactors]
TT2: *Deutschland nimmt die sieben ältesten Reaktoren vorläufig vom Netz*
[Germany takes the seven oldest reactors temporarily off the grid]

Although TT1 shows full correspondence with the English text, from the point of view of the above invariants/constraints, it fails to achieve equivalence at various levels: firstly, at the level of sense, which can be established by referring to the 'facts of the case' (ibid.) underlying the text. Firstly, the English insinuates that there are more than seven 'oldest reactors', a claim which is falsified by factual knowledge. Any correction can be referred to in a translator's footnote. Secondly, at the level of register, only two potential equivalents – that is, *abschalten* or *vom Netz nehmen* – are contextually suitable for the verb 'close', as can be retrieved from German parallel texts. Thirdly, on the basis of the textual content, the shut-off is temporary, which was a highly controversial issue at the time, and, therefore, may have to be made explicit in the heading, given the invariants established in the context of the translation brief which was to produce a high-quality translation to be publishable in a corresponding German newspaper. Certainly, in specific situations, it may be relevant to establish whether the factual defect in the English heading was an intended one (for example, for ideological or other reasons) and may have to be made transparent in translation; or whether it can be traced to a certain carelessness in research on the part of the author, as was apparently the case in this text. The aspect of temporariness made explicit in the heading shows that there is a certain degree of tolerance (Jumpelt 1961: 178; Schreiber 1993: 57) involved in the equivalence concept and that extra-translational decisions, such as those of publishers, may have to be taken into account. As the above discussion has shown, equivalence is linked, but is not to be equated, with translation, and should therefore be demarcated from 'correspondence' and 'adequacy'. Equivalence is an indicator of translation quality, being operative at the text-in-context level of *parole* (language in use); correspondence is a systemic, that is, language system-related notion

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that is operative at the level of *langue* in contrastive linguistics (Koller 2011: 224–225). Adequacy has undergone conflicting definitions in the literature. Toury (1995: 56–57) defines 'adequacy' as an ST-related concept relating to the 'adherence to source norms', whereas functionalist and *skopos* theories consider the concept to be a *skopos*-dependent/TT-related category (Reiß and Vermeer 1991). In our understanding, equivalence subsumes adequacy/'*Adäquatheit*' in terms of time, purpose and TL readership. Since the concept of equivalence is a highly complex notion and subject to considerable constraints, the future of the concept will lie in unearthing the complexities, conditions and constraints involved in order to dynamise, relativise and intersubjectify it within a sound theoretical/methodological framework. This will make it operative in the theoretical and applied branches of TS, as will be demonstrated in the following sections.

2.5 The future of equivalence

Pym (2010) has recently distinguished between 'natural equivalence', meaning that equivalents are regarded as given, as existing prior to the act of translation and have to be discovered by the translator, and directional equivalence which is understood to go one way, from SL to TL. Directional equivalence is not assumed to be natural/given or reciprocal or to exist prior to translation, and translations are the result of translators' active decisions (ibid.: 25); this takes the debate back to the notorious 'literal vs. free' debate (ibid.: 30ff.). With culturally remote languages, 'natural equivalence' may be hard to discover. Pym must be given credit for stressing the relevance of equivalence from an institutional and social point of view and as a foundational concept in his latest approach, but equivalence is more than just a 'belief structure' (ibid.: 37), implying that the beliefs about the concept 'may be more important than any actual testing of its existence' (ibid.: 25). Testing its existence, unearthing the constraints involved in the production, analysis or assessment of the translation product are at the heart of empirical studies, such as corpus-based studies (see Zanettin, this volume), which are, in fact, missing in Pym's account of the subject, but may be considered vital for the future of the concept from a theoretical and applied point of view, as is discussed in what follows.

2.5.1 Equivalence in translation research and training

Translation as an empirical phenomenon can best be investigated on the basis of ST-TTs in context and situation. Equivalence as the

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felicitous result of translational activity can best be investigated on the basis of a corpus of actual translations that promise to be of a high quality. As Altenberg and Granger (2002: 17) rightly state, '[t]he corpus can be said to lend an element of empirical inter-subjectivity to the concept of equivalence, especially if the corpus represents a variety of translators'. Such intersubjectivity, however, can only be achieved if researchers address quality-relevant corpus selection criteria and better contextualisation (Baker 2006) of the product under analysis and aim at developing a sound theoretical/methodological set-up to underlie the research. Carefully designed and tightly controlled corpora that are compiled with a focus on textual and extra-textual qualitative design criteria, including, for example, the use of authentic data from real-life translation activities optimally carried out by 'competent professional translators' (for a definition see Krein-Kühle 2011: 397) and are embedded in a sound theoretical and methodological framework with a contextual-situational dimension, such as the Cologne Specialized Translation Corpus (CSTC) (Krein-Kühle 2013), will help obtain intersubjectively replicable and comparable findings that can directly feed into the applied areas of TS, and also help test 'the very *theory*, in whose terms research is carried out' (Toury 1995: 1). Krein-Kühle (2003, 2011, 2013) has provided definitions of translation and equivalence in the arena of scientific and technical translation (STT) for the genres of research and technical reports. On the basis of the CSTC, she has tested her equivalence prerequisite, demonstrating how register constraints govern syntactic and lexical-semantic aspects of equivalence and establishing translation solutions that show true translation regularities rather than translation practices, de-contextualised linguistic features, questionable translation universals or interferences from the ST. For example, an investigation of *have* and *be* used as main verbs in the above genres has shown that the use of semantically more specific verbs in the German TTs accounts for around 50 per cent of all solutions (Krein-Kühle 2011: 406). See example below:

Example (2)
ST: It should be noted that these **were** raw samples from the PDU and not …
TT: *Dabei ist zu beachten, dass es **sich** um Rohproben aus der PDU und nicht um … handelte.*[5]
[In this context it is to be noted that raw samples from the PDU were concerned and not …]. (ibid.)

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High-quality corpora reflect the much sought-after combination of outstanding translational knowledge and profound factual/domain knowledge possessed by competent professionals. They are, therefore, a reliable source both for research and training, since they deliver hard evidence of high-quality translations. Renowned companies with in-house translation departments often publish high-quality STs and TTs on their websites, which can be accessed by scholars, trainers and students. Corpora are an important methodological tool for the clarification of the equivalence concept in research and training, but their use needs to be embedded in an equivalence-relevant theoretical and methodological framework.

From the point of view of training, a consideration of equivalence relations operating at different text levels has proved particularly helpful. Baker (2011) convincingly describes equivalence at word level and above word level, grammatical equivalence, textual equivalence (thematic and information structures and cohesion) and pragmatic equivalence (coherence). What is additionally needed is a theoretical account of the concept and a hierarchisation of invariants/constraints to heighten students' problem awareness and improve their problem-solving abilities by employing equivalence-related transfer strategies and procedures. Experience has shown that – after a comprehensive ST analysis – equivalence can be approached with a succession of draft translations which are continually improved by taking all textual and extra-textual constraints into account (cf. 'multiple stage translation', Wilss 1996a). In the process, the mechanism of equivalence relations becomes more and more transparent, helping students proceed on their route to text-in-context equivalence. For illustrative purposes, an example will be discussed on the basis of the following definition. Equivalence in STT is defined as:

> a qualitative complete-text-in-context-based concept. It refers to the translational relation between a complete ST and a complete TT, both of which are embedded in a specific domain-related context, and implies the preservation of ST sense/intended sense or 'das Gemeinte' [what is meant] (the invariant) … in the TT using TL linguistic means, *the best possible selection of which* must have been achieved at the syntactic, lexical-semantic, terminological-phraseological, and textual levels. These levels are hierarchically interrelated and subject to pragmatic aspects … In this way equality or even improvement (in the case of ST defects) of 'communicative value' (Kade 1977: 36) may be deemed to have been achieved. (Krein-Kühle 2011: 394)

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Equivalence is viewed as a hierarchically ordered syntactic, lexical-semantic, terminological-phraseological and textual complex which is governed by pragmatic, textual and situational aspects. It is a dynamic concept, which, prospectively, is negotiated in the process of translation via translators' decisions which are constrained by various factors and, retrospectively, can be used to replicate the process and decisions and their constraints in the analysis of the product. The translation brief to the students in our case was to produce a TT that has the same informative-communicative text function (unlike language function) (cf. Section 2.4) among specialists in the TL culture as the ST had in the SL culture along the lines of the above definition. After establishing the translation's context of situation, the direction of communication (expert-to-expert in the same and related fields) and a detailed ST analysis taking due account of the equivalence-relevant text-internal and text-external factors, students were given references and links to internet sources and asked to compile translation and reference/parallel corpora to engage in domain and register research and consult findings from TL LSP research. Also, an expert in the field was invited to give students domain background knowledge and explain key concepts. Since it would go beyond the scope of this chapter to present all draft translations, one of the first drafts and the final version are given below:

Example (3)
ST: Technical Summary
1. Introduction and framework of this report
Carbon dioxide capture and storage (CCS), the subject of this Special Report, is considered as one of the options for reducing atmospheric emissions of CO_2 from human activities.[6]
TT1: *Technische Zusammenfassung*
1. *Einleitung und allgemeiner Rahmen*
Die Abscheidung und Speicherung von Kohlendioxid (CCS), das Thema dieses Sonderberichts, ist eine der Optionen zur Reduzierung von atmosphärischen Emissionen von CO2, die vom Menschen verursacht werden.
[Technical Summary
1. Introduction and general framework
The capture and storage of carbon dioxide (CCS), the subject of this special report, is one of the options for reducing atmospheric emissions of CO_2 that are caused by human beings.]
TT2: *Technische Zusammenfassung*
1. *Einleitung und Inhaltsübersicht*

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Bei der in diesem Sonderbericht untersuchten Abscheidung und Speicherung von Kohlendioxid (CCS) handelt es sich um eine der Optionen zur Reduzierung der anthropogenen CO2-Emissionen in die Atmosphäre.
[Technical Summary
Introduction and overview of contents
With the in this special report investigated capture and storage of carbon dioxide (CCS) one option for reducing the anthropogenic CO_2 emissions into the atmosphere is concerned.]

TT1 fails optimal equivalence, above all, due to an obvious disregard of register and domain knowledge-induced constraints. TT2 shows how register aspects (use of prenominal attribute, specific verbs, syntactic structure, specialised adjective '*anthropogen*') and a change in perspective required due to the different ways of representing domain knowledge in the two discourse communities involved ('emissions into the atmosphere caused by human activities'), in particular, take precedence over syntactic and lexical aspects and involve considerable shifts at these levels. Text type, genre, register and domain are the crucial aspects that constrain the choice of translation solutions in this discourse genre. TT2 reflects the requirement of higher levels of technicality, terminological specificity, abstraction and formality of expression, which has to be taken into account in scientific translation from English into German (Krein-Kühle 2003). As for the invariant, only TT2 shows full preservation of ST sense and can be said to function as 'equivalent substitute' of the ST. In this context the notion of 'Tauschwert' (exchange value) applies, which, to my knowledge, goes back to Neubert (1970: 453) and not to Pym as mentioned in Kenny (2009: 97). More research into the concept of 'multiple stage translation' for didactic purposes, taking due account of all the constraints involved, and more research into the interplay between factual/domain knowledge and translational knowledge, including also cognitive aspects,[7] may help make the concept of equivalence more robust, more replicable and conducive to intersubjective verification.

Equivalence in the translation of 'pragmatic texts' involves detailed factual/domain knowledge and compliance with TL text type, register and genre conventions and reader expectations, and is geared towards fluency and naturalness in order to facilitate communication in the TL cultural setting, although certainly translations of such texts, too, may have to paraphrase concepts that are new to the TL community and coin new terms, thereby enriching the TL registers. Equivalence in this

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context helps resist linguistic dominance, which may be imposed on national discourses and can lead to calquing by the ubiquitous use of English as *lingua franca* (House 2013).

In the translation of literary texts (see Koster, this volume), the high status of the ST as a work of art requires an understanding of equivalence that takes due account of the artistic, aesthetic and expressive use of language in tandem with the author's intention as the two most relevant invariants. Equivalence in literary translation is constrained above all by the individual artistic style of the ST author. As the following example shows, even minor changes of rhythm in translation may change the narrative in the ST.

Example (4)
ST: They were young, educated, and both virgins on **this, their wedding night**, and they lived in a time when a conversation about sexual difficulties was plainly impossible [bold type added].[8]
TT: *Sie waren jung, gebildet und in* ***ihrer Hochzeitsnacht*** *beide noch unerfahren, auch lebten sie in einer Zeit, in der Gespräche über sexuelle Probleme schlicht unmöglich waren* [bold type added].[9]
[They were young, educated and in their wedding night both still inexperienced, also they lived in a time in which conversations about sexual difficulties were simply impossible.]

In this sentence, the scene is set for the dramatic events that start to unfold 'in this, their wedding night', by the use of the demonstrative determiner pointing to the relevance of this particular night, whereas the official German translation ignores the ST rhythm and scene-setting by syntactic transformation and deletion of the determiner. Replication of the ST syntactic structure ('*noch unerfahren in dieser, ihrer Hochzeitsnacht*' [still inexperienced in this, their wedding night]) would have maintained the rhythm and the scene-setting in translation.

A differentiated understanding of equivalence as a relative and flexible concept may help counteract linguistic dominance and contribute to expanding the national registers in the field of pragmatic translation; in literary translation, equivalence can contribute to enriching the TL culture and convey a flavour and knowledge of the *Other* without compromising readability or alienating the TL readership. Doing justice to the equivalence concept would imply a move away from the extreme polarities of 'literal vs. free', even if these may have to be taken into account in descriptive-historical studies of translations. From a professional angle, most felicitous translations operate between these two

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extremes, but may deviate more or less from the centre in the direction of domestication (Example (3)) or foreignisation (Example (4)) and often, in fact, combine the two orientations by employing more literal or free translation procedures at lower text levels. From an applied point of view, translation theory needs to provide and test comprehensive redefinitions of the concept which take due account of all the constraints involved, such as grammatical-syntactic, lexical-semantic, terminological-phraseological, genre/register-related, pragmatic, domain-related, contextual and situational aspects that govern the choice of specific translation solutions and the rejection of others, in order to deal with specific text types and genres in specific contexts and situations (cf. Wilss 1996b: 16–17). The much desired visibility of translators as mediators, rather than 'co-authors', resides precisely in their abilities/skills to negotiate these hierarchised constraints by informed decisions. More research into the interaction between factual/domain knowledge and translational knowledge, which may draw on cognitive approaches and research into the notions of 'common knowledge' and 'shared expertise' (Clark 1996), along with a more comprehensive exploration of the reality surrounding the production of equivalence in translation – which may draw on interviews with competent professional translators prior to data collection – and more corpus-in-context-based research into the constraints involved are vital and should be given more attention in the theoretical and applied branches. More knowledge about all the constraints governing translation and equivalence would not only lead to a higher degree of intersubjectivity and comparability of research findings, but, from an applied angle, would also give rise to a greater number of equivalent translations, which might imply a greater number of more uniform translation solutions (cf. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958 [1977]: 23–24).

2.6 Conclusion and future prospects

As this chapter has shown, a theoretical contextualised account of the nature, conditions and constraints defining translation and equivalence remains a central task of the discipline of TS. More empirical research into carefully selected, theoretically well-framed, contextualised and, optimally, high-quality translation corpora as 'best practice' events will be a promising route towards unearthing the conditions underlying translation and equivalence, establishing relevant translation phenomena and robust patterns/regularities and shedding more light on the nature of translation. Such corpora optimally reflect translation

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modes, text types and genres that are relevant to the applied side. In the process, the concept of equivalence can be made amenable to generalisation and intersubjective verification. Questions as to whether equivalence should be seen as a prescriptive or descriptive concept will lose their relevance once the conditions and constraints underlying the two concepts have been properly accounted for. Equivalence is also an ethical concept, since it points to our responsibility as scholars, professionals and teachers to pass well-informed judgements on translations, to train students to enable them to produce high-quality translations, and to produce such translations ourselves. After all the paradigm shifts and turns we have witnessed in the last two decades involving the influx of new ideas and terminologies from various disciplines, all of which have certainly broadened our horizons, we have lost sight of TS's central object of study. This central object of study, which only our discipline can explain, is the relationship between STs and TTs in contexts and situations. It is not without irony that, at a time when ideological issues have become a legitimate field of study in our discipline, the ideology that has pushed the concepts of translation and equivalence from the centre to the periphery, especially in the theoretical arena, still remains to be unpacked.

Notes

1. Online Etymology Dictionary, http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=equivalent&searchmode=none, date accessed 19 June 2012. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1966), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1995).
2. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989), *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (1987), *Herders Fremdwörterbuch* (1969), *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* (1913/1974).
3. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.
4. Heading of an article in *The Independent* in the aftermath of the Fukushima nuclear accident, which was translated in a BA class, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-closes-seven-of-its-oldest-reactors-2242991.html, date accessed 3 July 2012.
5. Process development unit = *Pilotanlage*.
6. Carbon Dioxide Capture and Storage, http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/special-reports/srccs/srccs_wholereport.pdf, date accessed 30 July 2012. Part of this report was translated in an MA scientific and technical translation class.
7. As is being done by Krüger in his doctoral corpus-based research into implicitation and explicitation in STT.
8. Ian McEwan (2007) *On Chesil Beach*, Jonathan Cape: London.
9. Ian McEwan (2008) *Am Strand*, Diogenes: Zürich, translated by Bernhard Robben.

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3
Discourse and Translation – A Social Perspective

Ian Mason

The concept of 'discourse' (whether simply in the sense of the organisation of verbal interaction or as uses of language giving voice to the meanings and values of social institutions) has been current in translation studies for many years without generating a great deal of debate about how discourses actually affect translator behaviour. Starting from Foucault's notion of discours, and drawing on (critical) discourse theory (Blommaert 2005) and Hatim's (e.g. 2001) notion of socio-textual practices, this chapter places discourses and translators within the framework of communities of practice (Wenger 1998). Viewing translation as a socially situated activity implies consideration of the multiple communities of which translators (and other text users) are members – and the essential role of discourses in negotiating, reinforcing or challenging power relations (Barton and Tusting 2005). This, in turn, argues for an inclusive account of the act of translating, relating all participants to the processes of positioning of self and others, negotiation and ownership of meanings, in which they are involved. Issues of identity and power are thus central to this conception of translating, not in the sense of predetermined positions or roles but as negotiated social practice. From this perspective, a particular case of translating is then examined in an attempt to relate overarching theories to actual translation processes and to draw together discourse theory, elements of a sociology of translation and the decisions translators make at both micro-level (for example, word choice) and macro-level (for example, textual strategy).

3.1 Introduction

There is no ideal way of investigating the set of phenomena we know as translation. This truism is, perhaps, worth re-stating at the outset

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of an attempt to bring together different – even disparate – strands of thought in translation studies. From an early focus on contrastive linguistics and the equivalence of language elements, translation studies has evolved towards cultural, intercultural, historical and sociological considerations of the context surrounding translation events. 'Layer upon layer of context' (Tymoczko 2002: 9) has been explored in a centrifugal move towards the outermost social, political and cultural determinants of the settings in which the activity takes place. Over the course of this journey, the field has engaged with many ways of viewing and accounting for phenomena: structuralism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, postcolonialism, constructivism – to name just the most prominent ones. In some ways, this evolution has resembled a flight from the centre (the source text, translator and target text) towards ever more global and pan-cultural concerns. Underlying such trends, one might suggest, are some irreducible facts about the investigation of translation.

1. Words embodied in texts are never a direct representation of meanings. They are at best an imperfect record of an (evanescent) communicative event.
2. Human activities (including reading, writing, listening, speaking, translating) are always context-dependent and context-forming. They cannot usefully be studied or judged independently of their contexts yet these contexts are non-finite and therefore only ever partially available for observation.

Hence, the perceived futility of one-to-one comparisons of items in source and target texts or, indeed, of entire decontextualised texts. Hence, the need to dig ever deeper, to seek to unearth more telling, more explanatory accounts of translational activity. Over the past two decades, culturally and socially based studies, incorporating insights from Derrida, Foucault, Bourdieu and many others, have widened perspectives and brought new understanding to our study of translation. And many historical accounts have told us a great deal that is relevant to the position of the translator in today's postcolonial and globalised world. This much is nowadays, I feel, common ground in translation studies.

There are, however, some dangers inherent in these centrifugal moves. One of them is perceptible in some contextual accounts which end up doing history, doing politics, committing to causes but having

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little to say about translational activity itself. As we explore the outer layers of context, we may occasionally lose sight of the core issues: translators at work and how they are affected in their decision making by (cross-)cultural trends, pressures, movements.[1] Inevitably, the question arises: what practical differences do these contextual factors make to translators' actual decisions while they are translating and to the resulting translations? At the same time, there is much appeal to 'discourses' or 'narratives' as vectors of ideological positioning but less examination of how these function in actual translation practice or how we are to recognise them in individual moves by translators and interpreters.[2]

There is, then, we submit, a need to link outer to inner contexts and both of these to text, the substance translators work with and produce. Indeed, the major purpose of this chapter is to explore ways of moving in both directions between Discourse 1 (the co-construction of meaning among participants: writers, translators, readers), Discourse 2 (the historically and socially determined accounts – or narratives – that underlie our socio-textual practices) and the broad cultural trends that shape these. For convenience, let us refer to these two acceptations of the word 'discourse' as D1 and D2 respectively (cf. Widdowson 2004: 8 and, for a related but slightly different distinction, Gee 1999: 6–7, who uses 'discourse' for 'language-in-use' and 'Discourse' for ways of enacting identity and adopting social roles).

In a work published over two decades ago, Hatim and Mason (1990) saw a determining link between texture (the utterance or the words on the page), structure (the organisation of what we say or write in terms of the goal we seek to achieve) and context (as the set of communicative, pragmatic and semiotic assumptions on which we rely). The work also posited an outer 'context (history, ideology, etc.)' but stopped short of exploring it in any depth. Since then the 'cultural turn' has pioneered the exploration of such matters and recent moves towards a sociology of translating and interpreting have carried this further still.

Now, the sociology of translation places the translator as a social being at the heart of our scholarly focus. Accounts inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice (e.g. Simeoni 1998; Inghilleri 2003) have moved the translator's habitus from the periphery to the centre of translation and interpreting studies and in turn led to calls for the 'empowerment' of translators and interpreters (Inghilleri 2005a,b; Tymoczko 2007). How do such accounts affect translators in their actual behaviour (problem solving, decision making, self-presentation, and so

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on)? How does translators' habitus affect their actual decision making when they work in today's mass translation industry?

3.2 Communities of practice

In order to explore the links from outer context to individual translator decision making and the crucial role of discourse in these processes, I propose here to call not on the work of Bourdieu himself, applications of which are already available in a growing body of studies (Simeoni 1998; Inghilleri 2003, 2005a, 2005b; Tymoczko 2007; Wolf and Fukari 2007), but of a Bourdieu-inspired approach, namely, the theory of communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). In this perspective, the translator is seen as a socially situated actor participating in multiple communities.

Wenger's concern is not that of translating, nor even human verbal communication. His theory is a theory of learning as social participation. He identifies four key components (1998: 5):

1. Meaning: learning by experience
2. Practice: learning by doing
3. Community: learning by belonging
4. Identity: learning by becoming.

In this chapter, we adopt the view that translators too learn by experience, by doing, by belonging and by becoming. Even if they spend their working day alone in front of a screen, they belong to communities of practice, both actual and virtual, and thereby acquire a habitus that is not stable but always subject to adaptation in the light of the various evolving communities of which they are part. Further, their discourses and the discourses with which they constructively engage reflect this socialisation.

Some examples cited from Wenger's (1998: 16–38) account of his ethnographic fieldwork in the claims-processing office of a large US medical insurance company may assist in establishing the essential link between community and discourse. As a participant-observer, Wenger worked as a claims processor while making clear to all his colleagues that he was a researcher, observing their activities. At one point, one of the claims processors calls out to another: 'Maureen, do you know what's "incompetent cervix"? The insured put this as a justification of ultrasound'. The reply comes back: 'I'm pretty sure that it's eligible, but we should have this from the doctor, not just the insured'. The relevance

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of the reply to the question asked can only be established via common understandings between interlocutors within a community of practice. As Ariel, one of the junior claims processors, reflects: 'That's right, that is what an incompetent cervix is: it's eligible' (Wenger 1998: 28). Later in the day, Ariel is processing an ambulance claim that is lacking a diagnosis, as required by the rules. She consults her supervisor, who advises her to find one in the patient's claims history, 'Just anything that will do'. Noting Ariel's expression of surprise, the supervisor adds with a smile: 'Welcome to claims processing!' (Wenger 1998: 30). Meaning, practice, community and identity are all involved in these simple illustrations of the 'discourse of claims processing'. Things said in a routine way have meaning by virtue of the community of practice in which they are uttered and of previous shared experience within that community. As they are then adopted by newcomers to the community, they are part of the process of 'becoming' a member of and 'belonging' to that community.

Let us pause now to reflect on the notions of 'discourse' (D2) and 'community' that have just been invoked. We should, first of all, avoid conceiving of these in monolithic terms. Becoming a claims processor, for example, does not entail that one only and always speaks in a certain way. Indeed, the whole point of a communities-of-practice approach is that individuals belong to multiple communities and that their identity is shaped in the way they position themselves in relation to each and every one. The individual engages in many communities of practice: family, workplace, special-interest group, clubs, sporting interests all involve 'mutual engagement in joint enterprises', which in turn generate 'shared repertoires' of language, style and routines (Wenger 1998: 73–85). These multiple, overlapping communities are rather different from the more hermetic 'field' of Bourdieu's theory of practice. For Bernard Lahire (2004), cited in Wolf (2007: 22), the individual is 'not trapped in the tight web of the habitus … but determined by multiple social experiences which influence him or her during a whole lifetime'. Whether or not this is a fair criticism of Bourdieu's theory, the point here is that 'multiple social experiences' are exactly what characterise the individual as participant in several communities of practice.

Moreover, there is a connection here to narrative theory and its application to translation, as proposed by Baker (2006; and this volume). Comparing the notion of 'narrative' with that of 'discourse', she observes that the former is less abstract in its conception and also covers the distinction between individual and shared perspectives in

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Table 3.1 Community-of-practice profile of a UK-based freelance translator

- Training institution (school, university)
- Employers (agencies and clients)
- Institutional memberships and affiliations
- Previous or concurrent professional communities
- Social networks (of translators): discussion boards
- Other social networks (for example sport, charities, pressure groups)
- Cross-cultural perspectives

a way that 'discourse' (D2) does not (2006: 3). 'Ontological narratives' are narratives of the self, reflecting the way we account for our own lives and our place in the world. 'Public narratives', like 'discourses' (D2) are accounts circulating among (social and institutional) groups. But whereas discourses are often seen as somehow attached to the group (one institution, one discourse), 'narrative theory recognises that at any moment in time we can be located within a variety of divergent, criss-crossing, often vacillating narratives …' (Baker 2006: 3). These ideas chime well with the perspective of communities of practice. Individual translators, with their own ontological narratives, engage with the narratives circulating in institutions of other cultures – and indeed, through repeated interaction with them, learn to become temporary members of these communities, if only in a virtual sense. They also engage with their own communities in a variety of ways. To illustrate what is involved in this, Table 3.1 lists the kinds of communities of practice of which, I suggest, a typical freelance translator might be or have been a member.

The profile in Table 3.1 is not that of one actual translator, but is based on my observation of many freelancers, especially but not only in the UK. It allows for 'distributed' (Barton and Tusting 2005: 3) and virtual as well as face-to-face groups: the translator frequently draws on and contributes to online resources: term banks, translation memory, discussion boards and so on.

3.3 Identity and participation

In Wenger's (1998) account of communities of practice there is a strong linkage between participation and identity. Defining identity as the 'negotiated experience of self', he shows how the way we engage with communities (Do we identify ourselves as full participants, as peripheral, marginalised or alienated, for example?) is an experience that has

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to do with negotiation, our 'ability to shape the meanings that define these communities' (1998: 188). Thus, forming identity involves two processes: identification and negotiability. Wenger offers examples of each of these in terms of participation and non-participation. The examples have to do with the positioning of self and others and the extent to which one is able to negotiate or 'own' meanings. In terms of identification, for example, being part of a group of close friends is an identity of participation while, if we overstep the mark and are rebuffed by the group, we experience an identity of non-participation.

In similar terms, one might imagine examples of identities of participation and non-participation for the translator, as in Table 3.2.

These examples are to be read in the following way. The extent to which we feel involved (identification) in some joint enterprise and the extent to which we feel in control of the meanings that define the community (negotiability) lie somewhere between the left-hand and right-hand columns. If our translation is rejected or returned with heavy revisions we experience a feeling of marginality and loss of control. Conversely, if we offer a solution (to, say, a terminological problem) and it is then adopted as a guideline by the agency for which we work, we experience a feeling of full participation and control. Feedback is important to the freelance translator (for example, through being offered more contracts), just as it is to the literary translator (for example, through positive reviews) or the interpreter (through audience

Table 3.2 The translator's identity

Identification (forms of membership)	
Identities of participation	**Identities of non-participation**
Membership of translators' association	Experience of lack of expertise
Affinity with subject matter	Alienation from subject matter
Volunteer translating	Submission to institutional translation norms
Negotiability (ownership of meanings)	
Identities of participation	**Identities of non-participation**
Having one's suggestions adopted	Critical feedback/rejection
Stories of other translators' experience	Assumption that others know
Willing adoption of house style	Reluctant compliance with instructions

Source: Adapted from Wenger (1998: 190).

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response). Likewise, the feeling of being in control, of having ownership of meanings is central to our positioning of ourselves within the communities of which we are part. This brings us to the issue of power in translation, absent from this discussion so far.

3.4 Language and power

In the theory adopted so far, power is construed as 'the ability to act in line with the enterprises we pursue' (Wenger 1998: 189). It is seen less in terms of institutional power and predetermined roles than in terms of negotiated social practice. In this, Wenger acknowledges a debt to Bourdieu's (1972) conception of symbolic capital and Foucault's (1971) concept of discourses that define what can validly be said. Institutional power is not denied (evidence of the power of the insurance company over its employees is everywhere in Wenger's study) but it is the tension between identification and negotiability, between what is shared and what is contested that comes to the fore. And it is this conception, I believe, that brings us close to the social situation of the translator, as exemplified in Table 3.2. We shall return to the distinction between institutional power and negotiability/identification in the case study below.

Before illustrating these ideas in a socially situated example of translation practice, we need briefly to consider some criticisms of Wenger's account and some ways of extending the theory. A major criticism, raised in Barton and Tusting (2005), is the fact that the account touches on the role of discourse in the theory but does not develop it. Indeed, as attested in many of the studies in Barton and Tusting (2005), Wenger's model underrates the role of language in communities of practice. Discourse is seen as a 'resource' that 'reflects' a community but hardly more than that. Its role in shaping the community and in reinforcing or challenging power relations is not explored. The notion of competing discourses and the role of language in conflict in communities of practice are mostly absent. Tusting (2005) argues that it is through talk exchanges that meaning is negotiated and the dynamics of Wenger's key concepts can be observed. And this in turn leads to broader issues of social change and transformation: communities of practice are not static but dynamic and subject to change over time, as shown in a healthcare context, for example, by Candlin and Candlin (2007).

The conceptual framework that Tusting sees as a necessary extension to the communities-of-practice approach is critical social linguistics, also known as critical discourse analysis (CDA), an approach that has

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frequently been used in studies of translation and interpreting. It falls outside of the scope of this chapter to evaluate the advantages and (mainly methodological) disadvantages of CDA.[3] Nevertheless, one frequently criticised feature is the power it accords to the analyst to impose an interpretation on a text and impute intention to the text producer. Even when the analyst is a participant observer, the only tangible evidence he or she has of meanings actually received by hearers/readers is take-up, the response of the receiver to what is said/written. In this sense, the 'vignette' examples cited by Wenger (1998) are useful: we know, for example, how the question about 'incompetent cervix' is understood from the way it is replied to: it's eligible. We know how Ariel perceives the supervisor's 'just anything that will do' by her facial expression and how the supervisor interprets the facial expression by her response: 'Welcome to claims processing!' These tiny interactional fragments offer a great deal of insight into how participation is experienced and negotiated. And here is our point: translations are responses. The way the translator responds to what is said/written is evidence, albeit partial evidence, of take-up. The treatment of a source-text discourse (D2) or public narrative by the translator is evidence of how he or she (1) responds to it and (2) decides to present it to anticipated readers.

A further shortcoming in the communities-of-practice approach is that it does not sufficiently problematise unequal exchanges. Disparities of status between cultural groups, between minority and majority literatures, between institutions and between individuals in interpreter-mediated interactions are typical characteristics of translation events that cannot be ignored. Blommaert (2005) introduces two key conceptual tools for the analysis of such exchanges. Both, I would suggest, are of the utmost importance for analysts of interpreting and translating. The first is (re-)**entextualisation**,[4] that is, the uprooting of a text from its context of performance and its re-enactment in a context that is foreign to it (cf. House's 2006 account of translation as re-contextualisation). As Blommaert points out, texts travel, especially in today's world of continual movement of people and of accelerated and expanded communication. A frequent consequence of re-entextualisation is that a text that has status in its original context loses that status in its new context: communication has become unequal. The role of entextualisation in the consolidation of institutional power (and therefore in disparities of communication rights) is convincingly illustrated in the studies contained in Park and Bucholtz (2009). The second key concept, related to the first, is *voice*. Blommaert (2005: 68) defines voice as 'the capacity

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to make oneself understood … to generate an uptake of one's words as close as possible to one's desired contextualization'. In this sense, translations as re-entextualisations have the power to give voice or to take away voice. Further, there is the question of the translator's voice:[5] to what extent does it make itself heard? Adding these concerns to our perception of the translator as member of – and engaging with – multiple communities of practice, we now turn to an attested example of performance.

3.5 Case study: 'that's what he said'

The account that follows is a case of oral translation (interpreting) in an environment (rural Africa) that is very different to that of the kind of professional translator we have been considering so far. It may seem perverse to illustrate the theoretical argument outlined above from data that seem atypical. After all, as Mossop (2007: 24) observes, the translator sitting in front of a computer screen is usually far removed from the institutional context of both source and target texts, unlike the face-to-face interpreter. House (2006: 342–343) provides a very full account of why the dynamic context of face-to-face conversational interaction cannot apply to the written translator, who is separated from the context of source-text production, and argues for a more static conception of the translator's context. She does, however, add:

> The only way in which the translator can overcome this separateness and create a new unity is to transcend the givenness of the text with its immutable arrangement of linguistic elements by *activating its contextual connections, by linking the text to both its old and its new context*, which a translator must imagine and unite in his or her mind. (House 2006: 343, emphasis mine)

It is this activation of two contexts that I want to consider in what follows. Moreover, it is the case that, in our sample, the source speech, being a monologue, is completed (and therefore available in its entirety to the interpreter) before translating begins, one of the characteristics of written translation listed by House. Beyond this, the sample offers an interesting perspective on a translator's communities of practice.

The interpreter-mediated event in question took place in Burkina Faso and is reported and analysed in a fascinating account by Pierre Kouraogo (2001). Kouraogo sees traces of the traditional role of the 'king's linguist' or *griot*, the official translator for rulers in pre-colonial

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times, whose duties were rhetorical as well as strictly translational.[6] The occasion is that of the official opening of a savings bank in a village, made possible by the support of a Swiss non-governmental organisation (NGO). Kouraogo (2001: 116–118) describes the scene. The opening ceremony took place in the open air. Officials (ministers, a member of parliament, diplomats, top civil servants) were seated in the front rows. Surrounding them was a large crowd of villagers, who would typically stand for hours under a blazing sun to witness the ceremony. The speaker, a Swiss representative of the NGO, read his text aloud in French. The interpreter, standing on a podium, then addressed the crowd in Mòoré, using gesture as well as speech and seeking eye contact with his audience. Relevant extracts are reproduced here in a close English gloss translation as Text 1 and Text 2:

> *Text 1* **Speech by Swiss representative of the *Oeuvre Suisse d'Entraide Ouvrière***:
> *Monsieur le Haut Commissaire de l'Oubritenga,*
> *Monsieur le Député,*
> *Monsieur le Préfet de Loumbila,*
> *Monsieur le Représentant de l'Oeuvre Suisse d'Entraide Ouvrière,*
> *Monsieur le coordonnateur national des caisses populaires,*
> *Honorables invités*,
> [*In French*] It is for me a great honour to speak on behalf of the Executive Council of the Peoples Savings Banks, of the 138 members of the Peoples Savings Banks in order to welcome you on the occasion of the opening of the Peoples Savings Bank of Loumbila, the twentieth bank on the Plateau and the 63rd in the national network. …
>
> The Peoples Savings Bank are opening their doors to all of you, without exception, from the brewer to the shepherdess, from the mechanic to the electrician, from the fisherman to the ploughman, from the sumbala seller to the wholesaler, from the cook to the shopkeeper, from the farmer to the teacher, not forgetting village groups. Savings banks can offer you credit of between 5,000 and 3,000,000 francs for individuals and from 5,000 to 10,000,000 francs for legal entities. You only have to become a member of the savings bank by opening your account with two identity photos plus 1,000 francs. After four months you will be able to ask for the credit you need without any deceit or trying to cheat because the money which will be put at your disposal has come from no-one other than the members of the bank. Which means that reimbursement is obligatory and without exception.

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Text 2 **Interpreter** [*in Mòoré*]:

Hey! There is one [people's bank] at Ziniaré there is also one here. It is impressive, that's a lot. So, why don't you clap hands for yourselves?

Now, he means that the whole thing is just easy. He has explained that whether you sell millet beer, whether you are rich or poor, *haya!* You are saved, this place has brought you salvation. Now, if you make a mat and sell it for 500 francs, and feel like going to spend it on millet beer, or you want to pay a visit to Geneba, *hey!* Tell yourself No, let me stop by the bank first to deposit 250 francs before carrying on. This will make you rich.

That was his message. *Ee!* Therefore, if you live here and sincerely want to become a member, bring some money, you need one thousand francs to open your account. OK, if you have your photograph taken and we develop it for you give them two prints to stick them on your papers, *ehee!* When you have some spare money and come here to deposit it, you can, within four months, become rich. Indeed, you can obtain a loan, say 5,000, or in the case of village groups they can get between 5,000 and one or ten million, that's a lot isn't it? Quite huge, you can use it to, to work together and become happy. As for individuals they can borrow between 5,000 and three million. That's a lot! You can't spend it all alone, even your family can't spend it all. You will have to put it to work, *ehee!* So that's what he said. What he also explained is that the bank you see here does not belong to a single individual. You can't just get up and claim that *ee!* it's only yours … If other people desert you, only you will only have locusts for company. It belongs to you all.

> Opening of the Loumbila Savings Bank, Burkina Faso (adapted from Kouraogo, Pierre 2001, 'The Rebirth of the King's Linguist' in I. Mason (ed.) *Triadic Exchanges. Studies in Dialogue Interpreting*. Manchester and Northampton, MA: St Jerome, 126–129)

Even a cursory comparison of the English representation of both texts will reveal far-reaching differences, both in content and in style, between the source and target versions. Kouraogo offers an excellent analysis both of the context of the event and of the translator's strategy and it is not my intention to seek to improve on that in any way. Rather, I wish to relate the translator's performance to the main themes of this chapter. The first point to make is that all of the important information contained in the source speech is accurately represented. Table 3.3 lists these items. Inaccuracy and slipshod reporting are not then criticisms that could be levelled at this translator: he ensures that

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Table 3.3 Informational elements common to source and target versions

- The Peoples' Banks are open to anyone, rich or poor
- Save by depositing cash in the bank
- Members can obtain loans
- For individuals: 5,000 > 3m CFA francs
- For associations: 5,000 > 10m CFA francs
- In order to enrol: 2 photos + 1,000 CFA francs
- Credit is available after 4 months
- The money and the bank belong to everyone

his audience is informed of what the author of the source text intended them to be informed of.

Beyond that, however, the translator departs radically from the source. Some of the shifts are no doubt in keeping with the 'residual orality' (Hatim 2007: 85) of Mòoré in comparison to French. But these departures are, above all, discoursal. The many shifts (verbal and non-verbal) display evidence of the sociocultural stance or attitude (D2) underlying them and, taken together, amount to a coherent and consistent strategy. An obvious starting point is the omission of the long list of addressees at the start of the text. This appellative format, it can be said without fear of contradiction, is formal, hierarchical, deferential and, within a European (and specifically French-language) context, conventional for the genre. It is, of course, intended mainly for those seated in the front rows. But these addressees, Kouraogo informs us, would be bilingual and hence not in need of a translation. For the intended recipients of the translation, it is not so much the appellative formula itself as the (European) values it inscribes that, once re-entextualised in an African village context, lose their ability to signify. Table 3.4 is intended to identify the other discoursal shifts and just a few of the markers of the discourse on each side. The list of markers could, of course, be extended to include such features as hyperbole (*you are saved, make you rich …*) and encouraging audience response (*why don't you clap hands?*)

3.6 Discussion: community, identity, voice, power

What do we know about the translator? Thanks to Kouraogo, we learn that he is a primary school teacher and a local correspondent of the Burkina Faso news agency. He thus enjoys a certain social status. He also has a northern accent, evoking occasional laughter from the audience. He has no formal training as an interpreter but does have a reputation

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Table 3.4 Discourse values in opening ceremony address

Swiss representative	**Interpreter**
Official (*it is for me a great honour…*)	Informal (interjections: *hey! Ee!* etc.)
Distant (*on behalf of … on the occasion of …*)	Close (*why don't you …? isn't it?*)
Condescending (*from the brewer to the shepherdess*)	Collaborative (*we develop it for you …*)
Admonishing (*without any deceit or trying to cheat*)	Consensus-seeking (*you will only have locusts for company*)
European (*savings banks can offer you credit …*)	African (*work together and become happy …*)

as a public speaker. Because of the presence of the bilingual official audience, his performance is likely to be monitored, thus adding to the pressure on his translating task.

The stance he adopts is significant in several ways. Kouraogo's (2001) concern is to show the (abundant) evidence of the 'king's linguist' tradition in the translator's performance. In this, there is of course attachment to a community of practice, a long tradition that remains present in the cultural environment and whose practices are thereby legitimised. This is the first community of practice that is relevant to the context. In addition, there is a community of practice that the translator has to represent and a community of practice that he has to address. It is clear that he self-identifies with the latter. In terms of negotiability (ownership of meanings – see Table 3.2), the more he sends out affiliative signals (interjections) to his audience, the more positive feedback he receives and the more he participates in their community. Indeed, his whole approach appears (to me, a distant non-participant observer) to communicate: 'I'm one of you!' In contrast, he is keen to distance himself from the speaker whose words he represents (*that's what he said, he means that …*). This distancing is relative, however, for he is careful to represent the savings bank in a positive light (*this place has brought you salvation*) and, occasionally, to identify with it (*we develop it for you …*). He is, if only temporarily, part of that community, too. Indeed, his status in performing this role depends on being positioned by others as a bona fide representative of the savings bank. His identification (form of membership) thus embraces an experience of participation and non-participation (see Table 3.2) at the same time. In terms of Mossop's (2007) three translator voices, he adopts a 'ventriloquizing' (audience),

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rather than a 'distancing' (source-text producer) voice. The relevance of Mossop's classification to this case is that the stance adopted by the oral translator here is also an option that written translators may adopt, as Mossop reports. Despite our example of face-to-face communication being very different from the situation of the translator at the computer screen, faced with a written text conceived in an already distant context (cf. House 2006), there is a similarity of available options. It is simply that, in our illustration, the signs of identification and negotiability are more apparent (*that's what he said*).

There is, however, a paradox here. Alignment with the audience and adoption of the audience-centred voice (in Mossop's sense of 'voice') also ensures that the source speaker has 'voice' (in Blommaert's sense of making oneself heard). The discourse (D2) offered by the source-text speaker is, for reasons suggested above, unlikely to have voice (Blommaert's sense again) in the target (African rural) context. In fact, it could even be said to be highly inappropriate to its new context, were it not for the fact that the speaker is at the same time sending signals of participation to another, distinct community of practice – that of the political elite at both local and national level. This would be a community that recognises and, to some extent at least, espouses the French-speaking discourse of officialdom, of the European-influenced genre of the formal ceremony. In displaying ownership of the meanings of this discourse, the speaker identifies with and participates in that special community. But, in adopting it, he is powerless to reach the audience that he must address: the future customers of the savings bank, the community on whose participation the bank depends. The question therefore arises: who is empowered by this translation?

Empowerment has become a major theme in western translation studies at the present time (e.g. Tymoczko 2007; Inghilleri 2010). The debate centres on the power of the translator to assert his or her own voice (cf. also Hermans 2010). Faced with powerful institutional interests and globalising, commercially driven imperatives, the translator/interpreter is encouraged to exercise agency, to move beyond neutrality and to claim the right to make ethical judgements on the basis of their expertise rather than according to some code of practice imposed upon them. As always though, we should not consider the translator in isolation but rather in the context of the participation framework in which their action takes place. The translator's decisions may, as in the cases of translation cited by Blommaert (2005), result in the (dis) empowerment of other parties, whose text has been re-entextualised in a different cultural environment in which it no longer has voice. The

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translator in our case study has restored voice to the European speaker: he has empowered him to achieve his communicative goal in a non-European environment.

It is at this point that we appear to be turning power relations on their head. Surely, in this context, it is not the Swiss representative of the NGO who lacks power? His position reflects not only economic capital (the developed world in its relations with the developing world; the donor, as opposed to the recipient, of aid) but also symbolic capital (financial know-how; status; having the ear of government). In relation to the village audience, he has all the power (as symbolised in the seating and standing arrangements). The answer to the paradox lies, of course, in the distinction between institutional power and interactional power. The representative has plenty of the former but his interactional power hardly extends beyond the seated front rows of his audience. The translator, meanwhile, in addition to the advantage conferred upon him by virtue of his bilingual expertise, draws on his participation in a range of communities of practice in order to make the communication happen. Using his own voice (Hermans 2010), he translates a discourse that has meaning in one community of practice into a different discourse that has meaning in another community by drawing on yet another community of practice, that of the 'king's linguist'. In doing so, he is using discourse to challenge power relations (Tusting 2005) and exercising an agency that membership of multiple communities alone can bring him. This very overt practice illustrates in a graphic way the relations between discourse and power underlying written translation. Rather than envisaging 'the field of translation' or 'the translator's habitus' in the singular, it is perhaps useful to consider the range of communities of practice involved in any act of translation, oral or written.

3.7 Conclusion and future prospects

In much recent scholarship in translation and interpreting studies it has become customary to dispense with micro-analysis of translation events on the grounds that we can learn far more from study of the social and cultural environment of translation, of the balance of power among participants and participating institutions. I have tried to argue here that, while wider contextual studies from cultural, historical and sociological perspectives do indeed offer accounts that are both explanatory and enlightening, there is no need to dispense with actual translator decision making and, indeed, that the study of discourse (D1 and D2)

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and discourse strategy can assist such studies by contributing important evidence of what is really going on.

Research in the sociology of translating already adds a useful empirical dimension to theoretical accounts by means of interviews and accounts/narratives of stakeholders, along the lines of those in Inghilleri's (2012) study of interpreting. Such studies could also challenge, as do Candlin and Candlin (2007) in the field of healthcare, the community-of-practice construct as it applies to translating. In this sense this chapter offers a paradigm that future research can scrutinise, refine or dismiss.

At the same time, we have advanced the view that it would be advantageous to consider discourse (D2) not as a domain separate or separable from historical, cultural or ideological accounts of translation but rather as important evidence of stance, attitude and behaviour and therefore as the essential link between texture (the surface of text) and what is socially enacted by translation. Further, because re-contextualisation is, as House (2006) suggests, a core feature of translation, we have to envisage the 'contextual connections' of both source and target context and, in so doing, consider issues of (in)equality and communication rights among stakeholders and the effect of these on translator decision making. This is often glaringly apparent in face-to-face communication events but is less readily available to the analyst of written translation. An important source of evidence in this respect is take-up, that is, ways in which participants respond to what is said or written. As suggested above, a translation is itself partial evidence of take-up. Reader-response studies can supply additional evidence of how a translation is received and the effects of a translator's agency.

Evidence presented here suggests that translators may exercise agency in various ways, sometimes within a single translation event. The multiple, overlapping communities of practice in which a translator participates offer various modes of ownership of meanings (or of signalling non-ownership). And individual decisions may serve the interests of none, some or all of the stakeholders involved. The key here, of course, is the distinction between institutional power (of which the translator may have relatively little) and interactional power (of which in many – though not all – translation situations they may have much). In this respect, it is the issue of re-entextualisation and the translator's response to the inevitable impoverishment of discourse that this entails that will determine whose voice is heard or whose is muted in a text which once it leaves the translator's hands embarks on a life of its own.

To overlook the evidence of translators' actual decisions, as instantiated in their texts, may, paradoxically, end up *dis*-empowering

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translators – through the implicit notion that the actual decisions they make (often at word or phrase level) somehow do not matter, or at any rate matter much less than the institutional forces at play in the social environment. In considering discourse and discursive strategy in an actual translation event, we hope to have shown how much a discoursal approach can contribute to appreciation of the wider context of translation.

Notes

1. Wolf (2007: 17) notes 'concentration on translation phenomena on an extratextual level without taking into consideration text structures or translation strategies', noting that Bourdieu himself stressed the need to combine both levels.
2. There are also some unexamined assumptions, as in the familiar 'we shape and are shaped by discourses …', that still await empirical substantiation. There is no space here to explore such questions but a promising approach is offered in the kind of longitudinal perspective on the emergence of discourse adopted in Montgomery (2005).
3. Useful critiques are provided in Stubbs (1997) and Widdowson (2004).
4. Coupland (2003: 467) uses the term 'disembedding' to refer to the same phenomenon. He identifies it as one of four key processes affecting language in a globalising era. The others are: interdependence, compression of time and space, and commodification.
5. On the translator's voice, see in particular Mossop (2007), Hermans (2010).
6. For a fuller account, see Kouraogo (2001: 114–117) and Bandia (2010: 313–314).

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4

Chinese Discourse on Translation as Intercultural Communication: The Story of *jihe* (幾何)

Martha P. Y. Cheung

Translation/interpretation is a special form of intercultural communication as it is mediated through the agency and subjectivity of the translator. Each work of translation, because of its (inter)textuality, is a site for the analysis of cultures in contact, confluence, conflict or contest. Each act of interpretation is also an instance of such interaction.

In discourse on translation, too, the drama of cultures in interaction is often played out vividly before the readers' eyes. This chapter focuses on one episode of such a drama by telling the story of jihe (幾何). The term, which will be understood by all contemporary Chinese readers to be the Chinese translation of 'geometry', was in fact used by the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci to render a different, though related, concept when he and his collaborator Xu Guangqi (徐光啟) translated the first six chapters of Christopher Clavius's 1574 Latin edition of Euclid's Elements into Chinese, at the beginning of the 17th century. They used jihe (幾何) to designate what in Europe at the time was the science of quantities, or mathematics in a very broad sense.

By examining the paratexts produced by Ricci and Xu, and by analysing the discursive strategies they used to present their understanding of this imported category of knowledge to their Chinese readership, this chapter highlights for discussion the dynamics of interaction that is the defining characteristic of translation as intercultural communication.

4.1 Translation as intercultural communication

Translation is a form of intercultural communication, a notion referring to the enormous variety of ways by which members of different linguistic, cultural and ethnic groups communicate and interact with one another.[1] The prefix 'inter' is of crucial importance. Where

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translation is concerned, 'inter' highlights the point that the interaction between cultures that translation necessarily entails is much more complex in outcome than the simple, unproblematic transmission of meaning conveyed by the conventional notion of translation as transfer, and of the translator as a bridge-builder enabling the smooth exchange of ideas between cultures. For this reason, each translation – an entity comprising both the translated text and, if available, paratextual elements such as foreword, preface, afterword and so on – is a site for the detailed observation of cultures in contact, confluence, conflict, or contest. A major preoccupation of translation studies is in fact the various types of interactions observable between a work of translation and its target culture: assimilation, convergence, adaptation and separation.[2] Important studies have been conducted, too, by scholars of postcolonial (translation) studies on how translations had been used by colonial powers in the past to strengthen and maintain their position of dominance in different parts of the world, and on how translations had also been used by the dominated to undermine or subvert that unequal power relation.[3] However, there has not been a great deal published on the dynamics of collaborative translation, especially the collaboration between a translator translating into an unmastered language with the aid of a monolingual native scholar knowledgeable in the subject matter, whose role is to turn the oral rendition into written language. This is a lacuna in scholarship that needs to be filled, for collaborative translation ventures abound in the history of translation, providing excellent material for the study of the interplay of perspectives that characterises interaction, which is itself the defining feature of translation as intercultural communication.

This chapter explores the dynamics of collaborative translation by focusing on one episode in the unending drama of cultures in interaction. This episode is made up of what is highlighted in the subtitle as 'the story of "*jihe*" (幾何)' – a fascinating story of how a pair of translators (one from the source culture and the other from the target culture) acted in collaboration so that a category of knowledge in the source culture could be introduced into the target culture even though that category already existed and could boast of a long history. The story is to be pieced together from a few passages of discourse on translation that formed the paratextual accompaniment of a translation in Chinese that was published in the early 17th century, during the reign of Emperor Wanli (萬曆, 1572–1620) of the Ming dynasty.

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4.2 What is *jihe* (幾何)? Is it not the Chinese translation of 'geometry'?

To all contemporary readers whose native language or proficiency is Chinese, *jihe* (幾何) is a term meaning 'geometry'. Some would even say that *jihe* is the transliteration of 'geo' in 'geometry'.[4] If they are told that *jihe* is a term used as the Chinese translation of a mathematical concept other than geometry, they will be very surprised and will point to the fact that 'geometry' is the meaning given in all major contemporary Chinese–English dictionaries such as *New Age Chinese–English Dictionary* (Beijing: The Commercial Press) and *Chinese–English Dictionary* (Shanghai Jiaotong University Press). Even if that piece of information comes from a translation scholar working on the history of the translation of western scientific texts into Chinese, they will still greet it with scepticism and amazement, if not disbelief. Similar reactions would come from the literate Chinese of the 17th century, for quite different reasons, as will be explained below.

4.3 The story of *jihe* (幾何) – how it began

The story began with Matteo Ricci (1552–1610; Chinese name Li Madou 利瑪竇), an Italian Jesuit missionary who spent 28 years in China (1582–1610) seeking to spread the Christian faith and win converts to the Catholic Church. To achieve this purpose, which was the raison d'être of the missionaries in China, Ricci sought to gain the respect and trust of the literati-scholars by initiating the translation of a broad range of western scientific texts into Chinese. In 1604, Ricci began to collaborate with Xu Guangqi (徐光啟, 1562–1633), a high-ranking government official and a Christian convert, to translate into Chinese the first six chapters of Christopher Clavius's 1574 Latin edition of Euclid's *Elements*.[5] Their Chinese translation was entitled *Jihe yuanben* (幾何原本). The last two Chinese characters, *yuanben* (原本), meaning 'root', 'origin', were used to translate Euclid's single-word title, *Elements*, so called because Euclid's work dealt with the hows and whys of mathematics, that is, with the fundamental questions of mathematics. The first two Chinese characters, *jihe* (幾何), however, were added by Ricci and Xu. In classical Chinese, *jihe* was usually used when questions were asked, and, depending on the context, which was the primary factor governing interpretation of meaning, *jihe* could mean 'how many/much', 'not many/not much', or 'when'.[6] Ricci and Xu took the term *jihe* and used it to designate what in Europe at the time was the science

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of quantities, or mathematics in a very broad sense, broader than the semantic range of 'mathematics' today.[7] By combining *jihe* with *yuanben* to form the title *Jihe yuanben* (幾何原本, English translation, 'Elements of Mathematics'), they summarised neatly the subject matter of Euclid's *Elements* and pushed *jihe* to the forefront of their readers' attention. The story of *jihe* then unfolded, not just in the translation proper, but also, and more excitingly, in the discursive pieces written to introduce the translation to the readers. These include Ricci's *Yi Jihe yuanben yin* (譯幾何原本引) ('Foreword to the Translation, *Elements of Mathematics*', hereafter 'Foreword'), Xu Guangqi's *Ke jihe yuanben xu* (刻幾何原本序, 'Preface to the Woodblock Edition of *Elements of Mathematics*', hereafter 'Preface'), and, also by Xu, *Jihe yuanben zayi* (幾何原本雜議, 'Some Thoughts on Elements of Mathematics', hereafter, 'Thoughts').[8] These three pieces, when read in juxtaposition, serve as an illustrative example of Chinese discourse on translation as intercultural communication.[9]

4.4 Rationale for using *jihe* (幾何) to render the science of quantities, or mathematics in the broad sense

As noted above, even the literate Chinese in Ming China would have been surprised to find the term *jihe* being used to designate the category 'mathematics'. One reason would be because there were other long-established indigenous mathematical terms that could have served the purpose equally well, for example, *shu* (數, literally 'number'), *suanfa* (算法, literally 'calculation methods', meaning 'arithmetic'), *du* (度, literally 'measure') and *liangfa* (量法, literally 'mensuration methods', meaning 'geometry'). All these were part of the Chinese mathematical terminology of the time and, as will become clear in Xu's Preface, *shu* (數) was in fact the designation for this entire branch of knowledge and listed as one of the six arts in the ancient text *Zhongguan* (周官, *Offices of Zhou*). 'Why didn't they use any of these terms?' readers of the time might have wondered. Another reason why they would have been surprised was that *jihe* was not a newly coined term either. It was part of the lexicon of classical Chinese; at the same time, it featured in Chinese mathematical texts, in questions regarding the quantity, size, extent, or scope of something. But the way it was used by Ricci and Xu was new and hence likely to take the readers in Ming China by surprise, perhaps even arousing alarm.

How was this term used by Ricci and Xu? How was it inscribed in the epistemological discourse in China? Why was *jihe* (幾何) selected to render 'mathematics'? What did the introduction of this term say about

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the indigenous mathematical tradition? What happened to the indigenous terms? Were they abandoned or retained? If abandoned, were other terms used to fill their place? If retained, for what purpose? What kind of interaction took place between the indigenous and the foreign mathematical traditions when they came into contact with each other? Was it dialogic or competitive? Or both? Or neither?

To answer these questions, it is important to examine the texts that first introduced *jihe* (幾何) to the Chinese in the early 17th century.

4.5 Matteo Ricci's *Yi Jihe* yuanben *yin* (譯幾何原本引, 'Foreword')[10]

In 'Foreword', Ricci prepared his readers for the introduction of *jihe* (幾何) by stressing the importance of first principles: '[S]cholarship [means] extending knowledge to the limits. The way to extend knowledge to the limits is to understand thoroughly the underlying principles of things' (Ricci 1989: 259; Cheung in press b) This was a discursive tactic aimed at ensuring that the missionary imperative was camouflaged by the imperative governing all Chinese intellectual pursuits – the study of the underlying principles of things. Then Ricci highlighted logical reasoning as the mental quality without which no understanding of underlying principles would be possible. With the stage properly set, the term *jihe* made its appearance:

> Where profundity and solidity are concerned, nothing surpasses the knowledge obtained from the study of mathematics [*jǐhé*, 幾何]. Mathematics [*jǐhé*, 幾何] specialises in studying the division and size of things. When things are divided up and represented by numbers [*shù*, 數], their quantities are shown, and one knows how many [*jǐhé zhòng*, 幾何眾] there are. When they are put together and measured [*dù*, 度], their magnitude is shown, and one knows how large [*jǐhé dà*, 幾何大] they are. Number [*shù*, 數] and measure [*dù*, 度] can be discussed in abstract terms and in isolation from concrete objects. The branch of knowledge dealing with number [*shù*, 數] is called arithmetic [*suànfǎ*, 算法, literally 'calculation methods'] and the branch dealing with measure [*dù*, 度] is called geometry [*liángfǎ*, 量法, literally 'mensuration methods']. Number [*shù*, 數] and measure [*dù*, 度] can also be discussed in concrete terms. The branch of knowledge dealing with number [*shù*, 數] in concrete terms, such as the calculation of pitch standards to produce harmony of sounds, is music, and the branch dealing with measure [*dù*, 度] in concrete terms, such as

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> the movement of the celestial bodies, is astronomy and calendrical computation.
>
> These four major divisions can be subdivided into hundreds of smaller divisions … Other branches of learning, major or minor, are also based on the theories of mathematics [*jǐhé*, 幾何].[11]
>
> (Ricci 1989: 259; Cheung in press b)

As can be gathered from the excerpt, the indigenous terms *shu* (數, literally 'number'), *suanfa* (算法, literally 'calculation methods', meaning 'arithmetic'), *du* (度, literally 'measure') and *liangfa* (量法, literally 'mensuration methods', meaning 'geometry') were retained, but in Ricci's hand they became convenient building blocks for a clearly structured view (see Figure 4.1) of the components making up the system of knowledge that was mathematics in Europe at the time.

The hierarchy of mathematical knowledge presented by Ricci (simplified here in the form of a diagram)[12] would most probably have taken his Chinese readers by surprise as *shu* (數), which since high antiquity had been used metonymically to stand for all the branches of mathematics in China (see Xu's 'Preface', analysed below). was disconnected from its lineage and given a lower-ranking position. Another equally popular term *suan* (算) was also not used. Instead, the term *jihe* (幾何) was deployed, and in a way that deviated from standard usage, for it was not just used in collocation with words denoting quantity (*jihe zhong*, 幾何眾, How many?) and size (*jihe d,* 幾何大, How big?), but turned into a noun with an expanded semantic range designating what in Europe then was the science of quantities. Certainly, it was used as a noun in

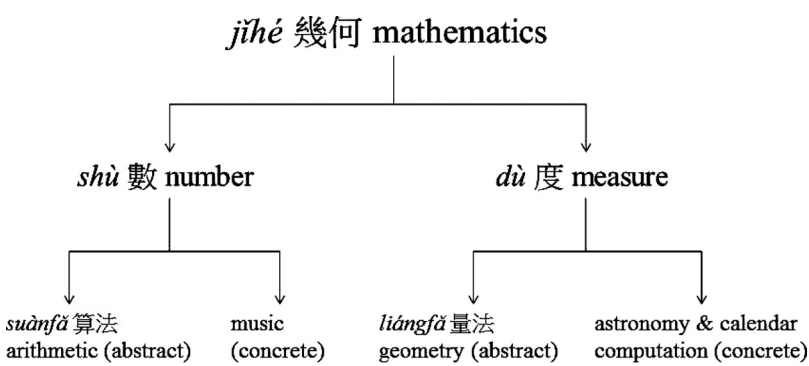

Figure 4.1 Components of mathematical knowledge as presented by Ricci

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the title, the Foreword, and the translation proper, even though the scope of this chapter does not permit an analysis of the translated text.

With this mental scheme, so easily evoked because its structure was neat and governed by logical reasoning, Ricci established a distinct identity for western mathematics and affirmed its importance without denying the many areas of overlap between the western and Chinese mathematical traditions. With this easily remembered mental scheme, Ricci inscribed in the epistemological discourse in China a different system of mathematical knowledge, different because knowledge was organised, structured, hierarchised and disciplined in a manner distinctly its own. What was in operation here, therefore, was the politics of difference, but Ricci achieved his purpose with what could be called the strategy of defamiliarisation rather than foreignisation. *Jihe* (幾何), an undervalued term, was elevated to the status of a superordinate standing for an epistemological category, the boundary of which was defined by the regulatory mechanism of the Aristotelian discourse on the theory of categories. Even though indigenous terms such as *shu* (數), *suanfa* (算法), *du* (度) and *liangfa*' (量法) were retained – thus allowing the indigenous mathematical tradition to remain within hailing distance – they were retained for the more specific purpose of making the western mathematical system more easily comprehensible to the Chinese literati,[13] whose pride in Chinese civilisation and culture would never let them forget the indigenous tradition in any case. Perhaps the sense of defamiliarisation experienced by the literati would even be mixed with a sense of alarm (What have we Chinese literati overlooked?) as they found the humble Chinese term *jihe* (幾何) nominalised into a term with important circulation value.

4.6 Xu Guangqi's *Ke jihe yuanben xu* (刻幾何原本序, 'Preface')

Xu Guangqi, a literati-scholar and a convert, was already a high-ranking official when he worked together with Ricci and wrote the 'Preface', which was regarded as a more formal, more authoritative introduction to a translation than the 'Foreword' or other types of prefatory works.[14] Why did Xu use *jihe* (幾何) but not other established equivalents to translate 'mathematics'? How did he use the term in the 'Preface'? How did he present the Chinese mathematical tradition in a 'Preface' to a translation of a mathematical text that his collaborator claimed to be a foundational text of mathematics, one dealing with 'fundamental issues' that, according to Ricci, few Chinese seemed to have discussed?

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Xu began, as it were, from the beginning:

> From the Tang 唐and Yu 虞 periods in high antiquity, when the sage rulers Yao 堯 [trad. r.2257–2256 BCE] and Shun 舜 [r.2255–2208 BCE] commanded the brothers Xi 羲 and He 和 to study the celestial phenomena for calendar computation, and appointed other sages to the posts of General Regulator, Minister of Works, Minister of Agriculture, and Minister of Music, the five administrative officers of the son of Heaven all had to have knowledge of mathematics [*dùshù,* 度數, literally 'measure' and 'number'] for the execution of their duties. Mathematics [*shù* 數, literally 'number'] was one of the six arts listed in the *Offices of Zhou* 周官 [*Zhouguan*][15] and the other five arts [rites, music, archery, charioteering, reading and writing] could not be practised without a proper application of the knowledge of mathematics [*dùshù,* 度數]. The musical accomplishments of the legendary Shi Xiang 師襄 [fl. 6th century BCE] and Shi Kuang 師曠 [fl. 558–532 BCE], and the engineering feats of Gongshu Ban 公輸班 [fl. 5th century BCE] and Mo Di 墨翟 [470?–391? BCE][16] – have these come about from sorcery or magic? No, their attainments were made possible by their skilful deployment of mathematical knowledge. I have always maintained that during the period of the Three Dynasties and still further back in high antiquity,[17] those who possessed this kind of ability had learned it from their master teachers and hence their knowledge was sound and thorough. But all that was destroyed by Emperor Shi of the Qin Dynasty [r.221–210 BCE], who gave the order for books to be burned and scholars to be buried alive. From the Han Dynasty [206 BCE–220 CE] onward, people attempted to recover that knowledge through guesswork, … it was a waste of … effort. Others tried to learn what they could and picked up fragments here and there …. It is unavoidable, therefore, that few are in command of this art today.
>
> (Xu 1989; Cheung in press b)

The long history of the indigenous mathematical tradition, which can be traced all the way back to the Three Dynasties in recorded history and to the periods of Tang (唐) and Yu (虞) in high antiquity, was highlighted at the very beginning, and in accordance with the generic convention of the time. Interestingly, however, indigenous mathematics was referred to not as *shu* (數), even though Xu noted that *shu* (數) was 'one of the six arts listed in *Offices of Zhou* 周官 [*Zhouguan*]', a canonical text. Instead, Xu collocated *shu* (數) with another indigenous term, *du* (度, literally 'measure') to form a new but not totally unfamiliar name

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for Chinese mathematics – *dushu* (度數). Since '*du*' (度) and '*shu*' (數) were used by Ricci in his delineation of the divisions of European mathematics, Xu's deployment of the same two terms would certainly catch his readers' attention.

Even more interestingly, the importance attributed to mathematics and the way music and engineering featured in Xu's narrative all gave the impression that the indigenous and the foreign traditions had much in common. It could even be said that Xu was presenting the various indigenous divisions of mathematical knowledge in a way that could be easily mapped onto the mental scheme evoked by Ricci in his 'Foreword'. When that was done, it would be all too clear that what was missing was just an umbrella term under which the various divisions of indigenous mathematics could be subsumed.

Another noteworthy point was Xu's account of the development of indigenous mathematics. It was an account of decline and loss. The implicit point was that had it not been for the catastrophic destruction of mathematics caused by Emperor Shi's order for ancient books to be burned and scholars to be buried alive, the indigenous and the foreign traditions could very well have developed in tandem in their separate physical spaces.

With these two discursive moves, the ground was laid for the introduction of *Jihe yuanben* (Ricci and Xu's translation of Euclid's *Elements*) as 'the ancestor of mathematics [*dùshù*, 度數]', 'the basis of all applied sciences', a 'digest' that was 'a reference to make accessible' (Xu 1989; Cheung in press b) all the books on astronomy that Xu wanted to translate into Chinese. Through this translation, and the mental scheme mentioned earlier, two separate mathematical traditions with no awareness of each other's existence would meet and converge, with a strong likelihood that the future development of Chinese mathematics would be shaped by the kind of logical reasoning and emphasis on proofs that made Euclid's *Elements* so influential in the western world.

At this point, however, Xu made a surprising discursive move:

> To myself I said, 'I can hardly imagine that after two thousand years, what has been lost of our ancient knowledge will find continuance in this work. The books and theories which prevailed in the periods of Tang, Yu and the Three Dynasties, but which had been destroyed and lost since then, will be of use to us today, and will bring us benefits.' With this thought in mind, I got together with a few like-minded friends to get this work printed and circulated.
> (Xu 1989; Cheung in press b)

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Rather than admitting that indigenous mathematics had lost its former glory and become a sluggish stream that had to be redirected in its course and merged with the powerful flow of the foreign tradition, Xu did the opposite. Like an irrigator, he saw the opportunity of using the foundational text of foreign mathematics to drive the sluggish flow of indigenous mathematics so that it could resume its normal course: 'what has been lost of our ancient knowledge will find continuance' (ibid.) in *Jihe yuanben*. What was more, he said, 'The books and theories which prevailed in the periods of Tang, Yu and the Three Dynasties, but which had been destroyed and lost since then, will be of use to us today, and will bring us benefits'. (ibid.) His optimism might seem ungrounded, but it was ideologically revealing. If Ricci was engaged in the politics of difference in the 'Foreword' by establishing a distinct identity for western mathematics, Xu was practising the politics of sameness here in this 'Preface'. He did this by asserting that *jihe* (幾何), the science of quantities in the west, or mathematics in the broad sense, was not all that different from the ancient Chinese knowledge of measure and number (*dushu*, 度數, mathematics in a very loose sense) that had been lost, and neither was there any great differences between the *Elements* and the ancient Chinese texts. This being the case, one could be used to illuminate the other, and hence there was a legitimate reason for the translation of the *Elements* and the printing and circulation of *Jihe yuanben*.

These were not acts of surrender to the superiority of western mathematical knowledge. On the contrary, they were patriotic efforts to revive a time-honoured mathematical tradition that was thought to have been lost but which could now be said to have only been disrupted in its development because it had fallen into decline. Contemporary readers might not find this line of argument convincing, but Xu's discursive position, and the underlying ideology, were quite unmistakable. Xu obviously believed that *Jihe yuanben* was indispensable to obtaining a thorough and comprehensive understanding of western mathematical knowledge, without which there would be no way to revitalise the development of Chinese mathematics. For that to happen, the translation had to be introduced and accepted by his countrymen first. The emphasis on the splendid achievements of indigenous mathematics was rhetoric but not empty rhetoric. Xu was deploying, with great tact and propriety, some dignified, politically correct rhetoric in order to deflect the criticisms that might come from those with strong sentiments against the foreigners or the missionaries and pave the way for the smooth entry of *Jihe yuanben* into his home culture.

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4.7 Xu Guangqi's *Jihe yuanben zayi* (幾何原本雜議, 'Thoughts')

This essay was written by Xu sometime between 1607 and 1611.[18] Focusing only on *Jihe yuanben* – its importance, its enormous benefits for its readers, how best to read it, how rewarding the experience of reading was – the essay was, quite simply, an encomium of the translation, as can be seen in the last part of the piece:

> People used to say, 'I will show you the mandarin ducks I embroidered, but will not give you the golden needle I sew them with.'[19] Mathematics [*jǐhé*, 幾何] is just the opposite; and hence we can turn the saying round, 'I will give you the golden needle, but will not embroider the mandarin ducks for you.' This work offers us even more. Not only does it give away the golden needle, but it also teaches people to dig in the mine, to refine the metal, to make the needle, to set the design; it even teaches people to grow mulberry leaves, tend silkworms, gather silk, and dye the silk. When you can do all these, embroidering a couple of mandarin ducks is an easy task. Then why did I say I will not embroider the birds for you? Well, when you can make the needle, you can easily embroider the birds; but if the embroidery comes too easily, who will bother to make the needle? Worse, those who can't make the needle may just make do with brambles and thorns and pass them for embroidered birds! The essence [of mathematics – *jǐhé,* 幾何] is that it helps us to embroider our own mandarin ducks. (Xu 1963: 78; Cheung in press b)

The figure of the golden needle and the mandarin ducks was an embellished elaboration of the point made by Ricci in the 'Foreword': the term *yuanban* (原本) was used in the title because Euclid's *Elements*, and hence the translation, elucidated 'the basic, elemental questions of the hows and whys of mathematics ["*jǐhé*" 幾何]' (Ricci 1989: 261; Cheung in press b), and when one grasped the hows and why of mathematics, one had obtained the golden needle. At the same time, the emphatic statement 'The essence [of mathematics – *jǐhé* 幾何] is that it helps us to embroider our own mandarin ducks' (Xu 1963; Cheung in press b, my own emphasis) showed that Xu was holding firm to his view that a thorough and comprehensive understanding of *Jihe yuanben* would enable Chinese mathematicians to develop indigenous mathematics on their own terms.

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4.8 *Jihe* (幾何) and geometry

Did a narrowing of meaning occur and *jihe* come to be used as the Chinese equivalent of 'geometry'? According to some Chinese scholars, a narrowing of meaning did occur, but it was not until 1722, with the printing of *Yuzhi shuli jingyun* (御制數理精蘊, *Essence of Mathematics and their Principles: A Compendium Compiled by Imperial Decree*), that *jihe* (幾何) came to be formally presented as one of the two main branches of mathematics, the other being *suan* (算, calculation), and eventually was taken as the Chinese equivalent of 'geometry' (Mei, Wang and Liu 1990: 56)

How did that happen?

That was another story … and equally fascinating for those interested in (Chinese) discourse on translation as intercultural communication.[20]

4.9 Theoretical discussion, conclusion and future prospects

The three prefatory essays on *Jihe yuanben* should be read together as a single discursive text. This text, united by the intertextual reverberations, is an illustrative example of (Chinese) discourse on translation as intercultural communication for it dramatises, with powerful immediacy, the underlying tension ensuing from the contact and interaction between a foreign culture and the home culture. The collaborative nature of the translation task and of the writing of the discursive text makes the interaction much more complex than if it were a single-translator cum single-author project. In the story of *jihe* analysed above, the intricacy and complexity of such an interaction was fully felt as the foreign culture, in the person of Ricci, sought to establish its authority by making, as it were, a take-over bid for a branch of knowledge in the home culture, and the home culture, in the person of Xu Guangqi, endorsed the authority of the foreign culture even as it resisted the merger. In addition, the home culture, in the person of Xu Guangqi, made a strategic counter-move to appropriate the foreign text (i.e. the translation) and turn it into a catalyst of change that would enable the home culture to reinvigorate itself.

Since collaborative translation is a major feature of Chinese translation history (and perhaps also of the translation history of other cultures?), discourse on translation written by the collaborators provides a goldmine of material for researchers. It is true that in many instances of collaborative translation, the limelight fell on just one translator even if

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the work was based on equal partnership, and that translator also wrote the prefatory essay. But if records are left by both translators, researchers do well to take the paratextual accompaniments of each collaborative translation as a unit and examine them in depth. In addition, researchers can take the collaborative translations produced during a historical period as a whole, and examine all the paratextual accompaniments, or a selection of such material, for a more comprehensive understanding of translation as intercultural communication.

Current translation studies on this topic often rely on the use of dichotomous concepts such as domestication and foreignisation as the main analytical tools, as well as other categories of interactions that overlap with those used in intercultural communication studies, namely assimilation, cultural convergence, adaptation and separation. The story of *jihe*, however, shows that the complexity of the interaction can go beyond the conceptual capacity of the categories just listed. The interaction and the intricate interplay of perspectives that it necessarily entails – as shown in the three essays just analysed – call for more nuanced descriptions such as 'mutual appropriation for different ulterior purposes', or 'a staged embrace that is also a subdued contest between two super-size egos'. Further research on the topic, conducted through careful textual analysis of the crisscrossing between ideological positions and the push and pull of rhetoric enacted in the discursive texts produced by translators in collaborative translation, will yield more descriptors. These will enrich the repertoire of conceptual tools developed so far in current studies of translation as intercultural communication. The lacuna in scholarship flagged in the opening paragraph will, hopefully, also be filled.

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Notes

1. The study of intercultural communication in concrete situations and for independent acting is called Intercultural Communication Studies (ICS). For more on the objectives and methodological frameworks used in ICS, and its relation with translation studies, see Schäffner (2003).
2. For more on these four types of interaction, with interaction taken as the defining feature of translation as intercultural communication, see the author's companion piece to this chapter. It is entitled 'Translation as Intercultural Communication: Views from Chinese discourse on translation' (Cheung in press a) and its main argument is illustrated with material from Chinese discourse on Buddhist sutra translation.

3. See, for example, Robinson (1997).
4. This view was first put forward by Joseph Edkins to the Japanese scholar Nakamura Masanao 中村直人 (1832–91), who reported it in 1873, in a preface to his own mathematical writing (Bai 2008: 368).
5. The title of Clavius's 1574 edition of Euclid's *Elements* is *Euclidis Elementorum Libri XV*. For a detailed description of the importance and the contents of this edition, see Engelfriet's monograph 'Euclid in China: The Genesis of the First Chinese Translation of Euclid's *Elements* Books I–VI (Jihe yuanben; Beijing, 1607) and its Reception up to 1723 (Hereafter "Euclid in China")', Chapter 4 (1998: 105–131). For information on the life of Euclid, the *Elements*, and why it is generally believed that this work is about geometry, see *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements* – T. L. Heath's English translation, from Greek, of the *Elements* (Euclid 1908 [1956]: 1–6, 114–116).
6. See Yang and Tang (2011: 77) for examples of such usages in Chinese classical texts and Chinese mathematical texts.
7. According to Engelfriet, whose 'Euclid in China' (1998: 11–55) provides useful reference on the mathematical tradition in Europe, mathematics in the broad sense was based on the Aristotelian category of Quantity, one of the ten categories of Aristotle's Categories, and it referred not only to geometry and arithmetic but also the 'mixed mathematical sciences' as astronomy, mechanics and optics (ibid.: 139). It is in this broad sense that the term 'mathematics' is used in this chapter. The Chinese critic Bai Shengshu has compared Ricci and Xu's *Jihe Yuanben* [幾何原本] with its Latin source text and made the point that *jihe* [幾何] was used to translate the Latin word *magnitudo*, meaning 'quantities', and hence the science of quantities (Bai 2008: 370–371). More recently, Catherine Jami, commenting on the content and structure of the education provided by the Society of Jesus that were crucial in shaping Jesuit culture, in Europe as well as in China, has also said that Ricci and Xu must have used *jihe* in the title of their translation *Jihe Yuanben* [幾何原本] to render the study of quantity (the Latin *quantitas*) (Jami 2012: 26–27).
8. These three pieces have been translated into English and the translations, with annotations and commentary, are included in Cheung (in press b).
9. *Yi Jihe yuanben yin* (譯幾何原本引, 'Foreword') is included for discussion because even though Ricci was an Italian, he spent 28 years in China, devoted much of his time to translating western texts into Chinese, and wrote in Chinese and for his Chinese readership many prefaces or forewords to the translations he completed with his co-translators. It should, however, be noted that in *China in the 16th Century: the Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610* (Ricci 1953: 477), there is a phrase which says that this 'Foreword' was 'written in the name of Father Ricci' by Xu. But given the very close collaboration between Ricci and Xu in their translation of the *Elements*, and the enormous respect they had for one another, it is inconceivable that Xu would have just written the 'Foreword' without having consulted Ricci. The more likely scenario is that Ricci told Xu his main ideas and Xu put them into writing. It should also be stressed that Ricci's name was given as the author of 'Foreword' and Xu, in another prefatory essay on *Jihe yuanben* ('Thoughts', also analysed in this chapter), referred to the 'Foreword' as being written by Ricci. To the best of the author's knowledge, since the

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publication of the 'Foreword', no one has ever argued that the points made there were not Ricci's ideas.

10. Ricci's 'Foreword', of very considerable length, can be divided into four parts in terms of contents. Part I elaborated on *jihe* (幾何) – used to render the science of quantities in Europe, or mathematics in the broad sense – as a knowledge system with its component parts, divisions and subdivisions, and why the knowledge obtained from the study of mathematics surpassed all other branches of knowledge in terms of profundity and solidity. Part 2 introduced Euclid, his work, his achievements, and the content and importance of Euclid's *Elements*, which 'served as the foundation upon which all subsequent mathematical theories were built' (Ricci 1989: 261; Cheung in press b). Part 3 was brief and gave a sketch of Clavius, his relationship with Ricci, and his edition, which was chosen for translation because it was regarded, and rightly so in Ricci's view, as 'the essential introduction to the subject for students of later generations' (ibid.). The last part gave the circumstances that led to the translation and to Ricci's collaboration with Xu. A brief explanation was also given of why only the first six chapters were translated. The part that will be discussed in this chapter is excerpted from Part 1 of 'Foreword'. All quotations are cited from Cheung (in press b).
11. Omitted from this and the previous paragraph of this excerpt are: (1) examples given by Ricci of seven of the 'hundred of smaller subdivisions' which branch out from the four major divisions shown in Figure 4.1; and (2) an account of how politicians, farmers, doctors, merchants and, most important of all, military strategists all had to put into practice the theories of mathematics if they wanted to serve their country and contribute to society and to the welfare of the people.
12. In the scholastic tradition in Europe, mathematics consisted of the four disciplines of the quadrivium, namely arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy (Jami 2012: 23).
13. This chapter is not concerned with the accuracy or otherwise of the western mathematical system represented by Ricci in the 'Foreword'. For that, readers can read Engelfriet, 'Mathematics in Jesuit Context' (1998: 11–55). The analysis above is intended to show how Ricci presented to his Chinese readers a western mathematical system that was to be understood as different from the Chinese mathematical tradition, and in a way that was comprehensible to the Chinese literati and entirely consistent with his emphasis on the importance of logical reasoning.
14. In his 'Foreword', Ricci, speaking with a sense of propriety, gave the reason why he called his piece *Yin* (引, 'Foreword') and not *Xu* [序, Preface): 'Knowing my lack of talent as a man of letters, I would not be so presumptuous as to present it as an introductory essay' (Ricci 1989: 262; Cheung in press b).
15. The *Zhouguan* (周官, Offices of Zhou) was later known as *Zhouli* (周禮, Zhou Rites). It gives what is purportedly a detailed description of the structure of government of the Western Zhou Dynasty (c.11th century–771 BCE), which was credited by legend to be a time of peace and prosperity. For more about this work, see Cheung (2006: 42, entry 21, headnote).
16. These are all legendary figures whose accomplishments would be very well known to Xu's readers.

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17. The Three Dynasties, considered in standard Chinese history to be the oldest historical periods of Chinese civilisation, are the Xia (夏, c.21st–16th century BCE), the Shang (商, c.16th–11th century BCE), and the first part of the Zhou (周; or Western Zhou, 西周; c.11th century–771 BCE). The even earlier periods in high antiquity refer to that of Tang (唐), with Yao (堯, trad r.2257–2256 BCE) as the sage ruler, and that of Yu (虞), with Shun (舜, r.2255–2208 BCE) as the ruler.
18. There is no record of when 'Thoughts' was written. An educated guess is that it was written sometime between 1608 and 1611. Xu returned to his home town upon the death of his father in 1607 (Liang 1981: 84–86). Ricci made some corrections to the 1607 manuscript of *Jihe yuanben* and sent a copy to Xu in the following year, asking him to have it printed. The task was not yet done when Ricci passed away in 1610. Xu then worked together with Diego de Pantoja (龐迪我,1571–1618) and Sabatino de Ursis (熊三拔, 1575–1620) on that edited manuscript and produced a further edited version, which was printed in 1611 (Xu 1965: 1945). It was most likely that 'Thoughts' was written during this period and published together with Ricci's 'Foreword' and Xu's 'Preface'. That was probably why in 'Thoughts', there was this remark: 'Mr Matteo Ricci [利瑪竇] wrote a foreword for it, expressing pleasure that it could be published so soon. We hoped to make this work known to the world for all to study. Yet there are not many that have studied it'. From the last sentence, it is clear that 'Thoughts' must have been written after the 1607 publication of the woodblock edition of *Jihe yuanben*, and at an interval long enough for Xu to know that not many had studied it.
19. As Engelfriet noted (1998: 296), the reference is to a legend in which a girl is given a golden needle by the Weaver Maid goddess with which she can produce wonderful tapestry, but the girl only shows the results of her art and refuses to give away her secret.
20. Readers interested in that story should also read Catherine Jami's analysis of how the term *jihe* was used in the opening essay of the 1722 imperial mathematical compendium (Jami 2012: 260–283).

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5

Cross-Cultural Pragmatics and Translation: The Case of Museum Texts as Interlingual Representation

Marie-Noëlle Guillot

This chapter documents issues of interlingual and intercultural transfer in museum texts from a cross-cultural pragmatics perspective. Research interest in museum communication has been limited in translation studies and linguistics, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., for sources in English, Neather 2005, 2008; Ravelli 2006; Sturge 2007; Jiang 2010). The questions about linguistic and cultural representation that arise, in museum texts, from the interplay of systemic or pragmatic differences across languages and factors like museology policies, audience expectations (communicative, textual and museological) and support media, for example, have barely received attention despite their rising significance in a global context. Although there are textual problems (e.g. terminology, culture specific intertextuality or referencing), it is the contextual and the pragmatic that have been least catered for and require attention as the internationalisation of museum audiences and the global dissemination of cultural products gather pace. This is evidenced in translation students' responses to museum text materials in the context of UK higher education work experience modules that are used here as a trigger for the discussion. Analyses are then applied to texts relating to exhibits (e.g. information panels and labels available in situ or online) rather than signage or other practical information, within broadly functional and register and discourse approaches. These analyses also deal with text for fine arts displays, as an extension to discussions for the more ethnographic contexts that are the main object of study in the literature.

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5.1 Introduction

In a talk on 'Art in a Global Perspective' in November 2011,[1] Neil MacGregor, the director of the British Museum in London, provided an overview of the movement of art and artefacts across ages, geographies, cultures, of their travels, impact and influences, in what could also be perceived as a wishful metaphor for language, in *its* travels and aspirations. The interactions, intersections, transformations and their impact on the flow of ideas and practices as mediated by art and artefacts' own essence and histories evoked, by analogy, a vision of language transcending the babelism of languages and rising above power relations and linguistic and cultural hegemony.

MacGregor made no reference to language in the lecture, that was not his focus. But when talking about the display of objects and museum information, sidestepping language is sidestepping a central feature in the presentation and representations of art and artefacts in many contexts: their anchoring in time, space and culture through labels and language-mediated information.

Repercussions of this anchoring are highlighted anecdotally by surprisingly strong reactions to features of museum texts in work experience modules in a UK higher education context, by students with as yet no professional experience of translation.[2] For native French and Spanish-speaking students, for example, the response to general public texts translated for the local museum has been much the same over the years: (sometimes indignant) perception of some of the English source texts (STs) as excessively simple, in content and form, however critical these students might otherwise be of what they perceive as elitism in museum texts in their own home environment. For native German-speaking students, the STs in English are often not explicit enough, and for native English-speaking students, texts in French and Spanish, also from regional museums, are generally responded to as formal, specialised and distant. These students' reactions are generalisations and simplifications, but an incentive all the same to enquire about what may lie behind the contrasts, and about their implications for translation.

The questions about linguistic and cultural representation that arise in the translation of museum texts from the interplay of systemic or pragmatic differences across languages and factors like museology policies, audience expectations (communicative, textual and museological) and support media, for example, have received little attention. These

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issues are becoming increasingly significant in a global context, with the development of cultural tourism and of the economic and societal role identified as a feature of the end-of-twentieth-century museum (e.g. Gob and Drouget 2010: 32). There are textual problems (e.g. terminology, culture-specific intertextuality or referencing, etc.), but ontological, contextual and pragmatic factors also require attention as the internationalisation of museum audiences and the global dissemination of cultural and educational products gather pace. These points are considered here with application to texts relating to exhibits (e.g. labels or other explanatory texts displayed with them) rather than signage or other practical information. The aim is to document aspects and issues of language transfer for these types of text, but also to broach broader issues of translation and representation.

The question that underpins the discussion is simple, but its ramifications are complex: to what extent does the language used in museum texts reflect culturally determined 'ways of seeing', and thus represent epistemological polarities, as Nooter Roberts (2008: 173) argues for contrasting visualities in the display of objects themselves. This question and its implications for interlingual translation and representation is addressed with a small qualitative case study of texts from UK and French thematic fine arts museum exhibitions, with some quantitative corroboration from a larger corpus of such texts. It is explored after a short review of work on museum texts and translation.

The discussion assumes familiarity with translation studies concepts and debates accounted for elsewhere in the volume (see the introductory chapter in this volume by House in particular), including the functional and discourse and register analysis approaches that broadly inform the approach.

5.2 Text and translation in museum contexts

5.2.1 Translation and the museum

For Mack (2002: 197), the act of translation is seen as 'rendering intelligible the concepts, conditions and experience of one culture in the terms of another' and this process is for him a central underlying theme to be raised in the context of museum studies. The observation does not relate to language, however, but to the ethnographic museum, and to contradictory curatorial views about museums and their activities. Mack sets his understanding of the act of 'translation' in this context as 'creating relationships' against the exploitative 'act of appropriation'

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that criticisms of museum practices have tended to speak of, and that he himself denounces as 'a denial of the possibility of relationship' (2002: 197). For Nooter Roberts, the challenge of translation in creating exhibitions is to accommodate the prescribed formats for understanding the world by which individuals are inevitably always guided. It also involves addressing 'the logic through which objects have been fabricated and used by their originators, as well as the logic through which the same objects are received and understood by non-indigenous viewers' (Nooter Roberts, 2008: 172).

These observations echo fundamental debates about translation in its application to language, for example Berman's calling for a mode of translation which 'brings everything to its own culture, to its norms and values, and considers what is situated outside the latter – the Foreign – as negative or just about good enough to be annexed, adapted, to increase the richness of the culture' (1985: 48), or the related ideological tensions synthesised in Fawcett (2001: 106–111). Sturge (2007) likewise highlights the affinities between museology and translation studies in her own study of translation, ethnography and the museum and questions of representation from a language point of view. She shows how anthropological thinking can help us to think about translation and resist 'essentialising and monologising accounts' of representation, and shift issues away from strict polarities (Sturge 2007: 178–1 79). Her main focus is on anthropological and ethnographic translation, that is the processes involved in the collection and account of artefacts. But her conclusions that these fields offer routes out of 'sclerotic translation dilemmas' derived from 'traditional conceptions of pairs of fixed and monoglossic languages' with a view of translation practices as cultural brokerage have implications for museum translation more generally (ibid.: 178). Although her views are largely in tune with Berman's vision of 'a defamiliarising, innovative translation practice that shakes and radically alters the receiving language' (ibid.: 179), she nonetheless recognises, in line with Bachmann-Medick (2006), that translation 'involves conflict, misunderstanding and bargaining for power as well as compromise, engagement and rapprochement' (ibid.: 177).

For all the acknowledged convergences that emerge between museology and translation studies when one attempts to understand what is at stake in the crossover of cultures and languages in (ethnographic) museum contexts, work devoted to interlingual museum translation has been very limited. Fine arts contexts, where the aesthetic prevails and the cultural is perhaps not so salient or foregrounded, are particularly poorly catered for in this respect despite their cultural and economic

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prominence in the museum scene. The perspectives otherwise represented in work on museum translation and museum text nonetheless help build a picture of the types of concerns and variables that underpin (cross-)cultural presentation and representation in museum contexts. These views are considered below as a preamble for the case study of fine arts exhibitions texts, starting with Neather's intersemiotic take on translation (2005, 2008) and Ravelli's (2006) accounts of museum text from a linguistic point of view within a broader museology context. References to French museology work and the questions it may raise about prevailing Anglo-Saxon stances are then taken up as a counterpoint.

5.2.2 Museum texts, texts in museums

Neather's discussion of museum translation is based on the premise that museums must be read as 'textual systems', in line with current thinking of museums as complex semiotic spaces (e.g. Hooper-Greenfield 2000/2004; Ravelli 2006; Sturge 2007). Neather is particularly interested in the implications for interlingual translation of the intrasemiotic and intersemiotic relationships between the visual (objects in the museum), the verbal (texts in the museum) and museum space as systems of signification, that is in the construction of meaning characterised as 'combinatorial and relational' (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 3). Understanding and safeguarding this relationship of intrasemiotic complementarity is for him a prerequisite for effective interlingual translation of museum texts. Objects in museums are selected, contextualised and re-contextualised in ways that (intrasemiotically) produce potential new meanings; texts intrasemiotically encompass a range of genres that do not operate in isolation but in intergeneric complementarity: title signs, subtitles, introductory texts, group texts, object labels and distributed materials, as they are described in Dean's 1994 typology of museum texts,[3] work as intralingual translations of one another, as it were, and allow for a variety of interpretive angles and cognitive levels from which to reconstruct meaning (Neather 2005: 183, 221). Space itself sets up a 'syntactical relation' (after Bal 1994: 8),[4] with a key bearing on how the visual and the verbal are 'read' by visitors (Neather 2005: 83–84). Interpretation is still possible if a translation is ineffective in maintaining intrasemiotic complementarity, but there is a risk of a breakdown at the intersemiotic level. Neather describes this as likely to produce a shift in visitors' reactions, from a response to objects as part of a whole and as culturally meaningful symbols to a mode of interpretation of objects as purely aesthetic artefacts, that is from a synecdochic to a paradigmatic and

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metaphorical mode of interpretation (ibid.: 190; see also Bal 1996: 206). Neather sees this risk of breakdown as compounded by the fact that target culture audiences are likely to need more information than source culture audiences, and describes the result of the inability to engage fully with objects as, at worst, a sense of frustration, cultural misunderstanding and exclusion (2005: 191). Neather's assumption is that translation should facilitate audience interpretation and promote a synecdochic (objects-as-part-of-whole/culturally-meaningful-symbols) mode of reading, and, in this sense at least, needs to be target-oriented. Like implicit related assumptions about the mission of museums and their educational functions, this assumption is debatable, and possibly culturally suspect from other perspectives with less synecdochically 'interventionist' (overt or covert) agendas. These points are explained below by reference to work on museum texts in different contexts (Ravelli 2006 [Anglo-Saxon]; Gob and Drouget 2010 [French]).

The concern with facilitating interpretation of museum information in and through text is manifest in Ravelli's work on museum text, also from an intersemiotic perspective. Her approach is in line with the 'post-museum' (Hooper-Greenhill 2000) ethos that she documents and that also illuminates Neather's perspective. Ravelli's study has a strictly monolingual (English) stance, but is of interest here as the only major study of museum text from a (systemic functional) linguistic perspective. It can thus serve as a platform for the (comparative) analysis of texts from other linguistic and cultural contexts. Ravelli focuses on Anglo-American museums only, a context for which she documents a shift from 19th-century, modernist, authoritative and authoritarian approaches to visitor information to the more visitor-centred and educationally driven egalitarian approaches of the late 20th century. The first approach is reflected in the formal, objective, impersonal language style addressed to audiences as passive recipients; the second refers to a more informal, interpersonal and subjective style that takes account of the visitors' role in connecting and co-constructing meanings. In keeping with this more communicative style, Ravelli's preferred audience-oriented approach to museum texts is predicated on the need for communication in museums 'to be more explicit and more reflexive – to bring implicit assumptions (about what is important, for instance, or about particular facts) to the surface' (Ravelli 2006: 6), that is to avoid visitors getting frustrated by texts which are 'overly complex' (ibid.: 4). A crucial question is whether this stance, also manifest in Neather, extends beyond Neather and Ravelli's own cultural spheres, and what interlingual implications they may have.

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Ravelli takes care to acknowledge that her reading of texts within the (organisational, interactional and representational) communication frameworks that she proposes for museum texts and museums as text represents her own (broadly western) perspective, and that the frameworks must be contextualised in their use within particular cultural and social contexts (Ravelli 2006: 16; see also Kreps 2003). Works from other (western) contexts show that the shift towards more educational, audience-oriented communication is observed beyond Anglo-Saxon contexts, albeit with a strong Anglo-Saxon influence, both in the drive for change and in its applications. It is discernible in the French context, for example, where improving the readability and attractiveness of museum texts and adapting them to the needs of non-specialist audiences is seen as part and parcel of the drive to bring museums into the 20th century in mainstream publications (e.g. Gob and Drouget's 2010 standard volume on museology, where recommendations clearly echo those by Ravelli). Other than the need to pitch text to non-specialist audiences and to avoid overtechnical terminology, advice about language itself is non-specific. Some comments nonetheless raise questions about broader priorities and their implication for language choices, in particular the extent to which the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon museum ethos is reflected in its application to language in other contexts. Gob and Drouget thus describe museum attendance as motivated by visitors' desire to 'voir des objets, ressentir des émotions, apprécier une présentation, comprendre le discours de l'exposition, pas pour y lire un livre ou un catalogue, qu'il soit tenu à la main (guide de visite) ou affiché au mur' (Gob and Drouget 2010: 128) (to see objects, experience emotions, value a display, develop an understanding of an exhibition's discourse and not to read a book or a catalogue, whether hand-held (visit guide) or displayed on the wall). They highlight the need for informative texts to be independent of one another so as to avoid the risk that they play a primary role in structuring an exhibition's discourse, and thus undermine its nature by subordinating objects to texts (ibid.: 130). The primacy of unmediated experience over the piecing together of texts in museums into a response to the museum as text is at odds with the synecdochic mode of reading that dominates Neather and Ravelli's accounts, and Neather's concerns regarding interlingual translation. Gob and Drouget appear to privilege instead the paradigmatic, metaphorical and aesthetically governed response mode that Neather presents as the antithesis to the synecdochic approach which he argues should be safeguarded in interlanguage translation.

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The extent to which this view is verified, or shared, or to which covert divergences from the Anglo-Saxon drive are observed across museology in theory and practice in other western European contexts needs to be established. The students' reactions alluded to earlier are often the result of translation inexperience and a function of literal translation. But it cannot be ruled out that the type of discrepancy highlighted above combines with language practices and communicative preferences in affecting their perceptions of museum texts in English as evidenced in their responses (see the discussion in Section 5.3.1 below).

There are implicit references to the impact of differences in language and communicative practices in Neather's work. His major purpose in discussing translation strategies and failures in his case studies in Chinese museum contexts is to document issues of breakdown of textual intergenericity and intersemioticity. Strategies include a high level of target text (TT) textual modification, reduction of ST information through omission, compression, paraphrasing, or expansion, for example with greater foregrounding of historical period markers (Neather 2008: 226). Failings include withholding information and persistently undertranslating, producing TTs that fail to function effectively in genre terms and exhibit a lack of 'generic competence' (following Bhatia 1997; Neather 2005: 187). But Neather also draws attention to textual modifications of a more pragmatically overt nature: shifts from an educational tone in Chinese to a more 'expositional' text-type focus in corresponding English TTs, primarily manifested for example in a shift away from ST imperative forms (Neather 2008: 226; see also Jiang 2010 on translation quality assessment in the same contexts). It is primarily at the level of text that these questions will be considered in the next sections.

5.3 Texts in museums across languages and cultures – what spectatorial view?

5.3.1 Cues from non-professional translation

In the context of the UK higher education translation work experience module mentioned earlier, home and visiting students from a range of different countries and linguistic backgrounds translate texts to professional standards for various local museums (English into other languages) and other regional museums abroad (other languages into English). The work is produced in groups or individually depending on the assignment. The students are based at the university and receive academic guidance throughout. They report orally on their progress and

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discuss aspects of the work at regular intervals, and they produce an individual critical report about the experience as part of the assessment for the module. Over the ten years or so that the module has now run, at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, reports and discussions have produced very similar and recurrent reactions about some aspects of the work and features of the texts. Syntactic and lexical simplicity, interpersonal mode of address and other interactive markers (e.g. enunciative punctuation marks such as exclamation and question marks, suspension points, evaluative lexis) are, for example, some of the features that have routinely triggered French students' perception of museum texts in English as 'too simple' and 'talking down to audiences'. Example (1) below is typical, with its non-technical vernacular, interpersonal interactional mode of address (interrogative modality, second person mode of address, imperative form of the verb in the second sentence and other orality and/or evaluative features like the downtoner 'a little'. (The fact that the text is evidently addressed to children will be discussed later on).

> **Example (1)** […] The brooch is a little battered – can you see the patch where it was repaired? Have a look at the back of the brooch to find an Anglo-Saxon message.
> (Anglo-Saxons and Vikings Gallery, Norwich Castle Museum; last paragraph in a 3-paragraph description of an Anglo-Saxon brooch, typical in structure and style of the labels for the series of objects of which this item is a part)

There is also indirect evidence of the same kind of response in the two French versions of the English ST extract in Example (2) (from the Living Arts galleries of the local museum). The first version (2a), is a relatively literal translation keeping closely to the lexical and syntactic features of the source; the other version (2b), is adapted in line with assumed expectations of native speakers of French with shifts from paratactic to hypotactic syntax (from three sentences – two simple and one complex – to one complex sentence), slightly greater lexical precision by virtue of syntactic changes and re-ordering of the (theme/rheme/given/new) flow of information:

> **Example (2)** ***[15th century] […] Living: In the Home*** […]
> **ST A wealthy aristocrat** might have an income of up to £3000–£5000 a year. **A master craftsman** earned around £5–£7, raising him above poverty level. **This** allowed him to add some fresh meat and

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fish to the basic diet of bread and ale. **It also** enabled him to own utensils of earthenware, base metal and wood. (Arts of Living gallery)

Example (2a) Un riche aristocrate a un revenu s'élevant jusqu'à 3000 à 5000 livres par an. **Un grand artisan** gagne environ 5 à 7 livres, ce qui le place au dessus du seuil de pauvreté. **Il** peut ainsi se permettre de la viande fraiche et du poisson en dehors du plat basique fait de pain et de bière. **Il** peut également s'offrir des ustensiles en terre cuite, en métal et en bois.

[Back translation: ***A rich aristocrat*** *has an income amounting to 3000 to 5000 pounds per year.* ***A great craftsman*** *earns about 5 to 7 pounds, which places him above the threshold of poverty.* ***He*** *can thus afford some meat fresh and some fish outside the meal basic made of bread and of beer.* ***He*** *can likewise afford utensils in earthenware, in metal and in wood.*]

Example (2b) À cette époque, les revenus annuels ***d'un riche aristocrate*** s'élèvent de 3000 à 5000 livres, ceux ***d'un artisan*** de 5 à 7 livres, ce qui place ce dernier au-dessus du seuil de pauvreté et lui permet de se procurer de la viande fraîche et du poisson en plus du pain et de la bière qui constituent le plat de base. [last sentence as in 2a above]

[Back translation: ***At that time,*** *the income annual* ***of a rich aristocrat*** *amounts to 3000 to 5000 pounds, that of* ***a great craftsman*** *to 5 to 7 pounds, which places the latter above the threshold of poverty and him enables to procure some meat fresh and some fish on top of the bread and beer which constitute the meal basic.* [last sentence as in 2a above]

Both translations were in fact produced by the same native French student. The trigger for the kinds of change in evidence in (2b) and throughout the full text submitted in revised form for the student's final assessment was her negative perception of the language assessor's (non-judgemental) comment about her first version (2a): the gist of the feedback was that the text read well overall within the parameters that appeared to have been set for it, that is safeguard of the linguistic features of the ST/resistance to linguistic acculturation. This brings to mind perennial debates about translation strategies, text functions, intended audiences and attendant issues widely discussed in the context of functional, register and discourse approaches in translation studies (see Munday 2012 for an overview; and House, Chapter 1, this volume), and in the context of the module. What these two examples are meant to show is something slightly different, however, but equally significant.

In Example (1) above, the text is part of the information displayed in a 'star object trail' written with children and the requirements of the UK

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school curriculum in mind, a fact of which students dealing with this kind of text in the module are well aware. Example (2) represents text aimed at a broader public (featuring short paragraphs under the same sets of headings for different centuries, '15th century' – 'Living: In the home' in this case). Literal translation may in this case give cause to perceive the English ST as comparatively simple by French language usage standards well documented in contrastive translation manuals (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958). But why should the same kind of response obtain for texts like Example (1), for which there are functional reasons justifying the text features experienced as marked? Is there a sense in which standard shifts associated with ontological features of French and English, or other language, also relate to modes of expression that have an impact on and may shape spectatorial mentality more broadly in the museum context? If so, what kinds of comparative study could establish what dynamism of museum writings are paralleled by linguistic or didactic choices? And what would this imply for interlingual translation, assuming a case for translation provision can be made in the first place?

These questions are taken up below with a study of texts for a particular type of museum event: the *in-situ* (as against on-line) thematic visual arts exhibition (temporary or permanent). In this case, the parameters are relatively more stable across contexts, and thus more manageable for initial exploratory comparison. The diverse genres of text fashioned to the needs of complex multimodal/intersemiotic displays in the largest archaeological or ethnographic national museums (e.g. the British Museum in London, the Ashmolean in Oxford or Le Louvre in Paris) would require much broader inroads into museology literature. The present study also veers away from smaller regional museums, often more idiosyncratic in their use of text and language despite common features. The corpus of the current study collected so far comprises text panels and picture labels for the following exhibition or displays in the UK and France: *Vermeer's Women: Secrets and Silence* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 5 October 2011–2015 January 2012);[5] *Claude Lorrain: The Enchanted Landscape* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 6 October 2011–2018 January 2012);[6] *Lucian Freud – Portraits* (National Portrait Gallery, London, 9 February–27 May 2012); *Lucian Freud – L'atelier* [The Workshop] (Pompidou Centre, Paris, 10 March–19 July 2010); *Cima da Conegliano – Maître de la renaissance vénitienne* [Master of the Venitian Renaissance] (Musée du Luxembourg, Paris, 5 April–15 July 2012); *Modern and Contemporary Art Rooms from 1970 to the Present* (Musée d'Art Moderne et Contemporain de Strasbourg).

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Analyses in this small pilot study focus on the labels for the Freud exhibitions in the UK and France, with some reference to other genres of text or texts from the rest of the corpus. The texts for the Freud UK and French exhibitions are shown online at [http://www.npg.org.uk/freudsite/exhibition.htm] and [http://mediation.centrepompidou.fr/education/ressources/ENS-freud/ENS-freud.html#notices] respectively.

5.3.2 Label text in UK and French museum contexts: a case study for fine arts thematic exhibitions

5.3.2.1 Label features in a UK context

The short picture label in Table 5.1 from the Freud UK exhibition has clear organisational features: a picture number on [l. 1] (4 in an ordered set of 42) and other identification details (title in bold large font capital letters [l. 2], medium and date of the piece in bold [l.11], origin in a smaller font [l. 12]), label text [ll. 3–10], all with their indexing typography. The text itself is short (8 lines, 61 words), syntactically and lexically simple, with four simple sentences, two with present or past participial phrases, all relatively short (about two 8-word maximum lines each), all with the active verb subject in Theme position, and just one technical term '*chiaroscuro*' in an otherwise everyday vernacular lexical set.

The text is what could be described as a detached exposition (Hatim and Mason 1997). The first sentence provides information about the

Table 5.1 Label for Picture 4, *Lucian Freud – Portraits* (National Portrait Gallery, London, 9 February–27 May 2012)

		Identification
1	**4**	*Picture number*
2	**GIRL WITH A WHITE DOG**	*TITLE*
		⌐
3	The artist's use of chiaroscuro delineates Kitty's	
4	features, making her look older than her years	
5	She sits on a bare mattress, pressed up against	T
6	the wall panelling with a grey blanket for a	E
7	backdrop. Her exposed breast is echoed in the	X
8	form of the English bull terrier's muzzle in her lap	T
9	The couple separated not long after the painting	
10	was completed	
		⌙
11	**Oil on canvas, 1950–1951**	*Medium, date*
12	Tate: Purchased 1952	*Origin*

Source: ©National Portrait Gallery, London.

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artist's technique (*chiaroscuro* [3]) and its impact (making the sitter, 'Kitty', look older than her years [l. 4]), the second and third sentences describe the scene shown on the canvas with small compositional pointers (exposed breast echoed in the form of the dog's muzzle in her lap [l. 8]), and the last sentence gives biographical details (separation, not long after the painting of this picture, of the (painter/sitter) couple – introduced as such in the label for the previous thematically linked painting [3], as was 'Kitty', sitter for this piece). The information flows in a straightforward overt pattern: Theme 1 to New information 1 to Theme 2 to New information 2 etc. There is a degree of inter-labels intertextuality (Kristeva 1969), but the given information and coherence of the text is generally readily retrievable. The account is a third person impersonal account, with limited evaluative features.

The text is all within one's visual grasp, thus easy to scan without shifting gaze, and straightforward to process: the information provided draws attention to different directions of possible further interest (here technique, composition, biography) and different levels of specificity/technicality (here with the *chiaroscuro* reference), but there is no great assumption of specialised prior knowledge. The label is informative in its own right, but is mostly a basic platform on which visitors are implicitly invited to build at their leisure.

There are slight variations of these features in the whole set of labels for the Freud UK exhibition: some texts are a little longer, for example, although never more than 100 words; some labels refer to a group of pictures rather than a single piece (as in the example in Table 5.2); and sometimes the (always single) technical detail may be an intertextual reference to other painters or movements, for example (as in Table 5.3 below, to Manet's *Olympia* and the *Rokeby Venus* by Velásquez [ll. 34–35]). The micro and mid-level organisational features are nonetheless typical, not just of the labels for this exhibition, but also of labels for the other UK exhibitions in the corpus. For example, the labels for the Lorrain exhibition are slightly longer and more detailed and technical, but the underlying structure and general didactic tenor are still recognisably the same, as it is in UK exhibitions generally (at Tate Modern in London, for example, where the panel and label information displayed in thematic exhibitions rooms is also normally supplied to visitors as a small booklet, as was the case for the National Gallery Freud Exhibition).

In all these cases, paintings/labels are contextualised at the macro-level by panels providing introductory overviews of subsections in the exhibitions – chronological at the beginning of the UK Freud

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exhibition, then thematic, as in the example in Table 5.2 (Section VIII *Freud and friends: Sue Tilley*; picture labels for the section are shown in Table 5.3). Like painting labels, these panels have recognisable features and are normally more generic and conceptual in information content and language. Panel text VIII for the Freud UK exhibition, for example, features reference to Freud's painterly concerns in relation to his themes and subjects of choice (here flesh and subjects of unusual or strange proportions [ll. 5–9]), and more precise, formal and abstract lexis manifest for example through nominalisations ('continuation', 'fascination', 'predilection'), or the choice of Latinate over Anglo-Saxon terms ('occupation' [l. 11] vs 'job'). Together with picture labels, panels thus form part of the frameworks that can be used 'to predict, scan and accumulate meanings' (Ravelli, 2006: 19) in a structurally, thematically and linguistically graded fashion. Together with them, they determine visitors' expectations for processing the information supplied overall in any particular context but also across museum contexts, as is shown by the uniformity of practice in the various UK-based exhibitions and illustrated in the texts in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 below.

5.3.2.2 Label features in a French context

Like the labels for the UK Freud Exhibition, the label for the painting *Sleeping by the Lion Carpet* from the French exhibition (Lucian Freud – L'atelier, Pompidou Centre, Paris, 10 March–19 July 2010)[7] selected for

Table 5.2 Panel Section VIII, *Lucian Freud – Portraits* (National Portrait Gallery, London, 9 February–27 May 2012)

1	**VIII**
2	Leigh Bowery introduced Freud to friends
3	he thought might interest him of whom
4	his clubbing friend, Sue Tilley, was one. For
5	Freud, painting Tilley, known as 'Big Sue',
6	was a continuation of his fascination with
7	flesh, although he talked about not wanting
8	to over indulge his 'predilection towards
9	people of unusual or strange proportions'.
10	Freud's titles rarely give away a model's
11	occupation and his 'Benefits Supervisor'
12	series is one of the exceptions.
13	*'It's flesh without muscle and it has*
14	*developed a different kind of texture*
15	*through being such a weight-bearing thing'*

Source: ©National Portrait Gallery, London.

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Table 5.3 Label for pictures in Set 33 in Section VIII (all of Sue Tilley), *Lucian Freud – Portraits* (National Portrait Gallery, London, 9 February–27 May 2012)

16	**33**
17	**BENEFITS SUPERVISOR RESTING**
18	**Oil on canvas, 1994**
19	Private Collection
20	**BENEFITS SUPERVISOR SLEEPING**
21	**Oil on canvas, 1995**
22	Private Collection
23	**SLEEPING BY THE LION CARPET**
24	**Oil on canvas, 1996**
25	Lewis Collection
26	Sue Tilley (or Big Sue, as she came to be known)
27	lies languidly on the sofa in a bohemian artist's
28	studio, far removed from her day job as a civil
29	servant working for the Department of Social
30	Security. Freud was initially fascinated by her size,
31	however as time passed her proportions became
32	more ordinary to him. Freud's portraits of Tilley
33	are a celebration of flesh and as feminine as
34	Manet's *Olympia or the Rokeby Venus* by Velázquez
35	although far less idealised

comparison here with the corresponding label for the same painting in the UK exhibition (Table 5.3) has recognisable structural features: the same type of identification details (title of the painting, in English with a gloss in French just below [*Endormie près du tapis au lion*]), date, medium and origin, size and copyright information. The text itself is different, however, and out of line with the expectations set up by the same identification and macro-level information for the UK context label. It is longer (192 words), structurally, syntactically and lexically denser and more complex: it has two paragraphs, ten sentences, six of which are complex (with one or several dependent clauses), one with no active verb, featuring more subjective and conceptual lexis (e.g. more evaluative adjectives – e.g. '*pléthorique*' ('plethoric'), '*démesurée*' ('beyond measure') – and nominalisations – '*représentation*', '*exécution*' etc., as in '*Le corps pléthorique de cette personne obèse a, pour lui, les mêmes qualités qui ont pu le fasciner dans la corpulence de Bowery: un excès de chair humaine, une nature démesurée qu'il va falloir contenir dans une représentation'* (BT The body plethoric of this person obese has, for him, the same qualities which could him fascinate in the corpulence of Bowery: an excess of flesh human, a nature beyond measure which it would be necessary to contain in a representation) (first paragraph). It is also

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more technical and intertextually more complex, with references not only to prior subjects and texts in the exhibition (Bowery, as above), but also to the cinema and Fellini, psychoanalysis or current shared visual clichés (*canons actuels*), in the second paragraph: [...] *Face à l'énorme Sue, Lucian Freud est bien petit. Il n'est pas nécessaire de recourir à la psychanalyse pour mesurer ce qu'un tel rapport de force peut avoir d'érotique. Sue Tilley n'est certainement pas un monstre mais bien une odalisque: c'est-à-dire une femme désirée. Encore faut-il se libérer la vue des canons actuels, réduisant le corps désirable à quelques standards précis, pour s'en rendre compte. Ce nu endormi est l'incarnation du désir qui assume son propre débordement.* (BT Before the enormous Sue, Lucian Freud is well little. It is not necessary to recourse to the psychoanalysis to measure this that a such relationship of strength can have of erotic. Sue Tilley is certainly not a monster but indeed an odalisque: that is to say a women desired. Still must-it one liberate from the view of canons present, reducing the body desirable to some standards precise to of it become aware. This nude asleep is the incarnation of the desire which takes responsibility for its own overflowing.)

There is greater overt evidence of subjectivity and authorial presence. The text is an omniscient third person account putting across the writer's own first person stance about the work: it shifts from projecting Freud's response to flesh and its representation from Freud's own assumed point of view in the paragraph to providing evaluative comments about the artist's works in the second, again from Freud's viewpoint (see above). The thematic and information structure and the information flow are complex and more implicit, as shown for example in the anaphoric reference *un tel rapport de force* seen above ('such a relationship of strength' [power relationship]) linking back to sets of contrasting responses to flesh and its representation attributed to Freud in the two preceding sentences (challenge and pleasure; sexual bliss and disempowerment). The label integrates information which in the UK Freud exhibition is split between different sources: the more generic and conceptual panel for subsection VIII (e.g. how Freud met his friends and his fascination for flesh and corpulence [ll. 2–10 in Table 5.2); and the label in non-technical language (information from the latter includes a description of the subject in the context of the picture and biographical details shown in the first sentence of the (UK) text in Table 5.3, reference to Freud's interest in the subject's size in the second sentence, intertextual referencing to other paintings/artists in the last sentence as the technical feature in this example, all in line with the account given for the first (UK) example in Table 5.1). The grading manifest in the

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panel/label text differentiation in lexis and content in the UK exhibition textual materials seems here to be neutralised.

These text-level features are widely in evidence in the label data for the French context in the corpus, with inevitable variations given the evaluative stance, as well as a lesser degree of convergence at the macro-level of organisation and presentation, at least in the data collected to date. There is no space here to discuss these data further, other than to note that these features are reflected indirectly in contrastive quantitative data for the corpus (e.g. in the length and beginning of sentences, length of words, frequency of subordinating vs coordinating conjunctions).

5.3.2.3 Labels, expectations and spectatorial experience

Even on the basis of this limited analysis, the features highlighted in the label accounts of the same work in different contexts make it clear that they are likely to promote different responses and reflect a different stance in spectatorial engagement, ideationally, interpersonally and textually (or organisationally, interactionally and representationally in the terms of Ravelli's (2006) communication frameworks).

The textual apparatus for the UK Freud exhibition has clearly recognisable formats in all respects. It provides visitors at all levels with a road map for processing the information, guiding them factually and linguistically through the exhibition and its subsections. It embodies the kind of advice given in Ravelli (2006), and the synechdochic approach foregrounded in Neather (2005, 2008). For the broad public for whom they appear to be intended, and for visitors with limited time or attention span, or not particularly specialised interest, the materials cumulatively provide an informative and manageable platform. They give sufficiently diverse information and just enough specialist details not to alienate visitors with more specialised expectations, and ultimately direct all to other sources of information fitting their own outlooks. They embody widening access and educational policies successfully promoted in the UK and accounted for explicitly in most UK museum mission statements (e.g. Dewdney, Dibosa and Walsh 2013). Economic factors are also likely to be involved here: the flow of (many) visitors must be kept on the move, and the last stop on the way out at the end of the numbered or otherwise flagged sequence of works on display is usually the exhibition shop, where catalogues and other exhibition-related information or objects can be bought, enabling museums to capitalise on the interests or enthusiasms generated by exhibitions and to fulfil their economic objectives.

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The socio-textual practices embodied in the French context label are both different and more difficult to pin down, since they are more variable by virtue of the textual features that differentiate them from the UK context label. What is perhaps most striking is the degree of interpersonal engagement that the French text triggers by comparison with the matching English text. There is distance in relation to the object/s of description in both versions, but the evaluative stance in the French version also inevitably triggers an evaluative response that makes the text intensely interactive, but in different ways. One may or may not concur with the comments that are made, or with the way they are made. But the de facto involvement that they promote is an invitation to engage with them in their terms, and in particular with the more integrated interdisciplinary and interpretive outlook, overtly manifest, for example, in the linking of intertextual references, and more covertly in the text's syntactic and lexical choices. There is in this sense a great deal of trust embedded in this practice, or of condescension depending on which side of the in-group or out-of group membership is considered.

Gob and Drouget's (2010) overview of the development of museology suggests that practices in the French context may not in actual fact match Anglo-Saxon post-museum tendencies to adapt to the needs of non-specialist audiences to the extent they that they ostensibly state: as shown in 2.2, what they describe as the desired relationship between exhibits and visitors is at odds with their account of visitors' motivation. It looks as though this ambivalence may extend to text and discourse. The influence of museum culture and approaches to knowledge past and present would need to be ascertained. The reflection in discourse practices of world views and configurations of knowledge documented in contrastive rhetoric (e.g. by Bennett (2007) for academic discourse) may help account for the different tendencies observed, with 'plain', that is lexically and syntactically simple and transparent, impartial, objective, English reflecting an essentially positivist world view and privileging the referential at the expense of the interpersonal and textual. Indeed, Bennett (2007: 161) singles out art as a domain in which contrasts are particularly exacerbated, along with literary and cultural studies. French students' responses to the interpersonal dimension enacted in (some) museum texts through the use of the second person 'you' mode of address and experience-sharing exclamations or questions noted in Section 3.1 is interesting in this respect. It highlights another dimension: what may be reacted against is perhaps not so much the interactive dimension of the text, amply evidenced in the French text

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discussed above, as its overt form reminiscent of oral practices and communicative preferences in English. These are in line with documented cross-cultural differences, as highlighted for example by House (2005) for English/German, who suggests that such differences 'reflect deeper differences in cultural preference patterns and expectation norms at a conceptual-cognitive and emotive level' (House 2009: 21).

5.4 What translation for museum contexts?

So what of translation? There are many variables to consider, as the foregoing overview has suggested. In the case of the picture labels discussed above, shared features like identification details and their layout alone set the scene for texts with quite different characteristics in the UK and French contexts, suggesting deep cultural and linguistic underpinnings. They also produce different expectations. One of the critical issues is whether to give in and commit what Bennett (2007, following Santos 2005) describes as 'epistemicide', by concealing through linguistic adaptation to target languages the epistemic and ontological foundations for which the STs are a conduit. The alternative is to resist and let the original text 'shine' through (Benjamin 1972: 18; translation in House 2009: 14) or, in other scholars' words, the hypertextual prevail over the ethnocentric (Berman 1984), or the overt and phenotypically hybrid co-activate the discourse world of the original (House 2009: 15–17). Eavesdropping on others' discourse practices is not without consequence, as students' censorious responses demonstrate. And the choice is never clear cut, not least because the parameters usually invoked for justifying translation strategies in museum contexts are extremely variable, as are, for example, the motivations and expectations of foreign visitors. (Who visits museums abroad, and why?) Text genres and access sites are also very diverse and may justify different approaches (as would arguably texts for display in situ vs online, for example).

What putative spectator should the museum cater for in translation, then, while also recognising that needs are likely to be varied? And what kind of language does this presuppose? It is critical for museums to recognise that foreign visitors bring with them different assumptions about, and expectations of, the museum. This was clearly demonstrated to them in a University of Westminster project – 'Museum and Galleries International Visitors Experience' (MGIVE 2005) – that involved principal London museums. The focus of the project was on welcome information and context. Focus groups convened in different countries across the globe produced re-designed leaflets and brochures

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with, inevitably, 'a very different look and feel' and 'significant variations in what content was deemed relevant for the speakers of different languages and how it was expressed' (Robertson 2009: 24). This led to the development of a toolkit for producing 'culturally-informed, high value, customised information for international visitors', 'free of the cultural practices and assumptions present in materials produced for an Anglophone audience' (ibid.: 25–26). The intention was to help museums compete in the global market, with the further ambition of extending strategies to interpretative programmes for cultural attractions. Questions of practicability in implementing these strategies were recognised by the project team. But beyond that they raise fundamental issues about the museum as a cultural space in its own right, and as a window on the host culture and cultural practices. Sturge describes the museum as a contact zone, a notion useful in encouraging us 'to question the model of source texts and target texts facing each other across a divide bridged by a heroic translator figure' (2007: 164), and thus to challenge the monoglossic and monocultural experience that it may promote.

New technologies and modes of information display are changing the name of the game, providing rich opportunities for creative solutions, involving, for instance, hypertext or multi-display functions on handheld multimodal devices as well as the prospect of handing over to visitors themselves the initiative to imagine complementary approaches with translation crowdsourcing. These innovations make the discussion of printed materials displayed in situ almost obsolete. But they may still involve the same key aspects that need to be considered in promoting, through translation, opportunities to diversify visitors' experience and sensitise them to linguistic and cultural otherness.

The task ahead for translation studies is in this sense both to catch up with conceptualising aspects and issues of museum translation across genres and contexts of occurrence, and take debates forward, while also keeping pace with the opportunities that technology makes available to promote interculturality. This goes hand in hand with simply taking stock: there is as yet no overview of translation practices across the many different possible sites of representation that museums are, fundamentally and both intralingually and interlingually. Museums are repositories of our memories and our histories, of our identities and aspirations, and they showcase our scientific and artistic endeavours and achievements. Translation in these varied and intrinsically interdisciplinary contexts is a metaphor for the processes that lie behind language in promoting interaction between displays and their public

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audience. Language itself may anchor museum objects in time, space and cultures. Its inherent flexibility is also what can prevent museum objects from falling into the kind of fixity that they tend to attract for themselves. The challenge for translation is to harness this flexibility in such a way that it can emulate the transformations that objects undergo as they travel across time, space, perception.

Notes

1. The lecture was given at the University of East Anglia (Norwich, UK) to mark the launch of the Sainsbury Institute for Art (SifA) on 16 November 2011.
2. These Translation Work Experience modules are part of the undergraduate and postgraduate (Masters) curriculum in the School of Language of Communication Studies at the University of East Anglia (Norwich, UK), and involve partnership with local museums with no other means of availing themselves of the services of translators (Norwich Castle Museum, Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts), and regional museums in France and Spain (Strasbourg, Valencia); their collaboration is gratefully acknowledged. They have run since 2001 and involved students representing a broad range of languages, including Chinese, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian and Spanish.
3. As Neather notes, precise demarcation lines between genres are blurred and subject to debate (2008: 220) and there is considerable fluidity and variability of practice.
4. For Bal, the syntactical relation in a given semiotic process involves the 'relation between the sign and its environment' (1994: 8).
5. Kindly made available by Helen Strudwick, Exhibitions Officer, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge UK.
6. Kindly made available by Agnes Valenčak, Exhibitions Manager, Ashmolean Museum Oxford, UK.
7. Full text available at: http://mediation.centrepompidou.fr/education/ressources/ENS-freud/ENS-freud.html#notices.

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6
Translations as a Locus of Language Contact

Svenja Kranich

Translations represent a specific type of language contact. A text is translated from a source language (SL) into a target language (TL) by a bilingual individual, and the product of this process can exhibit an impact of features of the SL on the TT – a phenomenon known as interference. If the same type of interference occurs repeatedly in translations from a SL, the new feature might not remain limited to translated texts. Under favourable circumstances, it might spread to monolingual text production, introducing innovations into non-translated texts produced in the TL.

The process – innovation under contact conditions, followed by spread into the receptor language – is thus parallel to what is observed in other types of language contact. Few contact linguistic studies have taken language contact through translation into account, however, focusing on face-to-face interaction instead. Translation studies do not provide generalisations about language change through translation either, since their focus is more on the translation process and its product and their typical perspective is a synchronic one. The aim of the present contribution is to take a step towards closing this gap in contact linguistic research by studying translation as a site of language contact. Ten hypotheses about typical properties of language contact through translations will be formulated and tested on the basis of a broad sample of studies of translations of a variety of language pairs. The contribution will end with general conclusions about the likelihood of the ten hypotheses, and present fruitful avenues for future research.

6.1 Introduction

Translations represent a specific type of language contact. As in other types of language contact, the locus of language contact as such is the

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individual, in this case the translator. While translating a text from a source language (SL) to a target language (TL), the bilingual individual must activate his/her competence in both these languages. The product of this process can exhibit an impact of features of the SL on the target text (TT). This impact has been discussed under the label 'interference' (Toury 1995) as well as under the name of 'shining-through' (Teich 2003) in translation studies. If the same type of shining-through phenomenon occurs repeatedly in translations, it might spread to monolingual text production, that is to non-translated texts produced by TL authors. The process as well as its potential results are thus comparable to other types of language contact. However, up-to-date general studies of language contact have failed to investigate this type of contact in detail. The major studies of language contact only discuss language contact through translation (LCTT) very briefly (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2005), or even merely mention it in passing (Thomason and Kaufman 1988).

Translation studies do not provide in-depth studies of translations as site of language contact either, as their focus is typically synchronic rather than diachronic. Furthermore, one very productive stream of translation studies focuses on finding universal features that are unique to translations (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1986; Baker 1993; Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998). Such a perspective neglects the view of translations as a type of language contact, since it focuses on features that do not arise out of the fact that two particular languages are in contact in a translation situation. Consequently, there has been no attempt at a unifying account, a typological overview or a general model of contact through the written medium.

In the following two sections, I will present insights from contact linguistics (Section 6.2) and from translation studies (Section 6.3) that allow us to formulate hypotheses concerning LCTT. This will lead to the elaboration of a model for the study of LCTT, in which I outline which different factors need to be taken into account in order to test the different hypotheses (Section 6.4).[1] In Section 6.5, I present an analysis of various LCTT situations reported on in the literature using this framework. Based on this analysis, Section 6.6 provides insights concerning the importance of the different factors and the likelihood of the different hypotheses holding up. Finally, I will offer some cautious conclusions about the nature of LCTT and present an outlook into avenues for future research.

6.2 Translation in current models of language contact

The major frameworks for the study of language contact offer little information on LCTT. Using Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) seminal

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work, we can only make the following predictions as to the typical outcome of LCTT:

1. Lexical borrowing is more prominent than structural borrowing.
2. Structural borrowing is limited to syntactic borrowing.
3. Structural borrowing mostly occurs where functional analogies can be established between SL and TL based on typological proximity.
4. Additional factors influencing change through LCTT are the same as in contact situations in general: intensity of contact, length of contact, sociopolitical dominance, prestige (also stressed by Toury [1995] as a factor facilitating interference), and attitude.

Hypotheses 1 and 4 state tendencies ascribed to all language maintenance situations (of which LCTT is one type) by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). Hypothesis 2 is based on their explicit comment on LCTT alone. They note that cases of slight structural borrowing exist where 'the source language is [...] known to the borrowers primarily or only in its written form', which generally means 'borrowing from a prestigious literary language' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 66). In this type of contact, any structural borrowing that occurred in their sample was syntactic (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 66). However, they offer no reasons why morphological borrowing should be excluded (phonological borrowing obviously depends on the medium of contact). Hypothesis 3 is based on Thomason and Kaufman's (1988: 72) statement that 'in slight to moderate borrowing, source-language features that fit well typologically with functionally analogous features in the borrowing language tend to be borrowed first' (see also Field 2002: 42–44).

Compared to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), van Coetsem (1988, 2000) is more concerned with the actuation of change through contact, rather than with its spread.[2] As far as the outcome of LCTT is concerned (a subtype of the type of contact situation labelled 'neutralization' by Van Coetsem), the following hypotheses can therefore be formulated on the basis of his work:

5. All linguistic domains can be affected in LCTT.
6. The selection is only determined by social factors, attitude and the degree of establishment of norms; in other words, the degree of standardisation of a language overall and of the particular genre of the translated texts.

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Heine and Kuteva (2005: 13) particularly emphasise the importance of equivalence relations between the two languages. The crucial point in this respect is not, as in Hypothesis 3, typological proximity, but the idea that bilingual speakers must be able to conceptualise constructions of the languages in contact as in some way equivalent (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 4). If, for example, Language A has a word for 'body' which also functions as a grammatical marker of reflexivity, a bilingual speaker can take the word of Language B meaning 'body' and start using it as a reflexive marker.

In contrast to other works on language contact, Heine and Kuteva also include a brief section on the specific type of contact through the written medium. They note that it is in particular cases where the TL community has no (or no commonly accepted) written standard that structures provided by the SL tend to be taken over (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 251).[3] It can be assumed that, in a parallel way, the degree of standardisation of conventions of a particular genre in the TL will influence the potential for an impact of SL on TL genre conventions.

We can thus hypothesise:

7. Structural impact of the SL on the TL relies on the conceptualisation of equivalence relations by bilingual speakers. There needs to be some sort of basis for the establishment of such equivalence relations (for example, as in our example above, a partial semantic overlap).
8. The impact of the SL on the TL will be strongest when the TL community has no, or no commonly accepted, written standard.
9. In a parallel way, the lower the degree of standardisation of a genre, the greater will be the likelihood of impact of SL conventions on the TL.

6.3 Insights from translation studies on translation as locus of language change

A crucial issue for the study of translations as a site of language contact is House's (1997) distinction between two basic types of translations: overt and covert translation. In overt translations, the translator concentrates on formal, structural equivalence (even if it means sacrificing naturalness and adherence to TL textual conventions); in covert translations, the translator mainly strives for functional or communicative

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equivalence, using a 'cultural filter' to adapt the text to the conventions of the target culture.[4]

It is clear that a translation governed more strongly by the quest for formal and structural proximity between ST and TT has a greater potential for shining-through effects than a translation concentrating on achieving communicative equivalence. But even when communicative equivalence is the goal and a cultural filter (see House 2006) is applied, shining-through phenomena occur, as studies of English–German translations of popular scientific and business writing have shown (for an overview, see Kranich et al. 2012). One can assume, however, that a wider array of shining-through features can be observed in overt translation, which leads us to Hypothesis 10:

10. The more overt the translation strategy, the more shining-through phenomena we will find

In the next chapter, I will present insights from studies on LCTT, which will help us to verify the ten hypotheses presented in this chapter.

6.4 Potential factors in language change through translation

In the preceding two sections, ten hypotheses have been introduced on the basis of standard works on language contact and on translation. These hypotheses partly contradict, partly reinforce each other. We can identify several distinct points about which these hypotheses make predictions. Firstly, there are hypotheses which determine factors that generally have an influence on the likelihood of interference phenomena in the translations and their spread to TL text production. The following factors can be deduced as potentially relevant:

i. Orientation of the translator (towards overt or covert translation)
ii. Intensity of contact
iii. Length of contact
iv. Sociopolitical dominance relations
v. Prestige of SL
vi. Attitude towards the SL
vii. Degree of standardisation of the TL
viii. Degree of establishment of the genre in TL
ix. Typological proximity

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x. Potential for establishing functional equivalence between particular linguistic items.

There are other hypotheses that refer to the domains potentially affected by LCTT. In order to verify these hypotheses, we have to classify the changes documented in translations according to which domain is affected:

I. Lexical
II. Morphological
III. Syntactic
IV. Pragmatic/Stylistic

For an ideal investigation, we would now want to study a broad sample of situations of LCTT, including typologically diverse SLs and TLs and classify these according to the total 14 factors (i–x, and I–IV). However, it is difficult to obtain a typologically balanced sample for this kind of study, since detailed studies of change and variation through translation mostly focus on the better-studied languages of the world (particularly with regard to the SLs, as it is mostly from such languages that many translations are made). Furthermore, not all factors we are interested in are recoverable from studies by other researchers, as their focus is often a much narrower one. The following section should therefore be seen as an attempt at making the best of the research results at hand and as reflecting work-in-progress.

6.5 Some first results on LCTT

I have so far analysed results on the following contact situations:

1. Ancient and medieval contact through translation:
   - Greek > Latin[5]
   - Latin > Old High German, Old and Middle English, Old Norse, Old Swedish[6]
2. Early Modern contact through translation
   - Latin > Early Modern English[7]
   - French > German[8]
3. Present-day contact through translation
   - German, Japanese > English[9]
   - English > German, Danish, French, Italian, Japanese, Hungarian, Spanish.[10]

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I will start by looking at the results from the studies on these situations of LCTT with an eye to tendencies and recurrent features concerning the four types of categories potentially affected by LCTT (I–IV).

6.5.1 Lexical items and word formation

With respect to lexical items and word formation patterns, we can observe that in all three periods distinguished here (ancient/medieval, early modern, and present day), translations introduce innovations into the lexicon of the TL. Examples include the introduction of Latin loan words into all the vernaculars included in this study, some of which are still present in the modern languages (e.g. English and Swedish *angel*, German and Norwegian *Engel* from Latin *angelus*), as well as Latin-based loan formations such as the Old English loan translation *halig gast* ('holy ghost') to render the Latin *spiritus sanctus* (cf. Baugh and Cable 2002: 90f.). Innovations in word formation patterns, where the impact of translations is harder to detect, can also be observed (Dietz 2007: 125).

The situation in early modern and present-day contact situations is not very different in this area. Both the wholesale adoption of SL lexical items as well as the innovative use of TL lexical material on the basis of SL models can be observed. We find borrowed lexemes (e.g. *computer* in German, Danish, and Italian), loan formations on the basis of English models and hybrid formations (e.g. Danish *hårspray* on the basis of English *hair spray*, cf. Gottlieb 2005) as well as of the occasional innovations in word formation rules (e.g. French *tour-opérateur* on the basis of English *tour operator*).[11] In all these cases, translations may or may not have represented the first source of these innovations, but they surely helped their spread.

Derivation patterns in the TL can also be influenced. Examples include the prefixes *in-* and *dis-* in English from French and Latin, as well as *non-* specifically from legal Latin and French, and French Anglicisms in *-ing*, which typically do not refer to an activity, as their English counterparts, but to places associated with a certain activity, such as *le dancing* ('dancing hall') and *le parking* ('parking lot'), even leading to new creations in French such as the sporting term *faire le forcing* (cf. Cypionka 1994: 187–189, 191–193; Tournier 1998: 573; Plümer 2000: 220).

6.5.2 Morphology

While derivative morphology exhibits contact-induced innovations in all periods, there is not one innovation in the field of inflectional morphology in the early modern and present-day contact scenarios. In the ancient/medieval group, on the other hand, we find an interesting

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innovation in Old Swedish translations from Latin (see Höder 2010: 227–229; Kranich et al. 2011a: 26f.). The use of Old Swedish participle forms in *-ande* to render Latin gerundives can be seen as a morphological innovation, since it means that *-ande* in these constructions acquires a new functional profile. What is more, Old Swedish *skulande* (the participle of the verb meaning 'should, be obliged to') is used as a kind of suffix in some of the translations, where the translator opts to translate the semantically passive Latin gerundive using an infinitive + *skulande* (often without leaving a space between the words). This can be seen as an emergent contact-induced grammaticalisation (see Höder 2008: 228).

6.5.3 Syntax

Concerning syntactic innovation, we also find a number of innovations in the earlier periods that can be attributed to LCTT with some degree of certainty, while there are only frequency effects in contact situations in modern times. Examples of the former include Latin subordinating structures giving rise to new subordinating conjunctions in Old English and Old Swedish (see Blake 1992; Höder 2008), as well as new participle constructions formed on the Greek model in Latin translated texts (see Eklund 1970) and on the model of Latin in Old English and Old Swedish translations (see Blake 1992; Höder 2008).

In the modern contact situations, we only find an impact on the overall frequency and the collocation patterns of certain constructions. Thus, Wurm's (2008) study of French–German translations of cookbooks shows that translators adopt certain syntactic patterns from the French originals, for instance the plural imperative form (instead of the originally more usual singular), based on the more typical occurrence of the (polite) plural imperative form in the French STs. However, this is not an introduction of a new syntactic pattern into the TL, but only a change in preferences influenced by translatory practice (Wurm 2008, 2011). Concerning the present-day translations, we find for instance that English–Italian translations of economic texts exhibit a greater frequency of possessive determiners and demonstrative pronouns than comparable non-translated Italian texts, as well as a tendency towards more coordinating rather than subordinating structures, which can be traced back to the influence of ST conventions (see Musacchio 2005).

The kind of variation found in early modern and present-day translations thus does not represent contact-induced syntactic change, but variation concerning pragmatic and stylistic issues, which we will now turn to.

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6.5.4 Pragmatics/stylistics

Pragmatic and stylistic features of the ST easily make their way into the TT. In the earlier periods, we witness for instance a tendency to emulate the more hypotactic style of Latin in the Old English as well as in the Old Swedish translations, while non-translated texts in the vernaculars mostly show a tendency towards more paratactic constructions (see Blake 1992; Höder 2008). The adoption of the *Nehmet*-form in the early Modern French–German cookbook translations should also be seen as a translation-induced change in genre conventions (Wurm 2011). Finally, what we witness in present-day translations the most (apart from lexical influence) is the subtle yet pervasive adoption of pragmatic features and stylistic norms.

This is quite clear from the analyses of English–German translations conducted in the project *Covert Translation* (1999–2011).[12] The project focused on popular scientific texts and business communication, studying English texts, their German translations, and comparable non-translated German texts. The popular science text corpus furthermore included two time-frames (1978–1982 and 1999–2002), in order to see whether translatory practice changes over time and whether the more recent non-translated German texts exhibit features first found in the English–German translations. One result that the project arrived at is that the use of features whose occurrence in texts is at least partly pragmatically motivated (e.g. personal pronouns, modal markers) typically shows shining-through effects in the English–German translations, particularly in the later time-frame (for a detailed summary, see Kranich et al. 2012).

Bicsár's (2010) case study of English–Hungarian translations of a popular scientific article points in a similar direction: She shows that linguistic features managing author-reader-interaction display certain shining-through effects from the English ST, making the text display conventions that are a hybrid between the typical English (very personal) and the typical Hungarian (more detached, formal) style.

6.6 Evaluating the hypotheses and potential factors

We will now take a closer look at the potential factors having an influence on the outcome of LCTT.

6.6.1 Overt vs covert translation

The results obtained so far support the assumption that a more overt translation practice produces more shining-through effects and hence

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carries more potential for language variation and change through translation. The ancient and medieval translations generally strive more for formal proximity, while present-day translations generally aim more at functional proximity, and the latter show fewer types of innovations introduced through translatory practice, namely no morphological and syntactic innovation.

6.6.2 Intensity and length of contact

A certain minimum of intensity and length of contact is likely to be required for translations to take place at all. Other than that, their impact is still unclear. The fact that English–German, English–Italian and English–Hungarian display rather similar shining-through effects (cf. Musacchio 2005; Bicsár 2010; Kranich et al. 2012), in spite of the difference in length of contact, rather indicates that the impact of this factor is not a major one.

6.6.3 Sociopolitical dominance, prestige and attitude

Sociopolitical dominance is certainly not a prerequisite for shining-through phenomena, since for instance Neumann (2008) shows that shining-through occurs both in the translation direction English–German and in the direction German–English. This result also tells us that the prestige of the SL and the attitude towards the SL do not need to be as pronounced as in the case of Latin in ancient, medieval and early modern times, but that a 'medium high' prestige and a mildly positive attitude (as we might attribute to German in the English-speaking world) are sufficient for interference effects to occur.[13]

However, a high prestige of the SL and a generally positive attitude towards it can be assumed to be necessary for translation-induced innovations to find their way into general text production in the TL. Developments that spread to non-translated text production (e.g. new subordinating conjunctions in Old Swedish on the basis of Latin, or the introduction of English-based discourse patterns into non-translated texts in German popular science) have only been observed so far in cases where the TL community attributes high prestige to the SL and the discourse community associated with it.

6.6.4 Degree of standardisation of the TL

The degree of standardisation of the TL seems to play a major role both for the actuation of a translation-induced innovation as well as for its spread. Across the board, translation-influence of the kind that the Old Swedish translations of Latin exhibit (with lexical, morphological, syntactic, and stylistic translation-based innovations) can be assumed

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to be possible only in cases where the TL has no or no widely accepted written standard.

6.6.5 Degree of standardisation of the genre in the TL

The degree of standardisation of the genre also appears to be of key importance, as Junge's (2011) analysis of CSR-statements shows. CSR-statements represent a new genre in both cultures, since it is only in recent times that companies have had to produce statements about their social responsibility. However, in the Japanese business culture the new genre can build on 'a long tradition of Japanese businesses wanting to appear socially responsible, which provides a cultural rhetorical background' (Junge 2011: 213). This is reflected in the present-day CSR reports in the low amount of variation in the openings and closings of the Japanese texts. In the English originals, on the other hand, there is a lot of variation, illustrating the absence of such norms. This low degree of genre standardisation seems to allow for a lot of Japanese–English interference effects, while English–Japanese translations show much more cultural filtering.

Even though the degree of genre establishment thus presents itself as a significant factor, one should note that even in a well-established genre, such as the novel in present-day Germany, shining-through effects occur in translations (Neumann 2008).

6.6.6 Typological proximity

Typological proximity is apparently not very important, since similar effects in English–German, English–Italian, and English–Hungarian can be observed, in spite of their descending proximity from English.

6.6.7 Form–function equivalence relations

The studies at hand show that the lack of form–function equivalence can indeed block interference, but that it can also propagate it. For instance, Kranich (2009) shows that in English–German translations of modal verbs, translators opt for a wide variety of expressions in German (zero translation, different modal verbs, adverbs, lexical phrases) to translate one and the same English modal verb, showing their awareness of a lack of a one-to-one form-function equivalence between English and German in this domain.[14]

On the other hand, Junge's results show that in Japanese–English translations, the ST's higher degree of formality shines through, while the English–Japanese translations are well-adapted to the higher formality of the TL. In the Japanese system, the marking of formality is

obligatory, so the translator has to make conscious choices as to which forms to use. In the English system, on the other hand, degree of formality rather becomes apparent through certain lexical choices (e.g. *pleased* instead of *happy*). We can expect the translator to often pick automatically the lexical item closest to the one present in the Japanese ST, without thinking about the need for cultural filtering (see Junge 2011: 222). The lack of form-function-equivalence thus plays out differently depending on the translation direction.

6.6.8 Conclusions about the ten hypotheses

We will evaluate now to what extent the insights presented here allow us to form an opinion about the likelihood of the ten different hypotheses holding up. The first hypothesis, according to which one will find more lexical borrowing than structural borrowing cannot be clearly confirmed on the basis of existing research, since it is very hard to quantify the results at hand. However, it does seem likely, as lexical impact is pervasive, while structural borrowing in the more recent contact situations is rather limited.

Hypothesis 2, stating that if structural borrowing occurs, it will be only syntactic borrowing, is disproved by Höder's (2010: 227–229) finding on the innovative use of formations with *skulande*, where the participle shows signs of becoming used as a gerundive-forming morpheme.

Hypothesis 3, according to which structural borrowing is most likely where SL and TL are typologically close, is again a quantitative hypothesis about what is the most frequent change, which could only be tested on a representative, quantitatively analysed database. However, the results at hand make one sceptical, as Junge's (2011) study shows that the impact of typological differences between two languages on shining-through potential can play out in very different ways.

Hypothesis 4 (other factors in LCTT are the same as in contact situations in general) is too universal to be tested on the present basis. Hypothesis 5, on the other hand (all linguistic domains can be affected in LCTT), is confirmed by the same means as Hypothesis 2 is disconfirmed. Hypothesis 6, that selection is only determined by social factors (attitude, standardisation), by contrast, does not hold up, as in fact structural differences between two languages do have an impact on the potential for shining-through, as again the results on English–Japanese have demonstrated.

Hypothesis 7, according to which there is a need for some sort of equivalence relation (e.g. a partial semantic overlap) for structural

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impact to occur has not been proved or disproved, due to a lack of studies providing results relevant to this question.

Hypotheses 8 and 9 (that the impact of SL on TL is strongest when the TL community has no, or no commonly accepted, written standard, and that the impact of SL genre conventions on the TL genre is strongest where genre norms for the TL genre are lacking) can be regarded as almost certainly true on the basis of what we have observed. The main contrast to be observed is between ancient/medieval LCTTs on the one hand and more recent LCTTs on the other hand, with the latter exhibiting a much smaller spectrum of changes. None of the early modern and present-day LCTTs exhibited morphological or syntactic innovations through LCTT. This difference is most likely due to the differences in standardisations of the TLs.

It is difficult to disentangle Hypothesis 10 (according to which the more overt the translation strategy, the more shining-through phenomena are observed) from the issue of standardisation, since a low degree of standardisation of the TL will tend to favour the use of an overt translation strategy. On the basis of the results we have at hand, it can be assumed, however, that overt translations do indeed produce more contact-induced innovations.

6.7 Conclusion and future prospects

An earlier investigation of translation as a type of language contact in Kranich et al. (2011a), based on the comparison of the contact between Latin and Old Swedish and present-day English and German, has allowed us already to shed some light on the hypotheses and factors discussed here. It showed that morphology can be borrowed too, and that standardisation appears to play an important role. Otherwise, however, the scope of the investigation in Kranich et al. (2011a) was too limited to arrive at firm conclusions. Though the scope of the present overview still has its limits, some more results as to the relevance of the different factors and the appropriateness of the hypotheses formed on the basis of work on language contact and translation studies have been obtained.

Taking a global view of the results, what seems most crucial is the translator's awareness of norms and standards and the importance she or he accords upholding them. Present-day translators have clear ideas about grammatical correctness that block morphological or syntactic innovations in the TL. By contrast, translators are normally not aware of the typical relative frequency of certain constructions or their

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preferred collocation patterns, so they seem to take over features of the STs unconsciously in this area. Similarly, it can be presumed that the communicative style typical of a TL community is generally a conglomeration of subconscious preferences and not a codified norm, so that interference effects also can easily fly below the consciousness radar. This last tendency may be more pronounced the less established the specific genre is in the TL community.

In ancient and medieval times, on the other hand, the codification of the TLs was not very advanced. Translators were therefore not held back by ideas about correct grammar, but probably felt rather that the replication of for instance Latin syntactic patterns in their native vernaculars lent something of Latin's elegance to their native language and was therefore desirable rather than to be avoided. The difference between overt and covert translations is closely linked to this. Ancient and medieval translations were often overt, not only because of the commonly high prestige of the STs (often religious texts), but also because there were no widely accepted established norms to which the TT should have been adapted.

To conclude, we can say that LCTT can be characterised in the same way that Pieter Muysken once put it at a plenary at *ICHL* XIX (maybe not exactly verbatim) when talking about language contact in general: 'In principle, anything goes in language contact. Though mostly, nothing much goes at all'. In LCTT as well, at least in early-modern and present-day contact through translation, the impact on the TL is rather subtle and the innovations often remain limited to translated texts. However, in principle, all kinds of outcome are possible. Indeed, even such extreme outcomes as creolisation can be witnessed, if one allows conventionalised mixed codes such as the macaronic business writing of late medieval/early Modern England (see Wright 1998, 2002) to be classified as written creoles.

Future research into this exciting field should focus on the hypotheses we were not yet able to verify on the basis of the studies at hand. I see two particularly fruitful avenues for future research: first, a typological classification of a broad sample of available individual studies on translation-induced variation and change. This would provide us with quantitative data, allowing us to answer questions about the likelihood of particular changes in LCTT. Second, projects which are designed to isolate the importance of individual potentially relevant factors; for instance, a project conducting analyses of a corpus of translations that have several features in common (e.g. SL, prestige of TL vs SL, genre), while varying in other features (e.g. the typological distance of SL from

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TL, degree of establishment of the genre in the TL, attitude of TL speakers towards the SL). In this way, it would be possible to gain a more complete understanding of the nature and the weight of the different factors whose potential impact on LCTT we have studied in this chapter.

Notes

1. A tentative model for the study of LCTT was first presented in Kranich et al. (2011a). The present chapter presents a revised version and discusses a far greater spectrum of contact situations, which allows us to arrive at conclusions on a more representative basis. The number of hypotheses investigated was reduced to ten for reasons of space.
2. For an insightful discussion of the difference between Thomason and Kaufman's and Van Coetsem's frameworks, see Smits (1998), who applies both frameworks to the study of the contact situation between Iowa Dutch and English. For a study of this type of contact, where a non-dominant language (Iowa Dutch) is maintained, but where language attrition takes place, Van Coetsem's framework clearly yields the better predictions.
3. Their discussion is insightful, but it is also kept very brief and it is clear that LCTT is not the main focus of their interest, presumably because it is not the prototypical form of language contact (see Heine and Kuteva 2005: 252).
4. The notion of equivalence in translation is, of course, a highly complex one and the presentation here is necessarily cursory and simplifying. For detailed overviews, see House (1997: 1–27) and Koller (2001: 189–214). Also, purely 'overt' and purely 'covert' translations can be assumed to be rare. One should rather imagine the distinction as a cline, ranging from a strong focus on formal equivalence (e.g. in medieval interlinear glosses) to a strong focus on communicative equivalence (e.g. in user manuals).
5. On the basis of Eklund (1970).
6. Using Dietz (2007) for Latin–Old High German and Latin–Old Norse; Baugh and Cable (2002: 82–92), Blake (1992), Burnley (1992: 432–439), Fischer (1992, 1994), Kastovsky (1992: 290–320; 2006: 220–226, 249–255), and Kilpiö (1989) for Latin–Old and Middle English, and Höder (2010) for Latin–Old Swedish.
7. On the basis of Blake (1992), Nevalainen (1999), Rissanen (1999) and Kastovsky (2006: 256–265). Furthermore, the OED was consulted for all periods of the history of the English language.
8. On the basis of Wurm (2008, 2011).
9. Using Böttger (2007), Neumann (2008) and Becher (2011) for German–English, and Junge (2011) for Japanese–English.
10. Using House (1997, 2002, 2004), Baumgarten (2007, 2008), Böttger (2007), Onysko (2007), Baumgarten and Özçetin (2008), Neumann (2008), Becher et al. (2009), Kranich (2009, 2011), Becher (2011), Hansen-Schirra (2011), Kranich and Bicsár (2012) and Kranich et al. (2012) for English–German; Gottlieb (1999, 2005) for English–Danish; Cypionka (1994), Tournier (1998) and Plümer (2000) for English–French; Musacchio (2005) for English–Italian; Junge (2011) for English–Japanese; Klaudy and Károly (2005), Dósa (2009),

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and Bicsár (2010) for English–Hungarian; Romero Pérez (2006) and Kranich and González Díaz (2010, 2012) for English–Spanish.

11. The linear order of the constituents as well as the omission of a linking particle (such as *de*, *à*) are not usual for French and can clearly be attributed to the English model. The majority of English-triggered compounds in French follows the ordinary French order of determiner + determinant, however, such as *musique rap* (see Cypionka, 1994; Tournier, 1998: 95; Plümer, 2000: 212).
12. The project was part of the Collaborative Research Centre on Multilingualism at the University of Hamburg and received generous funding from the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*), which is hereby gratefully acknowledged. The following researchers contributed to the project in the course of its life-time: Juliane House (principal investigator), Nicole Baumgarten, Viktor Becher, Claudia Böttger, Svenja Kranich, Julia Probst and Demet Özcetin.
13. One might assume that even languages with which very little or no prestige is associated will leave their trace in translations, but there are no languages in the sample investigated here that fall into this category.
14. A certain amount of shining-through occurs nevertheless, as is shown in Kranich (2011).

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7

Reorienting Translation Studies: Cognitive Approaches and the Centrality of the Translator

Sandra L. Halverson

The argument made in this chapter is that the incorporation of cognitive approaches into the study of translation will lead to a reorientation of the field, implying a much more central position for the individual translator. The argument builds on converging thinking in two main areas: the study of bilingual cognition, including cross-linguistic influence and bilingual processing, and work within philosophy on the emergence of the social world. The focus here is on socio-cognitive concepts currently in use within Translation Studies, more specifically Searle's the Background, Bourdieu's habitus, and the notion of 'situated cognition'. The argument is related to similar issues raised by Chesterman (2009) and Pym (2009), as well as Tymoczko (2003).

7.1 Introduction

One of the most fundamental characteristics of functional approaches to language is the priority given to genuine human discourse and the ways in which particularly human communicative needs are met. This is true of the discourse-oriented linguistic theories that began to emerge in the 1970s and 1980s, and it is also true of many of the more recent cognitive theories of language, communication and society, including most areas of what is commonly referred to as 'Cognitive Linguistics' (Taylor 2002: 3–5). In its most current forms, Cognitive Linguistics and cognitively inspired or psycholinguistic approaches to such issues as bilingualism and second language acquisition represent in many ways an even tighter focus on the uniquely human elements of linguistic structure and function, as theories build on and remain linked to current and developing knowledge of human cognitive processes.

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Clearly, the integration of assumptions and theoretical tools from cognitive science and the study of language and communication brings with it a change in the kinds of questions asked and the theoretical tools and research methods used to answer them. But the broadening of a discipline through the addition of new questions or concepts is only one of the more immediate benefits. Viewing language and communication in new ways also allows us to return to basic questions and perspectives and to see them in an entirely new light.

It is a potential of the latter type that will frame the discussion to follow in this chapter. The purpose of this volume is to look forward, to see where recent, ongoing and upcoming work may lead. In my view, one of the most interesting and promising, though potentially controversial, consequences of cognitive approaches to translation is that they will, I will argue, lead to a reconceptualisation of our object of study and a fundamental reorientation in the study of translational phenomena. I believe that translation will come to be generally viewed as a situated cognitive activity, one in which the primary scientific interest will be in the creative processes of the individual translator, sometimes in collaboration with others, within her specific, technology-enriched environment. From this perspective, the particular communicative task will continue to be of interest, as will the investigation of a number of situationally identified resources and constraints. While the basic elements of this scenario are not in themselves new, the contours of a reorientation are coming into view. I believe that we are now witnessing the transition to a new and different starting point: the situated translator, rather than the text, the ongoing and situated cognitive/social work, rather than the contrasting relationships between pairs of language systems, cultures or readerships. This emerging reorientation will not be the result of one particular theoretical or philosophical theory, but of the convergence of thinking in which cognitive and socio-psychological perspectives are brought to bear. In this chapter, some of these converging streams will be singled out as a means of demonstrating the common direction.

It is sometimes claimed that linguistic, or text-based, descriptive approaches to the study of translation have reached the limits of their potential, or that they represent an exceedingly limited view of translation. In a recent paper, for example, Cheung (2011: 2) credits recent scholars who have 'tried to take translation beyond the confines set by definitions that are primarily informed by linguistic theories of translation'. In a similar vein, Pym, in his discussion of descriptive studies (not limited to, but also including the linguistically inspired),

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suggests that there is little theoretical innovation coming from descriptive approaches (2010: 86). In this chapter, I will argue that cognitive approaches to translation have the potential to surmount what have traditionally been perceived as the 'confines' of linguistic approaches and also to generate new theoretical insights (cf. also House 2013 for a suggestion of a new-linguistic-cognitive approach in Translation Studies).

In each of the main sections (2–3), I will explore how cognitive approaches change the status of key ideas and will ultimately alter our understanding of focal areas within Translation Studies. In Section 7.2, I will consider how cognitive theories of language, bilingualism and second language acquisition have contributed to a new understanding of the status of languages and the nature of linguistic activity in bilingual or multilingual speakers. In this section, the implications of current research on cross-linguistic influence and bilingual processing will be considered.

In Section 7.3, I adopt a broader perspective in order to consider ways in which some recent philosophical and theoretical trends that have generated rethinking within the cognitive linguistic paradigm are also impacting Translation Studies. Here the focus is on two key ideas that illustrate how contemporary theorists deal with the complexities of the cognition–world interface and how these ideas imply a relatively stronger position for the individual in a social world. In this section, we will see how the adaptation of these ideas to the needs of Translation Studies will also contribute to a reorientation within the discipline.

7.2 Rethinking translational cognition: the status of languages in translation

Much of the recent history of Translation Studies reflects ways of conceptualising language, communication and literature that have been current within the neighbouring disciplines of Linguistics and Literary Studies. As mentioned in the Introduction, functional approaches to language have given rise to parallel accounts of translation; for example, House's use of Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar and register analysis (1977, 1997), Hatim and Mason's use of a similar starting point, also incorporating elements of discourse analysis (1990, 1997), and Baker's (1992 [2011]) textbook incorporating a broadly functional approach, also including elements of discourse analysis, Hallidayan

linguistics and pragmatics. As may be expected, the focus is on the description of the functional characteristics of a given language or languages: the linguistic means chosen to cater for various communicative functions.

Translation Studies has also incorporated system-level thinking in the investigation of literary translations. Starting in the late 1970s, Even-Zohar (1978, 1990, 2005) and Toury (1980, 1995) have both used the notion of interacting, dynamic literary 'systems' as an explanatory theoretical tool in the study of why certain texts are selected for translation, what forces interact to determine the position translations gain or lose, or how translators actually form their texts. This work has made use of literary systems and systems of translational norms (ibid.) to posit explanatory frameworks for the study of translation. In this sense, the system-level explanation is similar to the more linguistic approaches mentioned above. The main difference is that the former work sought explanatory power in linguistic or communicative systems and the latter in social/literary ones.

In this type of systems-level theoretical apparatus, the tendency to compare systems is very prevalent. Even from the earliest writings on translation, the fact of there being two languages or cultures involved has led to an early and predominant focus on binary comparisons, at least in western translational discourse. Indeed, it has been claimed that the nature of translation is 'fundamentally binary' (Ladmiral 2004: 25) and Translation Studies discourse is, in fact, marbled with dualistic concepts. Three examples will suffice to illustrate this: first, translation is very often conceptualised as a 'second', or 're-'occurrence of something; that is, as a 're'-writing (Lefevre 1992), 're'-contextualisation (House 1977, 1997, 2006), 're'-structuring (Nida 1989) or 'de-' and 'reverbalization' (Lederer 1994/2003). In other words, something which has been done once is subsequently done again. There was one text and then there were two: and the two are somehow related. Second, a dualism underlies the terminological distinction between 'source' (language/text/culture) and 'target' (language/text/culture). In this case, the dualism is part of the transfer metaphor which structures the idea: translation is the movement of something from a place of origin (the source) to another place (the target) (Halverson 1999b; Martín de León 2008, 2010). Third, two of the theoretical ideas that received considerable attention, at least in the early years of Translation Studies, also incorporated a dualist perspective: equivalence and translation shifts. Equivalence, as we recall, is a relationship predicated of (often and at

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least) two entities (Halverson 1997). A shift, in a translational context, involves two states and the process of change that links them. The change is either identified from a starting point in the source text or from a starting point in an idealised target text, and the end point is the resultant structure, for instance as in Popovič, where a shift is identified as 'All that is new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected' (1970: 79).

Adopting a cognitively inspired approach to translation raises a number of questions regarding what has thus far been considered fundamental. In the following, I will suggest that cognitive approaches to translation pose a challenge to our understanding of the status of languages, as it is conceived within systems-based and dualistic views. The challenge arises primarily as a consequence of sustained research efforts by scholars within bilingualism and second language acquisition. For the purposes of this argument, two important areas will be in focus: first, the notions of multicompetence and cross-linguistic influence; and second, current ideas about the characteristics of bilingual processing. As in the previous section, this section will conclude with a summary of the consequences for the study of translation.

7.2.1 Multicompetence and cross-linguistic influence

As mentioned previously, early linguistic approaches to translation traditionally maintained a focus on the (two) linguistic/semiotic/discourse systems involved in translation, with a particular emphasis on strategies for coping with system differences. Subsequent linguistically oriented researchers adopted a text-based perspective, regarding the patterns found in texts as instantiations of the potential inherent in the system. Given these starting points, linguistics-based Translation Studies has placed greater emphasis on system and text, rather than an interest in the particular realisations of language systems in bilingual language users. We are seeing a change in this regard within so-called process research; considerable research effort is currently being engaged in modelling the nature and development of translational competence and/or expertise. We will return to this in Section 7.3.2.

Adopting cognitively oriented frameworks to study translation raises quite immediate questions concerning the nature of bilingual and multilingual cognition. We may not start out by assuming that linguistic cognition involving several languages will be the same as monolingual cognition. Indeed, it has been shown to be demonstrably different. As

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Bassetti and Cook put it, '… people who know more than one language have different knowledge of both their first and second languages from monolingual native speakers of either' (2011: 144). Moreover, effects of bilingualism on linguistic cognition have been proven to appear at all levels of proficiency, even comparatively low ones (ibid.). The approach to bilingual and multilingual cognition that builds on these insights is referred to as 'the multicompetence framework' and is associated with work done by Cook (for summary and additional references, see Bassetti and Cook 2011).

In a recent overview of the work on bilingual cognition, Bassetti and Cook (2011) suggest that cross-linguistic research and research in bilingualism have tended to converge on a selection of areas of interest. Their list of areas includes the following main ones: sensory perception and categorisation; time, space and motion events; concepts and categorisation of entities; reasoning; linguistic categories; and emotion and person cognition (2011: 155–166). They cite numerous empirical studies within each main area, all of which demonstrate that bilingualism (which in their review is shorthand for bilingualism and multilingualism) has effects on cognition within these areas. The range of empirical designs and task types in the studies cited is considerable, and some of the effects are demonstrated on non-linguistic cognition and some within linguistic cognition. In this survey, however, much of the work cited reveals effects on non-linguistic behaviour, as this is taken to provide evidence of deeper conceptual changes resulting from particular patterns of bilingualism (2011: 156). In short, people who speak more than one language think differently than those who do not, and they perform differently on a range of different tasks, linguistic and non-linguistic.

In an elaboration of this starting point, Jarvis and Pavlenko present a survey of recent and ongoing work on cross-linguistic influence, or 'the influence of a person's knowledge of one language on that person's knowledge or use of another language' (2008: 1). The work reviewed here is more narrowly focused on the particulars of cross-linguistic influence, though they also adopt the multicompetence approach to bilingual cognition outlined above. Indeed, this view is, as they claim, 'widely accepted in the field of bilingualism' (2008: 17). In their introductory remarks, Jarvis and Pavlenko point out that the multicompetence view of bilingual cognition also 'challenges common assumptions about L1 competence that are found in the fields of SLA and theoretical linguistics' (ibid.). Most importantly, L1 competence is to be considered dynamic and changing, and subject to a number of factors that impact

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the individual bilingual in the course of her bilingual life. As Jarvis and Pavlenko (ibid.) state:

> Recent research in SLA and bilingualism has challenged this assumption [of L1 stability, sh], demonstrating that L1 competence is a dynamic phenomenon that may be subject to both L2 influence and L1 attrition (or loss of L1 abilities), evident in metalinguistic tasks and in L1 performance and processing (Cook 2003; Pavlenko 2000; Schmid 2002, Schmid et al. 2004, see Thomason & Kaufman 1988 for a discussion of the relevance of bilinguals' socio-historical backgrounds to their patterns of L1 influence and L1 attrition).

Jarvis and Pavlenko outline the factors which have been shown to impact the way in which cross-linguistic influence may be manifested in any given case. First, they distinguish between what they refer to as 'learning-related effects' and 'performance related effects', which are factors that affect the establishing of links between elements in two or more languages, and factors that influence the amount and type of influence in language use, respectively (2008: 175). These two types cross-cut the five main categories of factors (ibid.) listed below:

1. Linguistic and psycholinguistic factors
2. Cognitive, attentional, and developmental factors
3. Factors related to cumulative language experience and knowledge
4. Factors related to the learning environment
5. Factors related to language use.

In each of these categories, the authors review research that demonstrates how these various kinds of factors impact the type and extent of cross-linguistic influence in the language learning or language performance of a bilingual speaker. For the purposes of this discussion, it is particularly interesting to take a closer look the third type of factor, that related to cumulative experience and knowledge. Here, the authors cite a wide range of studies that demonstrate that the level and type of influence that knowledge of one language has on use of another is impacted by age (of acquisition, of arrival in L2 community, at task), by length, frequency and intensity of language exposure, by length of residence in a language community, by general level of proficiency, by the number and order of acquired languages, by factors related to the learning environment and factors related to language use (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008: 197–209). In other words, all of these very particular

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characteristics, either particular to the individual language user, or particular to the context of language production, affect the language produced by a bilingual person. Not only are bilinguals cognitively different from monolinguals: bilingual cognition and linguistic performance is very much influenced by features of the personal history of the individual bilingual or multilingual speaker and the very particular situations in which she is communicating.

Translation is one form of bilingual language production. While we might expect it to differ from other forms of language production that bilinguals engage in, it is still clear that the ramifications of the multicompetence view for the study of translation are quite far-reaching. In a brief summary of the cognitive effects of bilingualism, de Groot (2011: 402) states the following:

> As compared with the speech of monolingual language users, bilingual speech in both L1 and L2 is characterised by an accent in all domains of language: phonology, grammar, and semantics. There are two possible sources of these accents: memory structures that differ between monolinguals and bilinguals or response competition caused by activated structures in the non-response language in bilinguals.

If bilingual speech is 'accented', then translational manifestations of this accent must also be expected. And if the 'accent' originates in individual memory structures or situated activation patterns, then if we are to understand why translators do what they do, we need to start with the very particular configuration of languages that the individual translator speaks. The translators' production, in whatever direction she translates, will be affected by the particulars of her personal linguistic history and of the task at hand.

Let us now turn to a selection of questions arising from work on bilingual language processing.

7.2.2 Bilingual processing characteristics and translation

There are two main areas of recent research activity that are of interest here: the question of the activation of a bilingual's two languages and the question of how the stages of comprehension and production are sequenced during translation. These two questions are directly linked to how we must conceive of the status of languages in translation.

The question of language activation and control is one of the key questions in bilingualism research. The basic task of theoretical

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accounts is to explain how a bilingual is able to speak one language at a time without performance being marred by the selection of non-response language items. The control mechanism must also be able to account for code-switching and other language selection phenomena, including asymmetric aphasia and attrition phenomena. The literature in this area is vast, and accounts differ, sometimes significantly, in their details. For the purposes of this discussion, it is helpful to focus on the least contentious areas and see how current understanding is relevant for the study of translation.

There seems to be agreement that in language comprehension and production, linguistic items in both languages are activated and thus a means of suppressing the non-response language items that are inappropriate is required (see e.g. Grosjean 2001; Bialystok and Craik 2009; Foster-Cohen 2009). As de Groot explains it (2011: 279):

> In general a picture emerged of a bilingual linguistic system that is noisier than the language system of monolingual language users because, during both language comprehension and language production, linguistic elements of both linguistic subsystems are activated.

As de Groot also points out, in order for a bilingual to succeed at controlling linguistic output, the linguistic system must incorporate information about language membership (ibid.). A number of theorists seem to agree that within the overall language system of a bilingual or multilingual speaker, the languages spoken form subsets which emerge due to co-occurrence patterns in the acquisition process (for review of relevant literature, see de Groot 2011: 296–302). There seems to be agreement on the existence of a control system that is external to the language system itself (de Groot 2011: 313) and on the idea that this control system 'exploits the language system in accordance with the language user's current goals, monitors performance, and keeps it on track' (de Groot 2011: 313–314). Thus, while the bilingual's languages are identifiable as subsets, the control mechanism works on the language system as a whole, so that the desired output is achieved and undesired output suppressed (see also the body of work done by Ellen Bialystok and associates; for overviews see Bialystok 2001, Bialystok and Craik 2009). It is thus fruitful to consider the bilingual's linguistic system and the operations of the control mechanism as a whole in its execution of the situated communicative task.

An area of particular concern in the context of translation and interpreting is the temporal sequence of comprehension and production

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activities in the overall task. Unlike most bilingual tasks, translation and interpreting involves comprehension tasks in one language and production tasks in another. Thus it is of interest to investigate the temporal characteristics of these two activities within a translational/interpreting exercise, as this will be related to the relative activation levels of language subsystems.

There are two alternative views regarding the sequencing of comprehension and production activities in translation: either the two activities follow one another in a cyclical fashion or the two activities proceed in parallel, with translators engaging in both activities at the same time. There are advocates of both positions: supporters of the former view include Gile (1995), Craciunescu et al. (2004), Angelone (2010). Recent empirical studies, however, provide compelling evidence of parallel processing (e.g. Ruiz et al. 2008; Dragsted 2010); in other words, there seems to be evidence of contemporaneous comprehension and production activities. Moreover, several studies have compared reading comprehension processes with reading for translation, and these studies suggest that reading for translation is different and may involve parallel 'pre-production' activities (Jakobsen and Jensen 2008; Dragsted 2010; Carl and Dragsted 2012). The latter study also suggests that a translator may alternate between periods of sequential and parallel processing as she encounters problems of various types. Dragsted (2010) demonstrates different patterning of sequential and parallel processing in professional and student translators. These studies suggest that comprehension and production processes in some translation processes are very tightly intertwined.

7.2.3 Summing up: the status of languages

Traditional linguistic approaches to translation, like the linguistic theories from which they were derived, often demonstrated a system-level orientation. That is, much of the theoretical work aimed at describing the (functional) characteristics of languages, the systematic ways in which languages, or language-pairs, differ, and the strategies or procedures that translators may avail themselves of to cope with these differences. More recently, translational texts have been described in terms of their own functions (House 1977, 1997; Nord 1991, 1997), which are then linked to the linguistic means of fulfilling them. Recent work based on Systemic Functional Grammar has moved away from system-level description to look at cross-linguistic patterns as they are instantiated in text, rather than system (see in particular Steiner and Yallop 2001; Hansen-Schirra 2003; Teich 2003).

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Work done within this paradigm in Translation Studies has constituted a major contribution to the development of the discipline as an empirical science and to the increasing sophistication of pedagogical tools and texts. It is highly likely that this work will continue, and it could be argued that this type of contrastive approach has particular pedagogical advantages over other alternatives. However, at this stage in the development of Translation Studies, it would seem that it is time to supplement text-based approaches with cognitively viable theories.[1] If this is done, then I believe that a reorientation towards the individual translator is inevitable. It is inevitable because bilingual and multilingual speakers have a different kind of linguistic competence than monolingual speakers have, and this competence is uniquely fashioned by the particular developmental trajectories that these speakers follow for as long as they live. A reorientation towards the individual translator is also inevitable because the process of translation is not as dualistic as we might have thought: a translator activates more than one language at a time and works on both comprehension (in one language) and production (in another) at the same time, at least part of the time. This suggests that the unique bilingual competence of the individual is of more significance in studying her production than we might have assumed, and that a starting point in the individual translator must serve as a welcome supplement to the study of the textual products themselves or of the linguistic systems they build on.

7.3 Rethinking the translational world: the mind-world interface

It is relatively straightforward to consider how studies of linguistic cognition in general, and of bilingual cognition in particular, may be brought to bear on translation, as one particular form of bilingual performance. We do not know how or even whether translation constitutes a unique type of bilingual activity (Halverson 2003, 2010). But it is not difficult to see where interesting questions might be asked from the starting point of cognitive theories, as suggested by the discussion in the preceding section.

In a relatively different vein, an interesting and relevant development within both cognitive science and philosophy is the increasing willingness to engage with questions that have to do with the interface between cognition and the world. While it has long been recognised that central concepts (e.g. language, knowledge, norms) are in crucial ways both cognitive and social,[2] there have recently been more detailed attempts

to consider more precisely just how these two ontological realms may interact. In this section, we will consider two examples of how this issue plays out, both of which have immediate consequences for the study of translation. We will start at the most general level, looking at how one project aimed at explaining the construction of the social world incorporates a fundamentally cognitive notion at its core. The example considered here is Searle's notion of 'the Background' (1995), as it has been adopted within cognitive linguistics. The notion of the Background is also linked to Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' (1977). Next, we will look at the notion of 'situatedness' or 'situated cognition', which represents a recent perspective on cognition itself. This particular view of cognition represents an integration of cognition and world at the empirical level, and thus has immediate consequences for translation research. In this section, the two areas discussed represent developments at increasingly specific levels: the ontological and the specifically cognitive theoretical. At the end of the section, we will consider potential ramifications for the study of translation and interpreting.

7.3.1 Cognition and the social world: the background and habitus

An important strength of recent cognitive linguistic work is its early engagement in articulating its own philosophical assumptions. Cognitive linguistics is committed to what is referred to as 'experiential realism' in Lakoff (1987), a position that shares several basic features of Searle's account of 'social reality' (see also Johnson 1987; Harder 2003). Searle's general ontology is concerned with the creation and continued survival of the social world. He starts by making a distinction between what he refers to as 'brute facts' and 'institutional facts'. The former are defined as facts which exist, 'independently of any human institution' (2010: 10). 'Institutional facts', on the other hand, 'are only facts by human agreement or acceptance' and 'require institutions for their existence' (ibid.). He describes (2010: 7) the creation of institutional facts as involving the following:

> The distinctive feature of human social reality, the way in which it differs from other forms of animal reality known to me, is that humans have the capacity to impose functions on objects and people where the objects and the people cannot perform the functions solely in virtue of their physical structure.

He continues by outlining the process by which such functions are assigned, introducing the following general formula for the creation of

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what he refers to as 'institutional facts': 'X serves as Y in C' (ref). In the formula, 'X' may be an object or person, which is given a function, or status 'Y', in a particular context, 'C'. The creation of social reality (or institutional facts) relies on what Searle refers to as 'collective intentionality', by which he means, 'a collective acceptance or recognition of the object or person as having that status' (2010: 8). Importantly, an individual's intentional states build on the knowledge, capabilities and dispositions acquired throughout a lifetime. Any given action will involve and draw on this foundation, captured by Searle's notions of 'the Network' and 'the Background'. Both of these notions together enable action by allowing access to 'abilities, capacities, dispositions, ways of doing things, and general know-how' (2010: 31). It is these structures that allow for social processes of meaning creation to be incorporated into current intentions and actions.

In Searle's ontology, the Background is significant because of its ability to have causal effects. In his view, the Background functions causally because humans have adapted to the institutional (social) structure of the world they live in, and have developed knowledge structures which enable appropriate responses without having to represent the structure of the institutions (or their constitutive rules) as such. As Searle puts it, 'in learning to cope with social reality, we acquire a set of cognitive abilities that are everywhere sensitive to an intentional structure, and in particular to the rule structures of complex institutions' (1995: 145). What this means is that we act, interact and respond with institutional facts without necessarily being conscious of our doing so. But the underlying knowledge is still causally efficacious. Thus, the notion of 'the Background' is a cognitive one which enables humans to create and sustain the social world they live in.

Searle himself was of the view that the Background was roughly similar to Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. (1995: 132). *Habitus* is defined as 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions' (Bourdieu 1977: 72). Its role as the basis for human action is evident in such statements as the following:

> In practice, it is the habitus, history turned into nature, i.e. denied as such, which accomplishes practically the relating of these two systems of relations, in and through the production of practice. The 'unconscious' is never anything other than the forgetting of history which history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces in the second natures of habitus (1977: 79)

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A Searlean ontology has been proposed for translational reality in Halverson (2004, 2008; Marais 2012). *Habitus* and related concepts from Bourdieu's work have also been introduced into Translation Studies in recent years, as demonstrated by conference and journal activity, for instance the special issue of *The Translator* (2005). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to conduct a detailed analysis of the similarities between the Background and *habitus*: indeed, this is a project in which philosophers are currently engaged (e.g. Marcoulatos 2003). What is important for us to note, however, is that it would seem that translation scholars who argue for the integration of *habitus* and other concepts from the sociology of Bourdieu also see these approaches as a means of linking individual knowing and doing (which are cognitively grounded) with a social realm of causal forces which both enable knowing and doing and at the same time constrain them (e.g. Simeoni 1998; Inghilleri 2003; Sela-Sheffy 2005; the papers in the special issue of *The Translator* 2005). This seems to be the function of *habitus*, at least as far as I have understood it (see also Lizardo 2004).

A clear feature of Bourdieu-inspired approaches, contrary to previous sociological approaches, is the priority given to the individual translator as agent. This is described by Simeoni (1998: 33) as follows:

> Bringing the translator's habitus center stage is of course tantamount to giving the act of translating prominent status, as the main *locus* precipitating mental, bodily, social and cultural forces. To talk of a habitus is to imagine a theoretical stenograph for the integration and – in the best of cases – the resolution of those conflicting forces.

Thus, both Background and habitus represent philosophical ideas that are meant to capture the integration of the social world and the cognising individual. Adoption of either one leads to a reorientation towards the individual, as the scholar strives to describe or explain her particular Background or habitus. While the social is of significant interest, the study of the social is oriented much more towards the living humans in which it is ultimately instantiated, rather than the abstract systems or patterns which may pertain within a collective.[3]

7.3.2 Recent views of cognition: situated cognition

In a recent survey article by Robbins and Aydede, three central themes were singled out as being important for understanding the notion

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of 'situated cognition'. These three themes and the overall idea are described as follows (2009: 3):

> First, cognition depends not just on the brain but also on the body (the embodiment thesis). Second, cognitive activity routinely exploits structure in the natural and social environment (the embedding hypothesis). Third, the boundaries of cognition extend beyond the boundaries of individual organisms (the extension thesis). Each of these theses contributes to a picture of mental activity as dependent on the situation or context in which it occurs, whether that situation or context is relatively local (as in the case of embodiment) or relatively global (as is the case of embedding and extension).

Within cognitive linguistics, the idea of embodiment has been fundamental since the beginning. The 'cognitive commitment', outlined by Lakoff (1990), stated that accounts of language must be consonant with current understanding of general cognitive processes, or, as Evans puts it, 'a commitment to providing a characterisation of language that accords with what is known about the mind and brain from other disciplines' (2011: 71). Or, as stated even more broadly, 'by resisting the imposition of boundaries between language and other psychological phenomena' (Langacker 2008: 8). The cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy, for instance, builds on ideas drawn from cognitive psychology (Lakoff and Johnson 1980/1995; Gibbs 1996) as do more general cognitive linguistic theories such as Lakoff's account of categorisation (1987), Johnson's study of embodied image schemas (1987, 2007), and Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (1987, 1991, 2008). A survey and critical review of relevant work on embodiment is given in Gibbs (2005). Much of this research has served as the basis for studies of translational phenomena, for example, Halverson on categories (1999a, 1999b) and construal (2008), Schäffner (2004) and Fernández (2011) on metaphor, and Jansen on construal (2007), to mention just a few.

A number of different schools of thought within a range of human and social sciences have shared a concern with the 'embededness' of cognition, often grappling with various details of the interface of the social and the cognitive. This is true in Clark's work in linguistics (1996) and in Sperber's (1996) and Shore's (1996) work in anthropology. Sperber, for example, aims to account for the social 'epidemiology of beliefs' (1996), while Shore is concerned with cultural representations. The papers in Enfield and Levinson (2006) represent a multidisciplinary

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perspective on the social-cognitive interface, also including evolutionary concerns.

The idea that cognition is both embedded and extended has also received attention in Translation Studies, primarily through the theoretical work of Hanna Risku (2002, 2010) and the PETRA group (see Muñoz Martín 2006), among others. Risku calls for a view of translational cognition as situated, and in her most recent work she outlines some of the consequences of this view. She starts out by stating that from this perspective, 'We now no longer simply ask what actually goes on in the human brain; we widen the scope of the question to include the whole human being and his/her individual history and environment' (2010: 95). Risku then proceeds to outline seven specific ways in which a situated cognition position would make a difference in the way we view, and consequently study, translation. These seven differences involve new ways of thinking about, or new roles for: schemes, situations, intentions and functions, tools and environment, the environment as the object of study, real-life translation as the object of study, and cooperation, respectively (2010: 99–107). All of these are discussed in turn, as she emphasises the ways in which adopting a situated cognition perspective will change the way in which we study translation. Her concluding remarks serve as a suitable summary of the consequences of this view (2010: 107):

> Empirical research into the social and spatial characteristics of working environments will be necessary to fully recognise and understand the cultural and developmental aspects of translation and take these into consideration in Translation Studies curricula. This type of research must take the actual work practices of translators and their cooperation partners as a starting point.

7.3.3 Situated cognition in Translation Studies

Such a view of translation informs several ongoing research projects. Two projects on translator competence (PACTE, see http://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/pacte) and (TransComp, see http://gams.unigraz.at/fedora/get/container:tc/bcdef:Container/get) incorporate, among other things, translators' use of technology in problem solving as part of their competence models. While these projects are less programmatic than some with regard to the model of cognition that they employ, the content of their models of translator competence suggests an interest in extra-individual elements, such as technology and resources (as

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outlined in e.g. Göpferich et al. 2011:59, PACTE 2011: 33). Both projects incorporate analyses of the translator in an ecologically viable environment (ibid.). The same concern is demonstrated by the Capturing Translation Processes project at Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften (http://www.zhaw.ch/fileadmin/php_includes/popup/projekt-detail.php?projektnr=395). The methodological choices made for this project reveal a concern with collecting data that are as naturalistic as possible, while at the same time comparing these data with lab data. The variety of data types in this project – for example workplace observation, interview, questionnaire, computer logging, screenshot recordings, eye-tracking and retrospective verbalisations – will provide a rich view of situated translation.

In addition to the three projects outlined above, one additional research group must be mentioned, as it is a key producer of theoretical texts articulating the situated cognitive view. The PETRA group (http://www.cogtrans.net/nosotrosEN.htm) studies 'Expertise and Environment in Translation'. This group also advocates non-invasive, naturalistic forms of data collection and the use of multiple methods and data types. The members share a concern with the development of translational expertise within a natural translational environment: the focus on expertise of course implies a focus on the translator.

All of the projects mentioned above have incorporated a situated view of cognition. This has been theoretically articulated by some (most clearly by PETRA), and has been built into methodological decisions and analyses by others. The growing tendency to study translators in their workplaces, or in simulated workplaces, and to study the effects of various situational factors indicates an increasing recognition of the need for information about these elements of the translation process.

The main objective in providing this brief sketch of current models of situated cognition in Translation Studies is to suggest that these models are also indicative of an ongoing reorientation of the field towards the translating individuals and towards naturalistic investigations of the situated networks in which they do their work.

7.4 Concluding remarks and future prospects

The aim of this volume is to sketch out some ideas about how the field of Translation Studies might be developing with respect to either known or new pathways. In the current chapter, the focus has been on one potential consequence of integrating cognitively feasible theories. I have suggested that a reorientation towards the individual translator

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and away from systems-based and dualistic thinking is imminent. I sketched two main areas in which I see an impetus for this reorientation: work on bilingual cognition and cross-linguistic influence and philosophical and theoretical work on basic ontological and epistemological categories that have already been introduced into Translation Studies.

In the discussion on bilingual cognition and cross-linguistic influence, we saw that the linguistic competence of a multilingual person is not the same as that of a monolingual speaker and that the competence of the individual is highly dependent on the details of her linguistic life history. We also saw that in language production, a bilingual's two languages are jointly activated and (at least sometimes) processed in parallel. These findings lead to a much more organic view of bilingual cognition and the translation task. It would seem that from this perspective, it is no longer empirically viable to conceive of translation as *between* two of anything. The two monolithic language systems are of less interest than the particular bilingual or multilingual competence of the individual as it is employed in a very particular situated task.

From our discussion of the socio-cognitive interface, we have seen that both Searle and Bourdieu make use of cognitive notions as they account for the emergence and continued existence of the social world. We also saw that the boundaries of cognition are being extended: instead of making a cut between the cognitive and the social, situated cognition is described as being 'embodied, extended and embedded' (Robbins and Aydede 2009: 3). Translation process research is placing increasing emphasis on studying translators in either authentic or ecologically viable research environments and numerous research projects model translation competence in a way that caters for this new view of cognition. If the social world is dependent on cognitive processes, and if cognition is situated in a social world, then it follows that the place where it all comes together has to be the cognising individual.

The idea that Translation Studies may/should develop along a more translator-oriented path is one that has also been discussed by Pym (2009) and Chesterman (2009). However, the arguments that these scholars make are quite different from that presented here. For Pym, the concern is with 'Humanizing Translation History', and the humanisation he envisages is a programmatic one, whose aim is to 'oppose the implicit anti-humanism of system-based studies […] just as it opposed the overt anti-humanism of much text-based deconstruction' (2009: 44). Pym's call is philosophically motivated, but also ethically concerned. Interestingly, Pym also points out that focusing on translators would

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entail a move away from binaries such as source/target, language/language, culture/culture (2009: 45).

Chesterman (2009) outlines an extension of the revised map of Translation Studies (Toury 1995) to incorporate a 'translator studies'. His argument is that this is a natural development following from the use of contemporary sociological theories to investigate translational phenomena, including the Bourdieu-inspired work mentioned earlier. Chesterman also launches an 'agent model of translation' as a new development within the field (2009: 20).

Pym's call for a humanised Translation Studies is a philosophical and programmatic one, and he illustrates the potential of his proposal within the Hispanic historical context. Chesterman observes a theoretical development within translation sociology and predicts the potential developments it might provide for the discipline. I have considered one of the same theoretical frameworks, but my main concern was with the ontological status of a central concept. I have looked at the implications of our current understanding of bilingual cognition and cross-linguistic influence, and I have looked at current work on the cognition–world interface. My belief that there will be a reorientation within Translation Studies towards the individual translator is based on theoretical and empirical work on linguistic cognition and the world in which it is situated.

There is also one other strand within Translation Studies that represents a similar focus on the individual translator, but in this case the argument is an ethical one. From a starting point within literary and cultural studies, several authors are concerned with the status of translators within the publishing world (Venuti 1995), and with other political, institutional and ideological practices that affect translators (see e.g. Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Tymoczko 2003; Milton and Bandia 2009). Again, the argument is different, but, interestingly, the trend being argued for on political grounds is one that I am arguing for primarily on empirical and philosophical grounds.

It is interesting that scholars within Translation Studies should perceive (or call for) a similar reorientation on both ethical and empirical grounds. Such a confluence of desires is not a common thing in as heterogeneous a field as ours. It is hard to foresee how pervasive this reorientation will turn out to be. But there are convincing reasons to believe that new knowledge of how situated individuals cognise will profoundly change the way we think about translation and about translator agency. The converging thinking presented in this chapter suggests that the reorientation is already underway.

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Notes

1. See Halverson (2003) for a discussion of the need for a cognitive theoretical approach to translational patterns.
2. Earlier thinking along the same lines is found in the work of Cicourel (e.g. 1973).
3. Another concept that aims at capturing the integration of the social and the cognitive is Clark's notion of 'common ground'. Clark describes his notion by stating that: 'Two people's common ground is, in effect, the sum of their mutual common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions' (1996: 93). The idea is integral to Clark's account of language use as 'joint action'. It is clearly important to the concerns of Translation Studies, but has not been dealt with in as much detail here primarily because the two selected notions are part of more comprehensive ontological claims, while Clark's concern is in accounting more specifically for language use.

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8
Literary Translation

Cees Koster

As with any form of translation, literary translation is a multifaceted, hybrid, complex and immensely interesting phenomenon. From an institutional point of view it may be looked upon as a specific form of literary reception and cultural mediation, as a form of cultural production taking place within a specific environment in the interface between two (often national) literatures and cultures. Literary translation is often motivated not only by the dynamics of local forces, but also by the dynamics of a global space of cultural exchange. Both these contexts force their constraints upon the inhabitants of that space, the literary translators. Being a literary translator involves taking a position within one's own field of cultural production, but also involves taking a position within this intercultural space. The cultural in-betweenness of translation is reflected in the textual in-betweenness of the translator. A literary translator has a specific role within the chain of literary communication between the original author's work and the ultimate target text reader. The textual presence of the translator pertains to her double position as both addressee and sender, as reader and author, but also pertains to the strategy, the conscious choices, of a translator in solving technical problems of literary translation, such as literary style.

8.1 Introduction

Although from a purely quantitative point of view, literary translation, even in cultures with a large translation import, is often a marginal phenomenon, it is considered to be the most prestigious form of translation and the one with the highest cultural significance. As a consequence it is also historically the most discussed form of translation. As with any form of translation, literary translation is a multifaceted, hybrid, complex and immensely interesting phenomenon.

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The term itself is not unproblematic. What can be considered 'literary' about translation? Does the term implicitly refer to specific values pertaining to the concept of literature, thereby excluding certain genres (e.g. popular literature)? Or does it refer to certain procedures applied during the process of translation? Toury (1995: 168) points to what he calls a 'systematic ambiguity' in the term. On the one hand it may refer to 'the translation of texts which are regarded as literary in the *source culture*', on the other hand it may refer to 'the translation of a text (in principle, at least, *any* text, of any type whatever) in such a way that the product be acceptable as literary to the *recipient culture*'. Toury's point is that the ideas about literariness in the cultures involved may diverge and that there is nothing inherent in the very terms themselves, that they are merely umbrella terms that during the course of history within specific cultures may be and are realised in different ways. This may be a valid epistemological point, but in the field the term is still widely used to denote the transfer of texts within a specific cultural domain. The International Federation of Translators, for instance, has a special committee for literary translation, as have many national translators' unions and associations,[1] and within several national contexts awards are devoted specifically to literary translation. Within the educational field the term also is still very much *en vogue*, as the many specialised graduate programmes on literary translation in higher education testify.

For the purposes of this contribution that aspires to give an overview of the cultural, institutional, textual and linguistic issues involved in literary translation and a tentative outlook into the future of research into the phenomenon, I will make a distinction between 'literary translation' as a mass noun, in which case it would refer to either the social and cultural phenomenon or to the process of translation, and 'literary translation' as a count noun, in which case it would refer to specific instances of the result of that process.

8.2 Literary translation as a social and cultural phenomenon

Within the discipline of Translation Studies in recent decades, the translation of literature has been studied from the point of view of its position in the target culture, but due to the rise of sociological approaches the focus is shifting towards approaches that view translation as part of the international or transnational exchange of culture. The focus within these approaches is not only on translations as mere texts, but also on

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the role and position of translation and translators in the production, reception and distribution of literary texts.

To exemplify this focus, let us first look at a (fairly) recent case. In 2006 the American-born author Jonathan Littell published a novel written in French, *Les Bienveillantes*. The novel takes the form of a first-person narrative, a memoir: somewhere around 1970, Max Aue, a former SS officer who fled his country after the war and at that moment is living in France as a factory owner, reminisces about his youth and his war years during which he participated in the Nazis' atrocities against the European Jewish population. Aue's narrative deals in detail with mass murder and its administration, with the Russian battlefields, life and death in concentration camps, the inner core of the Nazi regime; he also relates his complex family story, including a problematic incestuous relation, and his assumed killing of his father and mother.

The French original novel was published by the highly regarded publishing house of Gallimard and was awarded the prestigious Prix de Goncourt. During the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2006 the translation rights were sold to several national publishers – the German publisher reportedly paid €400.000 euros (Encke and Weidermann 2006), American media reported a million dollars as the possible figure for the English translation rights (Bosman 2006). Ultimately, 31 translations were published, among which the German (*Die Wohlgesinnten*) and Dutch (*De welwillenden*) ones were published in 2008 and the English (*The Kindly Ones*) in 2009.

To a certain extent, the case is atypical in its international orientation: the novel was written by an author who was born in the US but mainly raised and educated in France, and wrote about a German character whose life mainly takes place in a specifically German and European context. On the other hand, the case may be said to be typical in the sense that the translations constitute a cultural and literary recontextualisation of a specific original text that had to be decontextualised first. For every target culture the recontextualisation takes place within a different environment that forces its own constraints upon the translations.

The reception of Littell's novel was occasioned by original and translations alike and reflects both international and national concerns and values on aesthetic and ethical implications of the narrative. The ethical question of whether it is justified to fictionalise the Holocaust and in this case to give a voice to (and thereby risk generating empathy for) an unrepentant, unapologetic perpetrator is discussed in every national

context, sometimes overtly negative, sometimes in relation to admiration for the documentary effort by the author. A *New York Times* review by Michiko Kakutani is a case in point: 'Indeed, the nearly 1,000 page long novel reads as if the memoirs of the Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss had been rewritten by a bad imitator of Genet and de Sade, or by the warped narrator of Brett Easton Ellis's "American Psycho," after repeated viewings of "The Night Porter" and "The Damned"' (Kakutani 2009).

As to the specificity of national reception, in Germany the novel is sometimes seen as an outsider's (mainly French) infringement on the German *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (the struggle to come to terms with the past), although it is also noted that in Germany *Die Wohlgesinnten* found its 'home', in the sense that language and text world in the German context coincide. The author's background is another issue. In France, the legitimacy of an American author writing in French is contested by some, although it ultimately is confirmed by the fact that the novel won two prestigious national literary awards. American media, on the other hand, stress Littell's American roots, thereby appropriating the novelist and his discourse – 'American Writer is Awarded Goncourt' (Riding 2006) runs a *New York Times* headline, although three weeks later an article on the auction for the English publication rights was headlined 'A French Sensation Finds a U.S. Publisher' (Bosman 2006).

The translators, in the meantime, had their own concerns, as one of the two Dutch translators voiced in a personal narrative titled 'The Memoirs of a Murderer. *Les Bienveillantes* translated'. For the Dutch translators one of the main problems was how to cope with the horrors of the text world, mainly on the level of research, and how to live for a prolonged period of time in an 'oppressing, suffocating world' (Holierhoek 2008: 9). Translating the book proved to be both a technical and a moral problem.

Les Bienveillantes, then, under this and all its other names, is a clear example of world literature, of a novel circulating and functioning in what is often called a global literary space, 'The World Republic of Letters'. The idea of literary translation functioning within an international or transnational space has been the main driving force of the study of literary translation in recent decades, mainly from sociologically oriented approaches that are informed by the idea that translation functions within a system (cf. Hermans 1999; Wolf and Fukari 2007; Tyulenev 2011).

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8.3 Literary translation in-between systems: the national context

The main point of contention between different approaches to literary translation (both as a cultural phenomenon and as a process) is whether it is mainly motivated by locally or nationally determined forces or by internationally or even globally determined forces.

One of the first paradigms to study the translation of literature in a broader context was the polysystems approach developed by Itamar Even-Zohar (1990, 2000 [1978]) and, with respect to translation norms, Gideon Toury (1995; cf. also Hermans 1999).

The basic tenet of polysystems theory, regarding the translation of literature, is that it functions within the broader context of the literary polysystem of the receiving culture, which in itself functions within the broader context of a larger polysystem in relation to among others cultural, political, social and economic systems. The system of translated literature may either have a primary or secondary position within the literary polysystem, in terms of its central or peripheral role in the dynamics of the evolution of that polysystem.

Within the literary polysystem, the system of translated literature (in itself a system with its own centre and periphery) is always to be considered in relation to the system of original literature; both systems are competing for hegemony, for a central position in terms of the values attributed to it by the agents and institutions functioning within the system. When the system of translated literature has a primary position, its role is considered to be innovative, in which case for instance new genres, new literary models, new literary styles are imported into the literary polysystem by means of translation. A secondary position would entail that translation is being used to consolidate existing models and norms.

The system of translated literature occupies a primary position mainly in emerging literatures that look elsewhere for their models, in peripheral literatures that are dominated by larger adjacent ones, and in literatures in crisis. When the system of translated literature in literary polysystems takes up a secondary position, it has no impact on the central system, functions as a conservative force and conforms itself to the literary norms of the receiving literature. According to Even-Zohar (2000: 196), the secondary position is the default position for translated literature as opposed to indigenous literature.

The two positions correlate with basic translation norms that govern translators' strategies and choices. Within his set of translational norms,

Toury (1995: 53–69) distinguishes the initial norm, a basic choice every translator has to make between *adequacy* (translator's adherence dominantly to the requirements of the source text) and *acceptability* (translator's adherence dominantly to the requirements for text production in the target culture). When translated literature has a primary position, the strategy dominating translation behaviour is *adequacy*, the source text features are imported into the system. In the case of a secondary position, the norms adhered to are those of the target system, and translators will adapt their translations to what is acceptable within the target culture.

The position of translation within literary polysystems is also reflected in the selection of works to be translated, in the sense that there is generally an imbalance between the import and export of literary works. In the Anglo-American world, for instance, a very small amount of books published are translations (between 2 and 4 per cent), whereas in the countries that show a moderate to large amount (between 20 and 50 per cent) of translations in their book production, a huge majority of the translations (sometimes up to 75 per cent) concern source texts from the Anglo-American world. The rate of import also correlates with specific translation norms and strategies. A low rate of import obviously may be taken as an indication of a secondary peripheral position, and the dominant norm within these cultures is that of *acceptability* (or, in a term introduced by American translation critic Lawrence Venuti, *domestication*).

As hinted at before, translated literature in itself also constitutes a system with its own centre and periphery and internal dynamics. Nowadays, for instance, translation of literary prose in most systems is generally dominant over that of poetry, with drama somewhere in-between. The subsystem of translated literature for children and young adults generally has a peripheral position in relation to the system of 'general' translated literature, and hence shows a different set of norms. The main difference is that there is a greater tolerance for norms that are not allowed or are outdated in the system of general translated literature: omitting text passages, or even plot lines, the use of intermediary translations, more freedom with respect to stylistic elements, for example (cf. Shavit 1986; O'Sullivan 2005).

Polysystems theory explains the mechanism of the import of foreign literature mainly as a function of the needs of the receiving culture, and the historical dynamics of literary translation therefore as part of the evolution within a national literary history in its relation to the reception of foreign literature in general. This position has been criticised by

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approaches which consider the exchange of literary works and aesthetics as part of a global process.

8.4 Literary translation in-between systems: the global context

Heilbron (1999, cf. also Heilbron and Sapiro 2007) has developed a framework for the study of the circulation of books (not just translated literature) based on a world system of languages, in which languages may be positioned relative to each other in terms of their central and peripheral role in intercultural communication. The most central language in this system is English, with more than 40 per cent of all the books translated worldwide coming from it. There are three other languages that have a central position: French, German and Russian have a share of about 10–12 per cent in the international market of translation. Six languages occupy a semi-peripheral position (1–3 per cent of the share): Spanish, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Polish and Czech. All other languages (among them languages with large amounts of native speakers, like Chinese and Arabic), with a share of less than 1 per cent, have a peripheral position (though, according to Heilbron, the distinction between peripheral and semi-peripheral may not be as clear-cut as that between the other positions).[2]

This view on translation as part of a global context confirms the imbalance noted earlier, but adds an extra dimension. Not only does translation flow more from core to periphery than in the other direction, the communication between peripheral languages often passes through a centre. Publishers in peripheral language countries often select works for translation that have already been translated in one of the languages from the centre or the hyper-centre. An international history of the reception and translation of the Latin American boom writers of magic realism (Jorge Luis Borges, Gabriel García Márquez among others), for instance, would show that they found their way from their own semi-peripheral culture to other peripheral languages only after their works were first translated into French and English. In terms of its explanatory force, this framework adds to the polysystemic notion of the target culture being the main driver behind the selection of works translated: 'it is not so much the national tradition, but rather the international position of national cultures which determines the level of cultural importation' (Heilbron 1999: 440).

That the translation of literature mainly functions in a global context has also been one of the basic assumptions underlying the study

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of what in the framework of Comparative Literature is called world literature (cf. Damrosch 2003; Casanova 2004; D'haen 2012). Literary translation itself, one might say, undermines a strict conception of a national literature, because the very presence of literary translations within a culture points to the relationship with other cultures.

From the perspective of the circulation of literary texts one might say that the very idea of world literature, of the existence of a global community with subjects attributing value to works of literature from other cultures than their own, mainly rests on translation. No reader has the ability to read literary works from all possible foreign cultures, so readers of world literature are mainly readers of translations, experience foreign literatures by way of translation. More often than not, as translation scholar and comparatist André Lefevere noted, a translated version of a literary work is the only one a reader knows (cf. Lefevere 2000). In a globalised community, then, different versions of the 'same' text circulate, but they may 'fulfil completely different functions in different literary systems' (D'haen 2012: 126), as the example of *Les Bienveillantes* also shows.

In terms of the tension between local and global contexts, then, the cultural significance of literary translation can be found both in the way translation functions within world literature and in the way it functions within its 'own' culture.

Awareness of the fact that world literature is hardly possible without translation inevitably leads to questions on the role of literary translation and particularly literary translators in the dissemination of foreign works of literature. Translators are the mediating agents enabling the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic circulation of literature. It has become a received idea that translation as the work of a subject can never be neutral: 'Writing doesn't happen in a vacuum, it happens in a context and the process of translating texts from one cultural system into another is not a neutral, innocent transparent activity […] translation is instead a highly charged, transgressive activity […]' (Bassnett 1993: 160).

Translated foreign works of literature always come to their readers through a cultural filter (cf. House 1997: 196ff.). The actual filter may be determined by language, by the possibilities and impossibilities the target language imposes; it may be determined by the norms and expectations with respect to translation present in the target culture; or it may be determined by the ideological or aesthetic aim of the translator of a specific source text herself, or by her interpretation of the source text.

Lawrence Venuti (1995, 1998) has not tired of pointing to the cultural (and to him undesirable) effects of the mainstream norm

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of domestication in the United States (and by extension the Anglo-American world). By a strategy of adapting the foreign elements in a source text to the perceived needs of the target culture reader, by making the text fluent and transparent, the foreignness of the source text is minimised. Domestication to his mind amounts to an 'ethnocentric reduction' of the foreign text to the values of the hegemonic Anglo-American culture. Venuti himself explicitly advocates a strategy of foreignisation (sometimes also called minoritisation), with the aim of emphasising the foreignness of the source text and making the translator as a cultural agent visible. In his appeal for foreignisation, Venuti leans heavily on Schleiermacher's romantic concept of *Verfremdenes Übersetzen* (as opposed to *eindeutschen*, making the text German), that is translating in such a way that the target text would have the same effect as a foreign text would have on a reader of a text from a source language that he is just beginning to master (cf. Schleiermacher 2002 [1813]). Venuti's appeal may be seen as a form of activism in the sense that he wishes to change the system of translated literature from within in order to bring about more openness to it and thereby make it more concordant with the multicultural character of the modern society in which it has its place.

More extreme forms of activism, of interventionist translation, may be found in the ideologically informed feminist and postcolonial approaches to translation. Canadian feminist translator Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, for instance, on the occasion of the publication of one of her translations, states that 'my translation practice is a political activity aimed at making language speak for women. So my signature on a translation means: this translation has used every translation strategy to make the feminine in language visible' (Gauvin 1989: 9, quoted from Simon 1996: 15).

The social legitimacy of interventionist translation will always be a matter of contention, of ongoing debate in terms of peripheral and central norms within systems and subsystems of translated literature. In most literary polysystems it will have the status of a peripheral norm competing to become central, in some subsystems it may assume a central role.

The idea that translation is not neutral, but is to be seen as an effort of a subject with an agenda of its own (even if the agenda is reproducing the mainstream norm in order to secure a position as a professional in the field), brings to the fore the position of the translator, both as a cultural agent and a professional (cf. Baker, this volume).

8.5 The literary translator in between texts

The cultural in-betweenness of translation (and now we are leaving the realm of the social and cultural aspects of translation) is reflected in the textual in-betweenness of the translator. Like Janus, the Roman god of transitions, a translator has two faces (without being two-faced), looking in opposite directions. From one direction she is pulled to the original work that aspires towards an afterlife, an ever extending audience. From the other direction she is pulled towards her own culture and language that wish to appropriate and assimilate. In between those gravitational centres lies the space where the translator resides and produces her own artefacts in a delicate act of balance.

Every translator is, to a lesser or larger extent, always present in the texts she produces. This discursive presence can be dealt with as a theoretical notion, in terms of the position of the translator within the chain of narrative communication (obviously this pertains mainly to the translation of narrative prose) in which the translator has a double position as addressee and sender, as reader and author, and can be dealt with in terms of the result of a strategy of the translator.

The discursive presence of the translator has been widely discussed (cf. Hermans 1996; Schiavi 1996; also Koster 2002; O'Sullivan 2003; Bosseaux 2007), mostly in relation to Seymour Chatman's narratological notions of real and implied reader and real and implied author. Within this framework, to quote O'Sullivan, 'The real author, according to Chatman (1990: 75), "retires from the text as soon as the book is printed and sold," what remains in the text are "the principles of invention and intent" (ibid.). The source of the work's invention, the locus of its intent, is the implied author, whom Chatman calls a silent instructor, the "agency within the narrative fiction itself which guides any reading of it" (ibid.). The implied author, an agency contained in every fiction, is the all-informing authorial presence, the idea of the author carried away by the real reader after reading the book. The implied reader is the implied author's counterpart, "the audience presupposed by the narrative itself" (Chatman 1978: 149f.), the reader generated by the implied author and inscribed in the text.' (O'Sullivan 2003: 199). Both implied reader and implied author are categories to be constructed by real readers from the narrative told by a narrator to a narratee. The hybrid position of the translator as reader and author renders the narrative situation to be constructed from the target text

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complicated. If you consider the target text to be a hybrid text itself (cf. Koster 2002: 25), a text that on the one hand has the status of a text in its own right, that functions like any other text in its culture, and on the other hand the status of a derivative text, a reproduction of another text, you will have to wonder how the implied reader and implied author of the source text relate to their counterparts in the target text. The implied reader to be constructed from the source text can never be the same as the implied reader of the target text, simply because the text has been transferred from one culture to another, has undergone a process of decontextualisation and recontextualisation. But can the implied author be the same as its counterpart in the target text? According to O'Sullivan: 'The implied reader of the source text, the reader inscribed in the text, is generated by the implied author. By the same token, the implied reader of the target text is generated by a similar agency: *the implied translator* […]. The *narrator*, *narratee* and *implied reader* of the target text [are] all generated by the implied translator' (O'Sullivan 2003: 201–202). Hermans (1996) speaks of this mechanism in terms of the 'translator's voice', and posits that the translator's voice is always present as a co-producer of the narrative, sometimes in an overt way (textually or paratextually, in case a translator adds footnotes and forewords), but most of the time in a less clearly discernible manner. In the case of the interventionist forms of activist translation, the translator's voice is clearly audible, and there's a maximum visibility (to map two metaphors on each other). In the case of a strategy of stylistic transparency according to target norms, the voice can be much less audible, and visibility can reach a minimal degree, to the point where the translator disappears entirely; for instance in the case of types of covert translation (cf. House 1997) in highly conventionalised popular literature.

It is, however, always possible to construct that voice, either by analysing the translation as a text in its own right and looking for incongruities and traces of the translation being a translation, or by a comparison of source and target text (cf. Koster 2011b). Within the framework of historical research in translation, for instance, one may try to construct on the basis of the construction of the implied translator the aesthetic and ideological ideas and motives of the 'real' translator functioning in her system. In such an effort, the implied translator constructed from the differences and correspondences between source and target text is considered to be the result of a conscious strategy.

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8.6 Literary translation as a process: style as a technical translation problem

From a prospective point of view one may look at the narrative position of the translator as a problem of translating style. It is hard to distinguish translation problems (in the sense of a potential translation unit for which a replacement or solution has to be found; cf. Toury 2011) that are exclusive to a single domain. Anyone translating Herman Melville's classic *Moby Dick* has to be knowledgeable, both in English and in her own language, of the specific language of whaling, typically a technical area, and a translator of persuasive texts (advertisements and the like) will have to find solutions for metaphors and puns, textual features commonly associated with literary translation.

Literariness is as elusive and historically and culturally variable a concept as translation, and one would be hard put to say something useful about translatability of literariness or about literariness as a translation problem. Taking style as a form of literariness, though, makes it easier to analyse the process of literary translation and the ensuing products.

Style can be defined as the result of 'motivated choice' (Verdonk 2009: 9; cf. also Leech and Short 2007: 10–33; Boase-Beier 2006: 52–58) from a repertoire of possible expressions to construct a text in order to create a fictional reality, a text world that is related by a narrator to a narratee and that has to be constructed by a reader.

Broadly speaking, one might state that, as a consequence, the task of the translator, and therefore the technical translation problem with regard to style, is as follows: an author makes choices from the repertoire of possible means of expression from her language to achieve a specific literary, or aesthetic, or narrative effect. Interpretation of a text by a reader (hence translator) involves the (re)construction of a textual intention in terms of the relationship between means and effects. It is the translator's task to make choices from the repertoire of possible means of expression from his language in order to transfer the perceived source text intention, to find the means to bring about analogous effects and a corresponding narrative.

The role of the translator in the stages of the production of a target text, then, is not all that different from that of the author of an original work. The differences between the linguistic, stylistic and literary repertoires of source and target culture belong to the opening conditions of the process of translation (cf. Koster et al. 2008); it is the task of the translator to try to bridge the differences. The drivers behind the

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choices of the translator are her own translation aesthetics developed within the traditions of literary and translational aesthetics in the field in which she works, and the ideas of the translator about, or her interpretation of, the source text in question (Koster 2011a:6).

Concrete stylistic translation problems may occur in the case of 'linguistic anisomorphisms, cultural asymmetry, formal challenges with respect to the target culture, and [...] questions about the meaning of the source text' (cf. Tymoczko 2007: 266). In the target repertoire, for instance, linguistic or stylistic means analogous to the ones used in the source text for the realisation of a specific literary function or an aesthetic effect may not be available. Or it might be that analogous means are available, but cannot have the desired function or effect in the target text. But for translator and author alike, the same principle holds: style is the consequence of the choices from the repertoires being made in order to achieve a specific literary effect. The real translation problem, then, is that within the target repertoires the means will have to be found for a specific perceived effect. The problem is not so much located in the means or effects in themselves, but in the relationship between the two.

A good example of the problematic relationship between linguistic and stylistic possibilities and the realisation of certain narrative techniques that have specific textual and literary effects would be the translation of Free Indirect Discourse (FID). FID is a typical modernist narrative technique used to bring about ambiguity in point of view: with FID it is never clear whether thoughts or speech represented should be attributed to a narrator or a character. Free indirect discourse may be said to be typical for the modernist aesthetics of the consciousness novel, in which the representation of fictional reality is far less important than the representation of the fictional consciousness that perceives reality.

Tarja Rouhiainen (2000), in her study of how FID is dealt with in Finnish translations of D.H. Lawrence's novel *Women in Love*, shows how the solutions chosen by the translators to bridge a structural difference between the Finnish and English languages concerning the third person personal pronoun (Finnish has just one pronoun unmarked for gender, *hän*, as against the two English forms *she* and *he*) affect the narrative as to point of view. The translators tried to work around repeating *hän*, and instead replaced the English pronouns *he* and *she* in passages of free indirect discourse by several alternatives, such as proper names, demonstrative pronouns, and a range of proforms. As a consequence, the point of view shifted from the character's consciousness to the narrator's speech.

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Even though a structural difference forced the translators to find a solution, the particular solution chosen was not itself forced. In this case the translators may have felt the need to avoid repetition, perhaps because their priority was to adhere to a stylistic target norm of elegant variation, in which case they opted for, in polysystemic terms, *acceptability* rather than *adequacy*.

8.7 The future

The many facets of literary translation – whether of cultural, institutional, aesthetic or linguistic origin – all impose their constraints on literary translation and the literary translator. It is hard to find an approach comprehensive enough to provide an integrated view on all these aspects. This makes sense when we realise that from the point of view of the discipline of Translation Studies, literary translation constitutes an object rather than an approach; it can be studied from a myriad of angles. In some recent self-reflexive texts on the state of the art of Translation Studies (Tymoczko 2005; Snell-Hornby 2006; Brems et al. 2012), literary translation is hardly mentioned, and if it is mentioned, then it is rather as a domain that has lost its exclusive position: 'In this respect, the traditional inclination of Translation Studies towards literary translation is now only one among many and varied preoccupations' (Brems et al. 2012: 3). If we want to look ahead, then, to the future of research into literary translation, we have to look at the position of literary translation within different approaches.

After the sociological turn within Translation Studies, a competitive but productive debate has emerged between scholars working within Even-Zohar's polysystems theory and Pierre Bourdieu's field theory about the compatibility of both frameworks. The main point of discussion is what would be the right angle from which the context determining translation should be studied. As far as literature is concerned, within polysystems theory the relationship between *texts* and the context in which they function is the main focus, whereas in field theory the focus is mainly on the relationship between the subject of the *translator* as a mediating cultural agent and the context in which she functions.

Promising leads for the future lie in the integration of both approaches, in which a combined focus on the institutional position of the translator and the aesthetic position of the translator as it can be constructed from the study of a translator's oeuvre, his habitus, his normative pronouncements as well as his translations may lead to a more

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comprehensive profile of the norms and motives governing the behaviour of individual translators within the larger whole they function in (cf. for instance Meylaerts 2008; Koster and Naaijkens 2011).

With respect to style as a technical translation problem, a promising new approach may be found in the interface between Translation Studies and Cognitive Stylistics, even though there is a tendency within the latter to deconstruct the difference between literary and non-literary texts. The focus on translation as a conglomerate of cognitive processes of reading and writing (cf. Boase-Beier 2006, 2011b) opens up the possibility of a more comprehensive view on the process of literary translation.

Where the concept of style in itself already presupposes the interconnectedness of literary and linguistic aspects of translation, translational stylistics based on cognitive poetics, with its focus on the cognitive contexts of reader and writer, may give the researcher a glimpse of 'the mind behind the text[s]' (Boase-Beier 2011a: 255) and makes it possible to understand literary effect 'in terms of changes to the cognitive context of the reader' (ibid.). The cognitive paradigm also provides a broad-ranged descriptive apparatus for the kind of close reading necessary for the descriptive study of individual pairs of original texts and their translation. In that sense, cognitive stylistic analysis of translations could also be incorporated into the kind of profiling mentioned above.

In the meantime, the many facets of literary translation, even though it may have lost its prime position, will remain productive and worthwhile objects within any approach to translation.

Notes

1. Although, in a comparative study of the economic position of the literary translators, CEATL, the European umbrella association for associations of literary translators, notes that in some countries (among them Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries) the term defines 'translators of any work published in book form and protected by copyright, including translators of non-fiction, essays, scientific books, text books, travel guides, children's books' (Fock et al. 2008: 5).
2. Heilbron takes his data from several sources, pertaining mostly to the situation around 1980. The situation, of course, may have changed, the mechanism not.

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9
Translation as Re-narration

Mona Baker

This chapter offers an overview of narrative theory as it has been applied in the field of Translation Studies. It starts by outlining the theoretical assumptions that underpin the narrative approach, and then explains and exemplifies two sets of conceptual tools used in the analysis of translation and interpreting events from a narrative perspective. The first set consists of a narrative typology (personal, public, conceptual and meta narratives). The second set consists of features that account for the way in which narratives are configured: selective appropriation, temporality, relationality, causal emplotment, genericness, particularity, normativeness and narrative accrual. The chapter concludes with a narrative analysis of a subtitled political commercial that demonstrates some of the strengths of the narrative framework.

9.1 Introduction

The notion of 'narrative' has been part of the theoretical vocabulary of many disciplines, particularly in the humanities, for several decades, and has acquired a wide range of definitions across and even within the same discipline. Scholars of Translation have drawn profitably over the years on the long-established concept of narrative as a literary category, but the approach outlined in this chapter – often referred to as a socio-narrative or sociological narrative approach (Baker 2006; Harding 2012a, 2012b) – draws systematically on a much broader, constructivist understanding of narrative as our only means of making sense of the world and our place within it. It proceeds from two basic assumptions about the relationship between human beings, their environment and the stories that circulate within that environment. The first is that we have no direct, unmediated access to reality; specifically, our access to

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reality is filtered through the stories we narrate to ourselves and others about the world(s) in which we live. The second assumption is that the stories we narrate do not only mediate our access to reality, but also participate in configuring that reality. Translation is thus understood as a form of (re-)narration that *constructs* rather than *represents* the events and characters it re-narrates in another language. Translators and interpreters do not mediate cultural encounters that exist outside the act of translation but rather participate in configuring these encounters: they are embedded in the narratives that circulate in the context in which they produce a translation and simultaneously contribute to the elaboration, mutation, transformation and dissemination of these narratives through their translation choices. From this perspective, the most important aspect of what translators and interpreters do is that they intervene in the processes of narration and re-narration that constitute all encounters, and that essentially construct the world for us. The narrative approach thus grants translators and interpreters considerable agency and acknowledges the decisive and highly complex role they play in their own societies (Ayoub 2010; Karunanayake, in progress; Summers 2013) as well as globally (Baker 2006, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2013; Boéri 2009).

An important methodological characteristic of the narrative approach, and one that distinguishes it from discourse studies, is that it ultimately assumes the unit of analysis to be a narrative, understood as a concrete story of some aspect of the world, complete with characters, settings, outcomes or projected outcomes, and plot. It therefore neither exclusively nor primarily concerns itself with capturing a set of recurrent linguistic patterns in a given text or set of texts and linking these to the abstract, institution-driven[1] notion of 'discourse' as 'social construction of reality' or 'a form of knowledge' (Fairclough 1995: 18). The focus instead is on the various ways in which both institutions *and* individuals, the powerful as well as the less powerful, configure and circulate the narratives that make up our world, and the myriad ways in which translators and interpreters intervene in this process.[2]

The focus on narrative as the unit of analysis has a number of important implications. First, the search for recurrent, textual patterns does not constitute a favoured methodological starting point in the narrative approach. An individual, one-off textual or non-textual choice is considered potentially as important as a recurrent pattern.[3] Second, a narrative is assumed to be realisable across a variety of media, with narrators able to draw on an open-ended set of resources in elaborating any

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story: written and spoken text, images, diagrams, colour, layout, lighting in theatre and film, choice of setting, and style of dressing, among other resources. Third, individual narratives have immediate, local significance but also function as episodes in larger narratives, which they participate in enhancing, legitimising, undermining, challenging and so on. Every translation operates within a specific, local environment, but it also contributes to the stock of narratives circulating within and beyond that environment. Finally, any narrative is understood to be inextricably connected to a range of other narratives: narratives have porous boundaries, are constructed out of a continuous stream of experience, and hence cannot be 'objectively' identified and delineated. This elusiveness is inescapable within narrative theory. If we accept that narratives are constructed and that they mediate our experience of the world, we have to concede the impossibility of stepping outside all narratives in order to identify boundaries between them or establish their fit with some objective 'reality'. Ultimately, 'rather than agonise about the exact definition of "narrative"' or any other concept, the narrative approach invites us to focus instead on the way people construct narratives 'in order to negotiate their way in the world' (Baker, in Baker and Chesterman 2008: 22).

A model of analysis based on the above theoretical and methodological assumptions makes it possible to investigate the elaboration of a given narrative in an individual translation or interpreter-mediated encounter as well as across several translations and encounters, and across different media. It does not proceed by comparing original and translated texts stretch by stretch and making statements about their relative accuracy or inaccuracy at a semantic, generic or semiotic level, nor does it attempt to capture the broad norms of translation prevalent in any cultural space. Instead, it attempts to identify the stakes involved in any encounter and the narrative means by which these stakes are fought over and negotiated, as will be demonstrated later with an extended analysis of a subtitled political commercial aired on CNN in 2010. First, a brief explanation of the main conceptual tools elaborated in the narrative approach is necessary.

9.2 Conceptual tools

Like any systematic approach to the study of translation and other forms of cultural encounter, narrative theory has to draw on typologies and concepts that provide a meaningful vocabulary of analysis, even as it acknowledges the contingency of the categories it deploys. Given

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the constructivist nature of the approach, the typologies and concepts are treated as constructs that can and should be critically questioned, extended, modified and reconfigured as necessary for the purposes of a given research project. Similarly, no strict boundaries are assumed to separate the categories deployed: all categories are interdependent and none can be operationalised in isolation.

The conceptual tools outlined here are based on Baker's (2006) synthesis of theoretical elements drawn from the work of Bruner (1991), Somers (1992, 1994, 1997), and Somers and Gibson (1994). Further development of some of these categories can be found in later studies by Boéri (2009) and Harding (2009, 2012a, 2012b).

9.2.1 Narrative typology

The version of narrative theory elaborated in Baker (2006) distinguishes between four types of narrative and attempts to demonstrate their relevance to the study of translation and interpreting. *Personal narratives* are stories we tell ourselves and others about our place in the world and our own personal experience, while *public narratives* are shared stories that are elaborated by and circulate among a group as small as a family or potentially as large as the whole world. *Conceptual* or *disciplinary narratives* are theoretical constructs elaborated within a scholarly or specialist setting in order to account for an object of study. Piaget's developmental theory is a good example: it tells a story of how children mature over time, passing through a set of transitional stages, and how they develop awareness of the world around them through a process of assimilation and accommodation. Conceptual narratives cross cultural boundaries through a variety of routes, including translation, and evolve in different directions as they enter a new narrative environment. Min Dongchao's (2007) study traces the journey of the feminist paradigm from North America to China through translation, revealing the complex process by which various terms and concepts are imported and the links between scholars' understanding of feminism and other concepts such as individualism and human rights. Mehrez (2008) offers a similar analysis of the complex choices involved in translating the term *gender* into Arabic, because of the different narratives of feminism that have emerged in that context and their interaction with wider public narratives in society. Finally, *meta narratives* are highly influential, resilient narratives with a high degree of geographical and temporal reach and a very high level of abstraction. These are narratives that have become so pervasive over such long periods of time

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that we simply tend to take them for granted: nationalism, progress, Enlightenment, capitalism vs communism and globalisation are all examples of meta narratives. As Somers puts it, meta narratives are the 'epic dramas of our time' (1992: 605).

Of these different types, the interplay between personal and public narratives is particularly interesting in the context of translation and interpreting. Although they ultimately remain focused on the self and its immediate world, personal stories are constrained by and in turn constrain shared, public narratives in a variety of ways. On the one hand, the scope for elaborating personal narratives is constrained both by the range of symbols and formulations derived from public narratives, without which the personal would remain unintelligible and uninterpretable, and by the blueprints for social roles and spaces that the public narratives in which we are embedded allow us to inhabit. At the same time, personal narratives feed into and can undermine the elaboration and maintenance of shared public narratives, hence the investment by powerful agents such as the state, political lobbies and religious institutions in a range of initiatives and policies designed to socialise individuals into the political, religious and social narratives of the day.

Personal narratives that threaten to undermine shared narratives promoted by powerful agents are often marginalised or suppressed through non-translation. Yitzhak Laor's 2006 review of a book by the Israeli novelist Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, offers a pertinent example. Zertal argues that the victims of the Holocaust were instrumentalised, and only stories that contributed to the evolving narrative of Zionism and Israel as the defining elements in Jewish history were recognised and circulated. Mark Edelman, described by Laor as 'a prominent figure first in the socialist Bund movement and then as one of the commanders of the Warsaw uprising' (2006: 9), was practically erased from the official Israeli history of the uprising because, as Zertal explains (quoted in Laor 2006: 9):

> Edelman persistently refused to view the establishment of the State of Israel as the belated 'meaning' of the Holocaust […] Consequently, his narrative of the uprising was silenced and his role was played down. His book, *The Ghetto Fighting*, published in Warsaw in 1945 by the Bund, was translated into Hebrew only 56 years later, in 2001.

Personal narratives that threaten mainstream public narratives in a target culture are not necessarily suppressed through non-translation.

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They may be allowed into a cultural space but translated and framed in ways that ridicule or undermine them, whether this is done in the service of powerful institutions such as the state or a domestic audience whose narratives are at odds with those promoted by other agents in the target culture. Thus, for example, Adel Abd El Sabour's 1999 Arabic translation of Joseph Finklestone's biography of the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat undermines that version of Sadat's personal narrative in various ways, as described in detail in Baker (2006: 130–131). Finklestone offers an account of Sadat's life that is seriously at odds with public narratives circulating in Egyptian society. In line with public narratives of Sadat promoted by the West, which present him as a man of peace and a leader who was able to rise above the prejudices of his people, Finklestone's biography is entitled *Anwar Sadat: A Visionary Who Dared*. The Arabic translation, on the other hand, is literally entitled 'Sadat: The Illusion of Challenge'. The Egyptian reader will immediately recognise in this title an acknowledgement of domestic public narratives of Sadat as a deluded politician who thought he could challenge his people by imposing on them a peace without dignity. This initial signal of narrative dissonance is supported by further choices within the text, starting from the publisher's Preface and continuing in the body of the translation (ibid.). Translations of other memoirs and biographies of leaders and public intellectuals whose personal narratives are at odds with shared narratives of the target audience offer a rich source of data that can be interrogated using narrative theory. Ultimately, how a personal narrative fares in translation will be heavily influenced by its divergence from or alignment with the dominant narratives upheld by the public for whom the translation is produced.

Personal narratives can also be deliberately used to unsettle the social order. They can be 'rescued' and emphasised in order to resist mainstream narratives, and to elaborate an alternative account of some aspect of the world. This is precisely what many feminists attempt to do by making space for neglected or suppressed accounts of the female experience of life, such accounts often being mediated through translation. A recent example is *Words of Women from the Egyptian Revolution* (Figure 9.1).[4] This group posts videoed interviews of individual women who give an account of their personal involvement in the Egyptian Revolution in Arabic, with subtitles available in English for a global audience. The group describes its aim as 'creating a time-capsule, storing the stories and a chunk of the lives of women for History to remember' because 'history […] tends in most cases to ostracise the participation of women and keep them in the shadow while highlighting the

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Figure 9.1 Opening screen shot from 'Words of Women from the Egyptian Revolution Videos'

participation of men and attributing leading roles exclusively to them'. In other words, the archive of personal stories documenting women's participation in one of the most important uprisings in Egyptian history, for domestic as well as global audiences, is intended to undermine public narratives of the event as exclusively male-inspired, led and executed.

Attention to the power of personal narratives is among the main strengths of narrative theory and one that makes it particularly attractive to scholars who engage in certain types of research, including research into social and political movements and various strands of activism. A good example is Pérez-González's (2010) analysis of the way in which members of ad hoc networks of activist translators bring aspects of their personal narrative to bear on the translation and discussion of public narratives with which they are not aligned. The theory acknowledges that the individual, one-off, personal stories that we tell and retell constitute a site where we exercise our agency, and can be a tool for changing the world. It is the detail of everyday life, of individual dilemmas, personal suffering, fear, joy and apprehension that appeals to our common humanity and therefore opens up a space for resistance and for empathy. Entire genres such as the Holocaust memoirs, which are translated and retranslated into numerous languages, can be approached from this perspective of the interplay and tension

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between personal and public narratives. Similar genres emerge with almost every major and sustained conflict, and the bulk of texts produced is translated in order to reach a global audience embedded in a variety of narrative environments.

Understanding the relationship between personal and public narratives can have important implications for what is selected for translation, and how it is translated. In her study of translation in the context of the Chechen conflict, Harding (2009, 2012a) found that powerful personal narratives of eye witnesses of the Beslan hostage crisis in 2004 were used very effectively by Caucasian Knot, a human rights agency, in its original reporting on the events in Russian. Unlike the mainstream Russian media, the agency took the trouble to interview eye witnesses of the events and to include their personal accounts in its reporting on Beslan. These personal accounts contributed to questioning the reductive public narratives of the conflict that dominated mainstream media. And yet they were absent from the English translations provided by the same agency on its website. One of Harding's conclusions is that given the cost of translation and the limited resources available to groups like Caucasian Knot, some things have to be sacrificed in translation, and that what is sacrificed tends to be the kind of material that is thought of as incidental, because it consists of individual personal narratives rather than streamlined official accounts. The result is that a resistant agency inadvertently comes to reinforce dominant public narratives in its translated output. The issue of selecting what to translate, when resources are restricted, is thus one that can be informed by a better understanding of the contribution that personal narratives, unique and incidental as they are, can make to a broader project of questioning dominant, reductive public narratives of any conflict.

Another area where attention to personal narratives can help us make sense of certain aspects of translation and interpreting concerns the way in which communities come to negotiate and present to the outside world a public narrative of who they are, what they do, and why they do it. Narrative theory allows us to examine the way in which the public narrative of the group is inflected by numerous personal narratives and negotiated over time through the input of many individuals. The activist group Babels[5] narrates itself as follows on its website:

> Babels is an international network of volunteer interpreters and translators *whose main objective is to cover the interpreting needs of the Social Forums*. [emphasis added]

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Boéri's (2009) analysis of exchanges between members of Babels over a period of time makes it clear that arriving at this public narrative involved considerable negotiation that featured constant appeal to personal narratives of individual members. What appears as a seamless, rather smooth public narrative of Babels on its official website hides a lengthy process of arguing over a range of issues, specifically, in this case, Babels' exclusive relationship with the Social Forum. Boéri (2009: 99) quotes one member of Babels arguing against extending the scope of Babels outside the context of the Social Forum by offering free interpreting to any non-profit group promoting a worthy cause:

> As one of the coordinators of Babels in the WSF2005, I had to turn down many parallel activities that wanted volunteer translators from Babels, such as the Parliamentary Forum, the Health Forum, the Migration Forum, in addition to workshops held by NGOs etc, from [sic] which process Babels did not participate. In fact, they did not care if we were militants or not, they just wanted to be provided free interpretation services. Many of us are professional – we earn our living interpreting conferences.

The statement quoted above, which argues for restricting Babels to *covering the interpreting needs of the Social Forums*, reveals the extent to which personal narratives ('I had to turn down many parallel activities …') and the individual's situatedness within a given context ('we earn our living interpreting conferences') can shape the public narrative a group eventually elaborates of itself and shares with the world.

9.2.2 Narrative features

In addition to the typology of narratives outlined above, the application of narrative theory in Translation Studies has also drawn on a set of categories that account for the way in which narratives are constructed and function. Four core features of narrative are derived from the work of Somers (1992, 1994, 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994). These are selective appropriation, temporality, relationality and causal emplotment. A further set of features is drawn from Bruner (1991): particularity, genericness, normativeness and narrative accrual. Both sets of features are exemplified in relation to translation and interpreting in Baker (2006) and have since been applied, collectively or individually, in a range of case studies (Boéri 2008; Valdeón 2008; Al-Sharif 2009; Baker 2010a; Morales-Moreno 2011, among others).

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No coherent narrative can be elaborated by attempting to incorporate every detail experienced by or available to the narrator. Inevitably, some elements of experience are excluded and others privileged. This process of *selective appropriation* is inherent in all storytelling and is guided by evaluative criteria that reflect the narrative location of the individual, group or institution elaborating the narrative. Selective appropriation is involved in the decision to include or exclude, and to background or foreground, any narrative element, including events, details within events, and the way in which a protagonist is identified by particular attributes rather than others. The fact that 'Muslims are often identified simply *as* Muslims' in British media, rather than by reference to their profession (Moore et al. 2008: 4), for example, involves a decision to foreground one aspect of the identity of the person featuring in the news story and deselect others, with consequences for the way in which the overall narrative is configured and received. Selective appropriation is at play in every translation and every interpreter-mediated encounter, in part because differences between the resources provided by each language inevitably oblige the mediator to make choices that involve suppressing some elements and foregrounding others. For example, Brennan (1999) explains that all signs relating to 'murder' in British Sign Language specify the manner in which a person was killed. Some signs indicate that the murder happened by stabbing, others by strangling, and still others by slitting the throat. Whatever sign the interpreter chooses to render 'murder' in BSL will lead to foregrounding some aspect of the event, and whatever word they use to render one of the more specific signs of 'murder' from BSL into English will involve suppressing some aspect of the experience as narrated by the Deaf participant. Selective appropriation is also of course involved in deciding what to translate in the first place, with serious consequences at the aesthetic, social and political levels (Jacquemond 1992, 2009; Baker 2010a).

Temporality refers to the embeddedness of narratives in time and space and highlights the fact that all narratives are temporally and spatially constituted. We rarely recount events in the order in which they took place, whether in everyday life or fictional works, because narratives are not chronologies, and the way in which time, sequence and spatial setting are used to construct a narrative is meaningful in its own right. Nevertheless, certain types of encounter mediated by interpreters impose a rigid temporal structure on narrators and use adherence to that structure in evaluating the veracity of the narrative. As Maryns (2006: 15) explains, one of the major difficulties faced by

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asylum seekers is 'their inability … to stick to a temporal order of the events'. They tend to organise their narratives topically – for example, in terms of types of torture to which they have been subjected – rather than chronologically. Interpreters in this type of context vary considerably in their ability to anticipate institutional requirements, and in their levels of linguistic competence. The result, as Maryns explains, is that 'the input of the interpreter can be advantageous to the applicant (when inconsistently produced discourse is transformed into a coherent translation) but can also have a disadvantageous effect (when consistently produced and persuasive discourse is transformed into a muddled translation' (2006: 251).

Relationality, the third core characteristic of narrative, means that individual elements (events, characters, linguistic items, layout, imagery, etc.) derive their meaning from the overall narrative within which they are configured as building blocks. This means that meaning cannot be transferred intact, without modification, and assumed to function in the same way within another narrative. Thus, as Ross (1996) explains, the biblical term *kingdom of God* cannot be carried over without mediation into an Arabic translation of the New Testament, because the target audience is embedded in a specific set of narratives in which 'kingdom of God' (or *malakuut* in Arabic) has acquired a very different meaning. Islamic narratives configure 'kingdom of God' as 'the complete dominion of God', making it 'inconceivable that a person could enter (or leave) the kingdom of God since there is nowhere else for him to be' (ibid.: 32). In addition, the kingdom of God 'cannot be enlarged, since it already encompasses everything' (ibid.). Ross offers numerous suggestions for translating *kingdom of God* into Arabic, but they all involve various types of paraphrase and glossing. Relationality also has implications for another area of difficulty for translators, namely, the choice of dialect or register as an index of social standing, level of education, or age group. Queen discusses some of the implications of opting for an urban variety of German associated with working-class youths to dub African American English: such a choice aligns AAE speakers with German speakers of that variety 'and in so doing constitutes them ideologically along similar lines' (Queen 2004: 522–523). Any dialect or register acquires a certain value or set of associations as a result of being configured within a specific narrative or set of narratives, and cannot be detached and made to shed these associations in order to replace a dialect or register in another narrative environment unproblematically.

Most importantly, every narrative has a distinct pattern of *causal emplotment*, and it is this pattern that gives significance to the individual

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items and events configured within it. Narrative items take on narrative meaning only when they are emplotted, when the narrator has engaged in the crucial process of weighting them and signalling what links obtain between them rather than simply listing them randomly and 'neutrally', without indicating relationships such as cause and effect, praise and blame, who or what is responsible for certain events unfolding, and so on. Baker (2010a) offers an example that demonstrates how a pattern of causal emplotment is powerfully signalled through the choice of source and target languages and the direction of translation. The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), a neo-conservative political lobby that situates itself within the meta narrative of the 'War on Terror' and claims to undertake its extensive translation work in order to expose terrorists and extremists, has changed and extended its selection of source and target languages over the years. Source languages have included Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Dari, Urdu, Pashtu and Hindi; target languages now include English, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Polish, Spanish and Chinese. Translations are provided, mostly free of charge on the website, in one direction only: from the designated source to the designated target languages. As Baker (2010a: 355–356) explains, this choice:

> constructs a narrative that divides the world into two camps: those who represent a threat to progressive, democratic societies, and who therefore have to be monitored very closely (through translation), and those who bear the burden of monitoring these sources of security threat in order to protect the innocent, democratic, civilised Western world against terrorist activities. The source languages index those societies that are depicted as sources of threat in this narrative; the target languages index those that must police the world and fight terrorism. This in turn activates a specific pattern of causal emplotment that characterises MEMRI's overall narrative. The source language group, which represents protagonists who pose a threat to the free world, is emplotted as aggressor, and the target language group, which represents protagonists who are under threat from the first group, is emplotted as victim. The implication is that in invading countries like Iraq or Afghanistan, or bombing Lebanon or Gaza, the victims are merely *responding* to the aggression being visited on them. The blame lies fairly and squarely with the source language group. These are the people who initiate violence, the ones we should condemn.

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Genericness, a narrative feature discussed in Bruner (1991), draws our attention to the fact that individual narratives have to be elaborated within established frameworks of narration in order to be intelligible and effective: a poem, a petition, a detective story, a news editorial, a business meeting, an asylum hearing. These established frameworks are associated with a variety of meanings that contribute to developing the narrative in subtle ways. A petition, for instance, is a genre that casts the petitioner in the role of the weaker party and those being petitioned in the role of a powerful but possibly unfair protagonist. Translation plays an important role in reconfiguring and renewing generic systems (Selim 2010), and in so doing participates in creating new models and potentialities of narration. Translators are also constantly faced with new genres and subgenres that do not always provide ready frameworks for intelligible narratives within the target culture.

Particularity means that while each narrative refers to specific events and people, it can only be intelligible and communicate more than it formally encodes by being embedded within a familiar 'story type', such as 'boy meets girl and falls in love' or 'proud nation resists powerful invader'. These skeletal storylines come complete with character types and scenarios, and have a strong hold on our minds. They include stock political narratives of the type 'domestic population suffers onslaught of greedy and criminal migrants' and 'national security is threatened by external or internal enemies'. For a very good example of the exploitation of such a generic storyline in contemporary US politics, see McAdam (2004).

Bruner argues that the 'tellability' of narrative 'rests on a breach of conventional expectation' and makes it 'necessarily normative' (1991: 15). This means that all narratives have to depart from the 'norm' in some way, but the departure must nevertheless 'be effected within circumscribed, normative plots if [the narratives] are to be intelligible at all' (Baker 2006: 98). Even the most innovative and norm-breaking of translations must adhere to some norms in order to be understood. *Normativeness* is a feature of all narratives, whether elaborated by the powerful or the marginalised. Even activist communities and rebel groups elaborate repressive narratives that oblige their adherents to conform to specific norms of discourse and behaviour.

Finally, *narrative accrual* concerns the way in which we 'cobble stories together to make them into a whole of some sort' (Bruner 1991: 18): it refers to the process by which different stories are linked together to form larger and larger narratives over time. Narrative accrual enables the myriad individual stories about acts of violence in different parts

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of the world to contribute to a specific narrative of terrorism, Islamic extremism, or resistance to Western aggression, depending on the location from which a narrator elaborates these larger narratives.

9.3 Translation, narration and political conflict

Perhaps because they are so lucrative, wars are often carefully planned many years in advance, and they start not on the battlefield but on television, in newspapers, social media networks, children's stories, political speeches, films and cartoons. Those with a stake in maintaining or preparing for a state of war are increasingly dependent on many acts of translation and interpreting, primarily but not exclusively in the media. Politicians in 'democratic' countries rely on voters' support to remain in office, and therefore have to weave convincing and sanitised narratives of their involvement in any war, using the narrative feature of particularity to evoke familiar, taken-for-granted storylines. Given the investment in stock political narratives that require the constant presence of a foreign threat, a potential range of protagonists is constructed as enemies over a long period of time, to be deployed as necessary in activating the same storyline, and to justify the brutality of war to domestic populations. It is in this context that translation becomes an important site and tool for negotiating the various relations and images that make war acceptable, indeed demanded by domestic voters.

A recent example that illustrates the importance of translation in generating narratives that construct potential targets for future wars is a political commercial first launched in the US in October 2010 and aired on CNN as part of a national campaign against government waste; it is now widely available on the Internet.[6] The commercial, entitled *Chinese Professor*, is commissioned by 'Citizens Against Government Waste',[7] a group that narrates itself as 'a private, non-partisan, non-profit organisation representing more than one million members and supporters nationwide'.[8] It elaborates a public narrative of government spending on areas such as healthcare as an example of waste and mismanagement, and a factor that will ultimately contribute to the demise of the US Empire. Their commercial casts America as a weakened nation, unprepared to deal with a shrewd and ruthless enemy that is waiting for an opportunity to enslave it. Bob Barr, a prominent US politician and one of the commercial's many fans, offers a useful summary of its content:[9]

> The ad is set in Beijing two decades in the future, in 2030. It opens to a huge lecture hall filled with attentive Chinese students. The Chinese

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> professor begins lecturing the class on why great nations like the United States have fallen. He explains it is because they all made 'the same mistakes, turning their back on the principles that made them great.' The professor explains further that America's problems were compounded when it 'tried to spend and tax itself out of a great recession … enormous so-called "stimulus" spending, massive changes to health care, government takeovers of private industries, and crushing debt.'
>
> The ad closes with the professor looking directly at the camera and concluding, with an eerie laugh, 'Of course, we owned most of their debt … so now they work for us.' The class then enjoys a collective and knowing laugh at the state of affairs presented by the professor.

The Chinese-looking actor in this commercial speaks in Chinese; his speech is subtitled into English. In this context, whether or not the English subtitles are accurate renditions of the Chinese is irrelevant. Narrative theory allows us to look beyond accuracy and equivalence in cases such as this and to recognise that a much more complex process is involved, one that does not even start from a source text and proceed to a translation and does not allow for any boundary to be drawn between the two. The producers of this commercial did not have to invest in writing a speech in Chinese (or in English and then having it translated into Chinese for the actor to deliver), nor in producing subtitles in English. They could have used a strategy very commonly deployed in films, namely to make foreign characters speak in the language of the audience, as German soldiers do in Hollywood movies. Having the constructed enemy speak in a foreign tongue, unintelligible to the audience, exaggerates the sense of threat being communicated. But the feature of genericness discussed above can offer further explanation for the use of subtitles. As a genre in its own right, translation carries connotations similar to those of a documentary, or reportage. It is assumed to report on something that exists independently of the reporting, and like media reporting, it is naively thought of as a matter of objective recounting of factual material. It therefore indirectly bestows a factual character on the representations it generates. This generic feature is exploited widely in politics, where translation is a cornerstone of intelligence work. Lobby groups like the MEMRI use it to construct a narrative of a dangerous world that can only be made safe by constant monitoring of what members of enemy societies say to each other *in their own*

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language. The translations provided merely allow readers to 'listen in' on these exchanges; they do not invent or adapt the texts but merely make them accessible. This impression of translation as a factual genre lends it a sense of authenticity and objectivity. At the same time, the presence of subtitles constitutes the Chinese speech as an 'original', a source text, and therefore indirectly constructs it as 'authentic'. Points of origin are traditionally constructed in narrative terms as authentic and trustworthy, 'the real thing'.

The powerful elite's attempts to construct evil enemies to serve as legitimate targets for current or future wars do not necessarily go unchallenged, and challenges posed to them often also draw on translation as a tool of resistance. In this case, several parodies of the Chinese Professor commercial have been produced and made available on the Internet.[10] One of the most popular among them is entitled *Chinese Professor: The Real Translation*. The subtitles for the first few screenshots are identical to the original commercial, but then they diverge radically to elaborate a very different public narrative of the sources of US decline, with a different pattern of causal emplotment. The English subtitles offer us the following as reasons: 'The rich bought control of the government and media [...] and distracted the poor with spectacle [...] while they stole the nation's wealth'. The penultimate subtitle states that in order to safeguard their interests, the rich 'manufactured fear of a foreign devil'; the final subtitle asks 'But who's stupid enough to fall for that one again?' The threatening, menacing Chinese Professor and his heartless students of the original commercial are projected here as smart and critical. The same visual elements are reconfigured into a very different public narrative with the help of a new set of subtitles.

In both cases, the original commercial and its parody, viewers must be able to hear the foreign speech and to accept the illusion that this speech is being mediated via subtitles, despite the fact that the speech itself is constructed to suit the producers' agenda and the subtitles may indeed have been written before, rather than after, the Chinese monologue. The title of the parody exploits the notion of translation to undermine the original commercial.

Ultimately, as this example demonstrates, translation does not 'mediate' a narrative that exists separately from it: it is part and parcel of the narrative being elaborated. Acknowledgement of the complex role that translation plays in the very construction of a narrative as it is being configured is one of the major contributions of narrative theory.

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9.4 Future directions

Although various versions of narrative theory have exercised considerable influence across the humanities for several decades, Translation Studies has only recently begun to engage with this powerful theoretical tradition. The particular strand of narrative theory introduced in Baker (2006) and discussed in this chapter remains underdeveloped in a number of respects. First, future work must engage with a wider range of genres and themes that lend themselves readily to narrative analysis. Among these the most obvious are translated children's literature, comics, news reporting, political speeches, documentary film, various types of citizen media (such as subtitled YouTube clips), public-service interpreting in a wide range of venues, sign-language interpreting, and TV interpreting. Second, methods of narrative analysis applied in Translation Studies so far remain relatively imprecise, and many scholars who find the theory attractive also find it difficult to apply in a sustained manner. Explicit and more sustained engagement with methodological issues is therefore necessary to enable a greater range of case studies to be carried out. Such issues might include more robust definitions of categories such as 'public narrative' and 'meta narrative', as well as more extended illustrations of the interdependency among the various features of narrativity (causal emplotment, selective appropriation, particularity, etc.). The tendency of less experienced scholars to separate such features and try to identify them mechanistically in a set of data, one by one, should be discouraged by providing models of analysis in which the features are integrated and invoked only as and when they become relevant. And finally, future case studies should also provide models for applying narrative theory and demonstrate how narrative analysis can be operationalised at the micro level, by exemplifying a greater range of textual and non-textual devices through which a narrative may be elaborated. These might include verbal devices such as proximal/distal deictics, modes of address and neologisms; paralinguistic devices such as italics and block capitals in written discourse and intonation and pitch in spoken interaction; visual devices such as colour, images and layout, and a wide range of other elements that cannot easily be included under a specific category, such as choice of actors in a film or play. Future studies should be able to demonstrate that the ability of narrative analysis to draw on an open-ended and diffuse set of features and devices is empowering rather than intimidating, and that it can and should be undertaken systematically.

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Notes

1. Practically all definitions of discourse share a focus on abstract forms of knowledge that are institutionally generated and sanctioned, and the way this abstract knowledge is constructed and mediated textually.
2. A very useful reference to consult on methodological issues relating to narrative analysis in general is Riessman (2008).
3. Both approaches recognise that one-off choices are only interpretable against the backdrop of established, recurrent patterns.
4. http://www.indiegogo.com/herstoryegypt.
5. http://www.babels.org/.
6. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OTSQozWP-rM.
7. See http://www.cagw.org/ (accessed 18 April 2011).
8. http://www.cagw.org/about-us/missionhistory.html (accessed 18 April 2011).
9. http://blogs.ajc.com/bob-barr-blog/2011/03/30/hollywood-caves-to-chinese-pressure-citizen-watchdog-group-doesn%E2%80%99t/.
10. See http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/evil-chinese-professor (accessed 18 April 2011).

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10
Corpora in Translation

Federico Zanettin

Corpus resources and tools have come to play an increasingly important role both in Translation Studies research and in translation practices. In Translation Studies, corpora have provided a basis for empirical descriptive research. Corpus-based studies usually involves the comparison of two (sub) corpora, in which translated texts are compared with either their source texts (parallel corpus) or with another (sub)corpus constructed according to similar design criteria (comparable corpus), either in the same or in another language. These corpora are used to investigate regularities of translated texts, regularities of translators and regularities of languages. Regularities of translation may consist either of universal features which are hypothesised to be distinctive of translated texts as opposed to non-translated texts, or of translation norms and strategies which characterise texts translated under specific social and historical circumstances. Regularities of translators are individual linguistic habits manifested through consistently different (unconscious) patterns of choices, independently of the source texts. Parallel corpora are used, together with bilingual or multilingual comparable corpora, to compare and contrast regularities of languages. Bilingual and multilingual corpora have also found application in translator education. Parallel corpora offer learners a repository of translators' strategies and choices, while comparable corpora provide them with a mapping of the words and structures employed by different linguistic communities for building discourse. Approaches to corpus use in translator education include both training in computer-assisted translation and experiential approaches to corpus use. Practical applications of corpora in translation comprise resources and tools for assisted and automatic translation, including translation memories and corpus-based statistical machine translation. This chapter provides an overview of how corpora are used for descriptive and applied purposes, and discusses research findings and implications for translation trainees, professionals and users.

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10.1 Introduction

Corpus linguistics, as the computer-assisted study of language in use, has its foundations in the technological advances which have made it possible to collect and analyse large quantities of text in electronic format. Its contribution to Translation Studies has been significant, since corpora have provided a basis for descriptive research and allowed for the empirical testing of theoretical hypotheses. The first applications of corpus linguistics to translation research date back to the 1980s,[1] and corpus-based Translation Studies (CTS or CBTS) have grown since then into an established subfield. In 1998 Laviosa entitled her introduction to a special issue of the journal *Meta* 'The Corpus-based Approach: A New Paradigm in Translation Studies', and a number of monographs and collected volumes have followed in its wake. Similarly, articles and papers on translation and corpora abound in both corpus linguistics and Translation Studies journals, conferences and volumes (Laviosa 2002; Olohan 2004; Tengku Mahadi et al. 2010; Zanettin 2012).

Corpora have also had a decisive impact in translation practice, as concerns the work of translation learners, professionals and users. In translator education, applications include both experiential approaches to corpus use and training in computer-assisted translation. Most professional translators today rely to a large extent on computer-assisted methodologies to carry out their work, and translation memories, a specific type of dynamic parallel corpora, are a standard tool of the trade. Finally, practical applications of corpora in translation also include automatic machine translation systems which millions of people use in their everyday life, and which rely largely on corpus-based statistical machine translation techniques.

This chapter provides an overview of how corpora are used in translation research for descriptive and applied purposes, and discusses research findings and implications for translation and language learners, as well as for translation professionals and users.

10.2 Corpora in translation research

In the 1980s a descriptive approach to the study of translation established itself as a major conceptual framework in the field that has since become known as 'Translation Studies'. This approach, which has been variously labelled with the terms 'empirical', 'target-oriented', 'polysystem', 'manipulation school' and 'systemic' (Hermans 1999: 7–16)

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stresses that the investigation of translation should start from observable facts in existing translations, which should be primarily seen in the context of the receiving culture rather than in relation to their sources.

A key concept developed within this approach is that of norms, defined as socio-cultural intersubjective constraints which regulate the behaviour of translators and stand between absolute rules and personal idiosyncrasies (Toury 1995: 54–55). Norms are seen as governing the activity of translation at all levels, from the decision to translate a text in the first place to the choice of the strategies implemented in the process of translation and which determine the actual linguistic composition of a translation. Toury saw the uncovering of norms as the main task of descriptive Translation Studies, and a preliminary step to arrive at the formulation of general 'laws' of translation behaviour, defined as probabilistic tendencies which characterise all translated texts. The enunciation of such laws is seen as 'the ultimate goal of the discipline in its theoretical facet' (Toury 1995: 16). Toury suggested two candidates for the status of laws, that is: the law of growing standardisation, which predicts that the text-linguistic make-up of translations will be more conventional than that of source texts; and the law of interference, which predicts that features of the source texts will be transferred in translation.

Corpus linguistics, both as an approach and a methodology, provides for the implementation of the descriptive research programme laid out by Toury and similarly minded scholars. Like descriptive Translation Studies, corpus linguistics adopts an empirical approach to the study of language and has an interest in performance rather than competence, in *parole* rather than in *langue*. The staple of corpus linguistics is actual texts rather than cognitive processes, and corpus-based Translation Studies similarly concern themselves primarily with translations as linguistic products.[2] As a methodology, corpus linguistics provides the resources and tools which allow researchers to investigate and discover regularities of linguistics behaviour across large bodies of translated texts, thus meeting the requirement of grounding translation research in empirical evidence. Corpus-based studies usually involve the comparison of two (sub)corpora. Translated texts are compared with either their source texts (parallel corpus) or with another (sub)corpus constructed according to similar design criteria (comparable corpus), either in the same or in another language. These corpora are used to investigate regularities of translated texts, regularities of translators and regularities of languages in contrast.

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Elaborating on Toury's law of growing standardisation and other previous studies (most notably Blum-Kulka and Levenston's [1983] 'simplification hypothesis' and Blum-Kulka's [1986] 'explicitation hypothesis'), Baker (1993) proposed a tentative list of 'universal features of translation', that is recurring linguistic patterns which distinguish translated from non-translated text. Baker suggested that features such as 'simplification', that is the tendency to 'simplify the language used in translation' (Baker 1996: 181–2), 'explicitation', that is the tendency to 'spell things out rather than leave them implicit' (ibid.: 180), 'normalization', that is the tendency 'to exaggerate features of the target language and to conform to its typical patterns' (ibid.: 183), and 'levelling out', that is the tendency 'of translated text to gravitate towards the centre of a continuum' (ibid.: 184) could be uncovered by comparing a subcorpus of translated texts with a subcorpus of non-translated texts in the same language (together forming a 'monolingual comparable corpus').

Baker's research programme was very suggestive, and inspired various projects which set out to test the existence of translation universals. Laviosa (2008a) investigated the simplification hypothesis by building and analysing the English Comparable Corpus (ECC), created by putting together the Translational English Corpus (TEC), a multi-source-language corpus made up of translational narrative and newspaper texts, and a comparable corpus compiled with texts extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC). She identified four core patterns of lexical simplification in translated texts, which taken together appeared to 'support the general descriptive hypothesis that, independently of source language and text type, translators working into English as their mother tongue tend to restrict the range of words available to them and use a relatively higher proportion of high-frequency lexical items.' (Laviosa 2008a: 123). Following Laviosa's study, other corpus-based investigations were undertaken in order to validate this and other hypotheses.

Baker's tentative list of translation universals has been modified and expanded, to include standardisation, conventionalisation, conservatism and sanitisation, shining through and transfer (Toury's law of interference), convergence, disambiguation, avoidance of repetition, over-representation or under-representation, distinctive distribution of lexical items and collocations, translation-unique items, and asymmetry (see e.g. Kenny 1998; Tirkkonen-Condit 2002; Klaudy and Károly 2005; Mauranen 2008; Becher 2010). Studies have investigated syntactic as well as lexical features, and the methodology has involved comparison of word count statistics as well as manual analysis of concordance

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lines in search of patterns of use of specific (groups of) lexical items or syntactic structures. Examples include type/token ratio, ratio of grammatical to lexical items (as a measure of lexical density), distribution of word clusters and of groups of semantically or functionally related words (e.g. reformulation markers, colour words, modal particles), syntactic constructions, idioms, collocations and clusters in the same range of frequency. Comparable monolingual corpora have been created and translation universals have been tested for languages like, among others, Finnish, Spanish, German, Italian, Norwegian, Portuguese and Chinese.[3] Other corpus types, including parallel corpora of source and target texts, and comparable corpora in either or both the source and/or target language have been used to investigate hypothesised universals not only from a target but also from a source perspective (Chesterman 2004), suggesting that comparable and parallel corpora may offer complementary perspectives on translation norms and universals (Bernardini 2011).

However, the studies produced so far are too limited in number and scope to be conclusive about the hypothesised universals. While most findings tend to confirm the existence of some universal features which set apart translations from texts produced under different constraints, there is also some counter-evidence (e.g. Puurtinen 2003, Saldanha 2004; Corpas Pastor 2008; Wang and Qin 2010). Research has shown that much variation depends on genre, text type and source language and, notwithstanding the growing number of studies, evidence is still confined to a few languages and textual genres. The experiments discussed were carried out using rather small corpora, often containing texts belonging only to a specific text type. They are not always compatible or commensurable, as they often differ as regards the design of the corpora as well as the methodologies and tools used to analyse them. Some scholars suggest that corpus-based translation studies should find a more robust grounding in natural language processing (NLP) techniques (e.g. Hansen-Schirra et al. 2006; Corpas Pastor 2008), and criticism has addressed the monodimensional approach of studies which provide information only on one or a few linguistic features, taking them as indicative of regularities at a higher level of abstraction. For instance, De Sutter et al. (2012) argue that high-level phenomena such as explicitation and conservatism are generally only related to one linguistic feature rather than verified in terms of a statistically significant correlation between a range of patters at the levels of lexis, syntax and discourse.

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The classification of findings may also be debatable, since the categories used to operationalise hypothesised universals are not homogeneous and the relationship between the low-level linguistic features examined and the explicative categories they are supposed to map onto is not always clear. For instance, Becher (2011a, 2011b) advocates dismissing the explicitation hypothesis, arguing that it is not formulated and testable with enough rigour. He suggests that results taken to support the explicitation hypothesis can in fact be explained as originating in lexicogrammatical and pragmatic contrasts between languages or in other proposed universals. Sometimes the same studies are presented as evidence of different types of translation universals (e.g. Laviosa 2008b; Mauranen 2008), which proves that there is at least some overlapping in their conceptualisation. Finally, research on translation universals has also been questioned on the ground that it may be futile, either because the term 'universals' may be untenable as an empirical descriptive concept (see e.g. the title of Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004) or because these features may well be characterised not as 'translation specific universals', but as 'language mediation universals' (e.g. House 2008; Ulrych and Anselmi 2008; Gaspari and Bernardini 2010), features common to all texts produced under the constraint of linguistic or cultural contact (Becher 2010; Lanstyák and Heltai 2012).

A second, important strand of corpus-based translation research has concerned translator style, understood as coherent and motivated patterns of choice 'recognizable across a range of translations by the same translator', which 'distinguish that translator's work from that of other translators' and which 'cannot be explained as directly reproducing the source text's style or as the inevitable result of linguistic constraints' (Saldanha 2011: 240). Consistent patterns of linguistic behaviour may be the result of conscious or unconscious selections between multiple options, and can be related to the cultural and ideological context in which translators operate, as well as to more personal stylistic choices (Baker 2000; Munday 2008).

Early studies (e.g. Baker 1999, 2000) set out to analyse similarities and differences between sets of translations into the same language by different translators working from different languages, in order to investigate how linguistic habits of individual translators are consistently manifested independently of the source texts. In order to take into account the source language variable and 'to identify possible triggers for the choices made' (Saldanha 2011: 40), many studies of translator style involve not only a corpus of translations, but also one containing

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the source texts, that is they make use of parallel corpora. For instance, Saldanha (2011) looked at the use of foreign words by two different translators (Margaret Jull Costa and Peter Bush) translating into English from Spanish and Portuguese source texts by considering the use of italics, quotation marks and culture-specific forms of address. Johansson (2004) investigated whether any systematic variation occurred and the extent to which such variation could be attributed to individual stylistic choices or to source language interference in a corpus containing a short story and a scientific article in English and their translations into Norwegian by ten professional translators. The analysis focused on shifts in translating the subject of the first clause of declarative sentences.

Several studies have compared different translations of the same source (literary) text by two or more different translators. For instance, Bosseaux (2007) investigates how translators manifest their discursive presence ('voice') in two French translations of Virginia Woolf's *The Wave*s by looking at the use of personal pronouns, time and space adverbials and verb tense. Winters (2009) studies modal particles and speech-act reporting verbs in two different German translations of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Beautiful and Damned*. Wang and Li (2012) look at lexical and syntactic idiosyncrasies which distinguish a Chinese translation of James Joyce's *Ulysses* both from a corpus of original writing of the same author/translator and from a translation of the same source text by a different translator. Ji and Oakes (2012) provide sophisticated statistical analyses of a number of lexical, syntactic and semantic features in two English translations of Cao Xuenqin's Chinese classic novel *Hongloumeng*. Rybicki (2012) applies stylometric and authorship attribution techniques to a few quite sizable corpora of literary translations into and from different languages to ascertain whether multivariate analysis can be used to identify works by the same translator.

The middle ground between individual translator style and universal laws of translation, that is the investigation of text-linguistic norms which characterise texts translated under specific social and historical circumstances, has received somewhat less attention. The isolation of specific translation norms may be demanding in terms of corpus resources, since several translation and reference subcorpora are needed in order to disentangle source language, genre-related and diachronic variables. For instance, subcorpora containing texts translated from different languages may allow for controlling interference from specific source language systems, while subcorpora containing texts belonging

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to different text types may allow one to distinguish between translation-induced and genre-related variation. Subcorpora containing texts collected at different times may instead yield insights into how evolving translation styles and norms relate to evolving language norms, and on how translation affects and is in its turn affected by language change. Research in this area includes various publications emerging from the diachronic project 'Covert Translation' on the influence of English as a global *lingua franca* on German and other languages (e.g. House 2011, Kranich et al. 2011, 2012). See also Ji (2012) on the relation between translator style and language change in two Chinese translations of Manuel de Cervantes's *Don Quijote*, in relation to the Spanish source text and to two Chinese general reference corpora; and Malamatidou (in press) on the influence of English through translation of popular science into Greek.

Bilingual and multilingual comparable corpora, together with parallel corpora of translations and source texts, have also substantially contributed to the revival of contrastive linguistics. Comparable corpora are monolingual subcorpora of texts independently composed in the respective language communities and selected applying similar sampling techniques, which are used to compare and contrast regularities across languages. Parallel corpora are generally not regarded as optimal since the language of translation is seen as a non-standard, deviant variety of language. However, Translation Studies have contributed to an understanding that, while the language of translation may be different from non-translational language, translation is a common and legitimate instance of textual production (Zanettin 2011). Furthermore, since translation establishes a direct link between source and target texts, parallel corpora can be used to observe recurrent patterns of correspondence. Thus, a researcher may focus on a specific source language feature and look for regularities in the way it is translated (or on a specific target language feature and look for regular patterns which give rise to it). The patterns found in translated texts can then be compared to those found in a reference corpus of target language texts. With the help of a 'reciprocal' parallel corpus in the other direction of translation, it is also possible to observe how these patters, when occurring in source language texts, are translated, and so on in a cyclical fashion. Such a methodology has been developed within the bi-directional English Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC) project (Johansson 1998) and has served as a model for cross-linguistic research. The CroCo project, similarly based on a bi-directional German English parallel corpus has generated a large amount of research with applications ranging from

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contrastive linguistics to descriptive Translation Studies and machine translation (Hansen-Schirra et al. 2012).

A burgeoning area is that of corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS) (Setton 2011; Straniero Sergio and Falbo 2012). Some investigations have been conducted in the framework of universals, for instance to test the simplification hypothesis in a corpus of transcribed interpreted discourse (Russo et al. 2006), or to suggest that interpreting may be a language variety distinct both from written translation and original oral production in the same language (Shlesinger 2009). Other studies have focused on specific features of spoken language, such as hesitations and disfluencies, and on linguistic indicators of social and discursive identity such as modality and interaction markers. The development of corpus-based interpreting studies is especially linked to the availability of tools and techniques for the creation and management of multimodal corpora, which involve issues concerning transcription, time coding and synchronisation of written and audiovisual data.

By relating the linguistic regularities observed to the actual context in which the texts are produced and received, corpus linguistics can fruitfully complement more traditional approaches to the study of translation.

10.3 Corpora in translation practice

10.3.1 Corpora, translation and learning

Corpus-based applications are central to the education of prospective language services providers, including future professional translators, who need to train in the skills and acquire the know-how which characterise the profession, including expertise in the use of tools such as translation memories (see Section 10.3.2 below) and corpus analysis software. Practice in translation and in the use of such tools is at the heart of courses aimed at the education of translators. However, translation students are also language learners who take courses in foreign languages as well as in their native language and for whom translation is also a language learning activity. Corpus-based work in the context of translator education is thus at the interface of translation and language learning.

Applications of corpus linguistics to language and translation teaching may involve the development of corpus-based materials, the compilation of corpora for educational purposes, or the direct use of corpora in the classroom (Aston et al. 2004). The latter area has developed

mostly within the Data Driven Learning (DDL) approach (Johns and King 1991), whereas students are encouraged to analyse corpus data in order to test hypotheses and draw conclusions about language, usually under the guidance of the teacher. Learning is seen as a discovery process in which students explore authentic corpus data enhancing their confidence and promoting their autonomy (Bernardini 2002). Activities include concordance-based tasks, where learners analyse concordancing output or search for specific words or expressions in a corpus to identify linguistic patterns by sorting and ordering results, to obtain collocational, conceptual and terminological information. Learners may also start from the analysis of lists of words and collocations, or engage in the construction of self-made corpora. Corpus-based activities suitable for translation students are not restricted to those involving a translation task, while at the same time corpus-based activities organised around translation tasks can also find their place in the curricula of general language learners (Zanettin 2009).

Various types of corpus-based activities have been applied to the context of the translation classroom (e.g. Zanettin et al. 2003; Beeby et al. 2009). They can precede, follow or be concurrent with a translation activity. In the absence of a text to be translated, corpus-based activities can be carried out to raise awareness of linguistic and cultural elements which characterise source and/or target texts, while after a text has been translated they can be used for revision and error correction purposes. Corpora used in vocational translation courses include large, general and balanced monolingual corpora such as the BNC for English, small and specialised target language corpora, bilingual comparable corpora and parallel corpora. A monolingual corpus in the target language provides reference of language use on which students can model their translation. A comparable corpus in the source language can additionally help students understand the source text and compare patterns of use across languages. While bilingual comparable corpora provide learners with a mapping of the words and structures employed by different linguistic communities for building discourse, parallel corpora offer learners a repository of translator strategies and choices. As opposed to bilingual dictionaries, they offer information as regards equivalence above as well as below the word level since they also provide evidence of how actual translators have dealt with lack of direct equivalence.

Corpora and corpus tools have now flanked traditional reference materials such as dictionaries and encyclopaedias as practical aids during the process of translation. Future translation professionals need to develop (meta)linguistic skills which enable them to find language and

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content information in digital language resources. These include the use of general purpose search engines to find linguistic information using the Web as a corpus as well as the use of the Web as a source of corpora to be later analysed with corpus analysis software. Pre-compiled corpora may be used to develop an awareness of text and corpus type, and of corpus analysis techniques. Corpus-specific software tools can help learners familiarise themselves with different search syntaxes and data display conventions, and with ways of manipulating the output in order to discern consistent patterns of use.

Educational materials created specifically for and by translation learners include online courses to teach the use of corpus resources and methods, and translation learner corpora. Like other corpora used in translation research, they can contain only translations or both translations and source texts. They can be bilingual or multilingual and include one or more translation directions, and can be annotated with explicit linguistic annotation as well as according to an error typology. Similar to language learner corpora, these resources can be used for cross-sectional or longitudinal studies in order to identify areas of difficulty for different types of learners or to trace the development of translational competence.

10.3.2 Corpora in the translation profession

Most translators – whether freelance or employed in a translation agency, and regardless of whether they are translating technical manuals, advertising copy or novels – make use of computers. Translations are produced as electronic texts, while source texts are also usually available in that format. Thus, much translation work is carried out in a computer-assisted translation (CAT) environment, which may vary from a standard desktop equipped with word-processing software and a browser to a full-blown translator workstation consisting of a multiplicity of tools specifically created for translators of technical texts and localisers. Translation agencies organise their workflow around project management systems that distribute translation tasks, memories and terminologies to and around individual translators.

Translation memory software is certainly the tool which has contributed most to changing the way in which the profession is carried out and to creating a new work profile, which involves specific skills and knowledge. The concept behind translation memory software, which may range from sophisticated commercial suites to basic freeware applications, is that of re-using segments of past translations, thus saving time and increasing accuracy and productivity. At purchase, a

translation memory system is an empty shell which is filled up with a growing and dynamic 'memory' as translators save their translations together with the source texts in paired segments called translation units (TUs). With time, the translation memory database becomes a sort of parallel corpus, and when a new sentence to be translated matches a previously translated segment, the system brings up the previous translation.

Translation memories work at their best when a new source text is very similar to an already translated one, as happens for instance with updated and revised editions of highly repetitive texts such as technical manuals. In such cases, most textual material can be replaced in one sweep, and the translator only has to translate added or revised sentences. Most source texts, however, even if sharing content, text type or even (corporate) author with previous translations, will contain sentences which are similar without being identical. Most translation memory systems thus offer a way to retrieve 'fuzzy' matches, that is segments which only partly match the new source text. Translators may accept or revise translation candidate segments, or type in a translation from scratch, then save the new TU in the database. Navigation buttons, keyboard shortcuts and colour-coded editing interfaces as well as format conversion features help streamlining and automating the translation process. Translation memories are often also able to generate parallel concordances from a word or expression in the source text, that is a list of all the translation units in the memory in which this word or expression occurs. Such applications are usually less sophisticated than most stand-alone bilingual concordancers, which allow more control over both what is searched by letting the user perform more flexible pattern searches, and over how results are displayed.

Translation memory systems also usually include a terminology management system to which the translators can resort for looking up individual terms which appear in a previously untranslated segment. According to Bowker (2011), personal terminology management systems have largely replaced large institutional data banks in terminographical practice, and corpora have changed the way terminological entries are compiled and used. While traditional terminological work follows an onomasiological approach, moving from concepts to terms, personal term banks are usually compiled from lists of words obtained from corpora, thus implementing a semasiological approach. Furthermore, entries do not necessarily fit into the traditional definition of terms as nominal constructs, as they may comprise frequent combinations of words belonging to different word classes. They are often recorded in

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their most frequent rather than in the base form, and synonyms may be registered as different entries. The entries will often contain basic information, that is the target language equivalent(s) and selected concordance lines.

Finally, proficiency in corpus linguistics skills and procedures has become an indispensable part of the translator's professional competence. Translators can resort to monolingual and bilingual corpora and corpus analysis software to find information about terms, phraseology and textual patterns in both source and target languages, and to parallel corpora for finding solutions to previously solved translation problems. Large, general monolingual corpora are now available for many languages, and translators can create their own small corpora from the Web by downloading and processing documents retrieved using search engines and compiled through semi-automatic routines implemented by ad hoc programmes and online services.

10.3.3 Corpus-based machine translation

Machine translation (MT) research began in the 1950s when the first computers were put to service in the US for transcoding documents from Russian into English during the Cold War, but after the first promising efforts it was largely abandoned until the 1980s. Since then, MT has become available not only to restricted circles of experts but has also increasingly entered the life of millions of individual users. Initially confined to large organisations which could harness the power of expansive and dedicated computational resources, MT has now become a commodity which ordinary people use as a free service to help them plan their vacations, read about their favourite topics, exchange email messages and chat in an unknown language. According to Google Translate's principal scientist Franz Och (2012), for instance, the Google MT system translates every day (between 64 languages) the equivalent of 1 million books, or as much as all human translators translate in one year.

While the success of MT systems has been made possible by advancements in computational power, data storage and transmission technologies, it is also due to a radical change of approach. Initially conceived of as the decoding of a source text and its recoding into an equivalent target text on the basis of a set of pre-established rules and dictionary equivalents, MT has progressively abandoned transformational techniques and become increasingly based on corpora and statistical methods. As opposed to rule-based machine translation (RBMT), corpus-based MT does not presuppose linguistic knowledge but rather relies on

parallel corpora as a source of data to produce new translations. A prerequisite to corpus-based MT is the alignment of parallel corpora, which can be carried out using different methods but usually includes statistical techniques originally developed at IBM laboratories in the early 1990s. Parallel corpora are aligned following a compositional model in which each translation unit contains the smallest possible bitextual segment comprising one (or sometimes more than one) sentence in one language and the corresponding sentence(s) in the other language, in a linear arrangement and without any single-sided segments.

Within corpus-based approaches a distinction is usually made between statistical machine translation (SMT) and exemplum-based machine translation (EBMT). In general, SMT privileges a purely quantitative approach to finding translation equivalents based primarily on word frequency and word combinations, while EBMT is based on the extraction and combination of word sequences (phrases or other short segments of texts). In this respect, EBMT is similar to TM systems, since they both look in the database of translation units for the closest match to source text fragments. Translation fragments are then combined into a target text automatically in the case of EBMT, and manually in the case of TM systems.[4] SMT systems on the other hand generate a target text by selecting the most likely target equivalents of source language items from a 'word-alignment' database previously extracted from a parallel corpus. The system uses the contexts provided by sentence alignment to compute the words (or 'phrases', i.e. contiguous words) which are most likely to have been used as translation equivalents of words (or 'phrases') in the other language, and produces strings of words which are then checked and rearranged according to sequencing information derived from target language corpora. While SMT has established itself as the dominant paradigm in MT, the difference between these approaches is not always clear-cut, and many hybrid systems incorporate different corpus-based as well as rule-based methods (Hutchins 2010).

Free online MT services such as Google Translate and Bing Translator are (largely) based on statistical MT technologies. These services rest primarily on the very large-scale corpora which are available to worldwide search engines and on the computational power behind them. These systems increase their accuracy as more parallel data allow for the implementation of better statistics, and as statistical methods are integrated with human post-editing. Google Translate, for instance, lets users revise translations automatically generated by the system and save them in a personal as well as in a global translation memory, which

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includes a parallel corpus built on Wikipedia entries and post-edited machine translation output, thus augmenting and fine tuning the MT system through crowd-sourcing.

Current approaches have also undergone a change of perspective, putting a lower emphasis on translation accuracy in favour of usability. Whereas the focus of early MT was on the ability of the system to carry out high-quality fully automated machine translation which could replace the work of human translators, the aim of current systems has been largely reconceptualised as that of providing provisional translations of indicative quality. At the same time, machine translation as a field has diversified its approaches and broadened its scope to encompass all aspects of multilingual computing and all the tools and techniques which assist translators and users in a translation task. MT research involves, beside the automated translation of written text, speech translation based on speech (or visual) recognition, and speech synthesis systems, which also take stock of research in (multimodal) corpora. The current reality of MT has superseded both the dystopian vision of machines replacing humans in interlinguistic and intercultural communication and the sceptical vision of MT being altogether impossible. On the contrary, as suggested by Och (2012), it may be more likely that 'as machine translation encourages people to speak their own languages more and carry on more global conversations, translation experts will be more crucial than ever'.

10.4 Conclusions and future prospects

Information and communication technologies have considerably impinged on the way texts, including translated texts, are produced, disseminated and consumed and on the way language services providers, including translators, carry out their work. Corpora have had a significant influence on current developments in machine (assisted) translation as well as in translation research and practice. They have provided Internet users with a technology which is increasingly used in computer-mediated interlinguistic communication, and translation professionals and scholars with tools and data which can be used to aid in the translation process or to substantiate theoretical and descriptive claims.

The creation of robust and reliable corpora for descriptive Translation Studies is demanding and laborious work. Texts have to be acquired, either from electronic or printed sources, and converted into a standard format. Documental information about the texts and their contextual variables needs to be recorded. Corpora can be enriched with lemma

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and part-of-speech annotation, in order to allow for searches based on lexical and grammatical relations rather than on simple textual strings. Other layers of annotation may be added concerning semantic, pragmatic and discourse features, or according to user-generated annotation schemes (e.g. translation errors or shifts, omissions and additions), and further processing may also be called for. Parallel corpora must be aligned, and while automatic alignment techniques provide viable results for MT purposes, the high quality needed for translation research can only be obtained through additional manual editing.[5] Whereas corpus-based machine (assisted) translation relies on automation and data quantity, descriptive and pedagogic applications of corpus linguistics in translation research also crucially depend on manual analysis and data quality. Interpretative annotation can be manually and computationally intensive, but it may prove especially useful in areas such as literary translation and dialogue interpreting.

As Tymoczko points out, the development of corpora and corpus-based methods 'represents a long-term investment for the field of Translation Studies' (Tymoczko 1998: 658). Corpora offer the opportunity to carry out research based on quantitative evidence in a way that would not be possible otherwise. Regularities of translation, of translators and of languages can only be unearthed through the repeated observation of empirical data and increasingly refined descriptions, and evidence of universals, laws and norms of translation, or of individual translator style can only derive from the interpretation of replicable and cumulative findings. Corpus-based translation and interpreting studies are a collective enterprise and progress relies on the accumulation of relatively small-scale research findings and data and on the cross-validation of results, as well as on the refinement of theoretical and practical tools for corpus construction and investigation.

In its first stage of development, corpus-based translation research consisted mostly of exploratory studies, sketching out research hypotheses and trying to test them by building corpus resources and analysing their linguistic features. Most descriptive research adopted a synchronic approach, focusing on the investigation of translation invariant features, which supposedly characterise all translated texts and set translation apart from other modes of textual production (universal features of translation). Currently, research is taking advantage of and building upon the resources, methods and results of this first wave of studies. Thus, both theoretical claims and the way they are operationalised are challenged, refined or reformulated. At the same time, the scope of research has increased and diversified, and more emphasis has been

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added to investigations into what does change in translated texts. Studies in this area will certainly take stock of new resources allowing for diachronic and longitudinal studies, both on changing translation norms and conventions and on how translation contributes to language development. The increasing availability of machine(-assisted) translation output will also make it possible to compare it with human translation (and interpreting) corpora and to explore the implications of (semi-)automated modes of translation on language and communication. Finally, descriptive translation research is also honing both quantitative and qualitative corpus methods. Thus, diversified sets of linguistic indicators and corpus data are brought into play and subjected to rigorous tests of statistical significance in order to account for variability in translated texts, and advanced descriptive and exploratory statistical techniques are increasingly being used to deal with this multiplicity of factors. Quantitative methods in turn feed into better quality, and profit from the enrichment of corpus resources with various levels of annotation, both linguistic and translation-specific.

Together with the challenges brought about by the Web as a platform for distributing and sharing corpus resources and tools based on a service distributed architecture, it seems likely that these advancements will favour Tymoczko's vision of corpus-based studies as 'joint intellectual endeavours unimpeded by time or space, facilitated by intercommunication across the globe', which allow for 'decentralized, multilocal investigations to proceed thanks to virtually instantaneous access to shared primary materials' (Tymoczko 1998: 652).

Notes

1. One of the first corpus-based studies to investigate the language of translation was Martin Gellerstam's (1986) research on 'Swedish translationese'. Gellerstam used a corpus of English fiction translated into Swedish and a comparable corpus of original Swedish novels in search of 'translation fingerprints', that is 'all forms of translation which can in some form be viewed as having been influenced by the original text, without the term implying any value judgment' (Gellerstam 2005: 202).
2. Though some tentative studies have been conducted concerning the interplay between products and processes. For instance, Alves et al. (2010) propose to analyse keystroke logging, eye tracking and retrospective verbalisations together with the translations produced by the subjects in order to identify translation units associated with cognitive effort during a translation task.
3. See Zanettin (2012) for an overview of research and case studies.
4. Already existing parallel corpora can also be used as translation memories, by producing an aligned version annotated in standard translation memory

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format (TMX). Paradoxically, however, many large parallel corpora used in corpus-based machine translation (e.g. multilingual technical documentation and transcriptions of parliamentary proceedings) contain texts which are not in fact direct translations of each other and may not contain any indication as to their translation status.

5. See Zanettin (2012) for an overview of corpus compilation tools and procedures.

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11

Translation and New(s) Media: Participatory Subtitling Practices in Networked Mediascapes

Luis Pérez-González

This chapter sets out to investigate the role that amateur translation plays in the process of media convergence and to gauge the extent to which the proliferation of co-creational practices pertaining to the production, translation and distribution of subtitled media content blur the distinction between the roles of producer and consumer in political news interviews. I begin by exploring how the role of translation within global news media has been theorised in recent years and teasing out the implications of technological changes for the blurring of news production, consumption and translation. I then focus on the social processes that have prompted the emergence of amateur communities of journalists/translators, whether in the form of structured activist networks or fluid groupings of engaged citizens, as influential agents in the digital mediascape. The chapter then articulates the implications of these developments for the discipline of Translation Studies, including the shift from referential accuracy towards narrative negotiation and the politics of affinity as the main drives informing amateur news mediation. The issues raised in this chapter are illustrated with a case study involving the subtitling of a political news interview by amateur mediators.

11.1 Introduction

Advances in communications technology over the last two decades have led to the proliferation of 'self-mediation' (Chouliaraki 2010), as individuals increasingly turn to 'computer-mediated forms of production, distribution, and communication' (Manovich 2001: 19) to share cultural practices and experiences. The implications of this shift for the emerging global media ecology can be articulated in terms of two conflicting yet complementary trends. On the one hand, the widening

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range of channels available for the distribution of media content and the growing fragmentation of audiences have precipitated the concentration of mainstream commercial media in the hands of a few powerful global corporations. By diversifying their revenue streams and strengthening their presence in different segments of the marketplace, most of the global media players emerging from these processes of corporate consolidation have thus managed to enhance their economic efficiency while increasing viewers' choice (Compaine 2005). On the other hand, the affordances of new communication technologies – particularly the lowering of production and distribution costs – have become a growing threat to the commercial interests of mainstream media. By enabling 'consumers to archive, annotate, appropriate and recirculate media content in powerful new ways' (Jenkins 2004: 33), digital media give viewers more control over their user experience.

The capacity of communications technology to reinvigorate old business models, while at the same time facilitating new forms of viewer engagement in the production and consumption of media content (McChesney and Schiller 2003), reveals the co-existence of 'a top-down corporate-driven process and a bottom-up consumer-driven process' at the heart of media industries, known as 'media convergence' (Jenkins 2004: 37). This participatory context of cultural production, where media professionals and their creative audiences 'co-create' media content, has 'a cultural logic of its own, blurring the lines between economics (work) and culture (meaning), between production and consumption, between making and using media, and between active or passive spectatorship of mediated culture' (Deuze 2009: 148). To date, the study of media convergence has largely focused on the economic implications of co-creation – understood as a symbiotic process whereby businesses provide their 'reflexive' or 'creative clients' (Meikle and Young 2012) with a personalised experience of their services or products, in exchange for customer feedback that may enhance the company's brand value (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2000, 2004; Grabher et al. 2008). In the case of news media, the economic logic of convergence no longer prioritises the long-term loyalty of their readership or audiences – as measured in terms of sustained and passive content consumption (Atton 2004; Jarvis 2007). More decisive to the commercial performance and visibility of digital media is their capacity to secure a constant inflow of user-generated content (American Press Institute 2005; Beckett and Mansell 2008) through 'demotic' participation (Turner 2010).

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The impact of media convergence on the production of media content, however, cannot be measured exclusively in terms of economic impact (Green and Jenkins 2009; Hartley 2009). Unlike their mass-media predecessors, collaborative technologies foster interactivity through 'the combination of intense local and extensive global interaction' (Wellman 2002: 11). In the era of networked digital media, citizens are able to reach beyond their immediate personal and professional environments and become active members of transnational, geographically dispersed collectivities seeking to promote shared cultural values and practices. This new 'paradigm of civic engagement' (Pérez-González 2012) is often articulated through online networks of individuals bound together by mutual affinity and shared aesthetic, ideological and political affiliations. Indeed, it is through assembling, annotating and distributing their own experiences and representations of reality through media that such affiliations are negotiated and cultural and political discourses are articulated (Kuntsman 2012; Pérez-González 2012).

Against the backdrop of these developments, studies on media convergence have begun to address the involvement of ordinary people 'in the process of making media as co-creators of content and experiences across professions as varied as journalism, advertising, public relations, marketing communication, television and movie production, fashion, game development' (Banks and Deuze 2009: 420) and translation (Barra 2009; Pérez-González 2012). This chapter sets out to investigate the role that amateur translation plays in the process of media convergence and gauge the extent to which the proliferation of co-creational practices pertaining to the production, translation and distribution of subtitled media content blur the distinction between the roles of producer and consumer in political news interviews. My argument develops as follows. Section 11.2 explores how the role of translation within global news media has been theorised in recent years and teases out the implications of technological changes for the blurring of news production, consumption and translation. Section 11.3 focuses on the social processes that have prompted the emergence of amateur communities of journalists/translators, whether in the form of structured activist networks or fluid groupings of engaged citizens, as influential agents in the digital mediascape; their contribution to the consolidation of non-linear models of media consumption is addressed here in terms of cultural and economic significance. Section 11.4 moves on to articulate the implications of these developments for the discipline of Translation Studies, including the shift from referential accuracy towards narrative

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negotiation and the politics of affinity as the main drives informing amateur news mediation. Section 11.5 illustrates the issues raised in this essay with a case study involving the subtitling of a political news interview by amateur mediators.

11.2 Translation and news production/consumption in networked digital media

The dialectic between globalisation and technological change has become central to most research on news translation published over the last decade, with the 'transworld simultaneity' and growing 'instantaneity' of media flows emerging as prominent themes (Scholte 2005). In this context, the study of 'the rapid and extensive juxtaposition of, and comparison between, different cultures and spaces' (Lash and Urry 1994: 243) that technological and corporate changes enable has moved up the agenda and shifted attention away from traditional concerns over 'the complexities involved in overcoming cultural and linguistic barriers' (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 18). For some scholars (e.g. van Leeuwen 2006), it is the status of English as the *lingua franca* of global news media that makes it possible to minimise or even belittle the scope of such linguistic and cultural differences. From this standpoint, it is often assumed that news stories circulating across linguistic constituencies through networked digital media will have been previously translated from other languages or specific local varieties of English into a more neutral, often hybrid, variety that is equally accessible to all language communities (Taviano 2010).

Monolingualism is also at the heart of other scholarly strands that account for the global flow of news in terms of a 'universal' digital language – used as a loose synonym of the notion of 'digital media literacy' (Livingstone 2004) – that underpins the increasingly interdependent production and consumption of digital media content. As globalisation theorist Manuel Castells (2000, 2007) notes:

> [w]e are indeed in a new communication realm, and ultimately in a new medium, whose backbone is made of computer networks, *whose language is digital*, and whose senders are globally distributed and globally interactive. True, the medium, even a medium as revolutionary as this one, does not determine the content and effect of its messages. But it makes possible the unlimited diversity and the largely autonomous origin of most of the communication flows that

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> construct, and reconstruct every second the global and local production of meaning in the public mind.
>
> [Castells 2007: 248, my emphasis]

In the context of commercial news outlets, the growing emphasis on instant linguistic and/or cultural juxtaposition, whether facilitated by a shared *lingua franca* or a common digital literacy, to the detriment of translation between different linguistic and cultural groupings, is blurring the boundaries between the roles of news producers and translators. A significant development on this front has been the globalisation of business models prevalent in leading news agencies worldwide – involving, among other trends, the generalisation of homogenising writing conventions to facilitate the traffic of news stories across languages. As ever more strict style sheets constrain and downgrade the impact of translators' professional latitude, a growing number of journalists without formal training in interlingual mediation activities is engaging in the translation of their own news stories, thus further eroding the social recognition of translators' contribution to the global flow of news reporting (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). But over the last decade, emerging forms of strongly collaborative journalism, where professional journalists and amateurs work together, have come to mount an increasingly strong challenge to traditional news media. As Beckett and Masell (2008: 93) explain, the co-creational nature of collaborative networked journalism involves crossing boundaries:

> within the production process as a means of sharing facts, raising questions, producing answers and ideas, and challenging differing perspectives […] [E]ach boundary that is crossed in the production and consumption of networked journalism enables an increasingly wide range of different viewpoints, languages, cultures, values, and goals to be encountered. As they are encountered, they are likely to affect people's everyday lives and their perceptions of distant others in ways that are increasingly unpredictable.

Resistance against simultaneity and instantaneity as the main forces behind news production and distribution is particularly significant in certain segments of networked journalism. 'Citizen journalism' (Gillmor 2004) or 'indymedia' (Deuze 2006) websites, for example, rely on and actively encourage horizontal structures of plurality and democratic participation that traverse new configurations of citizenship,

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public space and online communication. Within these websites, groups of like-minded individuals capitalise on the potential of network communication and exploit their 'collective intelligence' (Levy 2000), including their language skills, to provide: (a) news coverage of local or less mainstream events and issues that would otherwise not have attracted the attention of commercial news organisations; (b) grassroots reporting of issues advancing the agendas of these collectivities (Christensen et al. 2011). Yeeyan[1] or Indymedia,[2] for example, have fostered a participatory, non-hierarchical reporting culture where individuals translate news items featured on their respective organisations' websites. Their involvement in the activities of these online communities puts 'user-translators' – often lacking formal training in translation – on an equal footing with other content providers, with their translations often becoming news stories in their own right within their respective target *locale*.

This enhanced convergence between news producers and translators, which is redefining the place of language mediation in the process of news production and dissemination in the era of networked digital media, is particularly salient in the case of activist collectivities. Unlike Baker (2012), I am not using the term 'activist' here to refer to translator communities embedded in the culture of collective movements whose members 'identify themselves as translators and interpreters, and hence position themselves explicitly within the professional and scholarly world of translation' – and whose 'positioning is strongly signalled in the names of the groups (*Translators* for Peace; *Translators* United for Peace (TUP); *Translator* Brigades; Tlaxcala: The International Network of *Translators* for Linguistic Diversity; ECOS, *traductores* e *intérpretes* por la solidaridad)' (Baker 2012: 3). Instead, by 'activist collectivity' I refer to communities consisting mainly of engaged citizens without formal training in translation, who don't identify themselves as translators, and who publish (translated) reportage and translations of certain types of material to effect political change.

As was also the case with more established forms of networked journalism, these participatory networks of activists seek to deliberately widen the range of perspectives offered and voices heard in the content they produce, translate and disseminate. Similarly, they also work to ensure that transnational communities of individuals clustered around certain sets of shared values are alerted to local issues neglected by traditional media. As Pérez-González (2010: 269) explains, 'the interventionist engagement of activist communities with the circuitry of the global [media] marketplace represents a challenge to the control that

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media corporations have traditionally exerted over the distribution and consumption of their products'. In the pursuit of wider global resonance, the very selection of reportage material and the production of different language versions of certain news stories constitute instances of political positioning, undermining the capacity of news corporations to retain control over the reception of news by different constituencies.

There are two broad types of activist communities of citizen journalists/translators. The first type consists of long-lasting networks of amateur reporters/translators built upon regular and sustained interaction between their core members, either through their participation in acts of collective action and resistance or their involvement in computer-mediated communication – whether synchronous or asynchronous. While their activities rely heavily on the translation and 're-mediation' (Deuze 2006) of written and audiovisual material via websites and mailing lists, established activist communities occasionally reach out to their 'glocal' constituencies to promote their activities in more traditional ways. Take, for instance, the case of Mosireen,[3] a Cairo-based non-profit media collective born out of the explosion of citizen media and cultural activism in Egypt during the revolution in early 2011. '[F]ounded in the wake of Mubarak's fall by a group of film makers and activists who got together to found a collective space dedicated to supporting citizen media of all kinds', Mosireen members aim to 'film the ongoing revolution' and 'challenge state media narratives' (Mosireen website). To support the creation of citizen media content, Mosireen organises workshops, making spaces and specialised equipment available for the training of fellow activists and like-minded mediamakers; similarly, the organisation of regular screenings to showcase the footage produced by Mosireen members provides further opportunities for interaction between core network members and their extended constituencies.

These stable groupings of activist reporters/translators straddling both the virtual and physical spheres illustrate the processes of democratised innovation and peer production that have brought about the departure from previous notions of readership and media spectatorship. The networked publics that activist communities of citizen journalists/translators serve 'are communicating more and more through complex networks that are bottom-up, top-down, as well as side-to-side' (Ito 2008: 2–3). In this context of production, '[p]ublics can be reactors, (re)makers and (re)distributors, engaging in shared culture and knowledge through discourse and social exchange' (ibid.). By interacting under this new set of rules, media users find their own voice, develop common interests and ultimately pioneer new forms of collective resistance.

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But not all instances of unsolicited, collaborative translation seeking to effect social and political change are the work of stable activist networks. As the affordances of communication technologies develop and 'virtual communitarians' (Castells 2001: 54) become increasingly involved in the appropriation, re-making and redistribution of media content, less structured communities of engaged citizens are emerging in the digital mediascape. It is to these spontaneously formed groupings that my attention turns in the next section.

11.3 Structure versus agency in amateur news translation

The mediation of news content by activist journalist/translators is increasingly being undertaken by 'ad-hocracies' of amateur translators, a notion proposed by Pérez-González (2010). Unlike their counterparts involved in stable networks, members of these ad-hocracies are 'brought together because their diverse skills and knowledge are needed to confront a specific challenge and then dispersed onto different clusters … when new needs arise' (Jenkins et al. 2006: 41). In Pérez-González's case study, the term 'ad-hocracy' designates a fluid virtual grouping formed by readers of a Spanish progressive blog. After posting a series of comments under a specific blog entry, and having established their shared political affiliation, these individuals join forces to subtitle (into Spanish) a controversial interview which Spain's former prime minister, José María Aznar López, gave to *HARDtalk* (BBC News) against the backdrop of the 2006 military conflict between Lebanon and Israel. During this interview, Aznar expresses unreserved support for the neoconservative narratives circulating during the Bush years and makes contentious proposals to strengthen the relationship between NATO and Israel. At the time, these were issues that progressive constituencies in Spain were keen to capitalise on, hoping to further undermine public perception of the conservative views espoused by Aznar.[4] As it became apparent that none of the main Spanish TV channels would broadcast the full translated interview, and in view of attempts by Partido Polular, the biggest mainstream conservative party in the Spanish political spectrum, to 'reframe' Aznar's interview statements, this spontaneously formed network of engaged individuals decided to produce and distribute a subtitled version in Spanish.

Processes of negotiation of narrative affinity – as defined by Baker (2006) – between members of ad-hocracies are central to the formation of these communities of engaged citizens. As these groupings normally lack organisational or institutional support or even a collective

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manifesto, exploring fellow members' affiliations and identifying narratives that most members of the community subscribe to is crucial to build a platform for collective intervention in the media marketplace. Studying ad-hocracies thus involves looking at the dynamic construction of a narrative community, placing particular emphasis on the role played by the Internet in the spontaneous process of network formation and, hence, paying less attention to the use of the Internet as a medium for the circulation of activist-mediated messages. Ultimately, ad-hocracies represent 'extreme manifestations of dynamic identity generation, where individuals [may, although not necessarily] take on an activist role during a single episode of mediation' (Pérez-González 2010: 264).

The emergence of these fluid networks of mediation powered by advances in communication technology is a reflection of wider changes in the organisation of social life and collective sites for interaction, as well as of the scholarly developments seeking to theorise those organisational changes. Drawing on Luhmann (1984), Austrian sociologist Christian Fuchs (2001) accounts for the proliferation of social processes of 'self-organization' – of which spontaneously formed ad-hocracies of engaged citizens are an example – as the result of a dialectical relationship between society and human 'agents'. Society, Fuchs and Schlemm (2005: 120) argue, 'reproduces man as a social being and man produces society by socially co-ordinating human actions. Man is the creator and created result of society. Society and humans produce each other mutually'. The interplay between the downward process of domination whereby social structures constrain and influence individual actions and thinking, on the one hand, and the upward process of 'agency' (Fuchs 2002: 38) through which new individual qualities gain prominence and emerge at the structural level of society, on the other hand, represents the primary impetus behind the proliferation of self-organising communities. Of particular relevance to the topic of this essay is the 'knowledge' (ibid.) generated through the interaction between bottom-up agency and top-down social pressure. From the standpoint of self-organisation studies, ah-hocracies of journalists/translators can be best conceptualised as socio-technological systems where the technological infrastructure enables and shapes certain forms of communication and cooperation among members of the community. It is precisely the mutually constitutive relation between this structural dimension of technology and the generative potential of human cognition that generates 'collective knowledge' – for example, in the form of a specific

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set of subtitling practices within a virtual network. As independent agents from diverse backgrounds come together for a shared purpose and engage in interaction through a common technological platform, their shared communicative practices contribute to developing a sense of community and to articulating a collective identity. Although virtual, fluid communities are 'seen as less bounded social networks of relationships', they do 'provide sociability support, information, and a sense of belonging' (Wellman 2001: 2031).

Ad-hocracies of activist journals/translators illustrate how individuals engage in participatory media practices to build networks of affinity within society, however transient these may be. By prioritising the agenda of a small collectivity over the stability of traditional social structures, ad-hocracies play an important role in the consolidation of non-linear models of communication in the media marketplace (McNair 2006). Being demand-driven, non-linear models challenge and undermine the traditional organisation of the media industry in the form of elite-controlled structures, where corporate and institutional agents dictate the terms under which media content has been traditionally produced, distributed and consumed. In non-linear contexts of production, the top-down control over audiences is hardly feasible, as consumers take on the role of co-producers and the range of channels for the distribution of media content grows exponentially. Seen against these transformations, participatory practices developed by transient communities of amateur mediators represent 'unpredictable eruptions and bifurcations' leading to a 'scenario of unprecedented diversity' (ibid.: 3).

More importantly, the emergence of non-linear models of communication has also had implications for audiovisual translation practices. By intervening in the co-creation of media content, amateur collectivities have widened the range of audiovisual genres that are now circulating globally, whether through mainstream or non-commercial channels. The next section therefore focuses on the genres of audiovisual content that activist ad-hocracies choose to mediate – which often include some of the less established types of media flows. It illustrates how some of those choices represent a major departure from the conventional associations between audiovisual genres and specific forms of screen translation that the media industries forged during the second half of the 20th century – thus providing further evidence of the tension between agency and social stability at the heart of cultural industries in the digital culture.

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11.4 Subtitling political news interviews: disciplinary implications

The rapid expansion of networked 'mediascapes' (Appadurai 1996) and the ensuing exponential growth of transnational media flows define a critical juncture that is bound to increasingly disrupt the one-to-one mapping of media genres and modalities of audiovisual translation. The use of subtitling – a form of audiovisual transfer traditionally associated with fictional dialogue – to mediate political news interviews is a case in point. As discussed in the following paragraphs, in approaching media broadcasts as sites for the renegotiation of individual and collective identities, amateur translators are acting as agents of hybridisation of communicative practices on a number of fronts.

Political news interviews have traditionally been regarded as broadcasts of ephemeral interest only to a core audience represented by and speaking the same language as the interview participants themselves. In global online mediascapes, however, the subtitling of political news interviews allows engaged mediators to reach out to peripheral constituencies that may share their narrative location but are unable to understand the original interview. Given that amateur engaged mediators cater for the needs of viewers on the same ideological wavelength, the 'recipient design' principle at work in this genre and the role which audiences play in the co-construction of meaning in these subtitled broadcasts require further investigation. As Pérez-González (2010) argues, constraints specific to communicative genre and media event dictate that the study of political news interviews subtitled by amateurs should address the interplay between social, conversational and individual roles played by the participants at different stages of the encounter; and explore the ongoingly negotiated relations between the participants, who constitute the 'first-frame' interaction, and the intended audience, or 'second-frame' co-participants (Fetzer 2006). As they navigate their way through the interview they chose to subtitle and re-circulate, amateur subtitlers ultimately make choices as to whether and how to promote factional allegiances at the expense of the factual narratives that media discourses have traditionally purported to propagate.

The unprecedented use of subtitling to mediate naturally occurring interaction is also stretching the traditional confines of audiovisual translation scholarship. Over the last decade, research on the mediation of conversational interaction has made great strides within interpreting studies, as specialists have come to draw on increasingly sophisticated conceptualisations of context and begun to examine conversation

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from a widening range of socio-pragmatic angles. Outside the bounds of interpreting studies, however, research on translated interaction has often been articulated as a stylistic investigation of fictional (literary or filmic) dialogue – mainly with a view to exploring its (lack of) naturalness or achieving a better understanding of its wider function in dramatic characterisation. The subtitling of political news interviews marks a new research direction traversing these disciplinary boundaries. News interviews feature episodes of authentic, pragmatically complex interaction – as opposed to the sort of fictional, often streamlined conversation serving an aesthetic purpose that lies at the heart of films or television drama. The subtitling of political news interviews, however, is difficult to study drawing on theoretical insights developed within interpreting studies for, unlike interpreting, subtitling entails a shift from a spoken to a written medium.

The remainder of this chapter sets out to gain a better understanding of the role that engaged audiovisual mediation, in the form of subtitled political news interviews, plays in the digital media industry as the latter gradually shifts towards non-linear forms of distribution. It illustrates how virtual collectivities of engaged citizens without formal training in translation select, subtitle and distribute news interviews that can reinforce their own narratives on international policy pertaining, in this case, to the relationship between the West and the Arab world. My analysis focuses on a single episode of mediation by a network of amateur subtitlers and the re-mediation practices that they engage in: (a) to enhance their own sustainability as a narrative community; and (b) to explore their place within the blogosphere, in terms of their connections with a wider constituency subscribing to a range of intersecting narratives.

11.5 Remediation, bricolage and shovelwaring in amateur subtitling

Ansarclub is a network of amateur subtitlers that emerged in July 2006 as an ad-hocracy of engaged blog-readers (without any formal training in translation) to subtitle a controversial interview originally broadcast in English, and to distribute a Spanish version through different self-broadcasting platforms (see Section 11.3). Between 2006 and 2010, Ansarclub developed into a relatively stable network of 11 engaged subtitlers based in Spain, Venezuela and Argentina. Most of the 27 projects undertaken during their lifetime revolved around Spain's former prime minister José María Aznar López. Indeed, their determination to negatively frame Aznar's persona, whether in relation to his record in office

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or his personal weaknesses, acted as the driving force that brought this community together.

This section reports on Ansarclub's second subtitling project, an interview broadcast by *Sky News* and featuring presenter Anna Botting and British MP George Galloway.[5] Although this second subtitling project does not feature José María Aznar himself, it is also set against the background of the invasion of Lebanon by Israel in the summer of 2006 and was broadcast more or less at the same time. Ansarclub's involvement in the second project was also prompted by the opposition of network members to Western policies towards the Middle East, including their unconditional support for Israel. As was also the case with the first interview, the *Sky News* broadcast acts as a catalyst for the building of affinity, with collective subtitling enabling the clustering of the network members around a set of intersecting narratives. The *Sky News* interview thus provides a strong thematic continuity that should facilitate the analysis of Ansarclub's evolution from ad-hocracy (when subtitling the *HARDtalk* interview) to stable network of amateur subtitlers (at the time of subtitling the *Sky News* interview).

The *Sky News* interview follows Hezbollah's rocket attack on northern Israel in early August 2006, approximately one month after the beginning of the fighting. Botting's framing of Galloway at the outset of the interview as a supporter of Hezbollah and its leaders – specifically, as 'a man not known for sitting on the fence' who 'passionately opposed the invasion of Iraq' and believes that 'Hezbollah is justified in attacking Israel' – sets the tone for a very tense interview. In his responses, Galloway tries to construct Hezbollah's attack as a response to Israel's aggression, and goes on to accuse Botting personally of believing that 'the Israeli blood is more valuable than the blood of Lebanese or the Palestinians'. Overall, Galloway's position was a clear reflection of his hard-line stance against the 'War on Terror' narrative (Baker 2006) and Israel's foreign and security policies vis-à-vis neighbouring Arab countries.

The power of the narrative on Western military intervention in the Middle East and the relationship between Israel and its Arab neighbours that Galloway constructs during the interview clearly had the power to resonate with a range of transnational constituencies.[6] At the time the interview was originally broadcast, for example, large sections of the public in Spain were particularly receptive to Galloway's stance, regarding the Madrid 2004 train bombings by Islamist terrorists as 'a direct result of Spain's decision to send troops' to Iraq in support of the US in 2003 (Govan 2009). Although the interview was not televised in Spain, the *Sky News* broadcast was widely circulated (in English) on the

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Internet and through a number of blogs written by influential left-wing journalists,[7] thus coming to feature prominently on the political debate during the summer and autumn of 2006. From Ansarclub's stance, the subtitling and distribution of a Spanish version of the Galloway interview could contribute to further eroding the domestic perception of former prime minister Aznar for two reasons. One the one hand, Aznar was personally responsible for the politically and socially contested decision to line up with the Bush Administration and Western intervention in the Middle East – a policy that Galloway severely criticises in the interview. On the other hand, the narrative on the Israel-Palestine conflict that Galloway articulates in his interview is radically different from the one promoted by Aznar in *HARDtalk*.

The process of 'remediation' (Deuze 2006) whereby Anzarclub appropriates, annotates – in the form of subtitling – and circulates the *Sky News* interview brings into sharp relief the interventionist agenda that underpins the amateur subtitling phenomenon. The subtitled clip hosted in the community's website is framed using the same strategies as in the other subtitled interviews surveyed in Endnote 5. The title and description of the clip in both Ansarclub's website and YouTube account, for example, highlighted Galloway's affinity with Muslim countries; foregrounded the bashing that Murdoch's *Sky News* got in trying to undermine Galloway's stance; and referred to the MP's political 'incorrectness' in the way he deals with Botting's questions. Ansarclub's intervention displaced the Galloway interview from the context of reception that *Sky News* originally envisaged and created the conditions for an asynchronous and 'iterative consumption' of the programme through alternative media (Crewe et al. 2005). But the group's tampering with the broadcast not only sought to solicit alternative practices of consumption. It also set out to delineate and co-construct a site of narrative affinity with their online viewers, explicitly orientating their mediation to the set of intersecting narratives to which their audience was supposed to subscribe.

An obvious lack of concern over their perceived objectivity is exhibited by Ansarclub in their subtitling work. Unlike commercial subtitlers, Ansarclub members often opt for mediation strategies that prioritise the collective affirmation of their narrative location over an accurate rendition of the English spoken text. At one point in the *Sky News* interview, where Galloway and Botting are fighting to hold the interactional floor, Ansarclub members use the following Spanish subtitle:

Miles de prisioneres libaneses
(…????? de estas ultimas

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resoluciones de la ONU…)
han sido secuestrador pro Israel[8]
Back-translation: Thousands of Lebanese prisoners
(…????? of these recent
UN resolutions…)
Have been kidnapped by Israel

Unlike commercial subtitles, which may consist of up to two lines of text, this specific subtitle consists of four. The top and bottom lines ('Miles de prisioneros Libaneses … han sido secuestrador [sic] por Israel': 'Thousands of Lebanese prisoners … have been kidnapped by Israel') correspond to Galloway's speech; lines 2 and 3 ('… ????? de estas ultimas [sic] resoluciones de la ONU …': '… ????? of these recent UN resolutions …'), on the other hand, convey a translated version of the interviewer's question.

This subtitle illustrates how the constant overlap between the interviewer and interviewee provides Ansarclub subtitlers with ample opportunity to flaunt their subjectivity, pander to their viewers' expectations, and promote a mutual perception of collective recognition among community members on both the production and reception sides. Subtitles like the one under scrutiny here not only convey the content of the interview, but expressively and affectively reciprocate it through pulses of tension, as the fight for the interactional floor between interviewer and interviewee is performed in front of the viewer's eyes. Faced with the 'unmanageable surplus of meaning' arising from the interactants' struggle to hold the floor (Cazdyn 2004: 405), Ansarclub subtitlers privilege Galloway's voice at the expense of Botting's. The use of a four-line subtitle allows for the visual portrayal of the MP as the legitimate speaker (his speech is represented in the top and bottom lines), relegating Botting to the role of hostile usurper in the central lines. Her words are partly redacted using a series of question marks and placed between brackets – as if trying to contain the scope of her intrusion. In the context of amateur subtitling, subtitles cannot always be evaluated in terms of their degree or referential integrity vis-à-vis the original speech, but of their contribution to the subjective spectatorial experience.

As is also the case with members of other amateur groupings involved in the remediation of news content, whether it involves translation or not, Ansarclub members engage extensively in 'bricolage' practices. Alxemi, one of the group subtitlers, for instance, is an active 'bricoleur-citizen' (Deuze 2006: 70) around whom a range

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of other politically engaged communities and narratives appear to cluster. His blog Macromundo (http://www.macromundo.com) contains a range of entries and remediated materials (previously linked to his personal YouTube account) reflecting his critical stance against mainstream press, global capitalism, and Western (including Spanish) meddling in developing countries, to give some examples. Macromundo thus acts as a repository of links to and resources on these issues, and the comments posted under the different blog entries provide evidence of this site's capacity to act as coalescing agent at the interface of similar narratives and the communities supporting them. By way of example, the comments posted under the blog entry hosting an embedded video clip of the subtitled Galloway interview: (a) refer and link to other blogs and virtual sites from which the raw footage of the *Sky News* broadcast was appropriated; (b) acknowledge the inspiration provided by citizen journalism sites that inform Alxemi's politics. Of particular interest is the cross-reference to another subtitled version of the Galloway interview published in a collective blog[9] and the series of posts that Alxemi and the authors of the second subtitled version publish to report on their experiences as amateur translators.

Although the Ansarclub's website is no longer available online, Alxemi's personal blog serves to illustrate one final feature of amateur subtitling networks. The featured links available on the lateral navigation menus and the very content of most blog entries suggest that copyright infringement ranks low on Alxemi's list of concerns. His blog features – or, in some cases, used to feature – part of Ansarclub's subtitled output, but also provides blog visitors with links to downloadable software applications, codec packs, raw video files, video embedding codes and other tools to create and/or consume media content produced and distributed outside commercial circles. In doing so, Alxemi fosters the generalisation of 'shovelwaring' practices, that is the 'repurposing or windowing of content across different sites, media and thus (potential) audiences' (Deuze 2006: 70). The combined use of remediation, bricolage and shovelwaring is enabled by the hypertextual environment in which Ansarclub operates. Within this environment, their subtitled output was complemented by working materials used during the mediation process, such as transcripts, earlier translation drafts, or practical information on how to access or circulate the translation. More importantly, hypertextuality also allows for the direct interaction between translation producers and users, who often provide feedback on the quality of the subtitled work. Capitalising on the affordances

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of hypertextuality enhances the visibility of Ansarclub members as mediators and empowers them to frame audiences' interpretation and, ultimately, reinforce the subtitlers' and viewers' mutual recognition of each other as members of the same community of interest.

11.6 Concluding remarks and future prospects

This chapter has attempted to bring to the fore the generative potential of socio-political engagement through subtitling, and to explore the different ways in which that involvement can be articulated. It has also foregrounded the centrality of chosen social affiliations – vis-à-vis their structural or predetermined counterparts – to the amateur subtitling phenomenon. While the process of narrative negotiation underpinning the formation and, in some cases, the dispersal of these interventionist communities is ultimately facilitated by technology, it is the political dimension of collaborative subtitling that defines the shift from an electronic towards a digital culture – which, according to Schudson (1995: 27), involves a change 'in the identity of citizens … from a rather passive informational citizenry to a rights-based, monitorial and voluntarist citizenry'.

Collaborative subtitling, as illustrated by the case study presented in this chapter, raises important issues that are bound to attract considerable scholarly attention in years to come. Such issues include the impact of amateur translation on the social recognition of professional translators' expertise and discretion; the growing orientation of amateur mediators towards collective recognition at the expense of referential accuracy in carrying out their translations; their lack of concern about copyright or neutrality; and finally their active contribution to the hybridisation of communicative practices. But the political dimension of this form of interlingual and intercultural mediation also raises important questions pertaining to what translation scholars regard as disciplinarily sanctioned research agendas and methodologically orthodox approaches to the interrogation of data.

Traditional or 'structural' (Pérez-González 2010) conceptualisations of political engagement and activism 'through translation and through translation studies' (Simon 2005: 9) postulate that translators should indeed 'adopt advocacy roles in situations of socio-cultural inequalities' (ibid.: 11). For the proponents of this stance, however, the pursuit of progressive agendas by translation scholars should be subordinated to their compliance with the 'principles of scholarly solidarity'

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(ibid.: 9). Acceptable scholarly activism, according to Simon, may therefore involve questioning and denouncing the imbalances of power in any given social encounter as well as stimulating public debate through 'theoretical interventions'. But when forms of intervention by academics in pursuit of these goals have the potential to jeopardise the continuity of 'intellectual conversation' among scholars, on the other hand, activism becomes objectionable. In practice, this means that '[t]he professor in contemporary society can become an "activist" … by using "prestige" from one realm to speak in another, a kind of "abuse" of power which can be put to different uses' (2005: 11). Ultimately, however, translation scholars need to ensure that their discourse and praxis – as far as their interaction with fellow academics goes – remains within the bounds of traditional scientific detachment. Proponents of what Pérez-González (2010) labels as 'generative activism', on the other hand, do not attempt to differentiate between activism through translation and activism through Translation Studies. Baker (2009), for instance, criticises the tendency among translation scholars to avoid 'serious political controversy' in their own research. Having argued against the interculturality narrative, which regards translators as inhabitants of the interstitial spaces between discreet cultural communities and as mediators entrusted with the bridging of the resulting intercultural gaps, Baker vehemently defends the scholar's right to conduct committed research and ignore fellow scholars who admonish others for being 'ideologically motivated' in their research or practice (ibid.).

Altruistic movements seeking to configure new balances of power through translation, whether within or across linguistic constituencies, will thus require a retheorisation of the place of engaged translation in society and in academia. Depending on how engaged translation evolves within the digital cultural industries, it may be difficult for scholarly discourses on translation to remain within the bounds of orthodox scientific detachment.

Notes

1. Yeeyan (http://www.yeeyan.org) is an online community of over 150,000 Chinese volunteers who read and, in some cases, translate into Chinese selected news stories originally published in English by international news media. Yeeyan volunteer translators are driven by a commitment to provide their fellow citizens with access to foreign perspectives and viewpoints on current events – as reported outside China. Ultimately, Yeeyan volunteers are 'pioneering cost-effective solutions to a major global problem: the ghettoisation

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of information by language' and bringing to the fore potentially new business models for news companies in the era of the digital culture (Stray 2010).

2. Indymedia (http://www.indymedia.org/en/static/about.shtml) is structured as 'a network of collectively run media outlets for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of the truth', where activists freely create and disseminate new language versions of selected news stories through the organisation's 'democratic open-publishing system'. For a detailed explanation of different participatory translation models run by TED and Al Jazeera, see Pérez-González (2012).
3. http://mosireen.org/ (last accessed 15 November 2012).
4. See Pérez-González (2010) for an account of Aznar's last years in power and the events leading to the defeat of his party in the polls in 2004.
5. Until November 2010, most of Ansarclub's projects could be accessed via the network's website: http://ansarclub.blogspot.com (last accessed 15 November 2010). An embedded clip of the interview subtitled into Spanish was also available until very recently via Macromundo, the personal blog of one of Ansarclub's members (Alxemi). While the blog entry on Galloway's interview, including a screenshot featuring the initial frame of the subtitled version, remains available online (http://www.macromundo.com/2006/08/george-galloway-en-sky-news-sobre-el.html, last accessed 15 November 2012), the YouTube account hosting the interview itself is no longer active.
6. Unsurprisingly, the interview was subtitled into a number of languages by individuals or activist communities, and widely circulated via YouTube and other similar platforms. This is the case with Craino0, a Saudi Muslim who frames the Arabic subtitled version of the interview available via his YouTube account as follows: 'George Galloway, member of the British Labour Party, known for his honourable stances with Arabs and Muslims, attacks Israel, describes it as terrorist [unclear, presumably state], and wages a strong attack on Sky News channel and its owner' (video description). Galloway's pugnaciousness in the *Sky News* interview also led activist community SubtUtiles to include a Spanish subtitled version among their selection of '100 videos for change' (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d32MbbAjNCg, last accessed 15 November 2012). Indeed, Galloway, who is presented as a 'great activist for peace and mutual understanding between the West and the Arab and Muslim world' (video description), provides sufficient material for a 15-video playlist entitled 'Thank you George Galloway' (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d32MbbAjNCg&list=PLC08855B807A3D3E3, last accessed 15 November 2012).
7. Examples include Hernán Zin's Viaje a la Guerra (Journey to War, http://blogs.20minutos.es/enguerra/, last access 15 November 2012) and Manuel Rico's Periodismo Incendiario (Incendiary Journalism). Periodismo Incendiario was closed and later reopened as Trinchera Digital (Digital Trench, http://trincheradigital.com/, last accessed 15 November 2012).
8. The spelling errors in this text ('ultimas' and 'secuestrador' should read 'últimas' and 'secuestrados', respectively) were also present in Ansarclub's subtitle, as displayed on screen.
9. This subtitled version is still available online via Cuaderno de Campo at http://www.trebol-a.com/2006/08/11/5857 (last accessed 15 November 2012).

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12
The Role of Translation in Language Learning and Teaching

H. G. Widdowson

It is a widespread assumption that the objective of second language teaching is to focus the learners' attention exclusively on the particular features of the second language so as to get them to approximate to native speaker competence as closely as possible. In this way of thinking, translation, or any reference to the learners' first language, is to be avoided as at best a distraction from, at worst a disruption of the learning process. Translation can however be understood as general interpretative activity that is always involved in the realisation of pragmatic meaning within as well as across languages. An alternative way of conceiving of language pedagogy would be to naturalise learning by encouraging rather than inhibiting learners' engagement in this pragmatic process by drawing on all the linguistic resources at their disposal and to give credit to what learners achieve in making meaning, no matter what non-conformist or linguistically hybrid form it takes. The objective then would be defined in terms not of some illusory and unattainable native speaker competence but of a capability for 'languaging', for using linguistic resources to pragmatic effect.

12.1 Introduction

As its title indicates, this chapter sets out to consider the relationship between three activities: translation, language learning and language teaching. Nobody doubts that there is a relationship between the second and third of these, although as the history of language pedagogy makes clear, nobody seems to know just what this relationship should be. In the case of translation, the question is whether there is any relationship at all. In one entrenched tradition of pedagogic thinking, as Cook has pointed out (Cook 2010), translation has been

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outlawed not only as an irrelevance but an impediment to language teaching. His book presents a convincing argument for its methodological reinstatement as a classroom activity. Cook's focus of attention (and the title of his book) is translation in language teaching (TILT) and this of course involves a consideration of language learning. He comments (2010: xxi):

> I could as easily have called this book 'Translation in Language Learning' and used the acronym 'TILL'. 'Teaching' and 'learning' may not be reciprocal verbs, like 'give' and 'take' – it is possible to teach someone who learns nothing from being taught – but the two do generally go together. There is no significance in my choice of TILT rather than TILL. The book is about both.

My own view, as will become apparent, is that it is precisely the assumption of reciprocity – that the two 'generally go together' – that needs to be questioned. For it generally also implies the presupposition that there is a dependent unilateral relationship between them: teaching is the cause and learning the effect, that in talking about TILT one is talking implicitly or explicitly about TILL at the same time. A similar cause–effect relationship is assumed in the extensive literature on task-based activities which are sometimes said to constitute task-based language teaching (TBLT) and sometimes task-based language learning (TBLL): the second is taken to be the necessary consequence of the first (see, for example, Ellis 2003).

But this relationship is not a necessary or natural one. One might argue, indeed, that it is teaching which depends on learning rather than the other way round. We cannot be said to teach anything unless it is learned, but of course we learn all kinds of things without being taught, including language. This is readily accepted in the case of our L1. There seems no reason to suppose that the same does not apply to the L2. To be sure the data we draw on to learn our L1 is in some degree selected and organised by our social environment and the conventions of upbringing. These provide conditions for learning, but they do not determine what we learn. In the case of L2 pedagogy, on the other hand, what is taken to be learnt **is** so determined in that it is required to conform to what is taught. It is recognised that the process of independent learning takes place, as is clear from the 'errors' that learners 'commit' but even when these are seen positively as evidence of learning, the assumption remains that the learning has eventually

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to be directed towards conformity to teaching input. The learning process is seen only as a means to that end. But what if we focus attention on this process as an end in itself? What if we think of tasks or translation activities not as teaching devices to get learners to toe the line and conform but as providing conditions to activate the learning process, no matter how non-conformist the outcomes might be? What if we think first of the relationship between translation and language learning and only then consider the relationship between translation and language teaching – make TILT dependent on TILL and not the other way round?

What I want to do in this chapter is to follow this way of thinking, and explore its implications. To do so we need first to consider the nature of translation itself.

12.2 The nature of translation

As has often been pointed out, one difficulty about getting a conceptual grasp of the essential nature of translation is that the term itself is ambiguous. As a mass noun it denotes the process of translating, and as a count noun it denotes the resulting product. In the conventional use of the term, and especially as applied to the occupational activity of translators and interpreters, the two are assumed to be inseparably implicated, the process only engaged in as a means to an end product. But this can be misleading, for we need to note that it is perfectly possible to engage in the covert psycholinguistic process of translation without producing a translation as an overt result. One can be a translat**er**, so to be speak without being a translat**or** – and indeed, as I shall argue later, one has to be a translat**er** if one is to make any sense of language at all.

Most definitions of translation, however, are concerned with what translat**ors** do. Here, for example, are two definitions almost 50 years apart.

> Translation is an operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another. (Catford 1965: 1)

> Translation is the replacement of an original text with another text. (House 2009: 1)

In both cases, translation is said to involve the replacement, or substitution, of one text by another. Whereas Catford specifies that the

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two texts are in different languages, however, House does not, thus allowing for the operation to be performed within one language. This more general conception of translation could be taken to cover any instance of intralingual textual reformulation, including summary and paraphrase. House (2009: 4), however, makes a point of explicitly excluding these:

> Although such activities resemble translation in that they replace a message that already exists, they differ in that they are designed not to reproduce the original as a whole but to reduce it to its essential parts, or adapt it for different groups of people with different needs and expectations.

This raises a number of critical issues about the nature of translation which bear directly on the question of its pedagogic relevance that this chapter is concerned with. To begin with, the replacement of one text by another involves the rendering of an interpretation, and so the translated text can never be a reproduction of the original as a whole but only a derived and partial version of it. Partiality is intrinsic to translation in two respects. Firstly, interpretation of the original, as of any text, involves a differential focusing whereby the main significance of the message is identified and in this sense the activity will always in some degree reduce the original to what are taken to be its 'essential parts'. Secondly, at the rendering stage, the second text will have to be recipient-designed and this will necessarily involve some adaptation. In the case of conference interpreting, where the original is designed for known recipients, there is a requirement to reproduce it as closely as possible with minimal adaptation. But in other cases, recipients of a translated text may well be groups of people who are different from those for whom the original was designed, and who are very likely to have 'different needs and expectations'.

Both of these definitions of translation talk about the replacement of one text by another. Each of these texts is a determinate linguistic object which is the product of an indeterminate discourse process (for further discussion of the text–discourse relationship see Widdowson 2004). The translator's task is to interpret the data of the original text as evidence of what its producer might have meant by it and then produce another text. This then provides data from which, in turn, its recipient has to derive evidence for interpretation of what **this** producer might

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have meant by it. And, to complicate matters further, what meaning is intended is itself compounded of three elements: propositional, illocutionary and perlocutionary, to use the terms of speech act theory. That is to say, the text producer intends the text to make reference to something and in so doing to express some kind of illocutionary force to achieve some kind of perlocutionary effect.

All this poses a considerable problem for translation, and for text interpretation generally, and relates to the point I made earlier about differential focusing. If the force intended by a particular text is taken to be its most essential feature, this might entail some reformulation of its supposed reference, and the interpretation and rendering of reference and force might fail to capture its intended effect. In simple terms, one might get the intended reference of a text right, but fail to get the intended force, or get its intended reference and force right but fail to get the intended effect. What relative weight to give to these different aspects of meaning has long been recognised as a problem in the interpretation and translation of literary texts, especially poetry, where effect is particularly elusive. But it is a general pragmatic problem that in varying degrees has to be resolved in the interpretation and translation of any text.

So what reference, force and effect a text producer might have meant to convey, the discourse that is intended to be textualised, can only be indirectly inferred from the textual data: it is necessarily a function of partial interpretation – hence the indeterminacy. In the case of translation, the indeterminacy is twofold since it involves the interpretation of the reference, force and effect of two different texts – the original as interpreted by the translator, and the translated text as interpreted by its recipient. To spell out the process in more detail: a first person (P1) has meaning to express, an intended discourse (Discourse A), and designs a text accordingly (Text 1) which the recipient (P2) then interprets, thereby deriving a discourse from it (Discourse B), which may or may not correspond closely with Discourse A. So far, this is a normal, necessarily indeterminate, pragmatic process that everybody engages in to make sense of language use. But translators then have further work to do. They have in turn to assume a P1 role and produce a second text (Text 2) which will not only incorporate their interpretation with reference to the first text but also be designed for a different P2 recipient – so the discourse (Discourse C) which is rendered as the translated text may vary in its degree of correspondence to the discourse (Discourse B) that the translator derived from the original text. And this rendered text, of course, is then interpreted by the recipient P2 to derive a further

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discourse (Discourse D). The whole complex process might be represented as follows:

P1 Discourse A→Text1 → P2 Interpretation 1→Discourse B

↓

P1 Discourse C → Text 2→ P2 Interpretation→ Discourse D

It is often said, something always gets lost in translation. This suggests that there is some complete meaning inscribed in text which in principle can be fully recovered and conveyed. But there is no such inscribed meaning and no possibility of such recovery. It is not that something gets lost in translation; it is rather that different interpreters find different things, focus on different aspects of meaning, derive different discourses from a text. The claim that the translated text is a replacement of the original requires the translator to defer as much as possible to the intended discourse which of course presupposes that this can be identified on textual evidence. But texts do not themselves provide evidence but only data from which evidence can be inferred by interpretation.

The interpreting phase of the translation process is, as has already been noted, not restricted to the activity of translators. It is a process of pragmatic inference, of making meaning out of a text, that everybody engages in, and the text is an inert linguistic object unless and until this process is activated. So in the interpreting phase the translat**or** is doing what we all do as translat**ers**. But the rendering phase is not restricted to the activity of translators either. It is true that translators are always required to produce another text and we translaters are not – for them rendering is a necessary part of the operation. But when we **are** required to do a rendering, in the form of a summary or paraphrase, for example, we encounter the same problem of recipient design that I mentioned earlier, whether the rendered text is in the 'same' or a 'different' language. The problems posed by intralingual translation are the same in kind if not in degree as those posed by interlingual translation.

The essential similarity between intralingual and interlingual translation was noted long ago by Steiner (1975: 47):

> On the inter-lingual level, translation will pose concentrated, visibly intractable problems; but these same problems abound, at a more

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> covert or conventionally neglected level, intralingually. The model 'sender to receiver' which represents any semiological and semantic process is ontologically equivalent to the model 'source-language to receptor language' used in the theory of translation. In both schemes there is 'in the middle' an operation of interpretative decipherment, an encoding-decoding function or synapse.

The sameness that Steiner is referring to, however, relates to the interpretative phase – what he calls the operation 'in the middle' of 'interpretative decipherment'. But there are also correspondences at the rendering phrase as was pointed out earlier in reference to intralingual summary and paraphrase. These resemble the retextualisations of interlanguage translation when, as they usually are, they are designed for second person reception. But the activity of summarising is a very common feature of ordinary conversation, where it functions as a focusing strategy whereby interactants formulate on line what has been previously said. As Garfinkel and Sacks put it in their own inimitable way (1970: 350ff.):

> A member may treat some part of a conversation as an occasion to describe that conversation, to explain it, or characterise it, or explicate, or translate, or summarize, or furnish the gist of it ... . We shall speak of conversationalists' practices of saying-in-so-many-words-what-we-are-doing as formulating.

Some formulations might focus on referential meaning, providing a gist of what has been talked about while others might focus on force and/or effect bringing illocutionary or perlocutionary intentions out in the open, making them explicit as upshot. Although Garfinkel and Sacks are referring here to conversation, formulations are not, of course, confined to spoken conversation, but are a common feature in written language use as well (see Widdowson 1984: ch. 8).

The general point to be made is that although we tend to think of translation as a distinct occupational activity practised by translat**or**s, it is essentially a commonplace pragmatic process – something we all do as translat**er**s of what other people say and write so as to accommodate it to our own schematic worlds. What we might call occupational translation is, of course, a special case of such a process with its own conditions of accountability: the mediating role of the translator necessarily imposes constraints on interpretation and rendering which generally do not apply to everyday communicative activity – and would impede

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effective communication if they did. It is knowing how to exercise such constraints that makes the occupation of translator a special and a specialist activity.

So we can think of translation, not exclusively as the activity of translators, whose occupation requires special expertise, but as a general process of making meaning into and out of text, as a matter of the everyday experience of all language users. Making sense of language, deriving discourses from texts, is itself a learning process. We learn by making pragmatic adjustments to our schematic knowledge, extending our repertoire of conceptualised experience. The purpose of language teaching is presumably to continue that process: to get learners to develop and extend that experience by exploiting the resources of a different linguistic code. What language learners have to do is to learn how to be language users – in short, how to be translat**er**s in another language. In this sense, translation is not an extra or extraneous activity: it is intrinsic to the very learning process itself. This is not, however, the way translation has generally been conceived.

12.3 Translation in language teaching and learning

The received wisdom of one influential school of thought has a simple answer to the question of what role translation has in language teaching: none at all. Reasons for its rejection are discussed in detail in Cook (2010), but they would all appear to derive from the general assumption that any reference to the learners' L1 is an interference in their learning of an L2. Thus, conventional L2 pedagogy does not encourage the extension of experience that I have referred to, but on the contrary cuts learners off from it. But although teaching seeks to impose this discontinuity, learners, of course, resist it. For they **do** refer to their L1 linguistic experience as a natural expedient of making sense of what is new by relating it to what is familiar. So although translation *may be* assigned no role in language **teaching**, it clearly plays a crucial role in language **learning**. Since this role is not overtly recognised, but is on the contrary suppressed, there is, as I have pointed out elsewhere (Widdowson 2003: ch. 11), a fundamental conflict between the continuous process of bilingual or multilingual learning and the discontinuous practice of monolingual teaching.

What this means, in effect, is that teachers create adverse conditions for learning, so that many, if not most, of the difficulties that learners have to cope with are pedagogically induced. In the end, the conflict is resolved in favour of teaching since the only institutionally

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recognised measure of success is the extent to which what is learned conforms to what has been taught: whatever else has been learned that is not sanctioned by teaching does not count. Learners are in effect assigned the role of **teachees**. Although one has often heard the cry 'Let the learners learn', their initiative remains under teacher control and is directed towards eventual conformity, and although a good deal of lip service has been paid to the idea of learner autonomy, this, of course, is still circumscribed by teacher authority, no matter how tactfully disguised.

And what is pedagogically authorised as a legitimate objective is **a** language, a quite distinct and different set of formal rules and conventions of usage from those which learners have previously experienced: French as distinct from German, English as distinct from Chinese, and so on. Language learning is understood not as the learning of a different realisation of **language**, the continuation of previous experience and the extension of an existing linguistic resource, but the learning of **a language**, **an** L2, another and foreign language, a separate entity dissociated from the L1. But, as has already been noted, it is not so dissociated in the learners' mind. Indeed unless there is some association, no learning can take place at all: clearly learners can only make sense of the data of a second or foreign language to the extent that they can interpret it as evidence of language in general, as alternative realisations of what they are already familiar with in their own L1. So teaching that focuses exclusively on the L2 as something separate and distinct, closed off from the learners' experience of language through their own L1, has the effect of inhibiting the learning process.

And yet, the idea that language learning must necessarily be the learning of a different and distinct language is deeply entrenched. The language subject, defined as it is in reference to the description of a particular language unknown to the learners, is essentially teacher-oriented. As such, learning can only be conceived of in terms of conformity. This remains the case even when there is a pedagogic shift of emphasis from linguistic to communicative competence for what is usually set as the objective is not the ability to communicate as such, but the ability to communicate in accordance with the norms of usage associated with the native speakers of a particular language. Communicative language teaching (CLT), at least as generally practised, is only concerned with encouraging learners to communicate by using language so long as the language was not their own L1 but the L2 they were being taught (for further discussion see Widdowson 2003, 2009).

This essentially monolingual concept of communication is carried over from Hymes's often cited paper on communicative competence, frequently invoked as providing the authority for a communicative approach to pedagogy. Hymes himself carries over the Chomsky concept of competence as having to do with knowledge of a particular language. Somebody competent in a language is said to be able to make a judgement about how far a particular sample of that language is possible according to its encoded rules, feasible, that is to say processible, appropriate to the context in which it is used, and actually performed. Such judgements can only be made against preconceived norms that are operative in a particular linguacultural community. As Hymes puts it (1972: 282):

> There is an important sense in which a normal member of a community has knowledge in respect to all these aspects of the communicative systems available to him.

What is presupposed here is the existence of a distinct community and a set of rules and conventions that define its language, with the normal members of the community being the native speakers of the language. We are not all that far away from Chomsky's ideal speaker listener in a homogeneous speech community. In adopting Hymes's concept of communicative competence, as far as the pedagogic objective is concerned, learning a second language really is like learning the first (cf. Ervin-Tripp 1974). Accordingly, the assumption that informs CLT, at least at it is most generally conceived and practised, is that acquiring communicative competence necessarily means learning how to communicate in accordance with native speaker norms. It sets out to teach a particular way of communicating, what is supposed to be the native speaker way, abstracted as an idealised construct. Thus, as far as formal properties are concerned, only those which are described in standard grammars and dictionaries are admitted as possible. And what is deemed appropriate is identified, intuitively and impressionistically, only in reference to stereotypical native-speaker contexts of use.

In one respect, however, pedagogy departs from the Hymes proposal. Hymes makes the point that there is no necessary correspondence among his four dimensions of communicative competence: thus, for example, an expression might be possible but not feasible or not appropriate. One of the central arguments of CLT is that the structural approach it replaced was fixated on the possible at the expense of the

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appropriate, thereby presenting the learner with communicatively vacuous language (*This is a book. The book is here* – that kind of thing). So what CLT did was to link the possible with the appropriate so as to give linguistic form a communicative function. But the link took the form of a fixed inter-dependency: what is possible has also to be appropriate, and conversely, what is appropriate has also to be possible, with the appropriate and the possible always defined in native speaker terms. If students manage to communicate without conforming to what is conventionally encoded as possible this may be tolerated as an interim stage of learning but has to be eventually corrected so that the required conformity is achieved.

These two Hymesian dimensions of communicative competence are associated with what have been identified as the two basic constituents of learner behaviour: accuracy, which involves a focus on form, that is to say what is encoded as possible; and fluency, which involves a focus on meaning, that is to say what is contextually appropriate. In task-based language teaching (TBLT), a currently much promoted version of the communicative approach, activities are designed to combine the two. Contexts are devised in the form of tasks which engage learners in solving problems that bear a resemblance to the 'real world'. So these tasks are represented as 'creating contexts for natural language use' but at the same time are so designed as to involve a 'focus on form' (Ellis 2009: 225). One of the key criteria for task design is that 'learners should largely have to rely on their own resources (linguistic and non-linguistic) in order to complete the activity'. But the only linguistic resource they are allowed to rely on is the L2 and not one they would naturally rely on, namely their own L1. Another key criterion is 'There is a clearly defined outcome other than the use of language (i.e. the language serves as the means for achieving the outcome, not as an end in its own right)' (Ellis 2009: 223). But, again, learners are prevented from resorting to the obvious, and natural, means at their disposal for achieving a communicative outcome. They are not free to use any linguistic resource other than that of the prescribed L2. And they are not free in the use of this either: it is not enough that they use it fluently and appropriately to achieve their outcomes, they are required by the 'focus on form' condition to use it accurately as well – that is to say in conformity to approved native speaker norms of what is possible according to the established encoding rules of the standard L2 language.

All of this obviously casts doubt, to say the least, on the claim that these tasks 'create contexts for natural language use'. What they actually do is to impose unnatural conditions on two counts: firstly, it is

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obviously not natural for learners to avoid their own language in these contexts; and secondly, even if they are induced to restrict themselves to the L2, the accuracy requirement obviously imposes an unnatural constraint on them in achieving their communicative outcomes. As Labov (1972) demonstrated long ago, focus on form, or, equivalently, attention paid to speech, is not naturally a feature of the contextually appropriate use of language.

What I am arguing is that a pedagogic approach that defines what, in Hymes's terms, is possible and appropriate solely in reference to monolingual native speaker norms imposes unnatural constraints on learning and so creates difficulties which are in effect a function of the approach itself. As I have argued earlier, the consequence of an exclusive focus on the L2 is to cut learners off from their own experience of language and so to prevent them from engaging in the natural process of translating whereby the L2 is made real, realised, as an extension of that experience. In effect, the isolation of the L2 as a separate language dissociates it from language in general.

And this dissociation, and the difficulties it creates, are made even greater when another of Hymes's parameters is taken into account: whether and to what degree the language is actually performed. Again, this is generally taken to mean performed by bona fide native speakers – but now the native speakers are not ideal constructs with an abstract competence but actual language users whose performance can be recorded in corpora as factual data. Corpus linguists can now make available detailed descriptions of actually occurring patterns of collocation in native speaker usage. These patterns constitute other norms that learners are required to conform to if they are to achieve a native speaker level of proficiency in the language. The pedagogic stakes are accordingly raised. It is now not enough that their language should be accurate in reference to what has been encoded as possible; if it is measure up to the prescribed 'real' or 'authentic' language produced by native speakers it has also to be attested as idiomatically normal. Thus, a recently published paper on the subject (Webb and Kagimoto 2011: 259) begins:

> There has been general agreement in recent years that collocation is an important aspect of knowledge for language learners … . An increased knowledge of collocation not only allows learners to improve levels of accuracy, but it also aids fluency.

Another recent article in the same journal, *Applied Linguistics* (Martinez and Schmitt 2012) joins in this chorus of 'general agreement'.

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Like Webb and Kagimoto, they are actually talking about the description and learning of English, which they take for granted is that performed by native speakers. The authors cite one study that shows that 'L2 speakers were judged as more proficient when they used formulaic sequences' and another that 'examined 170 written compositions from an EFL proficiency test and concluded that those with higher scores also tended to use more formulaic expressions than the lower scoring group'. The authors conclude that 'Given the importance of formulaic language, it can be argued that it needs to be part of language syllabuses' (Martinez and Schmitt 2012: 301). But of course, the importance of formulaic language is only given if one accepts the premise that proficiency can only be measured against native speaker norms. Martinez and Schmitt take this as self-evident; and since there is as yet no reliable descriptive list of formulaic sequences that textbook writers, teachers and testers can draw upon, they have taken it upon themselves to repair this serious pedagogic deficiency by devising one. The result is their Phrasal Expressions List. It is, predictably, based exclusively on native speaker usage – but even more exclusively only on that manifestation of it that is recorded in the British National Corpus. Given the widespread use of English beyond the borders of Britain, this seems to be a particularly narrow prescription.

This widespread use provides abundant evidence that such a prescription is unnecessary and irrelevant. As Seidlhofer points out in her discussion of English as a lingua franca (Seidlhofer 2011), all natural language use will provide evidence of what Sinclair has referred to as the 'idiom principle' (Sinclair 1991) and will have its formulaic or idiomatic features in that users will develop recurrent phrasal patterns on line on a least effort principle as they co-construct their interaction. Idiomaticity is part of the general pragmatic process. But the crucial point is that this process does not depend on the reproduction of established formulaic or idiomatic expressions. On the contrary, unless these are known beforehand as such by the parties concerned, they are likely to be dysfunctional (see also Seidlhofer 2012 for further discussion). Understanding this is not only a matter of understanding English as a lingua franca, but the understanding of the way any natural language functions as use. So as users of their own language, the natural inclination of learners will be to idiomatise the language at their disposal in a familiar pragmatic way, drawing on their own experience of how language works. In other words, they will naturally tend to make the L2 more functionally effective by translating it into their own idiom. The insistence that learners should be instructed in the particular linguistic

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forms that realise idiomaticity in native speaker usage can only inhibit them from doing this. Formulaic phrasing, like accuracy and fluency, is a function of communicative expediency. There is no virtue in producing conventionalised L2 formulaic sequences, or in conforming to prescribed native speaker norms of accuracy and fluency unless there are good pragmatic reasons for doing so. The only reason for learners to do so in the classroom is because the teachers require them to. For all the claims that the TBLT version of communicative language teaching creates 'contexts for natural language use' it clearly does not. For contexts include participants and learner participants bring with them to the classroom the contexts of their own experience of language, which they would quite naturally bring to bear on achieving their communicative outcomes if they were not prevented by the pedagogic conditions imposed upon them. The tasks of TBLT are essentially teacher-oriented rather than learner-oriented in that they are designed not to activate natural language learning but to impose an unnatural process on learners on the assumption that the only learning that really counts as such is that which conforms to what is pedagogically prescribed. Language learning is taken to be simply the reflex of language teaching and learners are, in effect, teachees – TBLL is just the consequence of TBLT.

But what if we were to focus on TBLL and take a genuinely learner-centred approach by allowing learners to react to tasks in a natural way without casting them as teachees by imposing the constraining conditions of conformity to L2 norms? What if we allowed them to draw pragmatically on all of the linguistic resources at their disposal to achieve their communicative outcomes? What if, in other words, we allowed them to be translaters?

As I argued earlier, translating can be seen as a general interpreting process of deriving discourse from text whether or not there is subsequent rendering of that interpretation in another text. As such, it is a natural pragmatic process that is applied to all language use, whatever language this is deemed to be **in**. All language users are translaters. In the classroom, learners are presented with textual data, spoken and written, of all kinds and they will naturally seek to interpret it, make some kind of discourse out of it, convert the data into evidence of some meaningful message or other, instinctively making reference to their own linguacultural reality to do so. Language learners are also language users and they will therefore quite naturally do what all language users do: in a word, they will translate.

The process of translation is the means and the product in the form of a second text is the end.

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In language learning, there is textual input of one kind or another and a required textual output by learners, but the purpose of this is to activate the process of learning. The **sample** of language has to be transformed into an **example** for learning to take place (for further discussion see Widdowson 2003L ch. 8). How far does this transformation process involve a translation process? Traditionally, the transformation is taken to be an intralingual operation involving only the L2, but of course learners will continually refer interlingually to their L1 – in transforming sample into example they naturally translate. In so doing they are, like any language users, translaters, drawing on whatever linguistic resources they might have at their disposal to make meaning. Denying them the opportunity to do this, and indeed penalising them for making the attempt, has the effect of denaturalising the learning process and alienating learners from their own linguistic experience.

So if translating is what learners naturally do, why not have teachers encourage them to do it? The usual answer, as has already been noted, is that this would distract their attention from what learners should be doing – learning another language and conforming to its quite different norms and standards as authorised by linguistic descriptions of native speaker competence. Inducing such learning has, after all, been the time-honoured objective in language pedagogy. Where, as is frequently the case, a particular approach fails to reach this desired objective, another approach is proposed, and then another, always on the assumption that the objective is valid if only some way could be found of achieving it, some way of solving this problem of learner intransigence – if only learners could be trained to toe the line, if only their intake could be made to correspond with the teaching input. If only.

I would argue that the real problem is that the objective itself is misconceived. I would propose an alternative: instead of trying to teach **a language** as a set of distinct encoding rules and usage conventions, one would teach the properties of **language** in general as a means of conceptualisation and communication which are variously realised through different languages. The objective so defined would represent an L2 not as something dissociated from the learners' own linguistic experience, but closely related to it and an additional resource in their linguistic repertoire. The pedagogy would be learner-centred in that it would exploit the learners' own experience of language, encourage them to recognise how another language can be used to realise meanings in alternative ways and give credit to what they achieve in making meaning, no matter what non-conformist or linguistically hybrid form

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this takes. The objective then would be defined in terms not of some illusory and unattainable native speaker competence but as the development of what I have referred to elsewhere as capability (Widdowson 2003: ch. 9), that is to say the ability to translate as I have defined it – to derive discourse from text and to engage in what has come to be called languaging (see Swain 2006) by making use of linguistic resources expediently and creatively to make meaning that is appropriate to context and purpose. This capability would be an investment for further use and learning of language beyond the classroom as learners subsequently encounter it in its various realisations as different languages.

12.4 Conclusion and future prospects

The earlier discussion of the nature of translation led to the suggestion that it can be defined as a general pragmatic process of meaning making that is an essential feature of all language use. We are not all translat**ors**, but we are all translat**er**s in that we are all capable, in varying degrees, of interpreting texts so as to derive our own discourses out of them. This capability comes to the fore when we come across texts that are linguistically unfamiliar in one way or another. L2 language learning, I have argued, is essentially also a matter of exercising this capability and extending its application to other texts in another language. In this way, the other language is related to the L1 and becomes part of an expanded plurilinguistic repertoire.

As I said at the beginning, this chapter is concerned with the relationship between the three activities mentioned in its title. If language learning is defined only in terms of conformity to a teaching objective, and if this objective is defined only in terms of L2 native speaker competence, then there seem to be no very persuasive grounds for questioning the conventional doctrine of monolingual teaching. Translation might be resorted to from time to time as an optional extra, but its role would be peripheral at best. But if we think of learning and translation in the very different terms I have suggested here, then these relationships change quite radically. For in language learning that is not teacher-determined, I have argued, learners will draw naturally on existing language experience to extend their linguistic resource for making meaning. They will, in other words, engage in translating as a general pragmatic process, using whatever language they have at their disposal to learn more. Learning and translating become essentially the same thing.

Such learning would not be teacher-determined, but in a classroom context it would obviously need to be teacher-directed in one way or

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another. So what form would this direction take? In rejecting the objectives and procedures of traditional monolingual teaching, we would clearly have to radically rethink its taken-for-granted assumptions about how and what language is graded, what activities are appropriate for encouraging and guiding learners as translaters and crucially, of course, how language proficiency is to be assessed. To return once more to the title of this chapter, the relevant question then becomes not what role translation has in language teaching, but rather what role language teaching has in translation.

So what would the role of teaching be in directing learners to develop the languaging capability through translating that I have argued should be the essential objective of learning? Such a radical shift in perspective would obviously have far reaching implications which would need to be carefully explored before any specific pedagogic procedures are proposed. Bearing this cautionary comment in mind, one might give an indication or two of what this changed way of thinking might involve.

Consider, for example, the question of grading. A focus on translating would recognise that difficulty is not a matter of the intrinsic complexity of the L2 but a function of the difference between L2 and L1. And so grading would apply to both languages and would depend on identifying particular semantic and grammatical equivalences across them which could be readily realised by learners. Decisions about what linguistic features are to be focused on and in what order would therefore necessarily be a local matter.

With regard to classroom activities, these too would obviously need to be bilingually designed. Consider, for example, TBLT, which was referred to earlier and which is so widely advocated these days. The basic principle of this approach would be retained – namely that tasks would be designed to get learners to achieve a communicative outcome by the use of their own linguistic resources. But, obviously, the inhibiting condition that these resources have to be drawn only from the L2 would be abandoned and with it the assumption that the purpose of tasks is to develop L2 competence along the dimensions of complexity, accuracy and fluency. Instead, tasks would get learners to make use of all their linguistic resources, but would be designed so as to constrain the use of the L2 where this is required to achieve a communicative outcome. The communicative outcome then becomes primary and the essential question for research in task design is to find out how different kinds of outcome call for a differential deployment of linguistic resources.

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This chapter has suggested a way of thinking about the three activities mentioned in its title that brings them into a relationship other than that which is sanctioned by current pedagogic orthodoxy. As I have said, the implications for this way of thinking remain to be explored. So this chapter is not an account of any new advances that have been made. It is rather an argument for an alternative conceptualisation which points in the direction of possible change in principle in conventional pedagogic thinking. Whether there will be advances in actual practice which follow this direction is, of course, a different matter.

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13
Translation Quality Assessment: Past and Present

Juliane House

In this chapter I first give a brief overview of different approaches to translation evaluation. Secondly, I sketch some ways of drawing on recent developments in the language sciences to improve translation evaluation procedures. Concretely, I suggest that translation quality assessment might benefit from contrastive pragmatic discourse studies involving many different linguacultures, corpus-linguistic approaches to validate translation evaluations by relating them to comparable and reference corpora, psycho-linguistic and socio-psychological approaches to complement corpus-based methods and integrate product-based and process-based approaches including accounts of translation in process via computer monitoring as well as recent neurolinguistic and assessment work.

13.1 Introduction

One of the most intriguing questions asked in connection with translation concerns how to tell whether a translation is good or bad. This question cannot (and should not) be answered in any simple way, because any statement about the quality of a translation implies a conception of the nature and goals of translation, in other words it presupposes a theory of translation. And different theoretical stances must lead to different concepts of translational quality, to different ways of going about assessing (retrospectively) the quality of a translation and different ways of ensuring (prospectively) the production of a translation of specified qualities. These theoretical stances can be grouped and subjected to a 'meta-analysis' examining how they take account of the following issues: (1) the relation between the source text and its translation; (2) the relationship between (features) of the text(s) and how they are perceived by the author, the translator, and the recipient(s); (3) the

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consequences views about these relationships have when one wants or has to distinguish a translation from other types of multilingual text production.

In the following, I first review various approaches that are explicitly or implicitly related to translation evaluation. This will be done with a view to whether and how they are able to throw light on the three fundamental questions formulated above. I will devote much more space to the description of my own linguistics-based model of translation quality assessment (House 1977, 1997). This seems to be justified by the fact that this model is to date the only theoretically informed one. Following the description of this assessment mode, I will briefly touch upon the relevance of globalisation for translation assessment, instructional issues and recent tests of translation quality. Finally, a crucial distinction between analysis and evaluation is suggested.

13.2 Different approaches to translation quality assessment

13.2.1 Psycho-social approaches

13.2.1.1 Mentalist views

Mentalist views are reflected in the century-old, intuitive and anecdotal judgements of 'how good or how bad somebody finds a translation'. In the vast majority of cases, these judgements are not based on any explicit set of criteria, but rest entirely on impressions and feelings, and as such they lead to global, undifferentiated valuations like the following: 'This translation does not do justice to the original' or 'The tone of the original is somehow lost in the translation'. In recent times, this type of vague and essentially meaningless valuation is replayed by neo-hermeneutic scholars, who believe in the legitimacy of subjective interpretations of the worth of a translation (cf. e.g. Stolze 2003). Instead of developing criteria for evaluating translations in an intersubjectively reliable manner, propagators of this approach believe that the quality of a translated text predominantly depends on the reception and interpretation of the original leading to an 'optimal translation' which is rooted in intuition, empathy and interpretative experience. Translating is here regarded as an individual creative act where the 'meaning' of a text is also 'created' anew in an individual act of interpretation. There is no meaning in the text itself, the meaning being as it were in the 'eye of the beholder'. Such a relativising, individualising position is promulgated in much hermeneutic work. It seems

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to me inappropriate, if one considers that evaluating translations is often not conducted in free-floating, inconsequential aesthetic-artistic environments but in environments in which assessment has serious consequences.

To sum up, mentalist approaches to translation quality assessment emphasise the belief that the quality of a translation depends largely on the translator's subjective interpretation and transfer decisions, based on her intuition and experience. With respect to the three questions (relationship between original and translation; relationship between [features of] the texts and human agents; delimitation of translation from other text-processing operations), 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. With regard to the other important aspects, mentalist approaches are unenlightening as they represent a selective view of translation one-sidedly emphasising a translator's process of interpretation. In concentrating on the individual translator's cognitive processes, the original text, the translation process proper, the relation between original and translation and the expectations of the 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 not recognised. The aversion of propagators of this approach to any kind of objectivisation, systematisation and rule-hypothesising in translation procedures leads to a reduction of translation evaluation research to examining each act of translation as an individual creative endeavour.

13.2.1.2 Response-based approaches

In stark contrast to followers of the above hermeneutic approach to evaluating a translation, proponents of response-based approaches believe it is necessary to have some more reliable way of assessing translations. One can distinguish at least the following three variants of such approaches, which I will discuss in turn.

Behaviourist views: This tradition was first influenced by American structuralism and behaviourism, and it is associated with Nida's (1964; Nida and Taber 1969) seminal work on translation and his suggestion of behavioural tests. These tests used broad behavioural criteria such as a translation's 'intelligibility' and 'informativeness'. They were based on the belief that a 'good' translation would have to lead to an 'equivalent

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response', a criterion linked to Nida's famous principle of 'dynamic equivalence', that is the manner in which the receptors of a translation respond to the translation is to be equivalent to the manner in which the source text's receptors respond to the source text. In the heyday of behaviourism, a number of imaginative tests were proposed: reading aloud techniques, various cloze and rating tasks, all of which took observable responses to a translation as criteria of its quality. However, with hindsight, it is safe to say that these tests ultimately failed because they were critically unable to capture something as intricate and complex as the 'overall quality of a translation'. Even if one accepts the assumption that a translation of optimal quality should elicit an equivalent response, one must still face the awkward question of whether it is at all possible to operationalise such grand concepts as 'intelligibility' or 'informativeness' and how one can measure an 'equivalent response' in a valid and reliable manner. If one cannot do this, which turned out to be the case, then it is futile to pose such behavioural criteria in the first place. Further, and probably most critically, in the behavioural approach to translation quality assessment, the source text is largely ignored, which implies that nothing can be said about the relationship between the original and texts resulting from different textual operations (cf. House 2001).

Functionalistic, 'skopos'-related views: Proponents of this approach (most notably the German translation scholars Reiß and Vermeer 1984) maintain that it is the 'skopos' or purpose of a translation, and the manner and degree to which target culture norms are heeded in a translation which are of overriding importance for translation evaluation. Moreover, it is the translator or more frequently the translation brief the translator is given by the commissioner of the translation which decides on the function the translation is to fulfil in its new context. The notion of function, critical in this theory, is however never made appropriately explicit let alone operationalised, so one can only hypothesise that 'function' is here meant to be something similar to the real-world effect of a text, that is an extralinguistically derived entity. Exactly how a text's global 'skopos' is realised *linguistically*, and how one can determine whether a given translation is adequate via à vis this skopos, remains unclear. Given the crucial role assigned to a translation's 'purpose' and the concomitant reduction of the original text to a simple 'offer of information', which the translator is licensed to change, reject or 'improve upon', one can see the closeness of this approach to the hermeneutic approach, where it is also the case that the translator

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is given enormous power in the translation process. What is ignored here is the fact that a translation is never an 'independent' text but always in principle a 'dependent' one. A translation is by its very nature simultaneously bound to it source text *and* to the presuppositions and conditions governing its reception in the target linguacultural environment. To stress only the latter factor, as is done in the functionalist(ic) approach to translation, is unwarranted. What is needed is a definition of what a translation is and a clear statement about what to call a text that is no longer a translation but a text derived from a different multilingual textual operation and an explicitation of the constraints governing the translation process. With regard to the three questions, we can say that it is particularly with reference to the issue of distinguishing a translation from other forms of texts that the functionalistic approach seems inadequate.

13.2.2 Text and discourse-oriented approaches

Under these approaches I subsume descriptive-historical translation studies, postmodernist and deconstructionist views, as well as linguistically oriented approaches to translation quality assessment.

13.2.2.1 Descriptive-historical translation studies

In this descriptive-historical approach associated primarily with the work of Toury (e.g. 1995), a translation is evaluated retrospectively (from the viewpoint of its receptors) in terms of its forms and functions inside the system of the receiving culture and literature. As with the psycho-social approaches described above, here, too, the original is of subordinate importance. The focus in descriptive translation studies is on 'actual translations', that is those which are, in the context of the receiving culture, regarded prima facie as belonging to the (often literary) genre of translation, and on the textual phenomena that have come to be known in the target culture as connected with translations. The procedure followed in this paradigm is thus essentially a retrospective one: from a translation to its original text the concept of equivalence is retained, but it does not refer to a one-to-one relationship between original and translation. Rather it is seen as sets of relationships found to characterise translations under specified circumstances. Translation equivalence is never a relationship between source and target texts, but a 'functional-relational notion' – a number of relationships established as distinguishing appropriate modes of translation performance particular to functions/purposes within the particular culture in which the translation has come to operate.

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The characteristic features of a translation are 'neutrally described' according to whether these features are perceived on the basis of native culture members' tacit knowledge of comparable textual specimens in the genre into which the translation is inserted. They are not to be '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 a pre-existing entity, then such a view of translation (quality assessment) seems strangely skewed. With respect to the three criteria, we can thus state that this theory is deficient with regard to illuminating the relationship between source and translation texts.

13.2.2.2 Post-modernist and deconstructionist approaches

Proponents of this approach, for instance, famously, Venuti (2004), attempt to critically investigate original and translated texts from a psycho-philosophical, socio-political and ideological 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 'politically correct' approach try to make a point of focusing on the 'hidden persuaders' in texts whose potentially ulterior, often power-related motives are to be brought into the open. Emphasis is also placed on what types of texts get translated in the first place, and exactly how and why an original text is skewed in the interests of powerful ideologies, group and individual interests. However legitimate and laudable such an approach may be, and however insightful it may be to trace the often neglected agendas behind translations and document the kind of influence translations exert on recipient national literatures and their canons as 'loci of difference', one wonders whether it is wise to be so one-sidedly concerned with ideological constraints and power-structures operative in translation. Surely, one may hold against such a predominant interest in 'external pressures' on translation, and argue that translation is after all first and foremost a *linguistic* procedure – however conditioned this procedure may be through ideological positions and shifts. Before adopting a critical stance vis á vis translations emphasising the importance of a macro-perspective, one needs to engage in a more modest micro-perspective, that is to conduct detailed, theoretically informed analyses of the choices of linguistic forms in original texts and their translations as well as the consequences of these choices. However, it is also true that the one doesn't exclude the other. In fact, many scholars such as for instance Fairclough (1985) would argue for both as being necessary.

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With respect to the three questions posed above, postmodern approaches (cf. e.g. Tymoczko 2000; Venuti 2004) 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 the translation results from a different multilingual textual operation.

13.2.2.3 Linguistically oriented approaches

A pioneering approach to evaluating a translation in this paradigm is Reiss's (1971) attempt to set up a text typology relevant for translation evaluation. She assumed that it is the text type (expressive, informative, operative) to which the original belongs which, as the most important invariant for a translation, predetermines all subsequent translational decisions. Unfortunately, Reiss failed to give precise indications as to how one might go about conducting an assessment of whether and how original and translation are equivalent in terms of textual type and otherwise. In other words, the same type of criticism which was brought forward against the skopos-oriented, functionalistic translation theory applies here too.

Other seminal early work includes Catford's (1965) early translation theory and the work of the 'Leipzig school' of translation (cf. e.g. Neubert 1968) and of course Koller's (8th ed. 2011) authoritative (German) overview of 'Übersetzungswissenschaft' (Translation Science). In more recent times, many more linguistically oriented works on translation and translation evaluation have appeared, such as Hatim and Mason (1997), Doherty (2002), Hatim and Munday (2004), Steiner (2004), Teich (2004), Baker (2011) and many others. They all widened the scope of Translation Studies to include new developments in linguistics such as speech act theory, discourse analysis, pragmatics and corpus linguistics.

Linguistic approaches take the relationship between source and translation text seriously; they 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 which explicitly take account of the interconnectedness of context and text, because the inextricable link between language and the real world is both definitive in meaning making and in translation. Such a view of translation as re-contextualisation is the line taken in a model of translation criticism first developed some 25 years ago and recently revised (House 1977, 1997, 2009).

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13.3 A linguistic model of translation quality assessment

13.3.1 Equivalence and 'meaning' in translation

So far, I have discussed different approaches to translation evaluation with a view to their stances on the relationships between texts and human agents involved in translational actions and between translations and other textual operations. These relationships implicitly touch upon the most important concept in translation theory: that of 'equivalence' (see also Chapter 1, this volume, and see Koller 1995). Equivalence is rooted in everyday folk linguistic understanding of translation as a 'reproduction' of something originally produced in another language – and it is this everyday view of what makes a translation a translation which legitimises a view of translation as being in a kind of 'double-bind' relationship, that is one characterised by a relationship to both the source text and the translation text. Over and above its role as a concept constitutive of translation, equivalence is also a fundamental notion for translation quality assessment. The linguistic, functional-pragmatic model of translation criticism developed by House is therefore firmly based on equivalence. Translations are here conceived as texts that are doubly constrained: by their originals and by the new recipient's communicative conditions. This is the basis of the 'equivalence relation', that is the relation between a source text and its translation text. Equivalence is the fundamental criterion of translation quality. One of the aims of a descriptively and explanatorily adequate theory of translation and translation quality assessment is then to specify and operationalise the equivalence relation by differentiating between different equivalence frameworks, for example extra-linguistic circumstances, connotative and aesthetic values, audience design and last but not least textual norms of usage that have emerged from empirical investigations of parallel texts and contrastive pragmatic analyses.

The translator sets up a hierarchy of demands on equivalence which s/he wants to follow. However, it stands to reason that functional, pragmatic equivalence can be considered to be most relevant for translation. This is reflected in the functional-pragmatic model, where equivalence is related to the preservation of 'meaning' across two different languages and cultures. Three aspects of that 'meaning' are particularly important for translation: a semantic, a pragmatic and a textual aspect. Translation is then defined as the replacement of a text in the source language by a semantically and pragmatically equivalent text in the target language,

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and an adequate translation is a pragmatically semantically equivalent one. As a first requirement for this equivalence, it is posited that a translation text should have a function equivalent to that of its original. However, this requirement needs to be differentiated given the existence of an empirically derived distinction into **overt** and **cover**t translation, concepts to be discussed below (Section 13.3.2) in detail.

The use of the concept of 'function' presupposes that there are elements in a text which, given appropriate tools, *can* reveal a 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 (following Halliday) – is defined pragmatically as the application of the text in a particular context of situation. Text and 'context of situation' should thus not be viewed as separate entities, 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 organisation of language on the other' (Halliday 1989: 11). This means that the text is to 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, that is particular features of the context of situation or 'situational dimensions'. Within systemic-functionalist linguistics, different systems have been suggested featuring situational dimensions as abstract components of the context of situation (cf. e.g. Crystal and Davy 1969). The original model of translation quality assessment by House (1977) used three dimensions characterising the text's author according to her temporal, geographical and social provenance and five dimensions of language use elaborating on the text's topic and on the interaction of, and relationship between, author and recipients in terms of their social role relationship, the social attitude obtaining, the degree of participant involvement and of writtenness or orality. The operation of the model involved initially an analysis of the original text according to this set of situational dimensions, for which linguistic correlates were established. The linguistic correlates of the situational dimensions are the means by which the textual function is realised, 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. Opening up the text

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with these dimensions yields a specific textual profile that characterises its function, which is then taken as the individual textual norm against which the translated text 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 then the degree to which the translation is adequate in quality. The set of situational dimensions is thus a kind of *tertium comparationis*. 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, non-dimensional mismatches are errors with regard to the rendering of denotative meanings in the translation as well as breaches of target language norms. The final qualitative judgement of the translation consists then of both types of errors and of a statement of the relative match of the two functional components.

In House's (1997) revised model, the classic Hallidayan Register concepts of 'Field', 'Mode' and 'Tenor' are used. Field captures the topic and content of the text, its subject matter, with differentiations of degrees of generality, specificity or granularity in lexical items according to rubrics of specialised, general and popular. It also captures different 'Processes', such as for example material processes (verbs of doing), mental processes (verbs of thinking, believing, opining) or relational ones (of being and having). 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 and his intellectual, emotional or affective stance (his 'personal viewpoint') vis-à-vis the content he is portraying and the communicative task he is engaged in. Further, Tenor captures 'social attitude', that is different styles (formal, consultative and informal). Linguistic indices realising along Tenor are those of Mood and Modality. Mode refers to both the channel – spoken or written (which can be 'simple', that is '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', that is be a monologue with no addressee participation built into the text, or 'complex' with various addressee-involving mechanisms characterising 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 as e.g. hypothesised by Biber [1988]). He suggests dimensions along

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which linguistic choices may reflect medium; that is involved vs informational text production; explicit vs situation-dependent reference; abstract vs non-abstract presentation of information.

The type of textual analysis in which linguistic features discovered in the original and the translation are correlated with the categories Field, Tenor, Mode does not, however, lead directly 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 of Field, Tenor, Mode. Genre enables one to refer any single textual exemplar to the class of texts with which it shares a common purpose or function. Genre is a category superordinate to Register. While Register captures the connection between texts and their 'microcontext', Genre connects texts with the 'macrocontext' of the linguacultural community in which a text is embedded, for example the type of institution in which a text conventionally appears (a sermon traditionally happening in a religious locale). Register and Genre are both semiotic systems realised by language such that the relationship between Genre, Register and Language/Text is one between semiotic planes which relate to one another in a Hjelmslevian 'content-expression' type, that is Genre is the

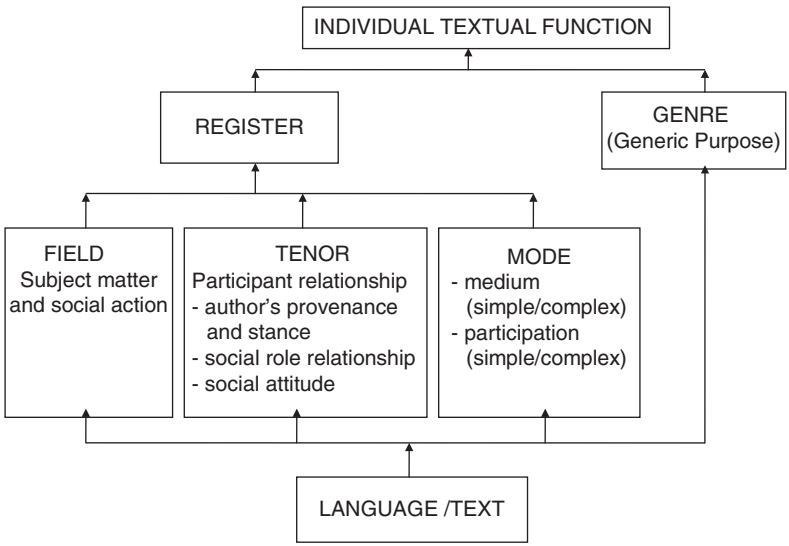

Figure 13.1 A scheme for analysing and comparing original and translation texts

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content plane of Register, and Register is the expression plane of Genre. Register in turn is the content plane of Language, with Language being the expression plane of Register.

The resultant scheme for textual analysis, comparison and assessment is given in Figure 13.1.

Taken together, the analysis provided in this assessment model along the levels of the individual text, Register and Genre building one on the other in a systematic way yields a textual profile that characterises the individual textual function. But as mentioned above, whether and how this textual function can in fact be maintained depends on the type of translation sought for the original.

In the following section, the nature of these different types of translation and versions will be discussed.

13.3.2 Overt and covert translation

The distinction between two fundamentally different types of translation (overt and covert in my terms) goes back to Friedrich 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, made in the assessment model, apart from other similar distinctions is the fact that it is part of a coherent theory of translation quality assessment inside which the origin and function of the two types of translation are theoretically motivated and consistently explicated. The 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 which must overtly be a translation, not a 'second original'. The source text is tied in a specific manner to the source linguaculture. The original is specifically directed at source culture addressees but at the same time points beyond it 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 historically overt source texts tied to a specific occasion where a precisely specified source language audience is/was being addressed, or they may be timeless source texts transcending as works of art and aesthetic creations a distinct historical meaning.

A covert translation is a translation which 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 as an independent text. A covert translation is thus a translation whose source text is not

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specifically addressed to a particular source culture audience, that is it is not firmly tied to the source linguaculture. A source text and its covert translation are pragmatically of comparable interest 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 Section 13.3.3 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' (cf. e.g. Goffman 1974) and 'discourse world'. Translation involves a transfer of texts across time and space, and whenever texts move, they also shift cognitive frames and discourse worlds. A frame often operates unconsciously as an explanatory principle, that is any message that defines a frame gives the receiver instructions in his interpretation of the message included in the frame. An example is the phrase 'Once upon a time…' which indicates to the addressee that a fairy tale is now forthcoming. Similarly, the notion of a 'discourse world' (Edmondson 1981) refers to a superordinate structure for interpreting meaning in a certain way. An example would be a case where a teacher at the end of a foreign language teaching unit conducted entirely in the foreign language switches into learners' mother tongue, thus indicating a switch of discourse worlds.

Applying these concepts to overt and covert translation, we can propose the following: in overt translation, the translation text is embedded in a new speech event, which gives it also a new frame. An overt translation is a case of 'language mention', similar to a quotation. Relating the concept of 'overt translation' to the four-tiered analytical model (Function – Genre – Register – Language/Text), we can state that an original and its overt translation can be equivalent at the level of Language/Text and Register as well as Genre. At the level of the individual textual function, however, functional equivalence, while still possible, is of a different nature: it can be described as merely enabling access to the function the original has in its discourse world or frame. An example would be a speech by Winston Churchill during the Second World War at a particular time and in a particular location. A translation of this speech from English into any other language can obviously

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not 'mean the same' to the new addressees. So a switch in discourse world and frame becomes necessary, that is the translation will have to be differently framed, it will operate 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 will be co-activated, such that members of the target culture may eavesdrop, as it were, that is be enabled to appreciate the original textual function, albeit at a distance. Coming back to the example of Churchill's speech, this distance can be explained not only by the fact that the speech happened in the past, but also by the fact that the translation's addressees belong to a different linguacultural community. 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 access the original text and its cultural impact on source culture members, the translator puts target culture members in a position to observe this text 'from outside'.

In covert translation, the translator will attempt to re-create 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. 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 origin, to hide behind the transformation of the original, necessary due to the adaptation to the needs and knowledge levels of the new target audience. The translator in covert translation 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 (see Section 13.3.3). The result may be a very real distance from the original. While an original and its covert translation thus need not be equivalent at the levels of Language/Text and Register, they will be equivalent at the level of genre and the individual textual function.

In assessing the quality of a translation, it is essential that the fundamental differences between these two types of translation be taken into account. Overt and covert translation make very different demands on translation quality assessment. 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 characterisations of the author's temporal, social and geographical origin. However, here we deal with **overt** manifestations of cultural phenomena that are transferred only because they happen to be manifest linguistically in the original. A judgement whether for example a 'translation' of a dialect is adequate in overt translation can ultimately not be objectively given: 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. In other words, such an evaluation will necessarily remain to a certain degree a subjective matter. However, as opposed to the difficulty in covert translation of evaluating differences in cultural presuppositions, and communicative preferences between text production in the source and target cultures, the explicit overt transference in an overt translation is still easier to judge.

In assessing the quality of a covert translation, one needs to consider the application of a 'cultural filter' in order to differentiate between a covert translation and a covert version. Accordingly, in the following section, I will now discuss the concept and function of the cultural filter in more detail.

13.3.3 The 'cultural filter'

The concept of a 'cultural filter' was first suggested by House (1977) as a means of capturing socio-cultural differences in expectation norms and stylistic conventions between the source and target linguacultural communities. The concept was used to emphasise the need for an empirical basis for 'manipulations' of the original undertaken by the translator. Whether or not there is an empirical basis for changes of the original text would need to be reflected in the assessment of the translation. Further, given the goal of achieving functional equivalence in a covert translation, assumptions of cultural difference should be carefully examined before any change in the source text is undertaken. In cases of unproven assumptions of cultural difference, the translator might apply a cultural filter whose application – resulting in possibly deliberate mismatches between original and translation along several situational parameters – may be unjustified. The unmarked assumption is one of cultural compatibility. In the case of the German and Anglophone linguistic and cultural communities for example, such evidence seems

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now to be available, with important consequences for cultural filtering in the case of this language pair. Since its first proposal, the concept of cultural filter has gained substance through contrastive-pragmatic studies, in which Anglophone and German communicative preferences were hypothesised. Converging evidence from these studies conducted with many different data, subjects and methodologies suggest that there are German communicative preferences which differ from Anglophone ones along a set of dimensions, among them directness, content-focus, explicitness and a preference for using verbal routines over ad hoc formulation. (cf. House 2006a, 2006b).

For the comparative analysis of source and target texts and the evaluation of a covert translation, one needs to take account of whatever knowledge exists concerning linguacultural differences between source and target linguacultures. There is a research desideratum in this field, because there are to date very few language-pair specific cross-linguistic and cross-cultural analyses (see below for details).

13.3.4 Distinguishing between different types of translations and versions

Over and above distinguishing between covert and overt translation in translation quality assessment, it is necessary to make another distinction: between a translation and a version. There are two types of versions: overt and covert 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. The first occurs 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 popularisations of specialist works (newly) designed for a lay audience. We find the second case when the 'translation' is given a special added purpose. Examples are 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 function of the source text – has applied a cultural filter randomly manipulating the original where such a manipulation has not been substantiated by research or a body of knowledge.

In discussing different types of translations and versions, there is an implicit assumption that a particular text may be adequately translated in only one particular way. The assumption that a particular text

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necessitates either a covert or an overt translation does not, however, hold in any simple way. Thus, any text may, for a specific purpose, require an overt translation. The text may be viewed as a document which 'has an independent value' existing in its own right, for example: when a text's author has become, in the course of time, a distinguished figure, then the translation of this text needs to be an overt one. Further, there may well be source texts for which the choice overt–covert translations is necessarily a subjective one. For instance fairy tales may be viewed as products of a particular culture, which would predispose the translator to opt for an overt translation; or as non-culturally specific texts, anonymously produced, with the general function of entertaining and educating the young, which would suggest a covert translation. Or consider the case of the Bible, which may be treated as either a collection of historical literary documents, in which case an overt translation would be called for, or as a collection of human truths directly relevant to all human beings, in which case a covert translation might seem appropriate.

Further, the specific purpose for which a 'translation' is produced will, of course, determine whether a translation or an overt version is to be aimed at. Just as the decision about 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 alone. It may depend on the arbitrarily determined purpose for which the translation or version is required.

Returning to the three questions: relationship between original and translation, between texts and human agents, and a distinction between translations and other secondary textual operations – the assessment model presented here is firmly based on a view of translation as a double-linkage operation. It posits a cline along which the nature of the double-linkage can be revealed for any particular translation case – the two endpoints of the cline being overt translation and covert translation. The relationship between (features) of the text(s) and the human agents involved (as author, translator, recipient) 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, explicit means are provided for distinguishing a translation from other types of textual operation by specifying the conditions holding for a translation to turn into a version.

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Integrating empirically verified cultural filters into the assessment process makes for greater certainty as to when a translation is no longer a translation but a version. However, given the dynamic nature of communicative norms and the way research tends to lag behind practice, translation critics will still have to struggle to remain abreast of new developments that will enable them to judge the appropriateness of changes through the application of a cultural filter in any given language pair.

13.4 Globalisation processes and their consequences for translation quality assessment

Globalisation has led to a concomitant rise in the demand for texts simultaneously meant for recipients in many different linguacultural communities. Until recently, translators tended to routinely apply a cultural filter with which differences in culture-conditioned expectation norms were taken into account. However, due to the impact of English as a global lingua franca, this situation may now be in a process of change leading to a conflict in translational processes between culture specificity and universality in textual norms and conventions, with 'universality' really meaning adherence to Anglo-Saxon norms. While the lexical influence of English on other languages has long been acknowledged, its impact on other languages at the levels of syntax, pragmatics and discourse has not been given much attention. Rules of discourse, and communicative preferences tend to remain hidden, operating stealthily at a deeper level of consciousness and thus presenting a particular challenge for translation quality assessment.

The Hamburg project (cf. Baumgarten et al. 2004; House and Rehbein 2004; Kranich et al. 2012) examines the influence of English as a lingua franca on covert translations into German, French and Spanish, using the assessment model outlined above as well as drawing on a multilingual diachronic corpus. Since the impact of English on other languages in domains such as science and business has been the subject of research for decades, the project asks if the cultural adaptation process in these Genres may now change such that source and target norms are beginning to converge. If this were the case, cross-cultural difference would give way to similarity in text production, and a process would be initiated that might eventually result in cross-culturally similar routes of 'thinking for writing'. However, the results of this project (cf. House 2010, Kranich et al. 2012) show that Anglophone influence

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on the pragmatic-discourse level has only marginal influence on other languages.

13.5 Applying the assessment model to instructional contexts

Assessment of translations has not only been a key issue for the scientific community, but also for teachers of translation. Especially in programmes designed to train professional translators, assessment of trainees' translations as objectively as possible has long been a major concern. Objectivity in assessing students' translations in an institution that offers translators' training courses is especially important whenever these courses are taught and evaluated by different teachers. In such educational settings, it is important that teachers be provided with a shared set of criteria for the evaluation of their students' translations. The model described above can provide such criteria. Essential in all instructional contexts where a grade must be given is of course also a reliable and valid grading scale. Such a scale must take into consideration the Genre of the source text and the seriousness of the errors in the translation along the lines of the Genre and the guidelines specified in the translation brief.

13.6 Some recent developments in testing translation quality

Since Carroll's (1966) early proposals of tests of translation quality followed by response-based tests (see Section 13.2.1) in the form of comprehension, readability and naturalness checks, more recent progress in computer and communication technology coupled with an ever increasing demand in a globalised world for fast and inexpensive translations has led to the development of formalised approaches to translation quality assurance including quality assurance software such as TRADOS, WF or QAD. These programmes are mainly used to verify terminology, compare source and target text segments and to detect (mostly formal and terminology-related) errors. Such software does not replace human editors, it assists them. However, it cannot at present detect stylistic and Register infelicities resulting from faulty understanding of the source text (cf. Angelelli and Jacobson 2009).

In addition to translation quality assurance software and metrics following the demand for measures that are repeatable, reproducible and objective, the availability of large multilingual parallel corpora adds

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important knowledge sources for tests of both automatic and human translation quality. Many automatic evaluation methods using translation quality metrics such as BLEU (Bilingual Evaluation Understudy) now compare machine translation output with reference translations trying to correlate automatic translations with judgements by expert human translators or quality panels for validation and the generation of similar scores.

13.7 Linguistic analysis versus social evaluation

In translation quality assessment 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 linguistic-textual analysis and evaluating the quality of a translation. What a linguistic model of translation quality assessment can do is provide a basis for systematic comparison, making explicit the factors that may theoretically have influenced the translator in making certain decisions and rejecting others, thus providing the basis for evaluating a particular case.

Instead of taking the complex socio-psychological categories of translation receptors' intuitions, feelings, reactions or beliefs as a cornerstone for translation quality assessment, a linguistic, functional-pragmatic approach which takes account of language in its socio-cultural context focuses on texts which are the products of (often unfathomable) human decision processes and as such are most tangible and least ambiguously analysable entities. Such an approach, however, does not enable the valuator to pass judgements on what is a 'good' or a 'bad' translation. A linguistic approach can prepare the ground for the analysis of a large number of evaluation cases that would, in each individual case, not be totally predictable. In the last analysis, then, any evaluation depends on a variety of factors that necessarily enter into a social evaluative judgement. Such a judgement emanates from the analytic, comparative process of translation criticism, that is the linguistic analysis provides grounds for arguing an evaluative judgement. As suggested above, the choice of an overt or a covert translation depends not on the translator, on the source text, or on her subjective interpretation of the text, but also on the reasons for the translation, the instructions given to the translator, the implied readers, on publishing and marketing policies; all of which implies that there are many factors which have nothing to do with translation as a linguistic procedure. Such factors are social

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and socio-psychological ones, which concern human agents and are therefore subject to socio-cultural, political or ideological constraints. Linguistic description and explanation must not be confused with evaluative assertions made on the basis of social, political, ethical or individual grounds alone. It seems imperative to emphasise the distinction between linguistic analysis and social socio-psychological evaluation 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'. 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, what it should, might, or must be for. One of the drawbacks of an overriding concern with the covert end of the translation cline is that the borders between a translation and other multilingual textual operations become blurred. In view of this confusion, some conceptual clarity can be reached by theoretically distinguishing between translations and versions and by positing functional equivalence ('real' or second-level) as a sine qua non in translation.

The core concept of translation quality assessment is translation quality. This is a problematical concept if it is taken to involve individual value judgements alone. It is difficult to pass any 'final judgement' of the quality of a translation that fulfils the demands of scientific objectivity. This should not, however, be taken to mean that translation quality assessment as a field of inquiry is worthless. But one should be aware that in translation quality assessment one will always be forced to move from a macro-analytical focus to a micro-analytical one, from considerations of ideology, function, Genre, Register to the communicative value of collocations and individual linguistic items and back again! (See here Cicourel [2007] on ecological validity in applied linguistics and the constant interplay between the macro and the micro.) In taking this dual, complementary perspective, the translation critic is enabled to approximate the reconstruction of the translator's choices and to throw light on her decision processes. That this is an extremely complex undertaking which, in the end, yields but probabilistic outcomes should not detract from its usefulness. In translation quality assessment, one should aim at revealing exactly where and with which consequences and (possibly) for which reasons a translation is what it is in relation to its original. Such a procedure evolving from attempts to make explicit the grounds of one's (preliminary) judgements on the basis of an argued set of procedures might guard against making prescriptive, apodictic and global judgements (of the 'good' vs 'bad' type), which can never be verifiable.

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Translation quality assessment, like language itself, has two functional components, an ideational and an interpersonal one, that lead to two separable steps: the first and primary one referring to linguistic analysis, description, and explanation based on knowledge and research; the second and secondary one referring to value judgements, social and ethical questions of relevance and personal taste. In the study of translation, we need both. Judging without analysing is irresponsible, and analysing without judging is pointless. To judge is easy, to understand less so. If we can make explicit the grounds of our judgement on the basis of an argued set of procedures such as the one developed in the assessment model presented above, we can discuss and refine them, if we do not, we can merely disagree.

13.8 Future directions of research into translation quality assessment

In conclusion, I want to suggest some areas of research that might be important for translation quality assessment in the future. The first area is contrastive pragmatic analysis. This is an important area for extending the scope and validity of the cultural filter mentioned above. There is a need for many more contrastive pragmatic analyses with different language pairs and genres using a combination of different methods: qualitative, quantitative, corpus-based, experimental, using etic and emic perspectives.

The second important area is corpus studies (cf. Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007) lending themselves to quantitative work offering useful validations of qualitative, exemplar-based translation assessments. The Hamburg project 'Covert translation' mentioned above (and see Becher 2011) is an example of combining qualitative and quantitative work with a tripartite longitudinal corpus of original, parallel and comparable texts: a first qualitative phase where texts were analysed using the above model of translation quality assessment was followed by a quantitative phase which examined the frequency of occurrence of salient phenomena that emerged from the qualitative analysis and a new qualitative phase where salient source text stretches were compared to equivalent parallel and comparable text stretches in detailed manual textual analysis.

The third area to be considered in future translation quality assessment research is translation process studies (cf. House 2011; Jääskelainen 2011) and translation-related behavioural experiments (cf. O'Brien 2011) such as key-stroke and pause analysis, eye-tracking, rating and other decision tasks. The results of such studies could be a fruitful supplement to the product-oriented translation evaluations.

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A fourth area is neuro-linguistic studies of the translation process (cf. Shreve and Angelone 2010). While such studies lack ecological validity for translation due to their word-orientedness, they might well be relevant for translation quality assessment in the future, particularly if combined with neuro-linguistic theory of bilingualism (Paradis 2004) that also promises to be of descriptive and explanatory value for research into translation quality assessment (House 2013).

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