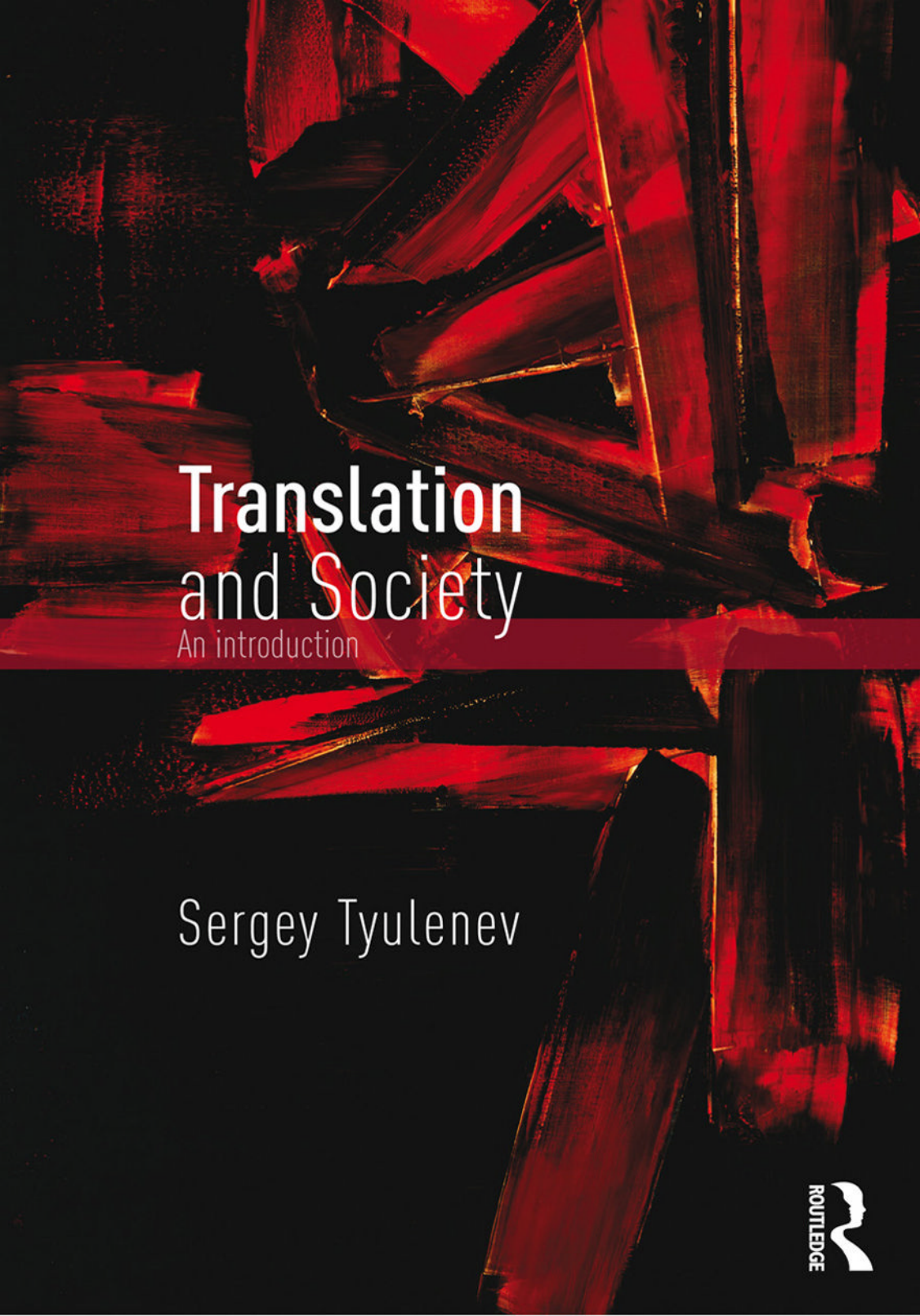
Translation
and Society
An introduction
Sergey Tyulenev
ROUTLEDGE

Translation and Society

This essential new textbook guides readers through the social aspects and sociologically informed approaches to the study of translation.

Sergey Tyulenev surveys implicitly and explicitly sociological approaches to the study of translation, drawing on the most important and influential works both within translation studies and in sociology, as well as recent developments in the field. In addition to the theoretical grounding provided, the book explains in detail the methodology of studying translation from a sociological point of view.

Translation and Society discusses why translation should be studied sociologically, reinforces the foundation of the sociologically informed translation research already in existence in the field and outlines possible new directions for the future. Throughout the book there are many examples and case studies and each chapter includes thought-provoking discussion points, possible assignments, and suggestions for further reading. This is an invaluable textbook for undergraduate and postgraduate students of Translation Studies.

Sergey Tyulenev is the Director of the MA programme in Translation Studies at Durham University, UK. His recent publications include *Applying Luhmann to Translation Studies* (2012a) and *Translation and the Westernization of Eighteenth-Century Russia* (2012b). His website can be found at www.tyulenev.org.

"Of exceptional pedagogical quality, Tyulenev's book is noteworthy for bringing together the various sociological models relevant to the study of translation and its agents. Readers are given a clear explanation of the connections and differences among these models, their interpretive value and their limitations. At the same time, the book suggests a research methodology that makes it an absolute must for students about to embark on a thesis. This highly informative textbook is bound to become a classic."

Annie Brisset, *University of Ottawa, Canada*

"*Translation and Society* is a highly accessible and persuasive introduction to the major debates around the relationship between translators and society. Sergey Tyulenev is a superb guide to the many ways in which sociology engages with translation and his careful analysis and illuminating examples will be of great assistance to any student or tutor of translation studies who wants to understand what theories of society have to tell us about the work of the translator. More broadly, *Translation and Society* will be of interest to students and tutors across the humanities and social sciences who are interested in the core debates around language and society in our globalised and multilingual world."

Michael Cronin, *Centre for Translation and Textual Studies, Dublin City University*

Translation and Society

An Introduction

Sergey Tyulenev

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Introduction

In Translation and Interpreting Studies (TIS), there are a few books that present theories of translation and methodological approaches from a wide variety of perspectives (Gentzler 2001; Munday 2012; Pym 2010). There are also collections of past and present theoretical ideas about translation (Lefevere 1992; Schulte and Biguenet 1992; Robinson 2002; Venuti 2012) and collections suggesting new lines and methods of investigation (Baker 2009; 2010). We also have several Translation Studies encyclopaedias and handbooks (Snell-Hornby *et al*. 2004 (in German); Baker and Saldanha 2009; Gambier and Doorslaer 2010–12). All such publications provide help and a convenient starting point for those beginning their voyage in translation studies.

This book is different from the listed publications in that all of them, by and large, stay within the TIS disciplinary boundaries, whereas in this book the reader will be led deeper into sociologically informed thinking about translation. Such an approach is only natural in the context of translation research as an interdisciplinary endeavour, especially now that we are at the crossroads of TIS and sociology within the sociological turn (Diaz Fouces and Monzo 2010; Wolf 2010; Wolf and Fukari 2007).

The author hopes to motivate new generations of translation students by outlining new directions of investigation and reformulating some research questions already discussed in TIS. Sociologically informed research is not a novelty in TIS, but so far it has been conducted without taking into account a full-scale sociological perspective, which would embrace the major models of the study of society and social phenomena. The present book is an attempt to contextualise within sociology the theories and approaches to the study of the social functioning of translation already used in TIS as well as to introduce translation students to new ones.

The book is not an encyclopaedia; nor is it an introduction to sociology; nor does it claim to exhaust possibilities, options or alternatives, innovative ideas or creative solutions to old impasses and conundrums, ways of opening up new breathtaking vistas and delving further into unfathomable depths of translational phenomena. Rather the book is meant to be an invitation to look at the well-charted terrains from a different viewpoint and perhaps discover

some new features that may lead the translation student to new eurekas or at least aha-moments.

This book may be used by the student when attending a course in translation theory led by an instructor or supervisor, or independently. The material is presented in a succinct and accessible way with guiding questions and assignments for checking if the material discussed has been understood (note in addition to the topics and assignments in the book there are more available at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com).

The presentation provides examples and case studies in order to illustrate theories and theoretical propositions, and research questions are suggested in order to inspire the student's own research in the area of his/her linguistic and cultural expertise.

In my experience, students often ask for more reading if the topic discussed in a chapter interests them. For some reason they do not pay all the attention that the references supplied deserve. That is why it is worth reminding those who would like to explore a particular topic in a greater detail that they may want to check out not only the references in the 'Further reading' sections but also those they come across in the text; it is for this reason that I have provided as many in-text references for all theories and concepts explained or touched upon as possible.

For translation students it is advisable to start with introductory sociological textbooks, such as Albrow (1999); Bilton *et al.* (1996); Giddens (2001); McLennan (2011) (see more, including in other languages than English, in the Further reading section of Chapter 1). These and many other introductory sociological publications or introductory courses that you can attend at your university will help you to get a better idea of what sociologists do and how their knowledge and methodology can help translation students.

As far as terminology is concerned, although I do use the terms 'interpreting' and 'interpreter', in this book the terms 'translation' and 'translator' are mostly understood as the umbrella terms encompassing both oral and written translation.

Every chapter is supplied with numerous research questions, which hopefully will help the student not only learn theory but ask him/herself how to apply it to his/her own research projects. The questions are bulleted with '?' in the text. These are research questions that may be used for research projects and are not meant to be answered in the classroom. In some parts of the text the student is invited to generate his/her own research questions.

Additional background information is presented in the form of boxes, tables and figures.

The chapters introduce social aspects of translation in a logical way, moving from the basics of sociological inquiry to fundamental models and concrete theories:

Chapter 1 discusses the difference between sociology and psychology and considers the pertinence of sociological approaches to the study of translation.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the sociological understanding of culture and the role translation plays in intercultural communication.
Chapter 3 explains socialisation and applies it to the socialisation of translators and interpreters.
Chapter 4 explores translation as a profession.
Chapter 5 presents methods of conducting sociologically informed translation research.
Chapter 6 shows the fundamental models underlying all sociological theories while the concrete theories generated within the models are presented in
Chapter 7 (macrosociological theories),
Chapter 8 (microsociological theories) and
Chapter 9 (theories bridging the gap between macro- and microsociology).
The Conclusion stresses the importance of combined approaches to the study of translation as a social phenomenon and outlines some recent developments in sociology.

A note to the instructor

With the sociological turn gaining impetus in present-day TIS, more and more translator training and university translation and interpreting programmes include special seminars, modules or entire courses that introduce social and sociological aspects of translation/interpreting and translation/interpreting theory. So far every instructor teaching these components has had to compile a course pack with articles or excerpts from monographs. Being not only difficult to compile and use, these ad hoc collections are mostly limited to a handful of sociological theories that have been applied to the study of translation. To select something else, especially if the instructor's academic interests are outside the sociology of translation, may be a challenge. It is, therefore, highly desirable to have a textbook-like publication that will explain a wider variety of existing sociological theories and explain them in a way that is accessible to students with no special sociological training. This is exactly the goal of this publication. On the one hand, sociological theories already known in TIS are explained and contextualised in modern sociological theory. On the other hand, some sociological paradigms less familiar in TIS are introduced in the hope of inspiring budding translation students to explore new sociological ideas.

The materials reflect the state of the art both in the sociologically informed research in TIS and in sociology. Obviously, it would be impossible to cover all sociological theories or all aspects of those covered. That is why further readings are suggested. They will help students to continue their journey into the sociology of translation on their own.

The course introduces Western and European translation and sociological theory. I leave the possibility of going beyond the Western and European translation-theoretical and sociological tradition to my colleagues from other parts

of the world who are more qualified to discuss relevant ideas about the sociology of translation in those parts of the world.

The textbook provides enough material for a complete course. Each chapter is meant to be a unit, rather than one lesson to be covered in one session. Naturally, the instructor is invited to select chapters for his/her course, especially if the textbook is used as part of a general theoretical module or a short-term programme. The course is aimed at students who are familiar with the basics of Western and European translation theory. Explained sociological theories are connected to existing TIS research, especially in the 'Topics for discussion and assignments' section of each chapter (both in the book and at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com).

Chapter 1

Setting the scene

The main questions:

- **In what sense is translation a social activity?**
- **What is sociology?**
- **What is the difference between sociology and psychology?**
- **What is the relationship between the social and the individual in the translator's experience?**
- **What are the two main meanings of the term *society* and what is their relevance to sociologically informed translation research?**

Social within and without

When starting the discussion of the relationship of sociology and translation, the fundamental question bound to arise is: Why study translation sociologically? In this book we will be looking into a variety of aspects of this question, but if pressed for a very brief answer, the following can be said: translation should be studied sociologically because translation is an intrinsically social activity. The term 'social' refers to human collectivities and interactions that take place in them.

First, translation is never practised (and therefore, should not be theorised) outside the social context: it mediates – successfully or not, partially or impartially – between peoples, nations, groups and individuals. Second, translators themselves are social beings: they grow up in a society, absorbing a particular worldview, and ethical and aesthetical values. Becoming professionals, they remain socialised individuals. They learn to be more open-minded to other cultures, they learn not to be rash, let alone bigoted or biased, in their evaluations of the people for whom they translate. They do not turn into translating machines. Their work, their translations, whether written or oral,

bear an imprint of their socialisation, sometimes invisible even to translators themselves. On the surface many decisions translators make appear as their own. The social underpinnings of their decisions, however, always lurk behind their individual wills and individual styles. To bring them to the fore, a meticulous analysis, taking into account the entire social milieu in which translators work(ed), is required.

Box 1.1: Sociology: Ab ovo

The earliest known ideas about human communities go as far back as ancient and medieval cultures. One of the earliest thinkers who considered factors underlying social order was the Chinese philosopher, educator and politician Confucius (sixth to fifth centuries B.C.E.). His teachings in the collection *Lunyu* (or *Analects*) explain the comportment of the ideal man in his interaction with others and different forms of society and government.

Ancient Greek political thought found its classical expressions in the works by Plato (fifth century B.C.E.), especially in one of his Socratic dialogues *The Republic*, and by Aristotle (fourth century B.C.E.), in his *Politics*. Both discussed principles governing social and political life in ways that make their ideas still relevant to modern sociological thought.

At around the same time the Hindu philosopher and statesman Kautilya (also known as Chanakya and Vishnugupta; fourth century B.C.E.) wrote his treatise *Artha-shastra* (*The Science of Material Gain*), in which he summarised early Indian thought about property and material success. Kautilya's book was meant to be a guide for the founder of the Mauryan empire of northern India Chandragupta and is often compared with Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1513), a famous European socio-political treatise.

Ibn-Khaldun (1332–1406), considered to be one of the greatest Arab historians, wrote his *Muqaddimah* ("Introduction") in which he laid out principles of social historiography, anticipating some of the ideas that would be developed by early modern social thinkers.

Sociology as we know it today started to take shape in Europe on the basis of the philosophy of history, biological theories of evolution, ideas about reforming social systems and political philosophy.

The main idea underlying the philosophy of history was the idea of the evolution of human society from lower to higher stages of social sophistication. In the eighteenth century, society was mostly compared to a mechanism and thinking on society was modelled on physics. In the nineteenth century, biological models gained popularity among social thinkers and society was viewed as an organism.

Surveying the social condition was yet another vital element that contributed to the creation of modern sociology. The first surveys were

conducted with the aim of studying society in the same quantitative and measureable fashion as in the natural sciences.

Eventually the study of social phenomena focused on political and economic processes. Ideas were borrowed from political philosophy. The political thread is strong in sociology to this day: different theories are assessed in political terms – as conservative, critical, promoting reforms or even radical.

The beginnings of sociology as a distinct scholarly discipline may be traced to the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. The name of the new science was coined by the French philosopher Auguste Comte (1794–1859). It is a hybrid of the Latin word *socius* meaning 'companion' and the Greek word *logos* meaning 'word' or 'science'. Comte explained his hybrid term as a way to commemorate "the two historical sources – the one intellectual, the other social – from which modern civilization has sprung" (cited in Bottomore 1987: 15). Comte's logic would be criticised today as Eurocentric: by "modern civilization" he meant what is loosely referred to as the 'Western world' tracing its origins to Greco-Roman antiquity. Comte, Karl Marx, Herbert Spencer, Georg Simmel, Émile Durkheim and Max Weber are usually honoured as the founders of sociology.

Sociology went through different periods of searching for its own subject matter, eventually focusing on generalised patterns of human collective behaviour. Initially, its claim to be an academic discipline was doubted, but today it is a well-respected social science that both influences and provides inspiration to other social sciences, including Translation Studies.

A good example of such an analysis is the study of the famous Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible (also referred to as the Old Testament) the Septuagint (Cook 2009: 17–18). Translated from Greek, the word 'septuagint' means 'seventy'.[1] It is a translation, which, according to a legend, was carried out by seventy translators (or seventy-two, according to another version of the legend) in seventy days in the first half of the third century B.C.E. Translating a sacred text has always been believed to require reverence and extra caution on the part of translators to exclude any interference with the original. Such translations may later be canonised and respected as highly as their originals, even replacing them. This is what happened to the LXX. In later variants of the legend of its creation, the translators were said to have worked under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit and thereby the guarantee of supreme quality was divinely assured.

Upon closer inspection, it turns out that the influence of socio-cultural traditions upon the translators of the LXX was quite considerable. Scholars find evidence of Jewish exegesis (rules of interpreting sacred texts) and legalism, which is only natural, as the LXX was a translation of a Jewish text. There are also traces of Greek philosophical, Platonic and Stoic ideas and rhetorical stylistic features.

At least some of the data absent from the original are believed to have been added by translators inadvertently. It was noted that the influence of external traditions is especially noticeable whenever there was an exegetical, textual or theological problem in the original text. To resolve the problem, translators had to interpret dubious passages, and their own values, of which they may not have been fully conscious as they took these values for granted (as all of us do), influenced the translators' decisions. To use a metaphor, the necessity of rendering a particular difficult passage or term in the original was like a fissure in the earth's crust, letting the subterranean forces, otherwise hidden, make themselves manifest. These subterranean forces are the translators' philosophical views, religious beliefs and aesthetical preferences. The social came out from within the individual.

What is this social and how does it come out from within the individual? Language is a prime example. Language is a social phenomenon because it is the basis of all things social. As Anthony Giddens, a leading modern sociologist (see more on his sociological theory in Chapter 9), says: "All of us speak languages which none of us, as individuals, created, although we all use language creatively" (1991: 8). On the one hand, we learn the language of our community, and that is what Giddens means when he says that none of us created the languages we speak – we only learn them as they have been before us. They are an example of the social factors affecting our individual lives. They are the social in us. That is what the Russian-American linguist and semiotician Roman Jakobson meant in his classical article "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation": "Languages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey" (1959: 236; emphasis in original[2]). For example, he explains, in languages where action is expressed in terms of whether it was completed or not, "naturally the attention of native speakers and listeners will be constantly focused on such items as are compulsory in their verbal code" (ibid.). Note the words Jakobson uses here: "naturally," "constantly" and "compulsory." These words emphasise the fact that watching for linguistic characteristics of words we use in our native languages is *natural*, that is something beyond our conscious control, rather it is something subconscious (it may not always be so when we speak foreign languages). Our focusing on grammatical aspects in our language is also *constant* because whenever we speak in or listen to our mother tongue, we inevitably – although mostly subconsciously – register all linguistic nuances. All grammatical features are either *compulsory* or *optional* – we *must* or *may* say something (in English we *may* say 'a female student', but in French we *must* say '*étudiante*'), but what is crucial for a sociological interpretation of this phenomenon is that it is a particular language as a product of a particular society that makes our choices either compulsory or optional; it is a particular language as a social phenomenon that makes us naturally and constantly focus on some features of what and how we speak.

Yet Giddens's phrase cited above is well-balanced: language is not only social, it also allows us to express our individuality. We may also recall

Ferdinand de Saussure's concepts *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* is a language as an abstract system which is spoken by the speech community to which we belong. *Parole* is an individual and, perhaps, creative part of how we use our languages. Our use of our languages has both social and individual aspects. The linguistic aspect of our social translator/interpreter behaviour has been studied in depth in TIS, especially in the earlier stages of its development as a theoretical discipline.

Box 1.2: The three pillars of modern society

Anthony Giddens defined sociology as a social science studying the social institutions that have been formed as a result of three major transformations of the past several centuries (2001: 5). The first transformation was the French Revolution of 1789. It radically changed the political dimension of human existence contributing to the development of modern social democratic values: *liberté*, *égalité*, *fraternité* (freedom, equality and brotherhood) are universally accepted standards, if not always realised, of social life today.

The second great transformation was what is known today as the scientific revolution, which can be traced back to as early as the Renaissance (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) but gained major prominence in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries with Isaac Newton's universal laws governing a mechanical universe as its pinnacle. The scientific revolution embraced all major domains of knowledge – from cosmology and physics through anatomy and physiology to philosophy with the reconsidered conceptions of ontology and epistemology. The scientific revolution also proclaimed the universal accessibility of knowledge. The scientific revolution is often associated with the Enlightenment as an intellectual revolution (1730s–1800). This was yet another extension of the political ideal of equality which, in turn, made a third major transformation possible.

The third great revolution is the industrial revolution starting in eighteenth-century Britain and spreading across the entirety of Western Europe into the United States and further. This revolution was a major factor in the transformation of the socio-economic dimension. Modern sociology focuses on contemporary industrial societies, the study of other types of society having been relegated to anthropology.

The three major transformations may be considered the pillars of modern society.

Another aspect of the social is behavioural patterns. This is a big topic and I will limit myself only to one example – Desmond Morris *et al.*'s book *Gestures: Their Origins and Distribution* (1979). Morris and his research team (twenty-nine research workers and interpreters) focused on gestures of western

and southern Europe and the Mediterranean. Twenty key gestures were studied over the period of two years (1975–77) in forty localities of twenty-five countries. Morris distinguishes between gestures-'illustrators' and gestures-'emblems', the former accompanying verbal statements while the latter replace verbal statements. Gestures are an interplay of individual and social factors. Some gesticulatory reactions seem to be more culturally determined;[3] some are results of conscious decisions of individuals. Morris gives two examples:

> [A] man is talking excitedly and, as he does so, his arms gesticulate vigorously, beating time to his words and emphasizing the points he is making. These illustrators are not performed consciously or deliberately […] Ask a man who has just been gesticulating wildly, what movements his hands were making, and he will be unable to tell you. [… A] woman crosses a road watched by two young men. One man turns to the other and winks at him; the latter replies by shaking his fingers as if they have been burned by something hot. No word is spoken between them. Here the gestures have replaced speech and, if the young men were asked later what precise gestures they had used, they would be able to recall them and, in the case of the wink, actually name one of them.
>
> (1979: xvii)

Morris explains that both types of gestures, both consciously and unconsciously produced, are parts of cultural symbolic conventions: tapping one's temple with the tip of the forefinger can mean either 'crazy' or 'intelligent', the interpretation will depend on "the acceptance of this particular [cultural] equation, an acceptance born of local, cultural exposure and learning" (ibid.).

? Applying this to translation studies, it would be interesting, for example, to study gesticulatory behaviour of interpreters of different languages/cultures and possible interferences of different gesticulatory or general behavioural patterns. This type of interpreter studies may help sensitise interpreters to the behavioural features of their professional performance.

Worldview or, to use the original German term *Weltanschauung*, is yet another and perhaps the most comprehensive sphere in which the social and the individual are intertwined. Worldview is a rather amorphous notion embracing religious beliefs, scientific knowledge and moral and aesthetic values. It encompasses what may be generally termed as a conception of the world or a philosophy of life.

Each individual has a worldview, which ultimately can be traced to the society or societies in which their worldview was formed and developed. This comprehensive domain is ultimately responsible for making us representatives of particular cultures – bearers of at least some of our home-cultural traits, for example, body language, food preferences, views about family and kinship unity, etc.

The application of the concept of worldview to the study of translation and interpreting and their practitioners is far-reaching. A great deal has been done already (we will take stock of some of the most salient directions of present-day translation/interpreting research in subsequent chapters) but even more is to be studied and discovered. What is important for the discussion in this chapter is to take notice of spheres of potential overlap between the social and the individual and appreciate that a great many aspects of individual translators' and interpreters' performances are in fact socially determined or prompted, whether on conscious or subconscious levels.

It follows from what has been said that translation is social both within and without: from the viewpoint of the constitution of its practitioners and from the viewpoint of the context of its practice. The interrelation of the individual and society is one of the central themes of sociology. This is what will inform the discussion in this chapter. But before we continue, let us consider the following simple example. In gardens and parks, we see flowerbeds that may be simple collections of various flowers or they may form a pattern, a figure or an inscription (a word or even a short slogan). Seeds of the flowers are sown so that when the flowers grow and blossom a certain shape appears. Each plant is an individual plant with roots, stems, leaves and flowers. Yet each is also a part of the overall design – a dot of a letter in a word or in a company logo. Is a plant only an individual plant or a part of the whole? The answer is: both. Let us bear in mind this example when we discuss the relationship between the individual and society in order to appreciate what sociology is about and how and to what extent it is applicable to the study of translation and translators.

If the translator is inevitably an individual, although a socialised one (that is, one who has internalised the culture of the society into which s/he was born), then obviously the social aspect of his/her behaviour is only a part of a more complex whole. There still are his/her personal feelings, moods, character traits, will, abilities and even physical states of the organism, which can affect the translator's professional performance. The individual inescapably influences the social. You may be a very good professional interpreter but this morning you may have a headache; this may make your performance in the business conference in which you are interpreting somewhat below your usual standard; you may have to concentrate harder and still make a few slips here and there with phrases that otherwise would be plain sailing for you. Or you may dislike a particular topic, but being an in-house translator you will be asked to translate texts on that particular topic and feel that your translations come out not as inspired as your versions of texts on other subjects. Over years, as you gain experience, you will be able to control your performance more and more efficiently, although your individuality will never disappear.

In reality, the individual and the social are two extremes of one continuum. Every translational decision is an interface between the translator's own individuality and the society of which s/he is a part. If so,

? What is the ratio of your individuality to the society and your socialisation in your translation or interpreting performance?
? How should both sides of your translator experience be studied?
? To what extent can sociology with its focus on the social, understood as collective, explain translation practice? And to what extent can psychology, emphasising the individual, help?

To answer these questions and ultimately the question 'Why study translation sociologically?', the difference between the individual and the collective or, as this relationship is sometimes termed, between sociology and psychology, needs to be appreciated. Such division may seem too crude, but since "[…] the substance of social life cannot be explained by purely psychological factors, that is, by the states of the individual consciousness" (Durkheim 2004: 55), a line must be drawn between sociology and psychology.[4] In what follows the notion of 'society' as it is understood today will be explained and a foundation for understanding the science that studies society, sociology, will be laid. I will discuss and illustrate the principal difference between sociological and psychological approaches.

Translation in society and societies

Every human being develops and lives among other human beings – in society. The main two meanings of the term 'society' as used in sociology are:

1 *a* society is a social formation with its own political, economic, religious, familial, educational and other institutions distinct from other societies. In this meaning, the notion *society* may refer to large empires or state-like formations, for example France, Argentina, South Africa, Ancient Egypt, the Russian Empire, or to small tribes.
2 the broadly conceived *society* as synonymous with the terms 'social order' or 'social structure'.[5] Society is seen as a cluster of *institutionalised* modes of behaviour, where 'institutionalised' means 'recurring across time and space'.

Both understandings of the term 'society' are useful for speaking about social aspects of translation as the context of translation practice. Translation in a society (in the first sense) would help us focus on translation as practised, thought about, appreciated in different countries and peoples in different periods of their history. This meaning of the term 'society' emphasises a particular point in time and space. For instance, to return to the LXX, the researcher may focus on that particular translation as a product of a social activity in a particular society (Egypt) in a particular period (the third century B.C.E.). Initially, the research question may be:

? Who translated or might have translated this text and why?

We may learn that the translation was made by a team of translators. According to a legend, seventy or seventy-two translators were either invited from Israel or, more plausibly, they were local members of the Jewish community who spoke Hebrew and could translate it into Greek. Allegedly, the translation was made for the royal library of the Egyptian court; or, more plausibly, it was made to meet the needs of the local Jewish community. If the researcher stops here, the research will not be fully satisfactory as it will not appreciate how typical or atypical the translation was among other translations of the period and what place it occupied among other socio-cultural phenomena in third-century-B.C.E. Egypt, ruled by the Ptolemaic dynasty. Therefore, questions about the conditions of the creation of that translation should be asked:

? How similar to or different from other translations, other texts and other social phenomena of that period and of that society was the LXX?

The research questions of this kind prompt a broader contextualisation of a translation in general and the LXX in particular. The result is that we learn so much more about both the translation and its translators. For instance, a close analysis of translations of different parts (books) of the Hebrew Bible shows that the Pentateuch (the first five books, attributed to the great Hebrew leader Moses) was translated by five or six translators who probably worked as a team. A variety of translation styles, on the one hand, and a shared lexical-terminological core, on the other, point to that (Cook and Stipp 2012: 3). Translators of some books preferred expansive interpretations, while other translators, on the contrary, shortened or abbreviated their original (ibid.: 147). Such a comparative perspective allowed scholars to identify the translator of the book of Proverbs as a "creative stylist with an exceptional knowledge of Jewish and Greek culture", using rare words and terms "borrowed from the Greek world" (ibid.: 148). An interesting case was the translator of the book of the prophet Daniel. He actively engaged with the prophecies found in the original, sometimes even slightly correcting them to fit the events that they 'foretold'. He demonstrated his socialisation in that he wanted his readers to be duly impressed and convinced by the divinely inspired prophecies (ibid.: 212).

However the research may not and did not stop there. An even broader contextualisation of the LXX was undertaken and that required stepping outside one particular society. The LXX was considered against a broader social background: Jewish and Greek cultures were taken into account, scholars compared the LXX with other contemporary texts and other early translations of the Bible. The research contributed to the understanding of how translation functioned in ancient societies. Such an approach steps beyond the boundaries of one particular society (*a society*) and enables scholars to learn more about translation's functioning in *society* in general.

One might take a step further and pose a still broader research question, by adding Islam, another Abrahamic religion, to Judaism and Christianity:

? How does translation function in the societies based on the three Abrahamic religions?

Ultimately, continuing this line of questioning, the broadest research question may be asked prompted by the second meaning of the term 'society':

? What is the relationship of translation and religion in society?[6]

Translators as socialised beings

In the previous section, we discussed translation as an activity occurring and, hence, better understood in its social context. In this section, we will look at the other side of the phenomenon of translation – as an activity practised by socialised beings.

The entire life of the human being unfolds in the context of relations with other humans. Children are introduced into a society through their families and educational institutions; later, as young adults they start to work and communicate with other humans, among other things, as professionals. In the intricate network of these contacts human beings' behavioural patterns are formed. Society is an indispensable condition of the entire human existence.

To put this aspect of translation into sharper relief, the case of so-called feral children, such as Rudyard Kipling's famous character Mowgli, may be recalled. These children are brought up outside the human society, and that results in serious socio-psychological anomalies making such children incapable of functioning socially (unlike Kipling's Mowgli who managed quite successfully to survive both in the jungle and in a human village). They cannot develop constructive and positive relationships with other humans and are, therefore, humans only biologically and not psychologically or socially, because humans are social beings and their behaviour and a predominant number of their activities are socially contextualised.

In their work, translators demonstrate their socialisation on two levels. On the one hand, they have convictions, beliefs, moral principles, etc. Each translator is an individual in the psychological sense of the word: s/he is a unique human being with his/her own likes and dislikes and with a unique combination of character traits. This psychological individual is also brought up in a culture which is another major factor in shaping the personality. This human individuality, thus, results from complex dynamics of nurture and culture – from what the person is physiologically and psychologically and what the person has learned from his/her exposure to different circumstances of their lives and social environments. In a word, each and every translator is a unique socialised personality.

On the other hand, translators are also socialised professionals. Translators may have been trained in a translator training programme, perhaps at a university, or they may have become translators/interpreters at some point of their career by happenstance. In both cases, translators acquire knowledge and experience as well as interiorising ethical values, which make them translators in their own eyes and in the eyes of the others for whom they work and who pay them for their services.

Both paths of socialisation are unique and pass a multitude of crossroads. There are as many social profiles of translators as there are translators. It is very interesting to try and trace an individual translator's career from his/her childhood through formative years and adulthood to maturity (cf. Bernard Lahire's approach explained in Chapter 9). Yet to do that with one or perhaps a couple of individuals is not enough if we want to grasp each one's career in a fuller way. It would be the same if, as was explained in the previous section, we would take a translation of just one book in the LXX: we would not discover the place that that particular translation occupies in the entire text of the LXX and in the interaction of the Jewish and Greek cultural traditions.

When we look at an individual translator's career comparing it with other translators' lives, we are likely to discover common features and a considerable proportion of these common features are likely to be socially induced. The main feature is termed 'routinisation' of experience. Both in their life and professional experience, people move from big surprises new experiences give them when they come across things for the first time to what, with years, people perceive as routine events that they have observed or participated in many times. Routinisation of experience indicates an ever-increasing socialisation, that is, understanding of what is socially acceptable or required and adapting one's behaviour accordingly. Research in the social adaptation of translators and interpreters would search for answers to such questions as:

? How do translators routinise their experience as professionals? Put differently, how do they learn their trade and gain experience, make the trade of translator their own? Where does that happen – at school and at work or both? Which way is more effective and why?
? How do translators adapt to different working conditions: in a translation agency, as in-house translators/interpreters in a company, as freelancers? How do translators cooperate in teams? What are the routinisation patterns in the work of translators using computer-assisted translation tools?

These are broad-brush formulations of research questions, which will have to be coupled with concrete criteria for comparison, within *a* society, rather than society in general (the sum total of *societies*). You may select a concrete country, a concrete language pair, or, narrowing down the research question

and increasing its feasibility for your university course papers, a particular translation agency.

Another common feature of all translators' both human and professional trajectories is learning about the social when they move from face-to-face situations and concrete individuals to dealing with situations as representations of social institutions and with individuals as agents of remote, anonymous groupings. Children first see their family members or other people as individuals. Later, however, they learn that their mother and father have their jobs where they act and are treated differently compared to at home. They learn about people not only as Mr or Mrs X but also about them as doctors or teachers, etc. Eventually, children learn to deal with people even without knowing their names or even without meeting them in person. Thus, in the process of their socialisation, people learn to deal with (anonymous) representatives of organisations; they step thereby out of their immediate surroundings, their micro-world, and enter the social macro-world. Gradually, people also understand their own place in different sectors of the society – in family relations, in educational institutions, at work, etc. What they learn about the society in which they live is that it is constructed of regular, recurring and predictable patterns of behaviour of its members. Members of the society have relationships with one another and with a variety of organisations and social groups. Members of the society also learn their status in the social system and act accordingly.

On the one hand, translators develop socially as any other human being, but when we are speaking about them as translators, it is their professional socialisation and social status that concern us primarily. We may ask the following questions:

? How is the translator socialised as a translator? What are the stages of his/her professional socialisation (university? a first translation project? the start of a translator/interpreter career?)? How and when does the translator come to realise that s/he is a professional translator?
? How do translators learn about and see their professional status in (a) society in relation to other professions?

There are other aspects of translators' social profile that play significant roles in their professional performance. For instance, translators' convictions and beliefs are essential constituents of their professional profiles. These aspects should be taken into consideration if we want to understand:

? how these social features influence translators' performance;
? to what extent their work is biased, prejudiced or, on the contrary, open-minded and fair;
? what kinds of texts they prefer to translate;
? for what organisations they provide services and on what conditions, etc.

Taking aim: Sociology

We have considered two aspects of translation as a social activity practised in social contexts and practised by socialised human beings. If so, it is only logical to turn to the science that may help us theorise translation as a social phenomenon. Such science is sociology. It specialises in studying the nature, structure and functioning of the social domain of human existence. Sociology generates theories that explain empirical observations of social phenomena. Social theory shares interest in various aspects of human social existence with adjacent disciplines, such as psychology, sociolinguistics, economics, history, anthropology, etc., but, as compared to all these more specialised disciplines, "[s]ociology is concerned with the 'forms' rather than the 'contents' of social interaction […]" (Simmel as cited in Frisby 2002: xv). The practice of translation is an interplay of individual and collective aspects, and it is sociology that helps us appreciate the difference in a fuller way. Sociological research always moves from the individual towards the general or collective, as we have seen in the case of the LXX studies or in our discussion of the place taken by the social in the careers of individual translators. Sociology endeavours to appreciate the general in the individual.[7]

The issue of the relationship between the individual and the collective is far from being fully resolved in the present-day social sciences. It is considered as one of the "classic disputes" (Anderson, Hughes and Sharrock 1987: 126–56). We also will be returning to it time and time again. For now suffice it to say that translation as a process and as a product can be viewed both from the sociological and psychological perspective depending on what the researcher focuses on: the manifestation of a particular translator's individuality or the social nature of his/her individuality as reflected in translation (see Fig. 1.1). Arguably, the social must have pre-eminence in the study of translation because the very fact that an individual is involved in translation implies his/her socialisation and hence cannot be divorced from the social.

Of course reality is richer than any binaries, such as micro- vs. macro- or psychology vs. sociology, but when methodology and other practical issues of scholarly research come to the fore, it is futile to search for a single theory that would describe all reality in all its complexity; most probably, that is impossible. Any scholarly research inevitably reduces reality: any binary research does so at the expense of showing the continuum; any research avoiding focusing on extremes – at the expense of the clarity of the involved oppositions. Moreover, the methodology of research would be different depending on whether we start at one of the extremes or focus on the continuum joining them. The challenge, therefore, is how to find such an angle that would allow the scholar to conduct a methodologically valid study of the phenomenon in question because, otherwise, there is no guarantee that the results of his/her research are valid. It is this logic that underpins the scholarly specialisation: some concentrate on bigger pictures, such as civilisations and nation-states, and some – on details

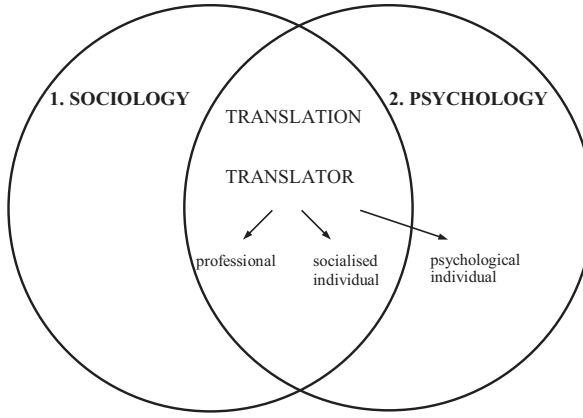

Figure 1.1 Translation and the translator in sociology and psychology. Translation and the translator are located at the intersection of sociology and psychology. Translation and the translator can be studied as psychological phenomena, but they can be identified as 'translation' and 'translator' only sociologically: an individual is a translator through his/her involvement in the social activity of translation (as opposed to any other social involvement) the product of whose activity is 'translation'

of those bigger pictures, on individual psychologies. To be sure, there are attempts to bridge the gap between the social and the psychological, for example in social psychology and social emergence theories (see Asch 1987; Sawyer 2005) but that is another big and complex theme implying a different theoretical-methodological basis, which will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main questions opening the chapter.
2 The research questions (bullet-pointed with '?') posed in this chapter are a few examples of many more possible questions. Think of adding at least one more question to each group of questions.
3 Working in pairs or groups and using Fig. 1.1, prepare a presentation in which you discuss sociological and psychological approaches to the study of translation. What is the main focus in both cases? In what aspects do the two approaches overlap? In what aspects do they differ? Why is sociology numbered '1' in the figure while psychology is numbered '2'?

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

As a place to start, any introductory course to sociology may be recommended. Amongst the most concise and recent are Albrow (1999) (or any of the later

reprints; in English); Molénat (2009, in French); Henecka (2009) or Korte and Schäfers (2010, in German); and Ramírez (2005, in Spanish).

Notes

1 Therefore the word 'septuagint' is abbreviated as 'LXX', which is the number 'seventy' in Roman numerals. 'L' stands for 'fifty' and 'X' for 'ten': LXX = 70.
2 The article is reprinted in all three editions of Lawrence Venuti's *The Translation Studies Reader*; in the most recent 2012 edition, see pp. 126–31.
3 The notion 'culture' will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.
4 There are, however, hybrid usages: "individual psychology", "general psychology" and "social psychology" (Durkheim 1982: 41; Durkheim 2004: 56; Asch 1987: 38). Individual psychology concentrates on individuals, while general or social psychology moves towards generalisations about human psychology as manifested in its natural social 'habitat'. Although the separating line cannot be drawn easily, the tendency is clear: the individual and the social are two distinct areas of scientific inquiry, albeit of one and the same continuum. In the beginning of the twentieth century, Durkheim did not seem to be too enthusiastic about socio-psychological research: "Social psychology, whose task it should be to determine these laws is hardly more than a word which denotes all kinds of varied and imprecise generalities, without any defined object" (2004: 56). By the end of the twentieth century, Solomon Asch saw social psychology as "one of the latest extensions of the great movement of scientific thought that achieved its most striking results in the investigation of physical phenomena" (1987: 3). In the beginning of the twenty-first century, social psychology is either considered as a discipline in its own right without any direct reference to either sociology or psychology (Kassin, Fein and Markus 2011: 5) or as a branch of psychology (Sutton and Douglas 2013: 7).
5 Importantly, the term 'social order' is not necessarily synonymous with harmony, cooperation, concord or orderliness and antonymous to conflict, discord and disagreement; rather the term means "an arrangement of entities in which each has meaning and place[,] an arrangement of human lives and of the things with which people deal in which people and things possess these properties[,] an arrangement of people in which they perform interlocking actions, are entangled in particular relations, and possess specific identities" (Schatzki 1996: 15). Examples of social order are a kinship system, a political system and even sports games. All of these can be harmonious or hostile, but all of them define the meaning and place of each participant and their relationships.
6 Obviously, this type of research problem is perhaps not what a budding theorist of translation can afford. In order to conduct such a large-scale research, a great deal of data involving a panoply of languages and cultures should be collected and treated comparatively. More realistically, this must be a life-long or, better still, team research. As far as university students are concerned, it is advisable to limit oneself to the study of translational phenomena in societies in the first sense – in particular countries and/or in particular periods. The German social thinker Georg Simmel (1858–1918), one of the founders of modern sociology, considered 'society' as a "gradual concept" (Frisby 2002 : xvii) because society in the general sense cannot be understood unless and until all its forms (societies in the first sense) have been described. Incidentally, the same can be said about translation: translation in society cannot be understood until different types of translation have been studied. This makes the study of translation a long-term project.
7 More on the difference between sociology and psychology as explained by one of the founding classics of modern sociology Max Weber will be said in Chapter 8, Section 1.

Chapter 2

The backdrop

The main questions:

- **How should we define culture as a sociological category?**
- **What is the place of culture in relation to the individual and the society?**
- **What is the relationship between society, culture and translation?**
- **What are the areas of translation's intracultural involvements?**
- **What are the scenarios of translation's mediation interculturally?**

What is culture?

The social sciences are behavioural sciences. Their goal is to understand human behaviour both today and in the past. In the previous chapter, we learned the difference between two aspects of human behaviour studied in the social sciences – individual and collective. Sociology specialises in collective behavioural patterns. In this chapter we will look at a set of values shared by a collectivity and one of the major factors making the collectivity more than just a gathering of individuals. We will look at culture. Since culture is such a vital factor of any society, it is a social phenomenon.

Different people use the term 'culture' differently. In the social sciences, it is used to denote the subject matter of several disciplines: sociology and cultural studies, anthropology and history, aesthetics and literary studies. It is also used in TIS; moreover, one of the major 'turns' that signified a departure from predominantly linguistic approaches to the study of translation has been dubbed the 'cultural turn' (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990: 4; 1998: 123).

In order to understand culture at its most basic level it is helpful to keep in mind the pair 'culture vs. nature' or 'nurture vs. nature'. As opposed to all

things natural, culture stands for all human activities going beyond the pure biology of *Homo sapiens*. Culture is not inherited genetically. One has to learn culture, that is, to be socialised and "culturalised" (Kluckhohn 1949: 26). The human mind is "wired" for culture without which we would not be what we are both as a species and as individuals (Pagel 2012). Viewed from the sociological perspective, culture is "ways of acting, thinking and feeling which are transmitted from generation to generation and across societies through learning, not through inheritance" (Albrow 1999: 6).

Box 2.1: Culture: A brief story of the word and concept

The term came into English through the French 'culture' from Latin *cultura* meaning 'growing', 'cultivation'. In medieval French, there existed the now obsolete verb *culturer*, which was related to the medieval Latin verb *culturare* originating from the classical Latin 'colere' meaning 'tend', 'cultivate'. In late Middle English the word 'culture' meant 'cultivation of the soil'. Later in the early sixteenth century, the meaning was broadened to embrace metaphorically the cultivation of the mind, faculties or manners.

In the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, however, important conceptual shifts occurred in English vocabulary: some words acquired new meanings going beyond older narrowly specialised meanings. Among such words was the word 'culture'. The word came to be associated with a high degree of the individual's development or perfection. Later the word was applied to an entire society meaning the state of its intellectual development. This led to the word 'culture' being understood as arts and skills. Finally, the word 'culture' acquired its most encompassing meaning of the way of life of a society, including material, intellectual and spiritual phenomena.

National cultures were often referred to as 'spirit (*Geist* or *ésprit*) of a nation' as we see in Wilhelm von Humboldt's (1767–1835) preface to his translation of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* (1816). Humboldt argues that great works of literary art are virtually untranslatable (although they still *should* be translated!) because they bear the imprint of the unique cultures that produced them and that are expressed in their unique languages. He wrote that languages "first reach into the usual habits of life, after which they can be improved on *ad infinitum* into something nobler and more complex by the spirit of the nation that shapes them" (cited in Lefevere 1992: 137).

The term 'culture' retained for a while its evaluative connotation to mean 'cultured', 'refined' as opposed to 'primitive' or 'savage'. The term 'culture' was used to describe European nations, while non-European peoples were condescendingly referred to as 'primitive'. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, the non-evaluative usage developed. Thus, Edward Tylor (1832–1917) defined culture as "that complex whole

which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871: 1). Tylor's definition allows seeing culture as part of any society.

Let us note the connection between culture and society and that it is more than just an evolutionary development of the semantics of the word 'culture'. The German psychologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920) was one of the first to stress this connection in the ontological sense: such nation-shared phenomena as language, religion and custom, he argued, are "those mental products which are created by a community" and are "inexplicable in terms merely of individual consciousness, since they presuppose the reciprocal action of many" (1916: 3). By the mid-twentieth century the word 'culture' became an accepted term in sociology and anthropology and individuals were seen as becoming human beings through enculturation, that is, by absorbing the culture they grew up in.

As Raymond Williams (1921–88) argues in his classical work *Culture and Society: 1780–1950*, the evolution of the word 'culture' into a sociological concept was a response to fundamental social changes – "to the new methods of production, the new *Industry*" and "to the new political and social developments, to *Democracy*" (1958: xviii; see also Box 1.2). The word reflected the new social reality. This new social reality has become the primary object of sociology. Anthony Giddens defines sociology as "a social science, having as its main focus the study of the social institutions brought into being by the industrial transformations of the past two or three centuries" coupled with transformations of the social sphere (2001: 9). The transformed word and concept 'culture' is therefore an important object of sociological studies.

As is the case with the term 'society' (see Chapter 1), the application of the term 'culture' varies in terms of scale. In the most general sense, culture may refer to "a truly human existence that goes beyond the merely 'natural' condition of animals" (Scott 2011: 11). Human culture is determined by three types of adaptations ensuring the survival of the human race. Culture needs to adapt to:

- the external environment requiring protection from hostile natural forces and other human groups' offensive actions;
- human bio-social and psychic nature, which requires physical and social contact with other human beings, the need for status and self-respect, leisure and recreation, mutual care, etc.;
- collective living (which follows from human bio-psycho-social needs), which requires going beyond individual needs and implies the need to coexist with other human beings, avoiding both chaos and excessive domination.

In a narrower sense, the term 'culture' means behavioural patterns acquired through socialisation into a particular human collectivity. In this sense the term is usually applied to large groups extended in space and time, usually in modern societies associated with nations or nation-states, that is, nations as geographical and political units or to peoples within such units (Hungarian, English, Buryat, Flemish cultures). In this sense, we can speak of a culture or cultures and, what is especially important for TIS, cultures have their own languages and require interlingual translation in order to interact one with another across space and time.

Finally, small groups occupying much more modest territories during a short period can also be described as having their distinct cultures (the culture of the Moscow intelligentsia of the post-Stalinist Thaw). What are called in sociology 'subcultures' (see below) also belong to this group. In today's world of a highly developed World Wide Web, there are virtual communities with their own cultures. These cultures also interact with the rest of the world through translation, either intra- or interlingual.

Hence, before conducting research into the relationship of translation and culture, it is advisable to define:

? what type of culture the research will concentrate on. What are its boundaries? With what types of translation does this culture interact with other cultures?

Individual – society – culture

Culture is a repository of options of socially acceptable and warranted activities. In the previous chapter we considered language as a social phenomenon. Language is an excellent example of a socio-cultural repertoire from which the translator takes cues, consciously or subconsciously, for his/her decisions when transferring a text from one language expressed in a text as a cultural product into another language in which the translator creates a new text that will become a fact of the target culture.

What is the relationship in the triad 'individual – society – culture'? A culture is a set of values and conventions, while society, a system of interpersonal relations, is a mechanism for transmitting these values to individuals (Kluckhohn 1949: 37). In sociology culture has been considered a human "substitute for the instincts whereby most other living creatures are equipped with the means for coping with their environment and relating to one another" (Inkeles 1964: 66). Culture, thus, unlike instincts, is transmitted not biologically, but socially – that is, from person to person and from generation to generation. If so,

? what is the role of translation, a mediator in all *inter* relations par excellence, in this transmission?

To understand the role of translation in this social transmission of culture, the translation student should go beyond theorising translation as only an interlingual transfer. For instance, translation acts in broader socio-cultural contexts as intralingual (younger and older generations of the same culture communicate in one language) yet intergenerational mediation (interacting generations of the same culture interpret each other's cultural values) (Habermas 1988: 143–50). At present, it seems not easy to devise ways to measure exactly the role that translation plays in the process of intracultural social transmission, although an attempt has been made to consider the role that translation is likely to play at different stages of social evolution (Tyulenev 2011a).

A particular culture or, perhaps, several cultures are transmitted from one person to another and this transmission triggers internalisation of cultures by members of the society. This is a mutual process, it is only in the beginning that the person passively receives; while maturing, that person becomes not only a receptacle, but also s/he participates in the enculturation of others. Thus the mostly unidirectional intergenerational translation becomes multidirectional: the person communicates with many members of the society, moreover *intrapersonally* s/he communicates with him/herself. As Friedrich Schleiermacher wrote, translation is needed between people speaking different languages (across space or across time), between dialects of the same people, between different social groups ("classes") and compeers; moreover, "we must sometimes translate our own utterances after a certain time has passed, would we make them truly our own again" (2012: 43). In this sense, translation permeates society and needs to be researched accordingly.

Enculturation is culture-specific. Mark Pagel describes it as a process of shepherding, which starts from the moment of conception and which strongly determines our future and competes with our genes:

> Genes are carefully shepherded into our bodies inside small vehicles known as *gametes* – sperm from fathers and eggs from mothers – which are designed to see to it that a body is made that carries a collection of its parents' genes. Part of the imprint of culture is to get us later in life to act as its shepherds. Each of us who has children will have shepherded pieces of our culture into them, some of it from mothers, some of it from fathers, ensuring that they were French, Korean, English, Melanesian, or American, Italian, Russian, or Chinese, and that they were religious or atheist, but also that they spoke a particular language and held certain beliefs about their nation and the rest of the world. [… A] child born into the world as nothing more than a 'blank' human being might be labelled as a Christian or a Hindu, Jewish, Buddhist, Muslim, or Confucian, and this label – or some other its culture provides – can influence the course of this child's life, as if it were a trait inherited on some gene. There are places all over the world where a child born into one of these religions might peer across a fence at children from another whose parents are

> sworn enemies of its own, and only then because *their* parents labelled them.
>
> (2012: 5–6; emphasis in original)

As children we learn our mother tongue or perhaps, in some multicultural environments (multicultural or polyethnic nation-states, large cosmopolitan cities), two or three languages and through that language or languages as well as through our social relations we are acculturated to one or two cultures (Watson 2000; Ennaji 2005; Zhou 2003; Woolard 1989). These cultures will become the basis for our worldview.

It does not mean, however, that we will not be able to learn about new cultures. In fact, this is what translators and interpreters do to be able to mediate between representatives of different cultures. Translators are bicultural or multicultural by definition, perhaps at some point of their careers even ambicultural, that is, equally conversant with both involved cultures (Deeney 2001). Their knowledge of several languages means their expertise in the cultures that use those languages. Here the translation student may already ask a few questions:

? To what extent is the translator's enculturation and socialisation similar to or different from unilingual and unicultural people?
? To what extent is the translator's enculturation and socialisation similar to or different from 'natural' bilingual/multilingual people, that is, people who learned two or more languages as children?
? Is 'natural' bi- or multilingualism sufficient for becoming a professional translator or interpreter? Why yes or no? Can any examples be provided? Speaking sociologically, that is, thinking of bigger pictures and general behavioural patterns, are those examples typical in a given country or in a given culture?

Culture guides the individual's interaction with other members of the society. Culture is a major constraint ensuring social order. The translator's efforts are also inevitably determined by the values of his/her own and/or commissioning cultures. Cultural values are also known as norms, defined in sociology as common rules evolving in the process of the interaction of members of a group over time (Stephen Mennell in Mann 1983: 266; Bartsch 1987: 70–1). These norms constitute the basis for all translational activities and it is against these norms that the translator's work is evaluated.

Starting from the late 1970s Gideon Toury and other scholars explored the concept of norms as applied to translation process and the latter's dependence on its socio-cultural context (Toury 1980; 2012: 53–69;[1] Shäffner 1999). Toury placed norms governing translation practice between the repertoire of options available to the translator ("the system of possible [target text and source text] relationships"), on the one hand, and on the other, the selection of some of

these options in the translator's work manifested in the target text and "the concrete, existing [target text and source text] relationships" (Toury 1980: 50). Norms and culture are inextricably connected, because norms are prompted by the culture commissioning or receiving the translator's work.

As in the case of social influences on the translator and translation discussed in Chapter 1, we can distinguish two types of cultural influence on the translator: the one from the 'general' culture of the society in or for which s/he works (Weltanschauung values) and the other from a subset of this general culture – the professional culture. Translation norms are comprised of professional norms, defined by the professional translation community in terms of its professional standards and ethics, and expectancy norms gauging conformity of a particular translation to the expectations of the target audience (Chesterman 2000: 63–70).

One of the differences between the influence of the professional and general cultures on the translator is the degree of the automatisation of the application of culturally imposed or suggested decisions. The general culture's requirements (prompted by Weltanschauung) are so deeply interiorised that the selection of available options is "only exceptionally conscious and rational" (Kluckhohn 1949: 26). As carriers of our home culture, we have our preferences and modes of action, which through the process of enculturation have become our second nature. For example, we do not think about our body language – we just nod or gesticulate 'naturally', according to how we perceive the situation we find ourselves in.

In the professional sphere, however, although there is also a great deal of automatic actions learned through our professional training and experience (professional enculturation), there seems to be more consciously made decisions. That is why in TIS we speak of translation as a decision-making process and a purposeful activity (cf. Levy 1967; Nord 2007). Translator training teaches the budding translator or interpreter to rely not only on his/her general knowledge of languages and cultures, but to make choices professionally, that is, knowingly. In the beginning students learn to apply techniques and formulate their strategies consciously, they are asked to explain and substantiate their choices. Later, as they gain experience, translators/interpreters may 'feel' more than fully consciously decide which way to handle a source text or its part; they make their decisions sometimes consciously, sometimes semi- or sub-consciously, but what is important is that even their professional intuition is a result of their professional enculturation.

The continuum of enculturation as regards translators seems to be as follows. Translators are culturalised as human beings and more specifically as human beings representing a particular national culture (German, Kazakh, Algerian). They are culturalised as human beings representing not only a particular culture, but also a particular profession (translator or interpreter or both). Finally, they are culturalised as human beings representing a particular national culture and a profession as practised in that national culture, for there are differences

between how translation and interpreting are practised in different societies: "Since translation is a kind of communicative behaviour in its own right, cultures also tend to develop translation conventions" (Nord 2007: 58). Each translation decision can be considered as an intersection or overlap of these enculturations. If we add to that the contingency of the moment and the dependence of the final decision the translator makes, which may be different if s/he had to make a decision a moment before or a moment later, on that particular moment, it becomes clear how complex and multilayered the interpretation of translation decisions is, running the gamut from socio-culturally to individually determined factors. This complexity may even give an impression that the translator's actions are purely individual and arbitrary. Yet this is more like a palimpsest that has many layers one upon another, except, unlike in the palimpsest, these layers interact and influence one another. In light of the above-said, the sociologist of translation may ask the following questions:

? How does a national culture interact with the respective national professional translator/interpreter culture? To what extent are the average lay, amateur and professional visions of translation different or similar?
? Can there be more than one national school of thought about translation/interpreting practice? If there are several, is that a weakness or strength of that national professional translation culture?
? How and to what extent do national professional translator/interpreter cultures differ? Can universal and nation-specific features be singled out? In other words, what norms, if any, do all translators and interpreters observe and if they break those norms do they themselves and others see their behaviour as deviant to this or that degree?[2]
? If universal features of translator/interpreter behaviour can be singled out, can they be said to be determined by culture in the general sense of the word – human culture? How or to what extent? How are they related to the features of human culture that developed in response to the adaptation needs of humankind?[3]

To return to translation's intimate involvement with cultures, this involvement implies those cultures' assessment of translator/interpreter behaviour as well as results of their work. In TIS this culture–translation relationship figures prominently in translation quality assessment and translation criticism (House 1981; 2001). Juliane House attempts to construct a model from the point of view of the translator/interpreter professional culture. This is a universalistic model in that it purports to go beyond different national translator/interpreter cultures that are likely to be different at least in some respects. House's model puts linguistic-textual aspects of translation before social aspects of translation. In contrast to such hierarchy informed by the translator/interpreter professional culture, a particular national culture usually proceeds in the opposite direction: national readerships, consumers of translation products, evaluate

translations not so much by comparing them with their source texts as appreciating them as representations or even substitutes of those source texts, disregarding the features relevant to and determining cultural-professional judgments.

For an example let us again turn to the LXX. Sometimes the socio-cultural evaluation appears under different, not necessarily, human guises. The LXX provides us with a somewhat unusual, although well-known, disguise of cultural evaluation having little to do with professional evaluation. The LXX was made in the first half of the third century B.C.E. The earliest evidence comes in the *Letter of Aristeas* written in the second half of the second century B.C.E. The author of the *Letter* tells us that the translation was accomplished under the direction of Demetrius of Phalerum at the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. When finished, the translation was read to the leaders of the Jewish community of Alexandria and to the Ptolemaic king and was received favourably. In later versions of the story, new important details were added. It was said that the LXX translators worked in separate cells, one or two in a cell, and that all translations turned out to be identical. A contemporary Jewish author Philo insisted on the divine origin of the LXX, because allegedly it was thanks to the guidance of the Holy Spirit that the translators translated identically. The parallel was drawn with Moses's divine inspiration for the first five books of the Hebrew original (Pentateuch). Starting from the second century AD, Christian church leaders spread the legend, saying that all translators compared their work and found it coincided to the letter. Thus the translation, with which Saint Jerome, amongst other 'professional' translators and critics, was far from happy, was 'divinely' sanctified.[4] In reality, it was socially sanctioned.[5]

Later in European history, another translation was sanctioned by appeal to another mighty patron, although in that case not divine. The famous English King James Bible (KJB) was published in 1611. In 1620 one of the rival translators referred to it as the 'authorised' Bible. The KJB was expressly associated with King James since at least 1627 and in the 1640s it was declared 'authentic' according to a special order of King James. In 1824, slightly more than two centuries after, *The Oxford English Dictionary* finalised the process of the social sanctioning of the translation calling it "Authorised Version" (Norton 2011: 134). In this story, the socio-cultural approval of a translation (which was criticised at the time of its creation) appears in another guise – the earthly royal authority.

Both the LXX and the KJB, after and thanks to their socio-cultural sanctioning, became authoritative translations which, like many cultural values, became immune from criticism and the 'non-professional' community treated them as originals. That is the highest cultural status a translation can hope to achieve. In order to be granted this status, a translation needs to be or to be presented as agreeing with the dominant socio-cultural values (or their supreme carriers – a king or God Almighty himself), rather than to be found linguistically or textually accurate. The professional translator/interpreter

culture evaluates translations, such as the LXX and the KJB, based on the comparison of these texts with their (likely) originals. The professional community evaluates these translations markedly differently from how national cultures evaluate them: "[… T]he group of translators who produced the Septuagint, in fact produced what is generally acknowledged as a relatively 'bad' translation, but one that continues to function to this day as the 'official' translation used by the Greek Orthodox Church" (Lefevere 1992: 2).

In the relationship between the individual, society and culture, the society assumes a crucial mediating position between the individual and the culture, because it is social relations that serve as a basis of the individual's activities and the boundaries within which the individual is warranted to act. The individual translators of the LXX or the KJB acted within the circle of the cultural values communicated to them through their socialisation/enculturation to which they conformed and, hence, their work was found acceptable. The professional translation culture seems to take the second position as compared to the cultures commissioning or receiving translations. The individual translator has to negotiate a balance between the general culture and his/her professional culture which s/he is socialised into through society.

How a 'guilty' translator behaves

When people disobey socio-culturally prescribed rules, they still act in "socially expected" ways (Levin and Spates 1990: 119). A translator who translates against the grain of socio-cultural acceptability and envisages confrontation or even punishment is likely to explain the rationale behind his/her version (in a preface or another document) and usually in a defensive fashion. Jerome saw his "Letter to Pammachius" as a pre-emptive action against likely criticisms: "[…] taking no chance that [his] accuser […] might vilify" him (2012: 21).

Let us try to identify other features translators mention when they feel that their work may be seen as not conforming to the culture for which they have produced it. Translators may:

- blame their opponents, possibly coupling that with praises of their supporters;[6]
- pronounce the verdict against their opponents who discredit their work in the eyes of the ignorant;[7]
- claim that the translation was not their initiative;[8]
- explain why their translation could not be closer to the original, usually referring to differences between languages;[9]
- make clear their translation strategy (not necessarily as it really was, but to make it sound acceptable);[10]
- assume a dramatic, passionate or defensive tone, thereby acting as being accused of a serious crime;[11]
- provide authoritative historical evidence (that is, demonstrate their translator behaviour as modelled on socially acceptable patterns);[12]

- appeal to famous translators and translations of the past (that is, claiming to emulate the best practitioners of their trade);[13]
- demonstrate their ethical and moral superiority.[14]

In order to find out to what extent such a translator behavioural pattern in adverse socio-cultural circumstances across time and space is typical or not, more evidence documenting translators' behaviour and testimonies needs to be analysed within one culture in different periods or in one period but in different cultures. Such studies can contribute to our understanding of the socio-cultural image and status of the translator.

Translators act not only within their own cultural but also with an eye on another culture. In the past, this infrequently put them in a precarious position: they were treasured as intercultural mediators and, at the same time, as traitors of their home culture. Quite a few examples are known. Jerome was severely criticised as almost a criminal but eventually was made a saint (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 161–3). A similar situation was the case with the Greek missionaries to the Old Slavonic world Cyril and Methodius. Some translators were even burnt at the stake, imprisoned or persecuted otherwise (see examples of Étienne Dolet, William Tyndale, Malinche, among others, in Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 136, 166–7, 264–5). Sociologically,

? it would be necessary to conduct more encompassing research to see whether those translators were exceptions or rules in their day, whether they were typical or atypical, to what extent and why.

This requirement would make it imperative to connect these translators with the socio-cultural context of their careers.

Translation within and between cultures

Translation is actively involved in cultural processes. It is active inside every culture. For instance, it is one of the mechanisms for introducing new elements into the culture; at the same time translation conforms to existing cultural patterns thereby contributing to the perpetuation of the existing social order. This is only natural as translation looks outside its home culture into other cultures and whatever foreign phenomena translation introduces into its home culture; it does so by adapting them to its home culture's patterns.

If we look at this process from the viewpoint of translators as socialised human beings and professionals, translators view foreign phenomena through this or that culture's prism (usually their first culture, that is, the culture into which they were born). This is not the same as being biased in favour of one of the interacting cultures (although this may be the case). Rather translators may be obviously or subtly, consciously or subconsciously influenced by one or the other culture or by one culture in one aspect and the other in another. It is

possible to be born as a 'tabula rasa', but it is impossible to remain so. This is the side of translators' conformation to one of the mediated cultures. On the other hand, translators may introduce new phenomena into the cultures they deal with. This is their innovative influence.

From what has been said it is obvious that even though translation is important intraculturally, its natural 'habitat' is cultural interaction. Translation mediates between cultures or subcultures or a culture and its subculture – in other words, translation always mediates between two distinctly different cultural units and in this sense is inevitably an *inter* phenomenon. In what follows, both the intra- and intercultural mediation of translation are going to be considered.

Intraculturally

Translation and cultural evolution

Translation's role within a particular culture is vital because no culture stands still. Although society is fundamentally stable, it continuously evolves. How can anything penetrate an otherwise self-sufficient system such as culture with its laws, norms, conventions? One of the mechanisms for bringing new ideas is translation. Translation is a mediator between culture and its carriers and the outside world. Translation, thus, is one of the major agents of socio-cultural evolution.

The German sociologist Niklas Luhmann considered evolution as consisting of three stages – variation, selection and stabilisation (1997: 456–505). At the first stage, variation, new ideas are brought into the culture from the outside world: new books are translated, new concepts and vocabulary are introduced. In today's world, the penetration of new ideas into cultures has become even easier through the World Wide Web, internationalised mass media and such internationally and interculturally operating arts as cinema. Luhmann did not discuss the role of translation, but his theory of social systems allows us to consider translation as one of the major mechanisms for introducing new ideas into a culture.[15] Indeed, when a book or a piece of news is translated, it is introduced into the target culture and may influence the target audience. Translation is always there in the intercultural communication, even when it is (made) invisible. Imagine somebody speaking a language in which s/he reads a news report. There seems to be no translation needed, yet this person filters the news through his/her mind, which is tuned to his/her home culture – in other words, the new information is translated. The reader turns a piece of news as it is in the paper into his/her understanding of the news. This may still seem not to be a translation, but a simple experiment will show that there is translation here: different people understand the same text differently because, like in interlingual translation, they translate the source into their understanding/vision of the news selecting different features of the original message. Note that the readers of the news act as both translators and the target receiver of the translation.

Some of the new ideas are rejected as being too foreign to the culture, but some are accepted. This may throw the culture out of balance and force it to reconsider its ways. The new that translation brings into the culture may significantly influence its practices and even fundamental principles. This is what happened, for instance, during the westernisation of eighteenth- to early-nineteenth-century Russia. The Russian empire had been a self-sufficient, deeply conservative culture. It was virtually closed from the rest of the world. Yet, between the end of the seventeenth and start of the nineteenth century, the situation changed and translation from a modest ancillary sector in the government's foreign affairs department became a major means of radical state reform.

Everything started when the political elite and primarily the new Tsar Peter (who would be dubbed Peter the Great exactly for the beginning of this far-reaching and wide-ranging transformation) realised that the empire had to progress like its Western-European neighbours or perish at their hands, notably at the hands of belligerent Sweden, which had already caused serious fiascos for the poorly armed Russian army. Peter's programme was to modernise Russia and that was to be done by learning from its more advanced neighbours since no solutions could be offered by the home culture. This situation has been described in social anthropology as a crisis of a given culture, when the culture comes across new circumstances that it cannot handle: "Not all social events are culturally patterned. New types of circumstances arise for which no cultural solutions have as yet been devised" (Kluckhohn 1949: 24).

What could help Russia devise new cultural solutions? It was realised that translation could. Books were translated, Russian youth were sent abroad, foreign experts were invited to Russia. Thus, translation, whether written or oral, whether overt or covert, became a *conditio sine qua non* of the process of westernising itself. Without translation, even if the westernisation of Russia still could have occurred, it would have taken much more time and required much more effort.

As translation introduces the new at the stage of variation, the system starts considering the suggested options as acceptable or unacceptable. The stage of selection sets in. Back to the example of westernised Russia, its culture represented by politics, ethics, aesthetics and science started sifting the incoming information: state authorities, including emperors (notably, Peter the Great and later Catherine the Great) and state officials, selected the repertoire of translated publications, defined translation strategies and edited translated texts, scholars and writers adopted what was suggested by translation or, if they found some new term or turn of phrase unacceptable, suggested alternatives.

Finally, the stage of stabilisation joins the circular evolutionary process. At the stage of stabilisation, the system operates in a renewed way, that is, with new cultural patterns adopted and adapted to the system's needs. As still newer things are introduced, they will be selected according to the renewed cultural patterns. When the process of modernisation gained its impetus in Russia, whatever was introduced into the cultural system was assessed with much less opposition as

compared to the beginning (westernisation began to be considered an accepted path for the nation) and according to new 'westernised' standards (tastes of the public changed towards westernised ethics and aesthetics, and new political institutions evolved that operated according to westernised laws of operation).

At the first stage, variation, translation acts primarily as a revolutionising cultural agent: it introduces new themes, new concepts, new terminology. At the stage of stabilisation, translation tends to obey the choices made by its commissioning culture. Interestingly, some of the new rules (terminology usage, ethical values) might have been suggested by translation itself and only ratified by the culture. Future translations will have to take these new rules not as options (as these decisions were initially made by translation itself when they could have been accepted or rejected by translation itself) but as *rules* since they have been sanctioned by the culture. For instance, if a translator suggested translating a term in one way and the term has been accepted as a standard, it would be difficult for the same translator to stop using it and start using some other term. The translator will have to conform to the rules of the culture renewed at his/her own initiative.

Translations combine both novelty and tradition, although some translations may manifest more of the revolutionary intentionality whereas others act more in compliance with the established intracultural norms. Both types partially introduce the new, that is, act as the stage of variation requires, and both partially conform to the old in accordance with the stage of stabilisation; it is the ratio of the former to the latter that makes translations belong to different types.

Socio-cultural life is a balance of innovators and conservatives. They coexist, as do the three stages of social evolution. Innovation is counterbalanced by conservatism and there is a social reason for that. According to Breuer (1982), both types of behaviour are valuable for the survival of the society or a respective group within it. The resourcefulness and inquisitiveness of innovators helps the society discover new and better modes of behaviour and social organisation while conservatism is "a very necessary safety reserve which will survive a new behaviour […] for at least [some time] and guarantee existence of the group, even if there is a snag in the new 'culture' that is not apparent at once" (p. 89).[16]

Translation practice and ideas about translation are also a constant interplay of conservatism and innovation.

? It would be interesting to investigate this aspect of social life both in the translator/interpreter practice and in the translation scholarly community.

Translating subcultures

Another intracultural role that translation plays in society is meditating between cultures and their subcultures. It is hard to draw a clear line between culture and subculture. Traditionally, subcultures were viewed as constituents of national cultures. Subcultures were usually seen as not conforming to the

dominant culture's rules, and so were viewed rather negatively. For instance, they were said to despise work in their excessively hedonistic pursuits and to engage in socially discouraged or even criminal activities. Subcultures were believed to be devoid of class consciousness and organised territorially (around a street or neighbourhood), rather than a single property that might be called home. Subcultures were usually described as losing any sense of belonging to a larger socially recognised stratum and its values, especially those of mass culture. Subcultures were usually considered non-conformist, resisting what sociologists call 'massification': the tendency in modern cultures "to integrate people in huge, homogeneous masses, in which their autonomous individuality is drowned" (Mannheim 2001: 196).

Today's world makes such exclusively negative qualifications of subcultures less tenable as there appear new subcultures in the World Wide Web or new communication networks with their own subcultures that do not agree with the definitions of subcultures as anti-social and *lumpenproletariat*-like and limited to national cultures. Virtual and media subcultures can be exemplified by fans of role-playing games, which may be purely virtual groups with their participants never meeting in person, inventing their own virtual personae.

Subcultures are social worlds within worlds and their nonconformity or non-normativity must always be understood in social terms. Researchers from the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, the Chicago School – a research group that conducted studies of subcultures during the first half of the twentieth century (see also Box 8.1) – insisted that subcultural 'deviance' is not a matter of individual pathology, nor is it an individualised 'refusal' of normative social practices and morals. Subcultural 'deviance' or difference is a matter of social affiliation (Gelder 2007: 4).

Subcultures have their own 'narration' and usually develop their own secret language or argot. Thus, these 'smaller' cultures structure themselves just as 'larger' cultures do: they generate their own vision of the world, their own philosophy of life (however base it may seem to the outsiders) and ethics, and express that content in their own vocabulary. Narrations are representations of subcultures created by them themselves and by outsiders. Narrations may be (partly) true and (partly) false. Narrations have socially tangible consequences: they contribute to the acceptability or rejection of a subculture. Narrations are hardly ever neutral. They express worldviews that reflect and interpret the group's views and its place in society.

This brings us to an important corollary of sociologically informed translation theory. Intraculturally, translation functions not only as a language-based communicative mechanism for translating subcultures' secret languages and argots.[17] Translation also functions as a mechanism for mediating between different cultural strata of one society: a describer-translator (who may be an insider or an outsider) looks at a social group and translates his/her vision of the group in the terms understandable for his/her target audience. The mechanism that allows us to qualify this action as translation is the same as any other type

of translation: a source (in this case, a subculture) is presented to a target audience (other subcultures or the general culture of a society) by a mediator.

Let us consider an example of a mediator of British subcultures. In the 1840s–1850s, Henry Mayhew, a journalist working for the newspaper the *Morning Chronicle*, embarked on his discovery of the underworld of London. In his articles and sketches he described a variety of London underclasses. In 1861–62, he published his *London Labour and the London Poor: A Cyclopaedia of the Condition and Earnings of Those That Will Work, Those That Cannot Work, and Those That Will Not Work*. The title implies one of the criteria of Mayhew's social stratification: different people's attitude to work. This was his 'translation strategy' or a prism through which he showed London underclasses. He did not consider those who will work, cannot work or will not work among the upper classes; rather, the upper classes were his target audience.

Mayhew characterised the objects of his descriptions according to yet another criterion, the one he borrowed from the nascent anthropology of his day – namely, his objects' relationship to a permanent living space. He found them comparable to what civilised (sedentary) people of his time viewed as vagabondage. Let us look at how Mayhew opened his essays:

> Of the thousand millions of human beings that are said to constitute the population of the entire globe, there are – socially, morally, and perhaps even physically considered – but two distinct and broadly marked *races*, viz., the wanderers and the settlers – the vagabond and the citizen – the nomadic and the civilised *tribes*.
>
> (Cited in Gelder 2007: 12; emphasis added.)

Mayhew saw his own compatriots from lower classes as belonging to a different race or tribe. He continued by describing these nomads as distinguished from "the civilised man" by their "repugnance to regular and continuous labour"; by their "want of providence in laying up a store for the future"; by their "inability to perceive consequences ever so slightly removed from immediate apprehension"; by their "passion for stupefying herbs and roots […] and intoxicating fermented liquors" (ibid.). Among other characteristics, unlike "the civilised man", they can endure extreme privation; they are immoderately passionate for gaming and "libidinous dances" (ibid.). Their women have no chastity or "female honour" (ibid.). Importantly, they are distinguished by "the looseness of [their] notions as to property" (ibid.). They have only a "vague sense of religion" and a "rude idea of a Creator" (ibid.). In sum, Mayhew presents his fellow-Londoners of lower social layers as little different from the 'savages' anthropologists of his day found in far-away lands. His intracultural translation presented his fellow-citizens as foreigners and, thus, functioned *de facto* as intercultural translation.

This is one aspect of Mayhew's translating his subjects 'up' for "civilised" citizens. Yet he also went 'down' to these "nomads" and let them speak for

themselves. This "radically distances his work from commentaries about subcultural life that remain remote from their subjects – or, as Elizabethan rogue literature sometimes did, which might actually invent or fabricate a subcultural speaking subject" (Gelder 2007: 13). Thus, intracultural translation could either speak for 'savages'; or describe them without letting them speak; or – this is what Mayhew did – let them speak for themselves. Since letting 'savages' speak was contextualised in Mayhew's own description, they were still translated.

Thus, translation as narration enriches our understanding of how translation works in the socio-cultural environment and more research is needed in this direction.

Interculturally

Translation is better known as an intercultural phenomenon. On this intercultural level, translation mediates between interacting cultures. Cultures may interact according to different scenarios. Let us turn to, perhaps, an unexpected source of inspiration for classifying these scenarios. In biology, there is a quite developed direction of research studying biological mutualism or symbiotic relations in nature.

Mutualism is a relationship between two species in which both of them receive benefit from each other. This is what the term *symbiosis* (from the Greek *sumbiōsis* 'a living together') means in the narrow sense – a mutually beneficial relationship. In a broader sense, symbiosis means any type of relationship between different species. Interestingly enough, the concept was borrowed by biology from a social doctrine that mutual dependence is necessary for social wellbeing. Now we are borrowing it back for the social world in order to understand how two cultures may interact.

All in all, there are the following possibilities (based on Lewis 1985: 30):

–/ – Competition
–/ 0 Amensalism
–/ + Antagonism
0 / 0 Neutralism
0 / + Commensalism
+ / + Mutualism.

In biology, the type of mutualism is determined based on an increase or decrease of potential fitness of the interacting species: increase is marked with '+'; decrease with '–'; '0' denotes that neither is observed. Of course, in application to intercultural relations, the criterion of the effects of mutualism will be different. It will have to be shown as being either positive or negative or neutral for involved parties in each particular case and then the role

translation (has) played in the development of this or that scenario will have to be demonstrated.

Let us look at the most common of the variants of intercultural interaction and consider the role of translation in them.

Commensalism (from Latin, *com-*, with, + *mensa*, table = *sharing a table/meal*) is a relationship between two cultures from which one of the cultures benefits, while the other does not either benefit or suffer. Recall the example of eighteenth-century Russia's translating from Western Europe. Russia benefited as it learned from the West and its modernisation was streamlined, while Western Europe did not benefit from the relationship into which it was brought, sometimes hardly noticing it (Tyulenev 2012b).[18]

This type of intercultural relationship mediated by translation is perhaps the most common. It is this type of relationship that Itamar Even-Zohar theorised as three situations in a (literary) polysystem that require the help of translation: when (1) a (literary) polysystem is at an initial stage of its development lacking a fully formed literary tradition and with a number of free genre 'slots' which, in order to develop, need some 'foreign' stimulation in the form of translated works of these genres; (2) when a (literary) polysystem wants to strengthen its position among other national literatures/cultures and translation makes up for what the (literary) polysystem lacks; (3) when a national literature/culture is in crisis and needs new inspiration, which it draws through translation from other literatures and cultures (1990: 47). In all three cases, the benefit of one of the interacting cultures – of the target culture – is focused on, whereas the source culture's interest is not taken into account. The implication may be that the source culture does not benefit from this process.

Yet there are many times when the source culture benefits too, even if it does not do much to encourage translations from its language(s) into other languages. At least, it may benefit from the growing prestige and fame of its literature or other cultural phenomena. Sometimes the source culture actively encourages translations into foreign languages. For instance, the Canada Council for the Arts promotes translations of books written by Canadian authors into foreign languages. Translation ranks high in the Canada Council for the Arts' agenda: "It all starts with a good book. Then a translator, writer or publisher is inspired to see it translated. Suddenly, thousands of readers discover another side of Canadian literature" (*Canada Council* 2013). This kind of intercultural interaction through translation turns commensalism into a mutually beneficial **mutualism** or **symbiosis** (in the narrow sense of the term).

Antagonism and its extreme form **parasitism** is a type of intercultural relationship in which one side benefits, while the other is harmed or put into a position of disadvantage. Think of translation involved in espionage. One country must suffer a loss of some secret information making it vulnerable, while the other one whose spies obtain the information, which is translated, benefits. A fascinating story about this type of translation and interpreting used for intelligence operations is told in Geoffrey Elliott and Harold

Shukman's book *Secret Classrooms: An Untold Story of the Cold War* (2002; see also Footitt and Tobia 2013: 50ff.). This type of first-hand testimony and research may help us discover a less known aspect of the role translation plays in cultures' interaction.

Amensalism is a relationship when one culture is inhibited or even destroyed by the other, while the latter is virtually unaffected. A biological example would be the relationship of two fledglings in the same nest, one of which manages to get all the food from their parents while the other gets little or nothing and may eventually even die while the other is unaffected by the death of its sibling. This, *mutatis mutandis,* is what we observe in situations when in colonial markets translations were extremely domesticated, depriving the translated cultures of their uniqueness and foreignness (the main concern of postcolonialism). While for the target culture in this kind of situation another translation is little more than just another book in its language, and it, therefore, may not especially benefit from such ('yet another') input, the translated, source, cultures suffer at least in one respect – at being deprived of their identity, they thus suffer a kind of cultural harm.

Competition is traditionally considered as a positive aspect of translational activities, especially in literary translation. Since at least Ancient Roman in the West, it has been usual to consider translation as a competition field where the translator competes with the author. It is this sort of competitive spirit that underlay translations of the leading translator of early nineteenth-century Russia Vasilii Zhukovskii. He saw the translator not as a slave, but as a creator of another text: "The translator is a creator of the image for which he has his own materials. He should use them without any guidance or external help […] He can create when, being filled with the ideal he found in the translated poet, he transforms that ideal into a creation of his own imagination […]" (cited in Tyulenev 2004: 56; translation is mine).

Competition may have a sinister side. Although it is hard to imagine what in biology is termed **synnecrosis** on the scale of interaction of entire cultures, it is possible to imagine something of the kind on the level of individual cultural phenomena. Synnecrosis is a relationship which is detrimental to both species leading to the death of both. Imagine a situation when a translation of a piece of literary art is rendered extremely poorly, thus misrepresenting the source's real value. The translation is rejected by the target culture, but so is the source text. For the general public, which does not always discriminate between the source and its translation, both die: the translation as a poor text in the target language and the source as ('perhaps') also a poor text.

Let us look at the following example. In a Saint-Petersburg newspaper in the late eighteenth century, a translation of the French writer Jean-François Marmontel's work was criticised as extremely poor (the translator's name was not indicated). The reviewer said that in the translation although "the characters do speak Russian, they speak such a strange, vague and unclear Russian that nobody understands it" (*SUV* 1873: 85). The reviewer saw such translation as nothing

more than a result of envy which "appears in different guises in order to ruin the glory [of great writers], often, feigning great care, wounding them through the pens of inexperienced translators" (ibid.: 84). In other words, a 'poor' translation is viewed as detrimental to both the receiving culture and the original text. "Nobody would want to read" such a translation (ibid.: 85).

Finally, **neutralism**, as its name suggests, is an intercultural contact or relationship that is the source of neither benefit nor harm for the parties involved. As applied to translation, it may not necessarily mean absence of translations between such cultures, but rather lack of any considerable influence of one culture on the other. Translational processes may be too few and insignificant or virtually invisible (e.g., because not published and, hence, not widely circulated). This may be a scenario for cultures that come into contact either for too short a period or for cultures in which contact with other cultures is limited only to a narrow social stratum. Consider societies in the times before the invention of the printing press. If a manuscript was translated in a monastery, its influence on the society was negligible: only translators themselves or their patrons would have access to it. Usually in such situations if the translation was of significance, its importance would manifest itself only considerably later. It may be hard to find evidence of neutralism in intercultural interactions of some periods and places because there may be virtually no historical record, except from later periods.

Neutralism may be 'artificial' and caused by censorship or ideological preoccupations. A good example is the history of James Joyce's *Ulysses* in the Russian-speaking world. One of the translators of the full version, Sergei Khoruzhii, examined the history of Joyce's *Ulysses* in Russia and in Russian literature (1994). First, he analysed the fate that befell Joyce's novel among émigré Russian writers, such as Vladimir Nabokov, and found evidence of some interaction, which was noncommittal curiosity, rather than interest capable of initiating translations. In the Soviet part of Russian literary circles, Khoruzhii sees three periods: the initial stage of learning about the novel (1920s); the second, ideological, stage, when Joyce was rejected as contradicting the proletarian aesthetic and ideological ideals (1930s); and the third stage, which Khoruzhii dubbed 'bureaucratic' when the novel was discussed but only by those loyal to the regime (from the 1960s to the fall of the late 1980s to early 1990s). Although excerpts had appeared in print, it was only after the collapse of the Soviet Union that the novel appeared in full. It was translated by Viktor Khinkis and Khoruzhii himself.

This history shows that there was some interaction between the Russian literary system and James Joyce's *Ulysses*, but Russian readers had no chance of reading the entire novel and had to content themselves with only (often distorted) critical appraisals and severely limited access to the actual text. It would be misleading to describe this contact through translation as non-existent or only negative. In fact, Khoruzhii and Khinkis started their translation in the 1970s, although on their own initiative and with little hope of publishing their

translation. Also, as has been said, there were translations of some excerpts. In other words, translation did establish a contact between the novel and the Russian-speaking literary system, but for mostly ideological reasons the novel could not reach the Russian readership. The contact had the nature of neutralism and largely artificial at that.

By way of concluding this section and the entire chapter, the following research questions may be suggested:

? What scenarios of intercultural interaction can be observed in different times between the cultures you specialise in?
? What is the role of translation in these interactions?
? Were there different patterns of translator/interpreter behaviour in these interactions and what were they?

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main questions opening the chapter.
2 Prepare a presentation about the role of translation in intra- or intercultural interactions. Provide your own examples.
3 Analyse the extract from Anne Dacier's introduction to her translation of Homer's *Iliad* (1699) paying attention to what she wrote about her translation and whom she addressed in her introduction (in Lefevere 1992: 10–13).
4 Analyse excerpts collected in Chapter 5 in Lefevere (1992) in terms of what scenarios of translation's intercultural mediation they suggest. (For more material for analysis see also Venuti (2012: 13–20).)

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

Gelder (2007); Kluckhohn (1949: Chapter III (pp. 17–44)); Hung (2005); Oswell (2006); Spivak (2012).

Notes

1 See also as reprinted in Venuti (2012: 168–81).
2 This question is related to the discussion of translation universals (Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004), which is far from being settled.
3 See more on adaptation needs of societies in Chapter 7. As far as the difference between culture and cultures is concerned, as was the case with the difference between society and societies (Chapter 1), the budding translation scholar may want to concentrate on something less challenging than universal features of translator/interpreter behaviour. That will require collecting a great deal of data with concomitant comparative analysis; it must be a team long-term effort. For beginning translation scholars it is advisable to focus on one or two concentrating on no-larger-than-national translator/interpreter cultures.

4 Jerome's acceptance of the LXX as "the church edition" was a compromise: it was acceptable "either because it is the original, made before Christ's coming, or because it was used by the Apostles – but only in those places where it does not conflict with the Hebrew" (2012: 29).
5 The spiritual and material, curiously, traded places, as it were: the Holy Spirit appeared as a materialisation of the dematerialised society.
6 As we see in the case in Jerome's "Letter to Pammachius": "I […], Pammachius, consider myself fortunate […], since your educated ears will hear my answer to a foolish tongue that slings allegations of ignorance or deceit at me, claiming that either I was unable or I refused to translate a letter accurately from Greek"; in addition, Jerome's opponents are shown as fraudulent and, compared to Judas, bandits, thieves, pirates, impious, etc.; they commit criminal acts – e.g., plundering his translation made for private use, etc. (2012: 21–2, 27).
7 "Among the uneducated crowd they declare me false, claiming that I did not translate word for word […] These, and trivialities of this sort, are my crimes" (Jerome 2012: 22).
8 Jerome wrote that Eusebius of Cremona "began ardently to beseech [him] to turn [Pope Epiphanius's letter to Bishop John of Jerusalem] into Latin for him […] since he was entirely ignorant of the Greek language. I did just as he asked […] " (2012: 22). We find similar reasonings with East Slavonic translators of religious texts. They claimed that they translated even under the "divine pressure": Konstantin of Preslav, in addition to being "overcome by certain pious men", was also afraid of divine punishment, while John the Exarch justified his audacity by remembering the New Testament parable of the talents distributed by the Lord to his servants who had to use them for his gain or be punished, implying that his translation was his using a talent given by the Lord (Franklin 2002: 209–10).
9 Jerome mentioned the absence of "comparable word[s]" in his target language, Latin, "the twists of hyperbaton [differences in sentence word order in languages], the differences in grammatical cases, the varieties of rhetorical figures" and "the peculiar native character of the language" which forced him to avoid word-for-word rendering (2012: 24). John the Exarch generalised: "The Greek language cannot be rendered identically when it is translated into another language; this is so for any language when translated into another" (in Franklin 2002: 210).
10 Jerome wrote: "I not only admit, but freely proclaim that in translation from the Greek – except in the case of Sacred Scripture, where the very order of the words is a mystery – I render not word for word, but sense for sense" (2012: 23).
11 Jerome wrote: "Among the uneducated crowd they [adversaries] declare me false, claiming […] that – *monstrous to say* – through a malicious interpretation I chose not to carry over the title ['most reverend'] for Bishop John" (2012: 22; emphasis added).
12 Jerome cited examples from the LXX, recalled relevant historical anecdotes, strengthened his case by quoting classical authors (Terence, Juvenal) – all in order to prove that his translation was in keeping with accepted standards.
13 Jerome mentioned Cicero as a translator of Plato, Xenophon, Aeschines and Demosthenes; Terence as a translator of Menander; Plautus and Caecilius, translators of the ancient comic poets; Hilary the Confessor, a translator of some homilies on Job and commentaries on the psalms from Greek into Latin.
14 Jerome demonstrated his Christian humiliation: "[A]lthough I am called a liar […], I am content to absolve it without retaliation" (2012: 30).
15 The applicability of Luhmann's theory to translation will be discussed in Chapter 7.
16 In the cited passage, Georg Breuer speaks primarily about animal collectivities, but in the context of his book, this principle of the 'innovation–conservatism' balance applies to human societies as well.

17 Of course, translating subcultures' languages may be indeed necessary for the uninitiated. This is comparable to London cockney slang that requires translation. For instance, the phrase "Went down to the Cabin Cruiser to watch the match" would make sense for the general public only if the expression *Cabin Cruiser* is translated: *Boozer* (see *Cockney* 2013).

18 Not all social classes within Russia benefited or benefited in the same way from westernisation. For instance, the new capital of the empire Saint-Petersburg – the very symbol of westernisation – was built by serfs, many of whom died from diseases and hard labour, for them westernisation was obviously not beneficial at all. But for the empire as a whole westernisation meant much-needed modernisation. Thanks to westernisation the empire became capable of protecting itself from its enemies; sciences and arts flourished; political, economic and educational reforms were initiated. Every time the effect of one culture on another is studied, it should be taken into consideration that different groups within involved cultures may be affected differently and to different degrees.

Chapter 3

Preparing to act

The main questions:

- **What is socialisation?**
- **What are the major conceptualisations of socialisation?**
- **What are the agents of socialisation?**
- **What stages and aspects of the translator's socialisation are the most important in terms of his/her professional practice?**
- **What is human sociality and how is it related to the profession of translator/interpreter? What does it mean that translation is positively hypersocial?**

Unlike animals, no human is born *human*. When a kitten is born and separated from its mother, it will still catch mice. But if a human baby is born and raised away from human company, it learns nothing human and therefore psychologically or socially it is not human.

Translators are also socialised human beings: they are brought up, educated and thanks to this they become members of human societies in which they work as translators and interpreters. Proverbially, nothing human is alien to them. This chapter looks into the paths translators and interpreters have to take in order to become translators and interpreters as well as how their profession continues their socialisation.

Socialisation models

Socialisation is defined in sociology as the process whereby human beings learn culture and, thus, develop their human potential. Humans' personalities are socially formed. As was made clear in Chapter 2, in order to absorb culture, society is needed and without society as a network of relations with other human beings, humans are unable to form their personality. Socialisation is a

multi-staged, complex and in fact lifelong process. Weighing the undeniable influence of nature upon the human being, sociologists agree that, ultimately, "as cultural creatures, nurture is our nature" (Macionis 2000: 62).

There are several theories of socialisation. Not all of them seem to be equally applicable to the study of translators and interpreters. For instance Jean Piaget's (1896–1980) observations on cognitive development concern mostly earlier stages of human life and would not contribute much to understanding how translators and interpreters become socialised. It is hardly conceivable that there is anything completely different about children who would become translators or interpreters. Piaget's theory, therefore, is too general and only of marginal interest for TIS.

Lawrence Kohlberg (1927–87) investigated socialisation in terms of moral development, that is, in terms of how people come to know what is right and what is wrong.[1] Kohlberg came to the conclusion that children move from purely egotistical notions of what is right and what is wrong to redefining them in a more socially acceptable fashion.

In early childhood, children's judgements of what is right and what is wrong are governed by what satisfies them personally: good food, good toys, physical comfort. At this level, their only motivation is to avoid pain and discomfort and seek pleasure.

As they grow, especially in their teens, they learn to consider other people's feelings: they learn to please not only themselves but their parents, siblings, etc. In some cases, they learn even to forgo their own pleasure for the pleasure of those around them. Thus, they internalise social moral standards and seek pleasure not only in what pleases them but in what is approved socially. Adults encourage children to behave in socially acceptable ways and to discern different contexts in which different types of behaviour are appropriate: what to do, what not to do, what to say and what not to say. Children learn the cultural norms or conventions of their society. The first level was preconventional whereas this level is conventional because the person's moral perspective changes from an egocentric one to one tuned to social conventions and relationships.

Later moral development may reach a level at which fully socialised human beings may critically evaluate conventions. This is the level of moral maturity, when an adult may see beyond what is right and wrong in their society, maybe question whether what is considered right or wrong is really right or wrong and if so, why. Kohlberg calls this level postconventional when the individual has the prior-to-society perspective, that is, the perspective of "a rational individual aware of values and rights prior to social attachments and contracts [and …] recognising the nature of morality or the fact that persons are ends in themselves and must be treated as such" (1976: 35). Critics of Kohlberg's theory argue that "many people in the United States apparently never reach the postconventional level of moral reasoning, although exactly why is still an open question" (Macionis 2000: 67).

In general, sociological theories of moral development raise the following questions:

> How does a person become moral? What is conscience? What does it mean to be "a person of principle"? What factors influence the way people really behave in moral situations, not simply how they think? What can parents and society do to help children grow into morally mature adults? What do we now know about moral development and behavior, and what remains to be learned?
>
> (Lickona 1976: x)

In relation to translation and interpreting ethics, Kohlberg's and other theories of moral development lead us to ask questions such as:

? What is the relationship between conventional and postconventional levels of moral development in the translator/interpreter experience?
? Do translators and interpreters need to reach the postconventional level and why or why not?
? What are the features of conventional or postconventional translator/interpreter behaviour?

Carol Gilligan (b. 1936) observed how girls develop and compared the results of her observations with those of Kohlberg. She studied the social development of girls from six to eighteen years old. She found that, although younger girls have high self-esteem, as time passes they tend to lose it and develop the traits that are associated with Western standards of female behaviour – being cooperative and deferential to men. This may be to do with the fact that in secondary school figures of authority are mostly men.

Gilligan also observed a difference in moral standards between boys and girls. If for boys the criterion for judging what is right and what is wrong is justice, for girls the deciding factors are care and responsibility. For boys, breaking the law is wrong despite any mitigating circumstances, whereas for girls, sympathy may supersede purely legal considerations: girls may express sympathy with those breaking the law, taking into consideration why the lawbreaker did what s/he did. Gilligan goes further to question Kohlberg's preference of rule-based male moral standards as superior to person-based female standards. She argues for adopting more flexible moral standards.

Gilligan's work is important as it balances the vision of human moral development by taking into account both sexes. She also traces the formation of the gender consciousness of the sexes. Sex is understood as a purely biological-physiological characteristic – female or male. Gender denotes socially induced characteristics defined by roles and stereotypes in a particular society. For instance, women are supposed to, and therefore tend to, behave differently from men, or women are supposed to be, and therefore tend to be, emotional whereas all men are

rational, and so on. These are not properties of the sexes but properties of genders, because there are women who are less emotional than some men and because there are societies with alternative distributions of behavioural patterns.

Gilligan's research grew out of her being struck by the fact that the social sciences had adopted patriarchal culture and research was 'all-male'. Males were considered a norm, "the measure of humanity" (2011: 15–16). Further, she asked: "If the omission of half the human population was not seen or not seen as significant or not spoken about as a problem (by women or men), what other omissions are not being seen?" (Gilligan *et al*. 1988: v). She saw adding women's thinking to the pool of ideas about humanity as a necessary "different voice" (1982). She argues: "The inclusion of this voice changes the map of the moral domain. Listening to girls and women, we have come to listen differently to boys and men" (Gilligan *et al*. 1988: v).

Gilligan's research leads us to ask the following questions:

? Are there any gender- and sex-specific differences between female and male translators and interpreters? If so, what are they?
? What is the distribution of roles in translation workplaces between sexes?
? Is there any difference in the sex- and gender-related dynamics of translator/interpreter training?

The two earlier theories of socialisation are those of Sigmund Freud and George Herbert Mead. Although both of them were elaborated more than a century ago, they still influence present-day sociological research and can suggest interesting perspectives for considering the translator/interpreter professional socialisation, that is, their socialisation as professionals, not only as human beings in general.

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) studied the relationship of the biological, psychological and social in the human being. The three levels correspond to the aspects of human personality: id (Latin for 'it'), ego (Latin for 'I') and super-ego ('above the ego'). The id represents basic physiological drives. The id reigns supreme in the earliest stages of human development when all motivations are directed towards reaching physical comfort and seeking selfish pleasures. As the society in which the child grows imposes its limitations (one of the first words the child is likely to learn is 'no'), the ego is formed – the conscious balancing of selfish desires with socially acceptable behaviour: "The ego develops from perceiving instincts [associated with the id – *S.T.*] to controlling them, from obeying instincts to curbing them" (Freud 1961b: 944). Finally, Freud claimed, the super-ego steps centre stage: culture starts to operate and determine the individual's behaviour. The super-ego makes itself felt in consciousness, rationalising why we cannot have everything we want. Passing through these three stages, the child goes from the right and wrong as prompted by physical pleasures to the right and wrong as suggested by cultural norms imposed from without and internalised as consciousness.

Freud saw the relationship between the id and the super-ego within the individual as a conflict that the ego tries to hold within the acceptable limits. The ego's failure to ensure a balance between the id and the super-ego may lead to personality disorders. Freud gives a vivid illustration of how the balance is managed:

> [I]n relation to the id [the ego] is like a man on horseback, who has to hold in check the superior strength of the horse; with this difference, that the rider seeks to do so with his own strength while the ego uses borrowed forces [lent by the super-ego – *S.T.*]. The illustration may be carried further. Often a rider, if he is not to be parted from his horse, is obliged to guide it where it wants to go; so in the same way the ego constantly carries into action the wishes of the id as if they were its own.
>
> (1961a: 733)

Often the balance between culture in the super-ego trying to repress the selfish id is reached by sublimation, channelling selfish drives into socially acceptable behaviour. Aggression, for example, may be sublimated by the person's engaging in sports or taking up leadership roles (see more in 'Channelling and sublimation'). This is, in Freud's illustration, letting the horse go its way and pretending that the rider chose the way.

Although dated in some of its aspects (such as what is seen today as an overstated emphasis on the basic instincts, their role and their force, and a male-focused theorisation of humans), Freud's ideas have influenced and are continuing to influence the social sciences (see Box 3.1). For instance, there are clear parallels between stages of human development as described by Freud and Kohlberg's socialisation theories. Freud was also the first to note the importance of childhood experiences for understanding adult behaviour.

Box 3.1: The three major psychoanalysts

Psychoanalysis is a theory of individual psychology in both its normal and pathological states that also has had an impact on sociology. The founder of psychoanalysis was the Austrian physician **Sigmund Freud** and, although after him many of his original concepts were modified or developed, his name is still the main name associated with psychoanalysis.

As a student at the University of Vienna, Freud studied medicine, but was also attracted to the natural sciences. He also studied in Paris with the professor of neurology Jean-Martin Charcot and, incidentally, translated his lectures. Freud developed his psychoanalytic methods of treatment and therapy of nervous diseases in his private clinic. Freud's method concentrated on fantasies, repressed desires and the unconscious, accessed through the analysis of dream, verbal slips, etc. The other important focus

of his studies was infantile sexuality and sexual drives, in which his interest in biology merged with psychology.

Freudian ideas were developed and modified after his death. Neo-Freudians stressed the importance of interpersonal relations and the influence of socio-cultural factors on individual development. This turn in the evolution of Freudian ideas is referred to as 'ego psychology', because the stress is shifted from biological to socially formed/influenced traits of personality – the ego.

One of the most prominent developers of Freudian psychoanalysis is the Swiss psychiatrist **Carl Gustav Jung** (1875–1961). Jung linked the development of the individual psyche with the collective unconscious – collective beliefs, myths, including the universal ones, common to all humans. All these collective unconscious phenomena were termed 'archetypes'. Jung's ideas about archetypes have interested cultural historians and students of mythology.

Jacques Lacan (1901–81), a French psychoanalyst and doctor of medicine, applied Freudian ideas to structuralism, whose proponents theorise social phenomena as networks of relations within structured systems, such as language systems. Lacan argued that the unconscious is also structured. The most influential of Lacan's ideas is the succession of individual developmental phases or stages. The first is the 'mirror phase', the stage Lacan terms "the Imaginary." At this stage, the child develops the concept of its own ego when it sees itself in a mirror, falsely assuming that the ego is stable and wholesome and that the interaction with the other is direct, with nothing getting in the way (e.g., in romantic love). At the stage of the Symbolic, the imaginary wholeness of the mirror phase is broken. The interaction with the other is realised as regulated externally by symbols, most prominently language. Language and other symbolic systems are always in the way of the self's communicating with the other. The development of the self progresses in that it finds its 'voice' as a recognisable language user. Finally, the Real brings the self to the edge of an abyss of the unknown and unknowable from which the self escapes into the symbolisation of the otherwise chaotic reality. The Real is not something mystical, but that part of reality from whose overwhelming power the psychological and social mechanisms protect us. Breakthroughs of the Real through the symbolisation cause crises. Lacan's theory made psychoanalysis popular outside academic circles. In French politics Lacanian psychoanalysis became a cultural phenomenon spanning its influence from the 1960s to the present.

Psychoanalysis and sociology

Freud's generalisation of the Oedipus complex (the son's hatred of the father) to all types of societies, instead of considering it applicable only to patriarchal societies, gave it a faulty sociological start (Erich Fromm in

Arato and Gebhardt 1978: 485). Freudianism was attacked for the lack of scientific foundation. Yet psychoanalysis significantly contributed to the discussions of the old disputes in the social sciences, such as the dispute about the relationship of the individual and society and the rational and the irrational in human behaviour (Alexander 1998: 4, 71, 180; Frosh 2012: 211–39). Psychoanalytical politics overcame some of its impasses with the help of Lacan's reformulation of Freudian psychoanalysis, specifically the latter's discussion of the interaction between the individual and society (Powell 2010: 111).

Freud's work played a significant role in thinking about social development. Some of his ideas are now part and parcel of theorising the social, although they are no longer even recognised as Freudian: the parent–child relationship, the development of gender identity, the appropriation of moral values, the influence of conflict on human psychology, the evolution of self-regulatory mechanisms in the human and so on (Underwood and Rosen 2011: 11).

Although feminists have severely criticised Freud for the misogyny of his psychoanalytic theory, they also see its importance for undermining "the sexual indifference that underlies the truth of any science" through the elaboration of a theory of sexuality (Luce Irigaray, cited in Game 1991: 15). Although originally misogynistic, paradoxically Freudian ideas allowed the development of feminist approaches in the social sciences.

To give yet another example, in his later works Freud broadened his psychological theory to include social institutions (notably, religion) and society as a whole, thus stepping into the sociological domain. Arguably, entire groups or even societies can also suffer from problems similar to neuroses. That is one of the reasons why not everybody is convinced that psychoanalysis is outdated or irrelevant. For instance, it is suggested that it can be applied to the study of national traumas: "National complacency during the Holocaust, Rwandan genocide, and other traumatic events indicate that this may not be a far-fetched idea" (Powell 2010: 107).

Does psychoanalysis in general and Freud's ideas in particular have any relevance to understanding the professional development of translators and interpreters? Although we have to be careful, the relationship between the id, ego and super-ego and the stages that the person passes while acquiring socially determined values and experiencing socially imposed limitations may, arguably, help to better understand translator/interpreter training and professional experiences. It should be borne in mind that what follows is a re-interpretation suggesting new angles of the study of the translator's personal and professional socialisation.

Three distinct stages may be distinguished in the maturing professional translator/interpreter. First, there is the id stage when the budding translator

or interpreter is influenced by naïve ideas about translation as rendering what s/he sees in the original or hears in the original message into the target language. This leads to overly literal renderings, sometimes even violating the target language; sometimes the translation may even come out as not quite making sense. If pressed for an explanation, the translator or interpreter usually says that that is what the original says. The reason is not just the lack of professional skills of transposing messages from one language into another or the lack of consideration of the target audience. Rather, it is the translator student's hyperallegiance to the source text or her/his desire to render the source text 'faithfully', which means for him/her to be as close to it as possible, even at the cost of the target language.

In the process of professional training, this naive hyperallegiance is counterbalanced with trainers' and peers' comments, corrections and suggestions. The translator's/interpreter's naivety is overcome as the id is restrained by the super-ego of the translation culture. Eventually the translator learns not to render the source too closely because the translator ego, to borrow Freud's term, learns to negotiate between his/her translator id and the translation-culture super-ego.

Yet the translator or interpreter may feel that the culture of translation imposed on him/her is too rigid or deprives him/her of the freedom to act as s/he sees fit. Under such circumstances some translators may become resistant to the dominant culture and the translator may decide to break away from the imposed norms. This is how the tension between the translator ego and the translator super-ego may manifest itself. Although this 'break-away' behaviour is unlikely to take any violent forms, as is the case with the conflicts between the id and super-ego studied by Freud, the lack of internal balance may make itself felt quite acutely. In fact, the translator ego is responsible for balancing between four parties: his/her ego and two cultural influences – the target translation culture and the general cultures involved in the translation process – and the professional translation culture.

? What are the dynamics between the general cultures, professional translation culture and the translator's personality?
? How do translators manage to balance the conflicting interests of the competing parties?

The notion of sublimation may be also interesting for conceptualising the translator's behaviour at the intercultural and interpersonal crossroads. The translator's id may have different natural inclinations, such as a high level of creativity, which the translation super-ego limits and then this creativity may be sublimated by the translator's adopting creative or unconventional strategies (e.g., the translator may prefer strikingly different ways of translating among the more usual strategies, such as extreme foreignisation in the midst of prevalent domesticating approaches).

Freud's theory helps us account for deeper relationships between different forces determining the translator/interpreter behaviour which have otherwise not been theorised, yet the application of Freudian ideas does require caution if we are to avoid confusing the biological with the psychological and social.

George H. Mead's (1863–1931) theory of social behaviourism rejects the Freudian emphasis on the biological drives governing the development of personality. Social behaviourism is a branch of psychological behaviourism. Psychological behaviourism, building on the work of animal psychologists, notably the Russian physiologist Ivan Pavlov (1849–1936), focuses on observable behaviour rather than on mental states or subjective experiences. Mead, like all behaviourists, studied the observable actions of individuals, yet unlike classical psychological behaviourists, traced them to their unobservable causes. Without this, he argued, it would be impossible to understand human behaviour. Moreover, he stressed the importance of social experience for individual development.

Mead theorised individual development as the creation and development of the self. The self is the person's self-awareness. The self does not exist before the human being comes into contact with the social world. The self is not the body, that is why in the absence or insufficiency of the interaction between the individual and society, the self does not develop properly as is observed in the case of feral and isolated children.

For Mead, social interactions are, in essence, the exchange of symbols. Unlike animals, humans use symbols, such as words or gestures, to express meanings. That is why he connected overt behaviour with covert motivations. In interpersonal relations, people respond to such meanings, rather than to symbols alone. One and the same word spoken may convey different meanings, but it is the covert intentions informing those meanings that cause responses or reactions. An animal may be trained to understand some human gestures, but no animal will be able to understand the intentions behind the gestures. In Mead's own words:

> What is peculiar to the [situation in which significant symbols are utilised] is that the individual responds to his own stimulus in the same way as other people respond. Then the stimulus becomes significant; then one is saying something. As far as a parrot is concerned, its "speech" means nothing, but where one significantly says something with his own vocal process he is saying it to himself as well as to everybody else within reach of his voice. It is only the vocal gesture that is fitted for this sort of communication, because it is only the vocal gesture to which one responds or tends to respond as another person tends to respond to it. […] Of course, the same is true of any form of script. But such symbols have all been developed out of the specific vocal gesture, for that is the basic gesture which does influence the individual as it influences others.
>
> (1961a: 1000)

In order to understand intentions, people 'take the role of the other' (Mead 1961c). Taking the role of the other means that in order to understand the other, we have to imagine what that person may feel or think. In other words, in their symbolic interaction humans always try to imagine others' feelings and thoughts.

The translators' and interpreters' professionalism hinges on the ability to take the role of the other; that is what they learn during their human socialisation in general and their professional socialisation in particular. The translator/interpreter takes two roles: s/he should understand the intention of the source text and its creator as well as take the role of the target audience. The importance of taking the role of the target audience is especially stressed in functionalist theories of translation (the skopos theory and the theory of translational (or translatorial) action; Vermeer (1989); Holz-Mänttäri (1984)) and in theoretical approaches building on Gideon Toury's conceptualisation of translation as a fact of the culture that hosts them (2012: 18).

According to Mead, when we take the role of others, we develop self-awareness. The self in Mead's theory comprises two parts – the I and the me (1961b). The I is the subjective side of the self. The me is the objective part: it reflects how we imagine how others see us. The I may initiate an action, but we continue to act based on what the me tells us. The me is tuned to the feedback about our initiatives looping the circle that goes from the I to others through the me back to the I. This is how, according to Mead, the individual is connected to the society. This mechanism describes the relationship between the translator's own opinion, vision of her/himself and her/his work, on the one hand, and the relevant opinions of his/her trainers, colleagues and clients. The relationship between the I and the me is cumulative and reciprocal: what the relationship made us as children affects our professional performance; on the other hand, our professional practice with the I–me feedback loop affects our personality. Mead's theory allows us to see the dynamic of the personal development through social interactions.[2]

Another American symbolic interactionist **Charles Horton Cooley** (1864–1929) suggested a similar concept – the concept of the 'looking-glass self', which means that one's view and positioning of oneself in society is like a mirror image of what others think about him/her. For instance, translators and interpreters are likely to conceive of themselves being influenced by their clients, audience and the society as a whole. Daniel Simeoni wrote of "the ingrained subservience of the translator" (1998: 19). If that is so, then subservience must affect the translator more than less subservient professions. The question is, however,

? What is the dynamic of the I–me feedback loop as far as translators and interpreters are concerned?
? To what extent does the looking-glass self affect the translator?

? How is the looking-glass self of the translator different from or similar to other professionals and his/her clients?

Going back to Mead's theory, there are several stages of development of the self in society. The development is about learning to take the role of the other. First, as children, we learn that by imitation of our significant others – our parents. Gradually children learn to take the roles of more and more others at once. Ultimately, they learn to see themselves and anyone else in terms of cultural norms. In Mead's terminology, eventually, culture teaches socialised individuals to see the generalised other:

> The very organization of the self-conscious community is dependent upon individuals taking the attitude of the other individuals. The development of this process […] is dependent upon getting the attitude of the group as distinct from that of a separate individual – getting what I have termed a "generalized other." I have illustrated this by the ball game, in which the attitudes of a set of individuals are involved in a co-operative response in which the different rôles involve each other. In so far as a man takes the attitude of one individual in the group, he must take it in its relationship to the action of the other members of the group; and if he is fully to adjust himself, he would have to take the attitudes of all involved in the process. (1961c: 740)

Mead insisted that during its life, the self continues to change, absorbing and digesting new social experiences. The ability to take the role of the other becomes more and more sophisticated. This ability is very important for translators and interpreters who have to develop it not only in relation to their own culture but also in relation to other cultures with which they engage professionally. Without imagining how the audience of the source culture saw the theme of the text and whether and how that view may agree or disagree with the target audience's it is impossible to produce a translation.

Erik H. Erikson (1902–94) took the broadest view of socialisation.[3] He claimed that human beings have to cope with different social challenges during their whole life. In infancy, they have to establish trust that theirs is a safe world. Their family plays a key role in helping them to meet this challenge. Later children have to become autonomous in dealing with the world, demonstrating initiative and industriousness. The circle of their interactions grows wider and wider: they deal with people outside their families and their peer groups (groups of children and adolescents of their age). As adolescents they struggle to gain their identity while at the same time keeping the sense of belonging to a group. In young adulthood, they have to learn to develop intimate relationships with others (love, friendship). In middle adulthood (or simply adulthood), the challenge is to make a difference versus self-absorption and stagnation. At this age, people try to contribute to the lives of others, whether within their own family or at their

workplace or, more ambitiously, for the larger world. The alternative is to become absorbed in one's own concerns and petty problems. Erikson writes:

> To adulthood […] we have assigned the critical antithesis of *generativity* vs. *self-absorption and stagnation*. Generativity […] encompasses *procreativity*, *productivity*, and *creativity*, and thus the generation of new beings as well as of new products and new ideas, including a kind of self-generation concerned with further identity development. [… The virtue of this stage] is a widening commitment to *take care of* the persons, the products, and the ideas one has learned *to care for*.
>
> (1985: 67; emphases in original)

It is at this stage of personal development that professional performance becomes one of the ways to contribute and make one's life matter for all humanity. In translation and interpreting, this is the motivation to optimise the communication of people of different cultures in small communities or in larger social contexts, perhaps, to translate important texts, etc. Perhaps, it would be naïve to think that all translators and interpreters only work for altruistic reasons and for the good of all humanity, but even becoming a good professional, earning the reputation of a good translator/interpreter is to want to make a difference as a professional, to achieve professional recognition and this motivation is characteristic of this stage in Erikson's outline of human socialisation.

Erikson singles out eight stages of development all together: infancy, toddlerhood, pre-school, pre-adolescence, adolescence, young adulthood, middle adulthood, which have been outlined above, and old age when people hope to look back with a sense of accomplishment, rather than with despair over missed opportunities. Complementing Mead's model of the enculturation process, Erikson guides us to appreciate the early stages when the person develops the sense of belonging to his/her own society, which is important for his/her entire life and career because every translator/interpreter is ultimately a carrier of his/her home culture. The experience of enculturation will also enable him/her to adapt to other cultures. Erikson helps us understand better translation/interpreting as a profession in which people try to make a difference. Thus, two sets of research questions may be posed. The first set will focus on the enculturation of translation:

? What is the difference, if any, between how the translator/interpreter socialises in his/her home culture and in other cultures?
? What is the role of language learning for translator enculturation?
? What degree of intimate knowledge of the culture is required for feeling at home in another culture?

The second set of questions will address the professional side of the translator's personal development:

? What are the necessary professional competencies that will ensure professional performance, a sense of belonging to the professional community and guarantee professional dealings with clients?
? What are the ambitions and aspirations of budding translators/interpreters and how and to what extent are they fulfilled in real life?

Erikson's model was criticised for not reflecting how socialisation unfolds in each and every human being's life. This is a somewhat unfair criticism as sociological theory attempts to identify general patterns, relegating individual cases with all possible peculiarities to psychology. Erikson's model is important in that it goes beyond seeing socialisation as limited mainly or only to the earlier stages of human life. He also stresses the role that different social settings, such as family, peer groups, school, workplace, play in personality development. This is the main theme of the next section.

Agents of socialisation

Every social experience, however small and seemingly fleeting, has a significance for our socialisation. Some social settings, such as family, school, peer groups and mass media, especially in modern societies, play a major role. These social settings affect the personality and the professional mindset.

The family is the first agent of socialisation and one of the most influential. Parents do not only bring a child into the physical world, they also place him/her in a social world of their home culture. Children's foundation in terms of religion, ethnicity and class is laid in the familial environment. Sociological research shows that there are differences in what traits of personality are developed and encouraged by families belonging to different social strata. Projecting on their children their values and mostly routine low-skilled professional experience, lower-class families tend to encourage obedience and conformity, whereas upper-class families, having experience of working in jobs requiring more schooling and more imagination, encourage their children to study harder and aim at a university degree. This does not mean to say that there is no social mobility, for example, people raised in modest lower-class environments getting a better education and working in better-paid and more creative jobs than their parents. In fact, there is an ever-growing number of people shifting upwards on a social scale, yet overall the pattern seems to persist.

The family is the environment in which people learn their first languages and get exposure to their first culture. In today's world of globalisation, there are more and more families with more than one language spoken.

? Does this affect the professional world of translation?
? Do translators/interpreters themselves attach any significance to their family background?

? How many translators/interpreters come from bi- or multilingual and bi- or multicultural families?
? What other factors, such as various cultural allegiances transmitted in the familial environment, influence the world of professional translation and interpreting?

The school may be the first major exposure to people with backgrounds different from one's own. The school is the place where children learn to interact with their peer groups. They also learn what social significance their ethnicity and gender have. Sociological research shows that even at this early stage children become conscious of these traits of their personality and tend to prefer children of the same ethnicity and gender.

The school is the place where, together with the curriculum stating what skills and what knowledge children are supposed to gain at school, there is a hidden curriculum. For instance, children learn the social value of competition. This is where they experience bureaucracy for the first time; they learn to act according to impersonal rules, dealing with the school administration and a strict timetable. The school inculcates the official ideology of the country with the official version of its history and moral superiority.

The school years are an important stage that will influence the future professional lives of children. Research questions applicable to the role the school plays in translators' and interpreters' lives may be as follows:

? How do translators/interpreters themselves recall their school years in terms of contributing to their professional profiles?
? Did translators attend a mono- or multiculturally oriented school? How did that affect their career?

The peer group is a group whose members are of the same age and share at least some interests. This is the environment in which children learn to operate socially on their own, outside adults' direct control. Peer groups widen the generation gap between the attitudes of children and their parents. This is the instance when intergenerational translation features prominently (Habermas 1988: 148): children interpret their parents' as well as other adults' views, the traditions and ways of life handed down to them. In peer groups children encourage one another to reconsider traditions from their own generation's viewpoint.

Usually any school or neighbourhood is a more or less complex mosaic of peer groups with as complex dynamics of relationships between them. Each group tends to think of themselves in positive terms while discrediting others. This is one of the first major lessons in the adolescent's understanding of social groups' inequalities and prestige in the social landscape. People are influenced not only by those groups they belong to, but also by those they would like to belong to. This is a social learning called 'anticipatory socialisation'. To be sure, anticipatory socialisation does not disappear when people

grow up. For instance, in the translation world, cases are known when translation is used as a means of gaining access to a desired social milieu: authors may translate their works into a language that they and others consider more prestigious or pass off their own work in their language as a translation from a more prestigious language.

Analysing the role of earlier stages in the translator/interpreter professional experience can be done only retrospectively. Methodologically, this can be done only based on translators' and interpreters' own recollections. This is why this type of analysis is of a limited value in terms of objectivity, yet still the knowledge of how the translator/interpreter develops may contribute to our understanding of her/his professional performance. Social roles are, to a considerable extent, internalised at these early stages of socialisation and, although they may change and sometimes even drastically, their evolution during one's life and career occurs within a certain range of options. Research questions may be:

? What possible dynamics of translators'/interpreters' life and career trajectories are observed in this or that particular case?
? How closely, in their opinion, do translators and interpreters follow the values instilled in them in their earlier years in their professional career?
? What relationship can be observed between what translators and interpreters think about the influence that their formative years have had on them and their actual professional performance as analysed by the researcher?
? Is there any influence on thematical preferences of their translation/interpreting projects (cf. it is found that at school boys prefer economics, the physical sciences and computing whereas girls major mostly in the arts and humanities)? Is there any influence of socialisation observed in the translator's behavioural patterns?

Mass media are another source of influence in human socialisation. 'Media' is Latin for 'middle' in the sense of connecting people on a 'mass' scale. First newspapers, then radio and television, now the internet and other new communication technologies all play an important and ever increasing role in the present-day world. Even before children learn to read, they already fall under the influence of television. Mass media project social stereotypes, ideology, moral and aesthetic conventions, which are interiorised by spectators. The translation student may ask questions about the degree of influence mass media exert on the translator and interpreter in his/her formative years (again, we can hardly go beyond retrospective subjectivity and a comparison of them with the actual performance of the translator/interpreter).

There are many other agents of socialisation about which sociologically informed translation research may ask questions, such as:

? What role do religions, social clubs and communities play in translator socialisation?

? What part do professional education and the workplace play in translator/interpreter socialisation?

With many of the socialisation agents listed or discussed above, the relationship between the translation and socialisation process should be extended to a discussion of how translation or interpreting contribute to the influence these agents exert on people. In multilingual schools or in schools where sign languages are used for children with special needs, translation unites with the school as a socialisation agent. In mass media, translation and interpreting figure quite prominently. This is also true, although in varying degrees, about religious and social communities and different types of workplace environments.

? What are possible scenarios of translation's/interpreting's participation in socialisation processes in different socialisation environments?
? How is translation/interpreting used in some of the media and organisations in your neighbourhood, town, educational institution?

Adulthood and professional career

Although, as has been said, socialisation continues during one's entire life, the most relevant periods for the sociology of translation are perhaps childhood and adulthood. Although the main models of socialisation in sociology concern childhood and adolescence, it is also worth discussing some of the most prominent features of socialisation in adulthood in the translator/interpreter career.

Adulthood in today's world normally begins in the professional world in the early twenties when young people try to find work. Translators and interpreters do not seem to be an exception (although special statistical research is needed). Nearing the completion of their degree, people start their professional careers at the same time trying to arrange their personal life. The two influence each other in many ways: financial possibilities impose a range of available options in personal life (marrying, buying/renting property, etc.), while negative events in one's personal life and professional career may influence each other (unemployment or serious illness may adversely affect self-image).

During adulthood, young professionals learn many practical skills, such as budgeting their time, managing their projects, negotiating priorities and demands on time from their significant others and work. The translation student may ask the following research questions:

? What are the practical skills that new translators and interpreters learn when they embark on their professional career?
? What are desired and realistic career trajectories? Do young translators and interpreters prefer to work as freelancers or in organisations such as translation agencies? Why?

? How do mature professionals differ from younger ones in terms of handling workloads, tackling job-related tasks such as issuing invoices, and so on?
? Is there any difference in how demanding work may be for different genders? If so, in what respects?

Professional translation: Some highlights

In TIS, much has been said about translator training, but there are less studied aspects of socialisation. In what follows three aspects will be highlighted. First, a mechanism of translator professional socialisation will be discussed based on Alfred Schutz's concept of 'typification'. Next, we will turn to the ethical socialisation of translators/interpreters as a development of human *hypersociality*. Finally, translator socialisation will be considered in terms of the relationship of translation as a social activity to the adjacent activities.

Typifying the world

In his phenomenological sociological theory (to be discussed in Chapter 8), Alfred Schutz (1899–1959) considered the way people learn about the world around them in and for their practical activities. He called this process 'typification'.

There is no object, person or situation that would be fully identical to another object, person or situation. Everything is different from everything else. This totality of difference would be overwhelming for us, if we did not have the ability to idealise phenomena, that is, disregard, if necessary, what is different in phenomena and group them. We learn to perform the operation of idealisation from our childhood, through our schooling and professional training. Our language is one of the mechanisms of idealisation: it leads us to classify things ignoring their individual particularities. A big dog and a small dog are dogs, despite their different breeds, names, behaviour and many other characteristics, because our language classifies them as dogs and we adopt this classification.

Later in life we also progress in our ability to assume similar courses of action under the circumstances that we see as similar to the circumstances in our past and we behave in a similar fashion. Behaving in the same way in the situation which we see as similar to a previous one allows us to predict possible outcomes and thereby regulate our behaviour. For instance, we know that if we need to get cash we just go to an ATM. If we need to get a job, we should look at local papers or search on the internet, find what suits us and apply. If when translating a text we come across a difficulty, we rely on our experience of resolving similar problems in our translator training and in our previous translation projects, disregarding differences between words and phrases but seeing a metaphor or a particular syntactic construction that we need to translate.

In other words, we typify situations and thus we grow more experienced and knowledgeable as individuals and as translators. Schutz describes the process of typification as follows:

> The first action A' started within a set of circumstances C' and indeed brought about the state of affairs S'; the repeated action A'' starts in a set of circumstances C'' and is expected to bring about the state of affairs S''. By necessity C'' will differ from C' because the experience that A' succeeded in bringing about S' belongs to my stock of knowledge, which is an element of C'', whereas to my stock of knowledge, which was an element of C', belonged merely the empty anticipation that this would be the case. Similarly S'' will differ from S' as A'' will from A'. This is so because the terms – C', C'', A', A'', S', S'' – are as such unique and irretrievable events. Yet exactly those features which make them unique and irretrievable in the strict sense are […] eliminated as being irrelevant for my purpose at hand. When making the idealisation of "I-can-do-it-again" I am merely interested in the typicality of A, C, and S, all of them without primes. The construction consists, figuratively speaking, in the suppression of the primes as being irrelevant, and this, incidentally, is characteristic of typifications of all kinds.
>
> (1962: 21)

From this description it is clear that all human experience and all human learning and training is the suppression of irrelevant details and seeing not what makes phenomena of the same perceived class different, but what makes them comparable. Translator training and gaining translator experience are not an exception. Schutz's concept of typification allows us to see translator socialisation as a kind of human typification in general and as a kind of professional typification in particular. On the one hand translators and interpreters typify in their human experience: they mature by learning how to deal with the world around them, how to behave in different situations and with different people, how to handle different objects they use in their everyday life. On the other hand translators and interpreters typify in their professional experience: they learn to discern different translational situations; all problems that they encounter they are taught to group under different tags such as 'cultural phenomena', 'terms', 'humour', 'literary texts', 'contracts', etc., and search for solutions based on the solutions they themselves or their colleagues found for phenomena under that particular tag in the past.

Hypersociality

One of the major features of translator professional socialisation is what may be called overcoming negative hypersociality. The term *sociality* is broader than *socialisation*. It means a fundamental feature characteristic of the human

species: making socialisation its surviving mechanism. Human beings have made cultural learning, which is indispensable for the survival of humankind as a whole, of any collectivities within it and of any human individual, a mechanism that is available only in the social realm, not a mechanism of their own in-built genetic code or psyche. To be sure, learning from one individual to another is known among other animals, too, but never nearly on the same scale as in the case of humans. The human without a society does not become a member of his/her human species, except physiologically. Society makes a human being and this is a result of human evolution (see Box 3.2).

Box 3.2: Hypersocial humans

It is believed that around 160,000–200,000 years ago humans began to learn more actively from imitating one another. The development of the human species took a turn of cumulative cultural evolution, which made it distinctly different from any other species. This cultural evolution meant a radical change in the trajectory of human phylogenesis (the development of the entire human species): humans learned from one another, from their parents and, with the development of writing and other forms of passing knowledge across space and time, even from long-gone generations or far-away peoples. Moreover, this cultural learning ability was brought out of genetically pre-determined programmes into humans' social environment. Learning became as important for the species and each individual as relying on their genetic information.

However, this new evolutionary trait, "our acquisition of social learning, was just the beginning of our story as a species because it would create a social and evolutionary crisis, the resolution of which would lay the foundations of our psychology and social behaviors and determine the future course of the world" (Pagel 2012: 69–70). The crisis was caused by the following dilemma. On the one hand, humans could make the passing of accumulated knowledge possible only within a family or other types of closed kinship groups so that knowledge would not be revealed to outsiders. The other option was that the accumulated information would be made available to anybody outside the family – to the entire tribe and beyond it. Eventually the second option was chosen. This increased the pool of universally available knowledge and chances of faster augmentation and advancement of the accumulated knowledge from which the species as a whole could benefit. It is one thing when a technique of doing something invented within a family is developed only within a narrow circle (a family, a tribe, a nation); it is an altogether different matter when the improvement could be exponentially accelerated when more and more minds got involved.

The second option made us inescapably socio-dependent. Belonging to a collectivity has become our evolutionary trait: we cannot survive without

being socialised, without being made part of a group. This is "the emotion natural selection has kindled in us to get us to behave as a group with a shared purpose" (Pagel 2012: 73). This leads humans to extreme altruistic acts when humans are prepared even to die for their collectivities. We take this behaviour for granted, Mark Pagel claims, because "it has been wired deep into [our] DNA" (ibid.).

Unlike social insects such as ants, termites, bees, etc., who are described as *eusocial* (where *eu*-means *good* or *normal*), that is truly social, humans are *hypersocial*. Eusocial species protect exclusively their next of kin and thereby the genes of their kinship. Hypersocial humans go beyond protecting their relatives: they are capable of sacrificing themselves for collectivities larger than their biological kinship circle. On the other hand, humans can be intolerant or even violent towards people from other societies whom under other circumstances they might embrace as brothers and sisters. "That is the fragile nature of our sociality and psychology, and it arises because our cultures are cooperative vehicles for the survival of unrelated people, and their genes" (ibid.).

Sociality has both positive and negative sides. On the one hand, humans are 'wired' to be socially conscious and even *hypersocially* conscious: they are capable of caring not only about their own genes. Ants care, even to death, for their nest and their queen. There is no such thing as two anthills fighting to protect each other against a third anthill. In their pride lions have a hierarchy and mutual care, but they never help another pride when those lions go hungry for too long. Only humans can do something like that. The same hypersocially caring humans, however, show intolerance to those who are defined as their enemies and even go and kill them.[4]

Before we understand how this is related to translators and interpreters, one more aspect about human sociality is to be mentioned. This is the division of labour in human societies, which has been studied in sociology since Durkheim. Aspects of translation qua profession will be discussed in the next chapter, but here suffice it to say that the hypersocial reality of human existence has led us to an understanding that all the tasks necessary for the survival of the collectivity to which we belong can be shared: in the beginning it was that some could gather, while some could hunt; later, the specialisation became finer: some could cook, some could cultivate the land, some could protect the territory, etc.

Later, still finer specialisations have developed and some of them became life-long occupations, known as professions. As far as sociality is concerned, some professions are focused on the positive side, some on the negative. Armies protect their collectivities and show little tolerance to outsiders defined as enemies. Translators and interpreters, on the contrary, even in situations of conflicts and wars have to negotiate between the two warring parties in such a way as to enable them to understand each other, at least on the level of information

exchange. In this sense, even the most bigoted interpreter has to overcome his/her bias and, to an extent and temporarily, take sides with the other party. There is an even deeper sense of translation's being hypersocially positive. Translation may help overcome barriers, bring different collectivities closer to one another, increase mutual understanding and cooperation. This is the fundamental hypersocial function of translation in human society. This is the foundation of translation ethics, which makes translation hypersocially positive.

If translation is negative in its hypersociality, that is, if it protects only the interests of what it considers its own collectivity at the expense of other collectivities, it will stop being ethical translation, that is, the activity whose social function is to mediate between interacting parties and help one understand the other. Unethical, hypersocially negative translation will not help the parties overcome their ignorance of or hostility towards each other.

As research in TIS shows it would be naïve to think that translation is always moral, that is, hypersocially positive. In some situations, translation acts in a biased way. The question is, however,

? Is translation intrinsically hypersocially neutral or positive? If it is hypersocially positive, why does it also function hypersocially negatively, disjoining rather than joining, burning rather than building bridges? Translator training always inculcates the ethics of translation/interpreting, which teaches budding translators and interpreters to be hypersocially positive professionals. If so, why is there the negative hypersociality of translation in the world around us?
? Can it be that the vector of translation's hypersociality depends on whether the party the translation works for is negative or positive: a hypersocially negative commissioner of translation makes it hypersocially negative or a hypersocially positive one positive? Does that mean that translation is essentially hypersocially neutral?

Channelling and sublimation

Yet another aspect of translation practice related to the socialisation of translators/interpreters is how some of them realise what they may feel as their human creative potential.

The concept of channelling comes from Freud's psychoanalytical theory. It is one of the ways the ego manages the balance between the id's drives and the super-ego's suppression of those drives. The ego protects both the individual and society from direct exposure to those drives by channelling their energy into socially acceptable activities.

One of the defence mechanisms is sublimation. The basic instincts of the id are made to work for the good of the social. The switch between the destructive potential of the id and its socially positive manifestations is the ego, which is a dweller in a borderland because the ego mediates between the world and the id

(Freud 1961b: 944). The ego struggles to keep the id's energy at bay by "throw[ing] a disguise over the id's conflicts with reality and […] over its conflicts with the super-ego too" (ibid.). One of such disguises is channelling through sublimation.

The term "sublimation" means 'uplifting' and expresses the idea

> that many activities that seem 'sublime' or uplifting are in fact fuelled by sexual impulses that cannot be expressed directly. Basically, energy from the drives is channelled in socially acceptable ways, which brings partial satisfaction to the person concerned and also advances culture.
>
> (Frosh 2012: 65)

As has been said above ('Socialisation models' and Box 3.1), the application of Freudian concepts today requires modification. In the case of channelling and sublimation, the impulses will be understood in what follows as fuelled not by sexuality, but rather by aspirations that manifest themselves in 'a disguise'.[5]

How the concept of channelling and the modified concept of 'sublimation' apply to translation can be seen in the debates that took place in the 1960s–1970s in the Soviet TIS about whether translation is a skill or an art. This was a reaction in the circles of literary translators against the institutionalisation of translation as a profession requiring training. Many of those who translated literary works considered translation exclusively as a high art: the well-known writer and translator Kornei Chukovskii (1882–1969) entitled his book where he discussed problems of literary translation *A High Art* (1964). Art requires not training but talent and, therefore, professionalised translator training was seen as a threat to translation as art. Translation and interpreting of non-literary texts and the growing social need for more interlingual and intercultural mediators in the globalised world were hardly taken into consideration.

The underlying logic of those insisting that translation is art was their own practice of translation. They might have channelled their creative power into translation. This was a common practice in the heavily ideologically pressurised Soviet literary sphere. Writers could not express themselves in their original works, in their own voice. The only channel for their creativity was translation. Yet translation always was considered as occupying a lower place in the hierarchy of literary activities. So, the repressed writers and poets sublimated their translational activities, uplifted them to the level of art, while suppressing the view of translation as (also) a skill.

It would be a mistake to think that sublimation and channelling happened only in the past. Beside their artistic leanings, translators may channel and sublimate into their translation practice other hidden motives and ambitions. Importantly, these motives and ambitions as well as placing translation among other social activities are all a result of socially inculcated values.

As yet little research into translation as a means of sublimation has been done along these lines. Sublimation of translation as an activity worthy of

proper social recognition, however, can be seen in translators' and interpreters' struggling for such recognition. In this section the emphasis is laid on possible motivations for translators' desire for social recognition, in the next chapter the focus is on what is done to realise this desire – on raising translation to the socially recognised status of a profession.[6]

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main questions opening the chapter.
2 Think about your own socialisation. Which factors in your life do you think have made you choose translation/interpreting as your profession? Think about which factors that you can trace to your formative years (early socialisation) have made it easier or more challenging to learn translation/interpreting.
3 Analyse Schäffner (2008) in terms of the type(s) of socialisation, individual or professional or both; the agents and mechanisms of socialisation.
4 Analyse Douglas Robinson's notions of 'somatics' and 'sway' (1991 and 2011). How do they conceptualise the relationship between the individual and the collectivity? How do they imply socialisation?
5 Comment on ideas about the potential of psychoanalysis for translation and interpreting studies as suggested in Gentzler (2008: 180–7).

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

Erikson (1985); Newman and O'Brien (2013: Chapter 5 (99–126)); Pym (1997) (in French); (2012, in English).

Notes

1 It has to be taken into account that Kohlberg's research was limited to the United States and only to males. These two factors limit the applicability of his conclusions.
2 Mead's model has been criticised for making human beings purely social, excluding the biological factor in their socialisation, unlike Freud's id, which is a purely biological factor in the individual's development. Also, in Freud's theory id and super-ego struggle, whereas in Mead's theory, the I and the me cooperate.
3 Erikson used the term 'psychosocial development' (1985: 55–82).
4 Erik Erikson terms this intolerance 'pseudospeciation': "The conflict between generativity and rejection [caring for or refusing to care for somebody] is the strongest ontogenetic anchor of the universal human propensity that I have called *pseudospeciation*. Konrad Lorenz fittingly translates it as *Quasi-Artenbildung* […]; that is, the conviction (and the impulses and actions based on it) that another type or group or persons are, by nature, history, or divine will, a species different from one's own—and dangerous to mankind itself" (1985: 69; emphasis in original). Erikson explains that the prefix 'pseudo-' in his term suggests "a grandiose, all-human

tendency to create more or less playfully appearances that make one's own kind a spectacular and unique sight in creation and in history – a potentially creative tendency, then, that can lead to most dangerous extremes" (ibid.). Pseudospeciation brings out the best and the worst in humans: feats of patriotism and heroism in relation towards one's own community and enmity and cruelty against the other.

5 Erik Erikson also understood the term 'sublimation' in a broader sense: "[…] sublimation, or a wider application, is the best use of frustrated drive energies" (1985: 68).

6 Disputes about whether translation is art or a skill did not consider professionalisation as a way to uplift translational activities in the public eye because the controversy was not so much about the social recognition of translation as about whether it was considered equal with or inferior to original literary activities. Many translators-writers were professionals; translating and writing were their lifelong occupations. The dispute was an internal matter of the literati circle. The professionalisation of translation as it is going to be discussed in the next chapter emphasises the relationship of the translation domain to the overall society.

Chapter 4

Acting

The main questions:

- **What is a professional or occupational group?**
- **What is a professional project?**
- **What makes translation and interpreting professions?**
- **How do translation professionals work on their professional project?**

Translators and interpreters can be considered from the sociological point of view as both socialised human beings and as socialised professionals. Both aspects, to this or that degree, have informed discussions so far: translation is social both within and without. In the previous chapter on socialisation, the emphasis was laid on translators' and interpreters' *becoming*, first, socialised human beings and, second, professionals. Socialisation is the process of becoming. In this chapter, the accent is on translators' and interpreters' *acting* as professionals forming a professional or occupational group.[1] On the one hand, we always change: we go from one stage of our development to another, only to go on to yet another. We constantly gain more experience, learn more about ourselves, other people, the world around us and how to live in it. On the other hand, there are stations that define our experience for a longer period of time. Our school years define our experience for a long period of our adolescence; our university years define our experience in the period of our young adulthood. Those student years differ significantly from how we experience life as professionals – in our case as translators and interpreters. This chapter focuses on the professional station of our lives.

Professional project

Society may be viewed as a space where different groups contend for economic, political and social rewards. Among these competing groups there are some

organised around a particular occupation. Members of such occupational groups have skills and, in modern societies, also some formal qualifications, which makes them not only occupational, but also professional groups. The qualifications are usually obtained through attending a specialised educational programme or by passing examinations or qualification tests. With formally certified skills professionals have an opportunity to compete for providing a specific kind of remunerable service.

In this sense translating and interpreting are becoming professionalised occupations. In some countries and in some organisations, special requirements are placed as regards both the producer of translation/interpreting services and the product of translation/interpreting. If s/he wants to be a translator in such a country or an organisation, an individual must have a formally recognised qualification. Such qualification may be, for example and most commonly, a university degree, preferably in a closely related field such as linguistics or literary studies, but sometimes (and more increasingly so, as more and more specialised translation/interpreting programmes are established) the degree required must be specifically in translation or interpreting studies and from a recognised translation programme at that.

Another type of skill playing an increasingly more and more important role in the market of translation services today is the knowledge of computer assisted translation (CAT) tools, primarily translation memories programmes. Translators may attend training in person or online. Training may be organised as a series of sessions for a particular level: for beginners, intermediate level or advanced users. There are also plenty of individual thematic webinars offered by companies-producers of CAT tools. Some of the webinars or training series are free of charge, some are offered at more or less affordable prices. Since nowadays employers require translators to be conversant with CAT tools, having a certificate of attending courses may increase employability and facilitate job searching especially for budding translators.

As far as translation as a product is concerned, some institutions recognise only translations signed by certified translators, members of recognised bodies of translators and interpreters. Translators who have just begun their careers may want to seek membership in such professional unions and organisations or try to work with an agency or agencies, either as an in-house translator or as a freelancer in order to increase their chances in the translation/interpreting market in the market of professional services.

Members of the professional group strive for the institutionalisation of their occupation, that is, they try to make their occupation a socially recognised service. In the sociology of professions this process is referred to as a professional project. Once the occupation is recognised, the group maintains the social visibility of its profession and, if possible, tries to strengthen its position.

The most respected and experienced members of the occupational group spell out its objectives and outline what is to be done to achieve these objectives. Although individual members may have their own agendas, on a larger scale

the group functions as a unit and at least at the level of the shared goal – the institutionalisation of the profession, safeguarding it from those who do not meet the formalised criteria allowing access the occupational group, in a word, from non-professionals – the entire group may be considered as one social body.[2]

Ultimately, the group strives to reach two interconnected aims: the monopoly of the provision of specific services, on the one hand, and the recognition of the profession's social status, on the other hand. Sociologically speaking, the group aspires to achieve the recognition of their contribution to social order. Both aims are inextricable: establishing the social status of the profession, for instance through introducing a university degree, both increases the social visibility and respectability of the profession, denies access to it from those who do not have the required qualification, and thus helps to monopolise the service provision. The more the group monopolises its service, the higher its status as a unique provider of that service in society. The underlying strategy is the full hermeticism of the professional knowledge and the socially recognised exclusivity of the group of professionals.[3]

The professional project may be outlined as a series of steps taken by an occupational group collectively to turn their occupation into a profession. First, the group establishes itself as having the monopoly of practising an activity. Usually, at some point in the history of a particular society under certain circumstances, an occupational group takes an opportunity to claim that activity as their monopoly. In different cultures this may happen in different periods and seems to depend on a cluster of factors. Professionalism is a result of the division of labour that was already in ancient cultures, but the rise of professionalism in the sense we speak of professions today is more immediately connected with later periods, especially the Middle Ages when people not only specialised in their trades but also formed powerful and socially visible professional associations, such as guilds.

As far as translation is concerned there have not been enough studies as to what factors determine the period in the history of a particular culture when translation separates from other types of verbal or non-verbal mediation, becomes more than an occasional occupation and develops into a life-long 'job'.

In order to understand the process of the professionalisation of translation, let us look closer at the term 'profession'. Etymologically, it comes from the Latin verb *profiteri* meaning 'to declare' or 'to profess'. To have a profession is to declare publicly that one is skilled in a particular work. The concept of 'profession' implies a paid occupation, usually requiring special training and a formal qualification and most often considered to be the person's main occupation for a considerable period of his/her life. The characteristics of translation qua profession vary from period to period and from place to place. I will give examples from my own studies of the history of translation as a professional activity in Russia.

One of the sure signs of the professionalisation of an occupation is the appearance of a term that is used to denote the occupation and its derivatives

to refer to those who claim it to be their main occupation. In Russia, this appears to have taken place in the period between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries; even before that some more or less clear references to translational activities can be found, too. In the documents of the eleventh century we find the term "slozhil" (compile) in the construction "somebody compiled a Greek legal canon in Russian".[4] The compilation probably included elements of translation or at least used previously made translations.

Other terms were also known. For instance in a document of 1073, the Grand Prince[5] is said to have ordered "premenu stvoriti rechi inako nab'diasha tozh'stvo razum", which means "to express differently yet keeping the sense" (Sviatoslav 1880: 22). This may be a reference to a translation-like verbal mediation which, translated literally, means 'to make a change in speech' and here, perhaps, 'to change the language' in the sense 'to render in a different language'.

But it is only in later texts we find not just vague and circumlocutory references to translation, but precise terms. In a fourteenth-century chronicle, one of the prominent Russian clergymen Stefan of Perm' (1340/45–1396) is said to have translated church books into the Komi-Zyrian language spoken in the Urals region (PSRL 25: 226). The word used for naming his activity is the same as the one used to refer to translation in Russian today – *perevesti*, meaning literally 'to transduce', 'to lead across'. In another chronicle, in one of the records about events of the year 1493, a certain Matias Liakh "an interpreter" is mentioned. In Russian, the word for 'interpreter' used in the chronicle is *tolmach* (PSRL 24: 211, 238).[6]

At that period the Russian terms for translation and interpreting, translator and interpreter meant only an occupation that could be temporary, as was the case of Stefan of Perm' who was primarily a monk and made translations only when he needed them for his evangelical activities. By the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, the term *perevesti* is used to mean written translation or both written and oral, whereas the term *tolmachit'* meant specifically 'to interpret'. These two verbs and their derivatives *perevodchik* (translator) and *tolmach* (interpreter) acquired stable meanings and referred to people who earned a living by working as translators and interpreters and who were both trained and tested before being accepted as professional translators (see more in Tyulenev 2012b: 56–61).

To sum up this brief historical excursus, in early Russian history, translation was not considered as an activity different from other literary activities and, correspondingly, there were no definite terms to denote it and its practitioners. Later the activity was seen as a special type of occupation for which people were trained, tested and remunerated. Profession in the sense of declaring one's being skilled in a particular occupation is obviously connected with naming the profession. This may be one of the indications of the appearance of a new profession. This process, at least with translation as a relative late-comer to the scene of professions, must have been prompted by the emancipation of

other professions. When a monk translated, his living was secured by his belonging to a religious organisation. Translation for him was either a way of religious service or leisure. For a translator/interpreter who had no other means of supporting him/herself translation became a profession in the modern sense of the word – a remunerable service s/he offered to his/her clients. Translating/interpreting became more like practising medicine or law.[7]

The first practitioners may come from other occupations having little special training. This is what happened and is still happening in the professional field of translation. The special translator training programmes have been established relatively recently.[8] The translator training programmes started to appear in the twentieth century and mostly in its last decades. Therefore, people with degrees in adjacent disciplines, primarily in linguistics or literary studies, or even with a university degree that has little to do with translation (physics, chemistry, biology) worked as translators and interpreters. Sometimes the only requirement was (and unfortunately sometimes still *is*) some knowledge of the languages involved.

As with any other profession, the translation professional project starts with drawing a boundary between those eligible to practise the activity and those found ineligible. The dilemma is not to include too many members as that may threaten to downgrade the group's claim. On the other hand, the circle should not be too narrow as a rival body of those excluded may be formed. This is exactly what happened in the professional field of architecture in Britain. In 1791 The Architects' Club was established. It accepted only fellows or associates of the Royal Academy as well as members of the prominent foreign academies. However, the boundary drawn around the professional field proved to be too narrow. As a result competing bodies of architects were created. As a compromise a more inclusive Institute of British Architects was created in 1834. But even that did not help: the Architectural Association was set up and became a rival organisation. The two share the same professional field to this day.[9] Internecine strife between rival professional bodies may take a while to settle. The situation in the professional field of translation with respect to vying for control of the market has not been studied sufficiently. The situation differs from country to country and it may vary from region to region even within one country.

? What is the structure of the translation field in your country, region?

A newly formed professional association establishes exams for new members and possibly (if there is none other available) some form of training supervised by existing members. In the past the most common form of professional training was apprenticeship. Later when universities and other higher educational institutions had been established as educational bodies, they became the primary mechanism of training new generations of professionals. Translation is one of the new academically recognised professions: translation programmes

in universities have appeared relatively late – mostly in the second half of the twentieth century.

? How many translator training programmes are there in your country? How old are they? What is their history?

The professional project involves not only representatives of the concerned profession, but also other actors of the social space. Perhaps the most important is the state. The professional monopoly benefits from state recognition and some of the government's initiatives may trigger the emancipation of a profession. This is what happened in Canada. In the 1970s French was made one of the two official languages of Canada (together with English). This meant that all official documents and all other textual products circulated publicly had to be translated from either French into English or from English into French; the work of the Parliament was also conducted in the two languages. Translation thus became a requirement and had to be performed by qualified professionals. This led to the establishment of the School of Translation and Interpretation as a separate educational unit in 1971 in the University of Ottawa and later other Canadian universities opened departments or offered programmes in translation and interpreting.

The profession may need to deal, either cooperatively or competitively, with other occupations that may claim the same jurisdiction. For example, educational institutions need to recognise the necessity to train specialists for the profession. Once the need is recognised, as is the case with translation and interpreting, more and more higher educational institutions open translation/interpreting programmes or specialised departments. This is an example of cooperation in the process of establishment of a profession: the translation field 'recruits' the education field to prepare new generations of professionals and the educational field employs existing professionals to participate in teaching future translators and interpreters. Translation agencies may also help the translator/interpreter training programmes to provide initial professional practice opportunities for budding translators and interpreters.

Last but not least is the public, the potential and actual clientele. The profession should be presented as an indispensible service provider to the public. This is done by increasing the public visibility of the profession. For instance, translation services are advertised as widely as possible, the public and organisations dealing with the public that may require translation/interpreting services are educated about the difference between amateur and professional translation and interpreting.

To summarise, any profession vying for a place in society should establish its jurisdiction, a niche in the market reserved for it alone, and procedures of selection, training and socialisation of its practitioners – procedures of the "production of producers" (Larson 1977: 40). Establishing professional education also ensures the monopolisation of professional knowledge. The profession is

also presented to the public, which is a significant part of the potential or actual clientele. All these measures allow the profession to gain respectability in society.

The professional project may also be looked at in terms of the stages the profession has to go through. The professional group first forms a formally organised occupational group or groups. At the inchoate stage of the professional project, there may be several competing professional bodies in one social space (country, region, city) whose number is likely to be reduced over time by grouping them together in larger bodies: agencies and individual translators and interpreters may form provincial societies of translators and interpreters that deal with governmental structures in matters related to the control of the translation/interpreting market. For instance, they may ensure that translation and interpreting services are provided only by their members.

? What is the history of professional translation organisations in your country?

Another phase of the professional project is a change of the scale of operation. Local groups strive to reach the national level and, with the advent of the internet, the international level of operation. Translation agencies start to subcontract freelancers internationally, especially those with rare language combinations, in order to obtain translation contracts from clients all over the globe.

Professional groups may be newly formed or survive from the pre-modern period. At a later stage an academic component of the professional group is likely to be established providing professional education for new professionals and contributing significantly to the creation of a respectable and socially visible profession. Eventually, socially and academically recognised credentials as well as collective (organisations) and individual respectability in the professional field are established and the profession is socially and legally recognised.

More empirical research is needed into the state of affairs in the sphere of the professionalisation of translation and interpreting in different countries and your research may contribute to knowledge about the state of national translation fields. The data may address the following or similar questions:

? What is the situation in terms of the professionalisation of translation/interpreting in your country/province/state?
? Who can work as a translator/interpreter in official settings, such as courts, in governmental structures, especially those dealing with immigration, and so on?
? Can translations/interpreting made by non-professional, not certified translators/interpreters or by those translators/interpreters who are not members of recognised organisations of translators and interpreters be accepted by governmental and other official bodies as well as by various firms and organisations?

Conducting a reconnaissance of one's professional field is necessary before starting to look for a job. Also, experienced, well-connected and professionally settled translators and interpreters constantly reconnoitre their terrain for new business opportunities and new clientele.

Before we conclude this section, one more important point about the professional project is to be made. To establish a high status of the profession some organisations may use different means. One of such means is conspicuous consumption, for instance when professionals use impressive-looking and richly furnished headquarters. The translation field also witnesses such processes: translation agencies make their websites more and more visually appealing. They publish their contact information and members' directories in local Yellow Pages. They also use such web techniques as making sure that the information about their companies appears on search engine search results when somebody is searching information about translation (Google AdWords).

Translation and interpreting are also made more academically and socially visible through specialised academic journals or publications for the general public. Encyclopaedias and other similar publications (handbooks of or companions to translation studies) are put out. Moreover they are published by the leading academic publishers, such as Routledge, Oxford University Press, Macmillan and others. These publishers have opened translation and interpreting studies series. There is a strong tendency to create a canon of translation/interpreting theoretical works. Collections, anthologies, readers are put out that gather both works on translation from the past and from the period when TIS became a fully fledged academic discipline.

Another means is to set up courses in the most prestigious universities and schools, for example in the Russell Group universities in the UK. There are international translation educational academic interuniversity programmes created with the purpose of maintaining and improving the quality of the translator/interpreter training (the European Master's in Translation). Sometimes these programmes closely cooperate or work under the aegis of the most prestigious translator/interpreter hiring organisations, such as the UN, the EU, national parliaments. Universities offering translator training programmes seek connections with influential governmental organisations as well as business structures.

The structure of the translation field

The professional field may be subdivided into several specialisations. The medical profession, for example, consists of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. The boundary of the professional field is usually fuzzy in the sense that together with professionals, non- and paraprofessionals may ply the trade. Unlike professionals, amateurs act out of love for the activity, perhaps remunerated from time to time. Paraprofessionals are those who possess specialised skills but do not have the profound theoretical knowledge required of professionals. In

medicine, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries are professionals, but there are also paramedics, midwives and in some societies various types of shaman-like healers may be active to this day.

Non-professionals

The professional field of translation also has fuzzy boundaries and a complex structure of specialisations. Professional translators and interpreters share their professional field with amateurs and paraprofessionals. Paratranslators are those people whose jobs are not directly translation- or interpreting-related who do translate or interpret. Think of bilingual/trilingual journalists who prepare news reports based on foreign sources and who do not necessarily translate them as texts; rather they retell them. This retelling obviously involves elements of translation: if not linguistic material, the storyline is translated. Such journalists do translate but they may not know much about translation/interpreting and may not even consider what they are doing as translation. Another example of parainterpreters are those who work in multilingual environments. A flight attendant or a Eurostar steward work in situations in which they constantly toggle between languages and often use interpreting-like techniques.

Examples of amateur translators can be readily found in Internet communities, such as fansubbers, film fans who subtitle their favourite films or TV series or programmes. There are many book-lovers both in the past and today who translate their favourite works of literature from one language into another. In a recent publication, Guobin Yang gave an example of Chinese Twitter users who are involved in 'translational activism' when foreign languages, such as English in China, are employed to express local concerns (2013: 178). By publishing their messages in English, Chinese Twitter activists appeal to the international audience; by tweeting international news in Chinese for the Chinese audience they bring their compatriots up to date as far as world affairs are concerned. Freedom and human rights are the most important themes in these Twitter campaigns. Two-way English-Chinese/Chinese-English translation is a common practice in Chinese Twitter. Sometimes translations are published separately from their originals; sometimes tweets are bilingual. The majority of translations are made by non-professionals.

Perhaps, it is more difficult to decide how to categorise people living in multilingual environments. Cities with many languages spoken in the same public space make virtually any type of occupation or communication an interpreting experience: people interpret for themselves or for others. In countries such as South Africa where there are probably no unilinguals, all people speaking several languages, interpreting is an all-national phenomenon. Like in the case of the Chinese Twitter translation, interpreting in multilingual societies is hardly done for the love of the art. Rather it is a practical necessity. In South Africa, in a community gathering when a speaker uses a language that is not understood by everybody in the audience, some people may

spontaneously render the message into another language spoken by those present. This motivation to help their community or simply communicate with speakers of other languages of the same community sets such types of non-professional translation/interpreting apart from amateurism or para-professionalism. Such translation/interpreting is motivated not by his/her interest in the activity of translation/interpreting (amateurism) or by his/her main job (paraprofessionals interpret/translate because otherwise they cannot fulfil their main professional duties); therefore, it can be called practical non-professional translation/interpreting.

Professionalism

Let us look more specifically at the professional practice of translation and interpreting. Professionalism is characterised by the importance assigned to the formalisation of governance of the practice. For instance in the mass media field,

> [t]he elements of formality include various forms of state governance, which we can divide further into government technologies, such as taxation, measurement and regulation; and political-economic attributes, such as capital intensity, and level of institutionalisation. They refer to organizational logics which structure media production and distribution activities, as opposed to participants' motivations or desires. […] Note also that any one of these variables could be disaggregated further. For example, the category of regulation comprises a number of overlapping sub-categories: the regulation of content (classification, censorship), regulation of carriage (state licensing), labour regulation (unionization of workforce), positive cultural policy (subsidy for cultural producers), negative cultural policy (public education and media literacy campaigns), self-regulation (professional organizations and associations), and so on.
>
> (Lobato, Thomas and Hunter 2013: 7).

This is not an exhaustive list of governance variables, but it gives us an idea where the borderline between professionalism and extraprofessionalism is drawn. The professional's practice is governed and regulated not by his/her own preferences, but rather by extrapersonal mechanisms such as government technologies or professional bodies' regulations. For instance translators and interpreters have to pay taxes; their work is subject to overt or covert imprimatur or censorship mechanisms: certain thematic materials are likelier to be published, whereas others may not be publishable and the translator or interpreter translating such works may be held responsible for their dissemination. The choice of texts to be translated may be beyond the reach of the translators or interpreters who work for their clients or do the jobs that are paid for. Moreover, there are regulatory mechanisms within the translation field:

ethical, trade-unionist influences, normative requirements that a translated text should meet both in the eyes of the readership and the professionals.

Professional ethics plays an important role in regulating translator/interpreter practice. Its role is duly recognised by translation theorists and translator/interpreter trainers: there are monographs and special issues of specialised journals published on the topic. Translator/interpreter conduct is discussed in terms of the translator's/interpreter's responsibility toward the source text, source text producers and the source culture as well as toward the target audience and culture and toward the professional field of translation. Inculcating professional ethics in the translation field is comparable to the inculcation of general social values in the process of the individual's socialisation. The power of such values' influence upon individual behaviour was described in social psychology as the relationship between the ego and the id and the super-ego (in psychoanalysis) and as the movement from one stage of moral development to another (in Kohlberg's theory). It appears that in the case of translator ethics the pressure of professional ethics is not as strong: examples of poor quality translation/interpreting work are numerous and they are considerably less severely punished than any serious moral transgression in the overall social domain.[10] One can definitely speak of the growing realisation of the importance of translator ethics among professional translators and interpreters. Establishing translator ethics is part of translation's professional project: the higher the professional ethical standards, the higher is society's respect for the profession.

Although professional translation activity is strictly governed, that does not mean that the translator cannot make his/her own choices. For instance, in some situations a freelance translator can choose whether to translate a text or not (an in-house translator/interpreter may not have such choice). The translator/interpreter may have some freedom in choosing translation strategies and techniques, although there may be limitations imposed by the social and professional norms of translation or the agreements of how to translate certain terms or types of documents in the agency for which the translation is made. In sum, the translator/interpreter does have some freedom, although this freedom is never absolute. Also, the measure of responsibility for the work accomplished is considerably larger in the case of a professional translator or interpreter as compared with non-professionals or paraprofessionals.

Research questions may be as follows:

? How do professional translators describe their ethical constraints?
? How do amateur translators describe their translation ethics, if at all?

Professionals in the field of translation

In the field of translation and interpreting, there are several categories of professionals. There are practising translators and interpreters who work

freelance or in agencies or other organisations. There are translator/interpreter trainers in various translator training programmes, notably in university departments. Some departments and translator/interpreter trainers specialise only in translator training. Some departments may combine other programmes with teaching translation and interpreting. Some of the staff members of such departments teach translation or interpreting together with other subjects, for example they may teach a language and be involved in supervising translation projects of their students specialising in translation.

There are also theorists of translation and interpreting. They publish their research or generate theories of translation. These are scholars who are involved in teaching translators and interpreters or supervising dissertations and research on various theoretical and practical problems of translation/interpreting. They are the think tank of the translation field as a whole.

There are also professionals from other fields who may be involved with the translation field. Literary critics are a good example. When a literary critic publishes a review of a translated novel, s/he contributes to the translation field. Or when a specialist in comparative literature discusses literary works of various national literatures, s/he may use translations or comment on translations. Think also of administrators of translation/interpreting programmes. Strictly speaking, they belong to the field of education, yet since they contribute to translator training, they are part of the field of translation as well.

As is obvious, the translation field involves professionals of different kinds, of different specialisations. Not infrequently, one and the same individual may act in several capacities, for instance as a translation practitioner and a translator trainer and perhaps a translation theorist. Amateurs and paraprofessionals or professionals from adjacent professional fields are less likely to theorise translation/interpreting, whereas those primarily or even exclusively involved in the translation field are likely to theorise translation and their own practice in a considerably more profound fashion and knowingly.

There is no exhaustive list of translational professions, such as officially recognised lists of professional specialisations in medicine, law or education. If we look at official lists of professions in the majority if not all countries, the translation field will be represented only by 'translator' and 'interpreter'. This is evidence that the translation field is still *in statu nascendi*.

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main points opening the chapter.
2 Explore the site http://www.proz.com/: What jobs are offered and what is required from translators/interpreters in order to qualify for those jobs? What training opportunities are offered? What other features have interested you on the site?
3 Consult the site "Language Outreach" of the United Nations: http://www.unlanguage.org/Careers/default.aspx. Translators and interpreters are listed

among language careers. What other language careers are listed together with translating and interpreting (menu button 'Language careers')? Read the profiles and consider how close they are to translating and interpreting and in what respect. Can a person with a degree in translation/interpreting apply for these jobs?

4 Contact two or more professionals in the field of translation. Ask them about how they came into the field.

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

Parsons (1954: 34–49); Macdonald (1995); Robinson (1997b); Gouadec (2010); Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger (2011).

Notes

1 In what follows, the terms 'professional' and 'occupational' are largely interchangeable, although in some contexts the difference between the two terms may be as follows: 'occupational' emphasises the actual, *de facto* involvement with an activity, whereas 'professional' stresses the socially recognised involvement with the same activity.

2 This is not to say that there are no divisions and subdivisions or even factions or that tensions between subgroups within a professional group are not possible or that all such divisions, whether within one geo-political region or internationally, cannot be studied. Yet on the scale of the overall society (a region, a country or, ultimately, the world system) professional groups are usually seen in society as occupationally defined unities and the general public is largely ignorant of internal subdivisions or internal problems within a particular professional field. Such ignorance is not to be confused with clients' preferences for this or that professional or for this or that service providing organisation to whom they turn when they have a need this professional field can meet. Professionals usually apply different criteria for gauging their peers' expertise as compared to those applied by clients: where the latter may be interested in a cheaper service, the former apply a purely professional yardstick taking into consideration the quality of the job and the status of his/her colleague rather than the accessibility of his/her service.

3 Compare from this viewpoint the professions of lawyers and translators: no one would turn for legal services to somebody who just has read the criminal code, but using bilinguals for translating is still considered acceptable.

4 The phrase was used in the opening of Grand Prince Iaroslav's "Legal Canon" (eleventh or twelfth century). In the original: "Se az, velikii kniaz' Iaroslav, syn Volodymerov, po daniu ottsa svoego s"gadal esm' s mitropolitom Larionom, slozhil esmi grecheskii Nomokanon […]" (I, Grand Prince Iaroslav, Vladimir's son, together with the Metropolitan Ilarion has compiled a Greek legal canon [in Russian] as my father instructed me […]; Makarii 1995: 576). The author thanks Professor Simon Franklin (University of Cambridge) for his help in clarifying the meaning of this phrase.

5 Presumably Iaroslav's son Sviatoslav or his elder brother Iziaslav.

6 Today the word is no longer used in Russian. Interpreters are called 'oral translators' – *ustnye perevodchiki*. The word is the same as the one used for written translation,

perevod, which is a general term of reference to both oral and written translation; when it is important to distinguish between the two activities, the terms are used with respective qualifiers, e.g., *ustnye* (oral).

7 This does not mean that there were not or there are not people who translate or interpret non-professionally. This may hold true for any profession, less for some, more for others. The emphasis is on the general trend of the professionalisation of translation especially in official settings.

8 This is to say, in comparison with professions in such domains as law or medicine.

9 The example is borrowed from Macdonald (1995).

10 The problem is to a great extent caused by clients' tolerance of non-professional translation/interpreting. Professional translators and interpreters, in general, are more responsible and knowledgeable.

Chapter 5

Observing the acting

The main questions:

- **What is a research design and what are its components?**
- **What are the main types of research?**
- **What methods may be used for sociologically informed translation research?**
- **Which methods are applicable to your research project?**

The social is not always easy to see, let alone investigate. Sociologists joke that for a human to study society of which s/he is a part is like dragging a bus in which one rides. We are all individuals firmly inscribed in our respective cultures, which is why sociology worked out a variety of methods to make the elusive social visible. In this chapter we will outline some of the most effective of them.

Researching

Scientists are interested in everything but it is impossible to study everything. That is why some scientists focus on natural phenomena and, more specifically, on living and non-living ones; some scientists concentrate on phenomena that are products of human collective existence such as language, economy, society or its various aspects. This is the division between the natural and the social sciences. There are further specialisations because to unravel mysteries of the world around us and our own world, research must be even more focused. Therefore, there are chemists, physicists, linguists, etc. These are academic professions and translation scholars belong to such academic professions. However, even with such specialisations allowing scientists to concentrate on a concrete type of phenomena, in our time it is still hard to organise research efficiently and effectively. Therefore, even within one and the same discipline

scientists specialise in particular research directions, forming subdisciplines. For instance, in TIS, some concentrate on the study of interpreting and some on the study of translation. At present, we are witnessing further specialisations: some scholars show interest in empirical and some in theoretical research, some develop the growing domain of translation and interpreting history, some explore the process of translation and interpreting on the physiological and psychological levels, etc. Finally, within a particular direction, research is broken down to projects. For instance, within the sphere of translation/interpreting history, a particular scholar or a group of scholars may conduct a study of a particular period in a particular region. It is mainly on the project level, before they become clear about their own academic interests, that students may contribute to scholarly projects with their dissertations and even essays for various practical and theoretical courses of their translation/interpreting programmes.

Every research project is ultimately the question of what to study and how to study it. In this chapter we shall discuss the 'how' side of the research project – its methodology. The question of methodology, a prerequisite for any research, puzzles many a budding translation student. Since without clarity as regards methodology no research is possible and endorsed by the supervisor, the student is encouraged to formulate the intended research methodology already at the initial stage of the project. In a sense, it is not difficult because methodology is in essence the question of how I do what I do. When we do any kind of research at the university level we devise ways of solving research problems. For instance, we study how this or that piece of literature is translated from Language A into Language B and – how do we do that? We take the original and its translation or translations and compare them. While doing that, we identify whatever differences leap to the eye and then account for them the best we can so that our explanations would be logical, well-grounded and, therefore, convincing.

The problem, however, is not so much with the actual 'How-do-I-do-it?' as with explaining that in the professional and educated way or, as you perhaps have heard from your supervisor, using the appropriate metalanguage (the language of analysis or explanation).

Why do we need to learn this metalanguage? At times, we may feel frustrated with the way new concepts are presented. There is so much of what we are tempted to call 'jargon'. Could it not be expressed more simply? To be sure, there are theoreticians who may be accused of intentional or unintentional obfuscation of their theories. Yet it is unlikely that at the initial stages of the supervised research any student would be advised to read anything of the sort. Most likely the frustration, though natural and understandable, stems from our being new to the theory and our struggling with a flood of new terms and concepts. The only advice that may be given is to persevere and not to give up. The more we read the more we will understand. All thinking, especially scientific thinking, requires an effort. As we proceed, we will understand why a

particular scholar chose this or that way of expressing her/himself and that the terminology used ultimately facilitates the explanation by making it more precise and economical. New terms, when employed properly, enlighten; they are not intended to confuse, rather they help us make our explanations as precise as possible. More often than not such terms express something that has not had a name or has not been expressed in the way they express it. They make scholarly speech economical because they express succinctly what otherwise might require long explanations and circumlocutions.

Learning metalanguage has another important advantage. Whenever we come to grips with new terms, we grasp the logic of the scholars who have coined them. Terms guide us to appreciate the concepts that these terms express. The concepts, in turn, lead us into a world of new ideas. We may agree or disagree with some of these ideas, accept or reject them; but what is important is that after being introduced to them (through metalanguage) we learn something new. We may look at the thing at which we have been looking for years or even our whole life from a different perspective and, as a consequence, we may re-evaluate it or re-consider our attitude towards it. At least we will definitely learn what other people think about this or that phenomenon and that will put to test our own views.

Research design

When a research project is being thought over, it is advisable to think of the research in terms of:

- how it is linked to theory;
- whether it is quantitative or qualitative or in which part/to what extent it is one or the other.

Your project may be testing a theory or constructing one. If you test a theory, you take an existing theory or a particular part of it (a statement, an assertion, a hypothesis) and put that theoretical proposition to test. You test the theory by collecting your own data or using existing databases and by observing whether the theory satisfactorily explains your data. The data can be numerical, for instance statistics; in other words, it can be quantitative. Alternatively, your research can be qualitative, for example, composed of interviews.

Theory-testing studies require well-structured data. The hypotheses should be clearly formulated from the outset. For a survey, it is advisable to use a standardised questionnaire. If you interview people, then questions should be similar in each interview: the goal is to elicit from all respondents the information that would be comparable. The results may then be quantified in tables or other forms suitable for presenting statistics.

Theory-building more often involves participant-observation or interviewing. Participant-observation is the researcher's own observations while participating

in the studied activity, event or process; or the researcher may study other participants' observations. A theory-building research project is usually conducted in a less structured fashion, as the goal is to formulate an explanation of some phenomenon based on what is observed. In the beginning, the researcher may have a hypothetical explanation of what s/he is going to observe. The data will take the form of qualitative reports incorporating excerpts from interviews or the researcher's own notes taken during the research.

These two distinct types of research – theory-testing or theory-building and quantitative or qualitative – are usually combined. As a rule of thumb, a unified model for the research process may be suggested (see Fig. 5.1).

The first stage 'Theory' (Stage A) is relevant to theory-testing studies. As the model shows, a theory or, rather, a particular theoretical proposition, a part of a theory, initiates a research project. The researcher may want to either prove or disprove or merely check a theoretical proposition for the range of its applicability. For example, we may want to revisit Gideon Toury's idea that a translated text is a fact of the target culture (2012: 23).

However, it is hardly possible to provide any evidence without breaking this proposition down to measurable statements (Stage B):

- For whom exactly is a translated text a fact in the target culture? This implies that culture is a whole only if seen on a larger scale, whereas if looked at more closely it is a conglomerate of groups, layers and strata. Such a view of cultures informs seeing national literary systems as polysystems first postulated by the Russian formalists and later applied in TIS

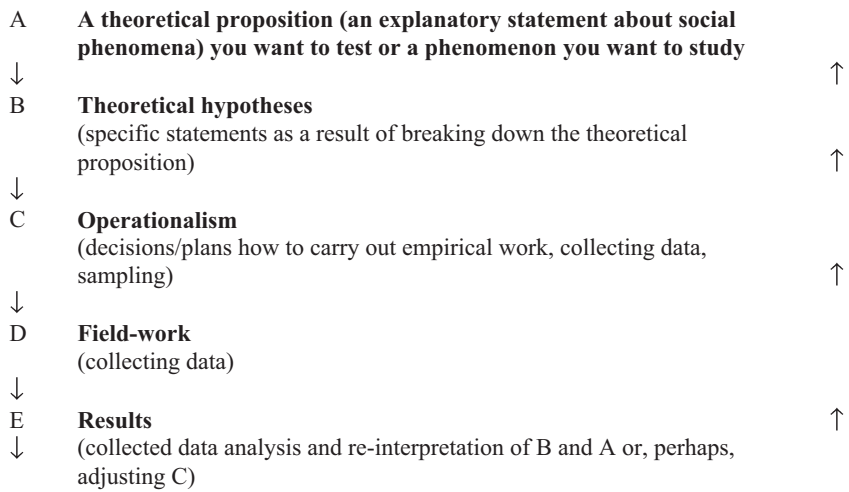

Figure 5.1 A model for the research process (loosely based on Rose 1982: 14)

by Itamar Even-Zohar. If cultures are polysystems, that is, if they are composed of many systems, then there may be some groups that may see translated texts not only and simply as facts of the target culture; for them the picture may be more complex: they may see translated texts in comparison with their originals. Would literary critics, for instance, see translated texts as only facts of the target culture?

- To what extent is a translated text a fact of the target culture? What if the task the translator sets before him/herself is to foreignise his/her translation so that the reader of the target text as a representative of the target culture would be brought to appreciate the difference between the target and source cultures? Between radical foreignisation and domestication there may be translations in the grey area, so to speak: neither at one extreme nor the other, but occupying different places between the extremes. If so, they are definitely facts of the target culture, but by virtue of reflecting at least some features of the source culture, especially those not found in the target culture, they must be considered as facts of the source culture introduced into the target culture and only thanks to this introduction they may be considered as facts of the target culture.

The range of the applicability of Toury's idea may be tested in more complex scenarios:

- What if the translated text contains elements of a third, fourth, etc. culture (think of a book on, say, the world history of theatre translated from Language A into Language B)? In what sense is such a text a fact of the target culture only?
- What if the translated text is about the target culture as seen by a representative of another culture who described it to his/her audience, but the text was selected to be translated 'back' for the readers of the culture described in the text?[1]

At this stage the formulations are more directly fallible: they can be tested and found either working or not working under concrete circumstances. The consideration of different types of scenarios suggests the materials needed for testing the theory at the next stage.

Box 5.1: Some basic concepts of sociological methodology

The goal of sociological research is to understand patterns of human collective behaviour. Yet collectivities are so complex that it is impossible to cover them taking into account all their members and/or the dynamics of their relationships. That is why the sociological collection of data is nearly always selective. The whole is studied based on samples.

The whole in sociological terms is called ***population***, which may consist of people, organisations or other socially relevant phenomena (books, translations, films, etc.). ***Samples*** are a limited number of members or items of the studied population. Samples are obviously smaller and therefore more manageable than the entire population. Samples may be ***representative***, that is, accurately reflecting the entire population and serving as a basis of generalisations. Samples may not necessarily be representative. For instance, the translation student may consider pseudotranslations created in a particular period in a particular place. Pseudotranslations are only a part of the entire population of translations in that period and in that place; in that sense, the sample will not be representative of the entire population of translations.

Sampling is the process of selection of units for analysis from the whole population. The size of the sampling that is to be representative should be carefully calculated and depends on the goal of the research. If the research project compares two groups, for instance, female and male translators, the size of the sampling depends on the size of the compared groups which will prompt the number of representatives from each of them. A careful calculation of the sampling size may help save effort and time: the researcher will not analyse excessive numbers of cases and, on the other hand, will not misrepresent the groups by studying too few cases.

Sampling depends on the number of ***variables*** to be factored in. Variables are qualities in which studied units differ. Variables can be of various kinds. ***Nominal variables***, such as the sex of the individual, name a quality that does not have degrees (e.g., male or female). Conversely, ***ordinal variables***, such as satisfaction with one's professional status, can be measured not as a nominal variable ('satisfied' vs. 'not satisfied'), but as a scale of possibilities ('very satisfied – satisfied – not satisfied – very unsatisfied'). Often ordinal variables are introduced as scales of numbers: 'On a scale of 1–4, how much are you satisfied/dissatisfied with … ?' For statistical purposes, especially those processed with computers, ***string variables***, the variables expressed in words (e.g., 'satisfied'), are transformed into ***numeric variables***, expressed in numbers ('very satisfied' = 4; 'satisfied' = 3, etc.). There are also ***causal variables*** (or independent from other variables) and ***effect variables***, those which depend on other variables studied.

As a word of caution it should be noted that this chapter only invites the translation student into a complex world of sociological methods. Anybody who is planning to conduct a sociologically-informed translation research project must read specialised literature (e.g., see section 'Further reading' at the end of this chapter).

At the stage of operationalisation (Stage C), we consider what kind of data is going to be collected and how. The questions to be asked at this stage are as follows:

? How is sampling going to be made (see Box 5.1)? How is the corpus of texts for analysis to be selected? What will the participants' profiles be like (say, freelance translators and/or interpreters, those working with definite languages, etc.)?
? What will a unit of analysis be (e.g., a translated text regardless of genre or a particular type of translated texts; entire translated texts or particular fragments of translated texts, etc.)?
? What will the variables of the research be, that is, what aspects of the analysed materials will be taken into consideration (translations of a particular period and/or a particular genre, made by translators of a particular school of thought, etc.)?

In all these considerations it is important to bear in mind that the research project should be manageable, as precise and as clear as possible and all the data analysed should be shown to contribute to the study, no irrelevant data are to be brought into the project.

At the stage of fieldwork (Stage D), the decisions of Stage C will be implemented. As the data are collected, issues of validity and reliability should be constantly kept in mind.

? To what extent do the analyses made take into consideration the complexity of the problem studied?
? How should we distinguish between 'relevant' and 'irrelevant' details?
? How well-founded, full, convincing are the data collected?
? How do other, contrary or complementary, types of evidence balance the type of evidence collected?

At Stage E, the results obtained are interpreted and the final decision is made about the initial propositions and, based on them, the theoretical proposition from which the research started. During the process there may be adjustments as to how to conduct the research (Stage C), perhaps, making questions in the questionnaire more specific or more directly geared towards the studied phenomenon.

It is believed that the difference between the theory-testing and theory-building types of research is quite big, since, allegedly, they proceed from two different ends of the spectrum of possibilities in terms of the relationship of research and theory. The difference between these two types of research can be seen as the extent to which the theoretical part of the research is developed. Theory-testing research is based on a well-formed theory usually borrowed, whereas theory-building research develops what is just brooding in the scholar's mind. S/he may be wondering about some phenomenon s/he has observed for some time and now wants to investigate (form a theory about) the nature of the phenomenon. However, already at the outset, there must be some hypothesis in the researcher's mind, and the research aims at examining the validity of

that hypothesis. In this sense, the difference between the theory-testing and theory-building types of research is whether they draw on a well-formed theory or just a hypothesis.

Therefore, whether you get inspiration from an existing theory about how translation is practised or you would like to understand (formulate a theory of) how and why translation is practised, it is advisable to keep in mind Rose's model (Fig. 5.1). In what follows I will refer to it as the ABCDE model. It may be used as a checklist of a sort.

Let us consider another example. First there should be clarity as to what one attempts to study, e.g., translation or interpreting in your country. Then you have to 'zoom in' and find either a specific period in the history of translation in your country or a specific problem that you are going to study across time (diachronically) or across space but within the same period (synchronically). The issue that you want to focus on may be conspicuous – for instance, an unusual activation of translation process in a particular period or, on the contrary, you may come across a period of relative lull in translation activities and you want to understand why. Conversely, the issue may be a quite usual or inconspicuous phenomenon – for example, the mundane routine of a translation agency. In that case, you may want to explore the way translation activities are organised and coordinated in this particular agency. These are examples of problems for theory-building studies.

For a theory-testing study, you may take an existing theory, such as Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and, more specifically, his hypothesis about different stages of the system's development and using translation for the system's internal needs: translating because the system is at its early stages of development or in crisis or lacking a particular genre which it hopes to develop by introducing the genre through translation (1990: 47). You may want to check whether or to what extent Even-Zohar's hypothesis is applicable to a period in your country's translation history. When you are considering a theory or a phenomenon to study, you are at Stage A of the ABCDE model.

However, in order to be made feasible for one research project, your broadly formulated research problems will need to be further narrowed down. This is Stage B when you break down your research problem into smaller and measureable problems. For instance, if you decide to investigate one of Even-Zohar's hypotheses, say, that a literary polysystem uses translation to introduce new literary genres, you may formulate the following theoretical propositions:

- The genre introduced into a culture through translation must have traces of its foreign source culture.
- The introduction of a genre through translation is usually locatable in time (one period, for example a decade), when an empty genre slot is detected and the attempt to fill it is made, and possibly in space (the capital or some other cultural centre of the nation where a translator or a publisher introduces the genre through translations of foreign literary works).

- The introduction of a genre is carried out by translators demonstrating some similarity in their translation style or working conditions (employed by the same type of publishing houses).

At Stage C, concrete steps are taken to plan the research. The sampling criteria are thought over. If we decide to study how detective stories were introduced into a given national literary polysystem, the following aspects are to be considered:

- **the corpus**: translated and not translated detective stories or their translators' and publishers' profiles of a particular period and place;
- **the unit(s)** of the research are to be one detective story, translated or not, or a person (translator, publisher or any other individual who may have been instrumental in introducing the genre of detective story into the studied culture);
- **variables**: text features that lead the analysed texts to be perceived as either translated or not translated texts (explicit genre definition 'Translated from … by … '; linguistic features, such as foreign cultural terms, syntactic constructions that signal the foreign origin of the text, etc.; extra-linguistic features, such as characters' modes of behaviour and expressed or implied values and lifestyles; the period and location of the (likely) creation or publication of text(s); evidence of translators' and publishers' participation in translating and disseminating of texts).

Then Stage D sets in. This is the stage of fieldwork when the materials specified at Stage C are collected, examined, categorised, etc. The material usually suggests new aspects of the study or fine-tunes the initial research design. Stage D may and often does require some adjustment: narrowing down or extending the corpus, reconsidering the type of units (for example, excluding translators and publishers in order to concentrate on texts only or on texts of a particular publisher or translator, etc).

The results the study yields will bring the researcher back to Stage B, the stage of the verification of theoretical hypotheses. Eventually the researcher will come back to Stage A. The initial theoretical proposition will be either confirmed or adjusted or refuted all together.

In the case of undertaking research of the theory-building type, Stage A will have the researcher's hypothesis about an observed phenomenon. At Stage B the hypothesis will be broken down into narrower and measurable propositions. The next step will be Stage C and so on. The role of the theory to be tested in this type of research may be played by either the researcher's own guess about the nature of a particular phenomenon or some conventional wisdom taken as a working hypothesis to be tested. Sometimes the researcher may have observed some phenomenon and act on little more than a hunch about what that phenomenon is about and how it can be different from or similar to other

comparable phenomena. The study will test the researcher's initial intuition and, hopefully, based on the collected and studied empirical data, construct a theory about the phenomenon in question.

Methodology of sociologically informed research

Sociology has developed a range of methods to study social phenomena. When studying translation as a social phenomenon, it is only logical to adopt them. In what follows I will list some of the most basic methods. It is impossible to cover all methods or to cover those selected in detail. Therefore, this chapter does not claim to exhaust the topic, but rather outline it and with its bird's-eye view guide further exploration.

Preliminaries

First of all it is important to understand the difference between methodology and methods. Methodology is a system of methods. Methodology is the theoretical, political and philosophical foundation of research methods. It implies particular positions concerning epistemology or political values which inform the researcher's approach to studied phenomena (Seale 2012: 578). Examples are feminist, Marxist, structuralist or poststructuralist methodologies. Method is a practical research technique. A social survey, experiment, questionnaire distribution, interviews are examples of methods.

All methodologies and methods have their strengths and weaknesses, which need to be taken into consideration while applying them to a particular research. The researcher has to explain why this or that methodology and methods have been chosen. It is also useful to think of pros and cons of other methods within the chosen methodology or of other methodologies that may shed more light or bring new aspects of the studied phenomenon to the fore.

A vital aspect of any research is sampling of people or objects to be studied. If you conduct a qualitative study, it is important to consider to what extent your sample represents the entire population of its kind, that is, all people or phenomena of that kind. If you study a particular category of translators, for example those using computer-assisted translation tools, you have to have a representative group, which should give an idea of all translators using CAT tools. A representative sample is a selection of cases from a larger group or, in sociological terms, population, which should accurately reflect the entire population and based on which the researcher may draw his/her generalising conclusions. Therefore clarity is needed about the exact range of the study: your research can hardly claim to be universal, most probably you will limit your analysis to a particular region, organisation or group. You have to explain how you have selected those whom you have studied. It is necessary to ensure that there is an equal proportion of women and men, freelancers and translators employed in agencies and other organisations. The sample of

translators may represent different language combinations. In other words, you should consider how the people you have selected represent the entire population of translators who use CAT tools. The selection may be determined by your research question(s) or it may be a result of your search for variety. For instance, your research question may grow out of the idea of seeing if there is a gender-determined difference between the use of CAT tools. Then, obviously, you will need to have an equal sample of translators of both genders regardless of whether there is a quantitative balance between women and men translators in the region you study: the basis of the inquiry is gender. Or your research question may concern primarily studying a certain aspect of translation as practised by female translators of literary works of a particular genre from English into Hungarian. Then your sampling will exclude all those translators who are not females or translate non-literary texts or work with different language combinations. The questions to be asked as regards sampling are as follows:

? What is the rationale of your sampling and how representative of the entire population is it?
? What are the criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of individuals and objects into/from your sample?
? If your research is qualitative, to what extent does it represent a larger population (not only translators in one bureau, but of the entire city, region, country, etc.)?
? If your research is quantitative, how large is your sample? Is it random or according to a criterion? May your sample miss some relevant data?

Your research method justification should include a consideration of its validity, quality and reliability. Questions you should ask yourself in this connection might be:

? Is your method adequate/the best possible to study the phenomenon under consideration?
? Is your research repeatable? If so, are other researchers likely to draw the same conclusions?
? Would your results be different if you had a different group of people or a different corpus of texts?
? Is it possible to generalise the findings based on the study of your sample to a larger population?

It is quite likely that you will need to consider the phenomenon you research in comparison or at least in the context of other similar or different but comparable phenomena. This is necessary because otherwise it is difficult to understand the scale of the object of study and/or place it in its 'natural' habitat. If you conduct

research on how a particular genre (e.g., legal contracts) is translated in your language combination, it is advisable to look, at least briefly, at how other text genres (similar, such as business contracts, or more remote, such as mass media texts about legal news) are translated in your language combination. Other methods of the contextualisation of the studied phenomenon may be thought about, the goal being to show the object of inquiry in its proportion to other comparable objects and to calibrate the perspective of analysis so that the object's place in its 'natural' habitat is made clear.

It is good to reflect on your research in terms of what might have prompted your interest in it, what might influence your attitude to the study, its participants, its objects and the results obtained. The goal of scientific research is maximal objectivity. Yet all of us have different attitudes to different people and things. Although it is impossible to fully shed all attitudes, at least we should be aware of the lens through which we look at the studied phenomena and thus be able to put them aside while conducting the research.

Most probably, you will be using more than one method or more than one methodology, especially if your research is on a larger scale and aims at a comprehensive study of a phenomenon. In fact, the larger the project is, the likelier the necessity to use different methods and methodologies in order to ensure the consideration of various aspects of the studied phenomenon. There is nothing wrong in combining different methods and even methodologies, but there should be absolute clarity as to what methods and methodologies are used, how, at what stage and to what end.

Before deciding what methods you can realistically use for your research, consider what data might be already available. You may use existing databases. For example, local telephone books or Internet resources may have lists of translation and interpreting agencies or freelance translators and interpreters. In open resources you may find organisations that are likely to use services of translators and interpreters (internationally operating businesses, governmental and non-governmental organisations, mass media).

A word of caution is called for here. Not all organisations or individuals are equally cooperative, but in all cases the researcher should demonstrate tact and understanding. The ethical matters should be properly considered. It is unethical to pressurise or trick potential respondents into your research. You should be extremely careful and consult your supervisor in dealing with sensitive or potentially controversial matters: dealing with legal issues or sensitive documents, conducting covert or semi-covert studies or experiments.

You need to be clear about your role as a researcher. Before a study involving other people or their documents, works, etc., make sure that you have explained to them who you are, what you are doing and what you ask from them. You need to seek the informed consent of all those you involve. Universities usually require interviewees to sign consent forms before they are interviewed.

It is wise to consider your own safety while conducting your research. Do not provide your respondents and interviewees with your personal data except

for the necessary contact details, such as your name, university affiliation and, if need be, your email address. Be careful about inviting or accepting invitations to conduct interviews in the homes of people whom you do not know or whom you can reasonably trust.

Research methods

The main two types of methods are quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative research involves the collection and analysis of numerical data. For instance, if you count how many women vs. men work as translators or if you count how many translations of this or that type have been published/made in a particular period and in a particular target language, you conduct quantitative research. Qualitative research, on the contrary, focuses on non-numerical data ranging from texts of interviews and questionnaires through the researcher's observations of studied phenomena to images, video and audio materials. Quantitative methods concentrate on observable data, while qualitative methods on meaning. (See Box 5.2.)

Box 5.2: Quantification and qualification: The pedigree

The term 'positivism' was coined by the French philosopher Auguste Comte who also created the term 'sociology' (see Box 1.1). Comte distinguished three stages of the evolution of knowledge: the earliest stage theological, the second metaphysical and finally the positive stage. Positive knowledge rejects irrational, supernatural forces as well as speculative methods of explanation. Positivism in a broader sense (understood as rationalism) is the bedrock of modern sciences, including all social sciences. But today the term 'positivism' is used in a narrower sense as an epistemological stance requiring scientifically verifiable proof, often in the form of observable data.

Empiricism declares experience as the source of knowledge. Empiricism is in opposition to *a priori* categories, that is, categories that are based on theoretical deduction rather than on experience. Empiricism developed in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. In the social sciences, the term 'empiricist' is often used pejoratively pointing to the lack of theoretical reflection and of the necessary breadth of the consideration of the studied phenomenon. ('Empiricist' should be distinguished from 'empirical', which is a neutral term denoting research based on the information obtained first-hand as opposed to theoretical reasoning.)

Quantitative methods of research originate from positivism and empiricism with their reliance upon observable phenomena. Durkheim was the first to apply principles of positivism to sociological research, featuring prominently especially in his classical book *Suicide* (1897), in which he relied on official statistics of suicides in European countries.

Qualitative methods of research in sociology were a reaction to positivistic approaches and are associated with interpretivism and in our days with post-modernism, which argue that pure rationality is not sufficient and hardly ever achievable. Max Weber and, later, symbolic interactionists were instrumental in developing techniques of sociological research that would go beyond the observable into the sphere of meaning, something hidden from direct observation yet playing a crucial role in the world of humans (see more in Chapter 9). In the present-day social sciences, research is often a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods.

Statistical research is perhaps the most well-known sociological method. For some, sociology is synonymous with statistics. There are, of course, many other methods used in the study of society, but collecting statistics is one of the most prominent methods. It is hardly surprising as statistics allow us to see social processes over large stretches of time and space that no human can observe first-hand.

Historically, statistics meant the study of the state: its population and its wealth in their different aspects. Now, statistics means a type of collecting and analysis of data and of presenting and interpreting them in a way that would make them more intelligible.

Statistical data the researcher studies may be collected by the researcher him/herself or s/he may use the data collected by somebody else. For instance, Durkheim in his study of suicide used official data that already existed. In a number of modern countries there are data archives containing statistical data collected for various purposes and made available for social research. Some data are open; some (for example, in cases when confidential information was collected) may require special application procedures; some data are accessible free of charge; some can be obtained at a cost.

Using existing data makes the research less time- and effort-consuming. However, it should be borne in mind that the original purpose of collecting the data may be different from the purpose of new research. That is why the researcher should know who collected the data, to what extent the data are relevant to the research at hand, what biases may be present in the way the data were collected and presented, how reliable the data are, which population the data represent.

One of the most popular among translation scholars is the UNESCO Index Translationum (http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=22194&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html). The Index is "a list of books translated in the world, i.e. an international bibliography of translations" (ibid.). It has data about one hundred UNESCO member states since 1979. It contains more than two million entries classified thematically (literature, social and human sciences, natural and exact sciences, art, history, etc.). The database is constantly updated. The Index "serve[s] as a reference work […] for making bibliographical inventories of translations on a worldwide scale" (ibid.). The data are collected from the bibliography centres and national libraries of the

UNESCO member states. The researcher is warned that the Index does not include data on periodicals, articles from them, patents and brochures.

To prepare one's own statistical data requires skills in correct sampling, turning string variables into numeric ones, etc. For a beginner, it is more advisable to use existing databases. The main two types of statistics can only be hinted at here. *Univariate statistics* are based on taking into account a single variable. For instance, frequency distribution of a particular phenomenon over time or space (e.g., translations of detective stories published over a period in a particular country) is an example of univariate statistics.[2]

Frequency distributions may be represented either graphically, most commonly as either bar or pie charts or linear curves, or numerically in tables. The advantage of statistics is its clarity of the representation of data. Statistics are especially helpful when translation flows are studied. Table 5.1 is an example of univariate statistics showing the dynamics of translating from Russian into the languages of several former Soviet republics before and after the collapse of

Table 5.1 Translation from Russian into the languages of several former Soviet Republics

Translated from Russian into:	*1979–1991*	*1992–2010*
⇒Ukrainian	∑3963 R2080 E228	∑552 R43 E206
⇒Belarusian	∑1049 R690	∑681 R421
⇒Kazakh	∑1894 R1492 E34	∑84 R3 E38
⇒Georgian	∑2177 R1312 E163	∑10 R3 E3
⇒Armenian	∑2130 R1557 E109	∑10 R1 E6
⇒Estonian	∑2299 R1259 E189	∑11849 R437 E7370
⇒Lithuanian	∑2695 R1653 E175	∑8567 R424 E4489

Legend: '∑' denotes the total number of translations registered in the *Index Translationum* for either the 1979–1991 or 1992–2010 periods in a given former republic of the USSR. 'R' stands for 'Russian' and denotes the number of translations from Russian. 'E' stands for 'English' and denotes the number of translations from English, which usually competed most successfully with Russian within the former USSR and which are supplied here for contrast.

the Soviet Union. Each cell shows three figures: the total number of translations, the number of translations from Russian and the number of translations from the language that came closest to Russian – English. The 1979–91 column of the table clearly shows how many more translations were made from Russian than from English and how they enjoyed the lion's share of all translations made in the period. The 1992–2010 column shows the opposite picture. Only a glance is enough to appreciate how radical the change in the translation flows was.

Pie charts are another convenient way of showing translation flows. In Figure 5.2, the top five source languages of translations published in Azerbaijan (and registered in Index Translationum) before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union are shown. Once again, the chart makes clear the distribution of the source languages.

Content analysis is the analysis of oral or written texts as well as of visual materials. As applied to the translation research, content analysis may be an analysis of pictures and video materials in terms of how they reflect the position occupied by the interpreter in public events, and consequently the interpreter's social status. In the analysis of published materials, the place devoted to the name of the translator(s) in a book or other published material can be analysed.

In sociology, content analysis is viewed primarily as a quantitative method seeking "to analyse texts in terms of the presence and frequency of specific terms, narratives or concepts" (Seale 2012: 460). Content analysis is about counting specific words, for example, or measuring the amount of space devoted to this or that subject matter in the studied text(s).

Most commonly, content analysis of texts is conducted with the help of concordances and lists. We can create our own concordance with the help of programmes such as Concordance (available at http://www.concordancesoftware.

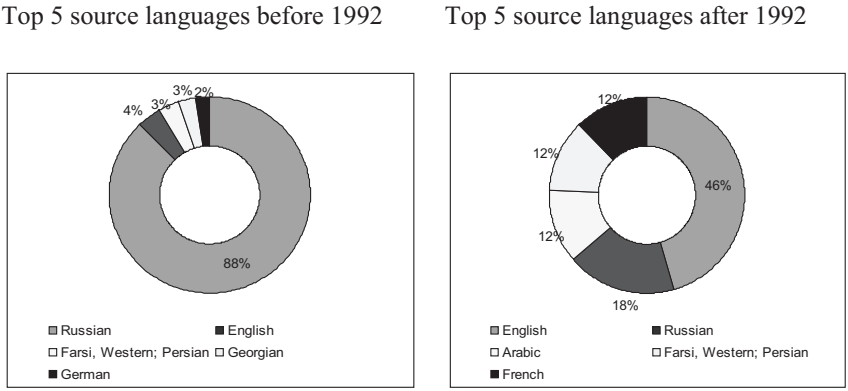

Figure 5.2 Top five source and target languages of translations in Azerbaijan before and after 1992 (the collapse of the Soviet Union)

co.uk/). For example, we may analyse a particular text or a group of texts by looking at keywords used in them.

One of the most important aspects of the content analytical research is defining the sampling. The challenge is how to make the research manageable taking into account that texts, including translations, are produced and circulated on a large scale in the modern world.

Although quantitative methods increase the objectivity of research, they are criticised for focusing predominantly on *what* is said, rather than on *how* it is said. Therefore quantitative methods are usually combined with qualitative research methods. For instance, statistics are but numbers; they may only signal the necessity to look into what social processes they reflect. Or in the case of content analysis, the keywords we select for our research tell us about the thematic focus of the analysed text(s). They help us quickly identify those parts of the studied text(s) that are thematically important for our research, yet we still have to look at those parts more closely in order to see the contexts in which the keywords are used.

A questionnaire is a list of questions designed in such a way that respondents supply a particular type of information about concrete areas of research. The questionnaires within one project are usually standardised for the entire studied group of people. The questions progress in an ordered and logical way from simple factual to more complex questions.

To the challenges of other quantitative methods, such as sampling, questionnaires add their own (which is a more typical difficulty for qualitative research though). The challenge is the wording of questions. There are open questions, which ask participants themselves to formulate their own answers ('Why did you choose to become a translator?'). There are closed questions, which limit the choice of answers ('Did you want to become a translator or not?'). There are also fixed choices of questions when several possible answers are suggested ('How did you become a translator? A. I always wanted to. B. It was a happenstance. C. I do not remember.'). In suggested answers to fixed choice questions it is important to include all possible answers, even 'I do not know', 'I do not want to answer', 'Not applicable', 'None' or, to allow the respondent to provide his/her own answer, 'Other'. Leading questions, that is, questions suggesting answers ('Didn't you want to become a translator?'), should be avoided.

Questionnaires may be distributed physically, by mail or email. Filling questionnaires may be arranged over the phone as well.

The following are some practical tips:

- Keep the questionnaire short, simple and clear (no ambiguous or long, verbose questions!).
- Include only relevant and essential questions, that is, those you *must* have answered for your research.
- Ask yourself how you would answer your questions. If you cannot think of an acceptable answer to a question, do not include that question.

- Think of an introductory message that will state the theme and purpose of your research and explain how you are going to deal with the data collected.
- The layout of the questionnaire should be easy to understand.
- Avoid the temptation to squeeze too much into a small space (for example by making the font smaller). It is also how busy the page is that impresses, not only the fact that it is only one page.

Interviews are especially popular in qualitative studies. Qualitative interviews are especially useful for theory-building studies. Interviews allow a deeper exploration of studied areas or individual types, something that statistics fail to show. Interviews are interactive in nature and this property makes them fluid in form and sometimes even unpredictable. The interviewee may bring up an issue that the interviewer did not consider in his/her preparation or some point may require more attention than planned.

The interactive nature of the interview brings in more variables into the picture. More than in purely quantitative research, the profile of the interviewer and interviewee should be taken into consideration. It is important to understand who asks questions and who answers them. That is why we should look critically at our own interest in and our attitude to the theme of our research; without factoring in our personality as researchers we may unconsciously distort the processing or presentation of the collected data or we may be biased in selecting interviewees, etc. The personality of the interviewee is important because, again, whatever s/he says in response to our questions is coloured by his/her view of the situation. Obviously a representative number of the entire studied population should be ensured in order to see the range of viewpoints, which may be similar or different. The location in which the interview takes place as well as the types of questions asked should also be taken into consideration when the obtained data are analysed.

Interviews may be more or less free when the interviewee is encouraged to talk more about a particular matter or they may be stricter in form when the interviewee is asked concrete questions aimed at obtaining exact answers. For the former, the interviewer plans the areas of discussion, whereas in the latter, questions take a standardised form in order to increase the comparability of answers given by the entire group of interviewees. Structured interviews are often used more as part of quantitative research and viewed as data collection. The interviewer guides the questions-and-answers flow. Freer interviews help in qualitative research because they emphasise data generation when the interviewer follows the logic of the interviewee. Both structured and freer interviews may be conducted either by email or by phone.

While collecting data, it is useful, when the researcher observes similarities in respondents' attitudes, opinions or positions, to start coding them. To code means to ascribe a particular symbol used as a shorthand reference. Such codes may take any form the researcher finds convenient for later analyses of the

data. For instance, if the study is about those translators who use CAT tools and those who are less willing to use them, the interviews may be organised in two groups 'Pro' and 'Contra'. If subgroups are detected, for instance, based on different reasons given pro and contra, then additional symbols may be introduced.

If the research is focused on the discourse (in what terms translators express their views, rather than simply whether they are for or against something), it is important to have as full a record of the interview as possible. If, conversely, the focus is on the general content (whether for or against in whatever terms expressed), then simplified notes may be taken during the interview.

Q&A sessions are not necessarily conducted with just one participant interviewed at a time. **Focus groups** are another type of mainly qualitative research. Groups may be formed with participants holding generally the same opinion about the studied phenomenon or different ones. Focus groups provide a rich pool of information in a relatively short time. The main component of the focus group session is the discussion eliciting information about attitudes of the participants towards a phenomenon. It is also instructive to watch the dynamic of the group. In this sense, focus groups are not a form of collective interviews, but a discussion within the group. The role of the researcher is to guide the discussion making sure that there is no distraction or digressions. The main goal for the researcher is to step back and observe.

The essential component of a successful interview or of organising a focus group discussion is the researcher him/herself. In order to elicit the information from participants, the researcher should demonstrate the following qualities:

- interest in and respect for his/her interviewees/participants;
- the ability to understand and accept the participants' points of view;
- flexibility in conducting the interview or guiding the discussion with people of different psychological types;
- and, at the same time, polite firmness in directing the interview or discussion and minimising distractions and irrelevant digressions.

By far, the most important quality of the researcher is the ability to listen. It should be remembered that the goal of the interview and the focus group discussion is to gain an insight into what participants think, rather than to argue with them, convince them to change their opinion, etc. Interfering with the interview or discussion in such ways will lead to gaining information that will be distorted and, hence, inaccurate and useless.

The researcher should also be sensitive to different settings which require different types of communication with the participating individuals. Interviews and discussions range from informal, conversational to formal with a strict sequence of questions.

The following are some practical tips:

- Prepare a clear statement of the goal of your research project, a statement on ethical aspects of the study (privacy, confidentiality and, possibly, anonymity), explanation of how the materials will be used, whether they will be archived or destroyed after the study, etc.
- A topic guide that would outline the main areas of inquiry (up to ten questions) should also be prepared.
- Budget an hour for an interview or discussion.
- Think what interviewees or discussants are likely to tell you and what they may be less willing to divulge.
- Think how you are going to record interviews/discussions. If you plan to use a tape or video recorder, the interviewee or focus group participants should be asked to agree. If recording is not allowed, you may need to ask for permission to take notes.

Observational projects observe the functioning of a studied phenomenon in its natural environment. For instance, you want to observe how a translation agency functions on a daily basis, how people interact, what they do, how roles are distributed, etc. You are likely to take notes, perhaps write a daily report summarising the most striking points you have observed during the day. You may interview people when they are available. You may also study written documents (translations or their drafts, working memos, whatever other materials you may obtain access to).

Observational projects, like interviews, can be more or less structured. You may want to compare organisational structures and relations between employees in different agencies. To make your data comparable it is advisable to think before the observations what variables will be taken into account. For instance, you may want to observe relationships between different professionals (project managers, translators, editors) or between colleagues (how much the production of translations is a result of the team work) or between employers and employees. These kinds of structured observation are likely to be quantified to this or that extent. On the contrary, if your observation is more about discovering how an agency works, what the production line of translations is, then you may follow the flow, so to speak, letting yourself be led by the observed phenomena, rather than leading them.

Discourse analysis studies the use of language and, as far as translation research is concerned, the language of translation as a social phenomenon. Discourse analysis is usually associated with Michel Foucault's works in which he considered how language and other symbols, such as visual images, represent and shape knowledge and practice. Language is seen as "an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language" (Fairclough 2003: 2).

Discourse analysis is a qualitative method. Discourse, especially as it is understood in TIS, is a single utterance or text or a corpus of utterances or texts in which language is viewed as functioning according to social rules and conventions. Discourse analysis may be based on broader definitions of discourse (including non-verbal modes of signification): "[…] sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualisable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements" (Foucault as cited in Fairclough 2003: 123). Like in linguistics, in TIS so far, the accent has been on discourse analysis as "detailed linguistic analysis of texts" (Fairclough 2003: 215). A single translation or several reflecting a particular discourse are analysed. The questions this approach leads us to ask may be as follows:

? How does the language used by the translator/interpreter contribute to the reproduction of the dominant/marginal discourse?
? How does the language used by the translator/interpreter undermine the dominant/marginal discourse?

Another type of question may be about the social role of translation itself:

? How does speaking about the translator/interpreter affect the position of the translator/interpreter in society?

Analysis of professional or 'expert' languages is indeed "an obvious and a very fruitful area for research" in order to unearth the dynamics of relationships between language, knowledge and power (Seale 2012: 408). But it is by no means the only sphere of application of this method. Critical discourse analysis, for instance, focuses on political and ideological implications of the use of language. Language, it is claimed, functions in relation with power. In fact, power is viewed by critical discourse analysts as reproduced through the use of language. In this sense, it is interesting to study translations of political documents, news and other media texts.

Discourse analysis does not presuppose a standard methodological procedure. It is 'data-driven'. It does not look for final answers, but rather at the way social discourses are constructed.[3] The usual techniques are identifying **key themes**, **associations** between different phenomena and groups of people, **characterisation** of these phenomena and people, watching for **emphases** and **silences**.

Keyword search (see the section on content analysis above) or a search for important meanings may help identify some of the main themes of a particular discourse. Consider the example given in 'How a "guilty" translator behaves' in Chapter 2. What St Jerome says in self-defence may be viewed as a discourse in which the translator uses language and rhetoric in order to vindicate himself and his work. First of all it is obvious that a critique of the translator is

possible and protecting himself is his own concern (not like higher political and religious dignitaries of the time who were protected by the state machine). Analysing the actual language, Jerome uses several ideas or threads, which he uses to weave his text used as a social tool.

Once the main themes are identified, the analysis may consider associations of ideas and things. In his "Letter to Pammachius", Jerome associates his opponents with ignorance, the devil, criminals, whereas he associates himself and his supporters with Christian virtues ("most Christian of nobles and most noble of Christians", Section XII), knowledge, etc. The associations help us see better the way the opposing parties are characterised in Jerome's letter. For instance, Jerome shows himself and his opponents as acting very differently: his is a professionally impeccable work and behaviour; whereas his opponents are shown as stealing documents, appealing to the ignorant mob, rather than to educated critics (like Pammachius, to whom Jerome appeals).

Discourse analysts may also discuss different linguistic strategies to achieve certain effects. Nominalisation, the use of nouns instead of verbs, can deflate the emotional tension of a statement. "An abuse of power" is less powerful than "The judge abused his power." Passivisation is when the passive voice is used instead of the active voice, or using anthropomorphic abstract nouns to obscure agency. Consider a statement like "Power was abused in a court hearing": we do not see the actor who abused and 'power' replaces the victims who actually suffered from the abuse.

Finally, texts may emphasise or silence certain facts. Jerome in his "Letter to Pammachius" emphasises his attitude to his work as a translator: he worked, he claims, in the same way as his illustrious predecessors worked. He provides more examples of other translators' works than of his own. He does not mention the real-life complex dynamic of the reception of his translations about which we learn from St Augustine's "Letter to Saint Jerome" (in Lefevere 1992: 16). Augustine's letter is of 392 A.D., whereas Jerome writes to Pammachius between 405 and 410, hence Jerome knew about the reception of his translation of the Bible, but he does not mention anything of the kind.

Combinability of methods

At the end of this chapter it should be emphasised that the separation between quantitative and qualitative methods of research in the social sciences (see Table 5.2) is seen today as exaggerated. First of all, the complexity of social phenomena is such that they cannot be studied exclusively either quantitatively or qualitatively. Secondly, no method is purely quantitative or qualitative, theory-testing or theory-building, deductive (proceeding from the theory to empirical data) or inductive (when data generate a theoretical explanation). As was mentioned above, a theory-building approach is never without a hunch, a guess or a hypothesis which is confirmed or refuted or developed over the

Table 5.2 Key quantitative and qualitative methods (loosely based on Neil Spicer's tables in Seale 2012: 480–1)

Quantitative	*Qualitative*
Structured interview	Semi- or unstructured interviews
Questionnaire	Focus group
Statistical analysis	Discourse analysis
Quantitative content analysis	Participant-observation
Structured observation	

course of the research. No statistical research is possible without a qualitative interpretation. Moreover, it is hard to imagine a research that would be a linear procedure: from a theory to facts or vice versa. There is always a sequence of adjustments and re-adjustments of theoretical explanations and data-gathering procedures: "[A]ll research, whether qualitative or quantitative, tends to be an *iterative* process in practice whether this is acknowledged or not" (Seale 2012: 482).

Qualitative and quantitative methods are separated artificially. More and more research projects in the social sciences combine both qualitative and quantitative features. There are several types of such combinations (Neil Spicer in Seale 2012: 480, 484–90):

- The triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods when different methods are applied to the study of a phenomenon in order to verify the results obtained with one method with the help of others, e.g., quantitative with qualitative and vice versa. What has been observed with an unstructured participant-observation in one translation bureau may be verified with the help of questionnaires sent to several others.
- Multiple methods, both quantitative and qualitative, may be applied for the study of different aspects of one and the same phenomenon or at different stages of the research project. Translational phenomena may be first explored with statistics and then qualitative unstructured interviews (case studies) may focus on particular phenomena signalled by statistics.
- Qualitative and quantitative methods may be combined in order to generalise: what has been discovered by unstructured qualitative interviews may be generalised by providing statistical data covering more units of observation.

When selecting a method or methods for a particular project, it should be remembered that methods are means to an end. The main goal of the research is to learn more about a particular phenomenon, not to demonstrate one's 'allegiance' to quantitative or qualitative methods. If the object of research requires several or combined methods, then they should be applied.

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main questions opening the chapter.
2 Read one of the articles available at the UNESCO Index Translationum (http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=22194&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html). Explain how the researcher used the data, what caveats s/he provided as to limitations of the data used, how you would estimate the validity of the conclusions drawn.
3 The UNESCO World Report *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue* is largely based on the UNESCO Index Translationum and is available online both in full and in summaries in English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, Russian (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/resources/report/the-unesco-world-report-on-cultural-diversity/). How is the role of translation in ensuring cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue shown in these reports?

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

Babbie (2013: Parts 2–4); Pym (1998); Seale (2012); Grbíc and Pöllabauer (2008); Moser-Mercer (2008); contributions in Chapter 'Empirical studies' in Hansen, Chesterman and Gerzymisch-Arbogast (2008); Katan (2011); Sapiro (2008, in French); Pym and Chrupala (2005).

Notes

1 This scenario is less exotic or artificial than it may seem at first sight. For instance, the French traveller Marquis de Custine's *La Russie en 1839* [Russia in 1839] showing the French audience Russia under Nicholas I in a way that is far from flattering, has always generated debates in Russia and was recently (Kiustin 1996) translated into Russian in full (although there had been translated fragments): Kiustin, A. de. 1996. *Rossiia v 1839 godu* [Russia in 1839]. In 2 volumes. Translated by V. Mil'china and I. Staf. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo imeni Sabashnikovykh. In this case the work has been known as so controversial that it was translated to allow the Russian readership not reading in French to access the text. The reader of this translation reads about his/her own culture but as it is translated from French and as it is seen through the eyes of a French author who did not intend his work to be read by the Russian reader.
2 Bivariate analysis takes into account two or more variables and explores the relationship between the variables. The analysis is more complex and, seeing the introductory nature of the present book, is not considered here. For a detailed treatment of this topic see Seale (2012: Chapter 20).
3 This approach brings discourse analysis close to ethnomethodology (to be discussed in Chapter 8).

Chapter 6

Scenarios

The main questions:

- **What is a model (or paradigm), a theory and a perspective?**
- **What are the main models of society?**
- **What examples of perspectives can you give and how are they related to models and theories?**

In Chapter 5, 'Preliminaries', the difference between methodologies (Marxist, feminist, (post)structuralist) and methods (statistics, interviews, observations) was explained. Methodology can also be explained as a point of view that informs research. In sociology they are connected with models of society or paradigms of social description. Explicitly or implicitly, models of society inform all sociological research, whether grand or small, seeking generalisations or conducting a small-scale case study.

A model of society is a general image of society. It consists of ideas about the nature of the elements that make up society as well as patterns of their relationships. Models are internalised through socialisation and non-professionals usually take them for granted. Scholars learn to engage critically with models.

A model is a social construct: it is an image of society created by society. A model is a larger construct than a theory. A theory of society is an organised system of ideas purporting to explain a social phenomenon or society as a whole. One model may generate several theories. Each of these theories will be narrower and more precise in its approaches to its subject matter than the model. Theories will have a set of more or less clearly formulated principles and questions that underlie the way social phenomena are described. Theories, if they fail to explain observed properties of the studied phenomena, can be proved wrong. They are, however, a valuable heuristic device: they help with asking concrete questions which, as we have seen in the previous chapter, can be broken down to measurable and verifiable assumptions.

If a model and a theory are imagined as two extreme points of one line, then the social studies from, say, the feminist or postcolonial points of view should be put between the two. In what follows, such sets of ideas as feminism or postcolonialism, narrower than models and yet not as precise as theories, will be called 'perspectives'. A perspective focuses on a particular subject or theme. A perspective draws on a particular model of society that is accepted or questioned by the perspective but that informs the creation of the perspective. Consider for instance the feminist or postcolonial perspectives: both investigate a particular aspect of modern society (and later in this chapter we will discuss which ones), thus they are based on one of the existing models of what society is, but they question whether the society should be organised in this way. Perspectives, like models, generate more than one theory.

In this chapter several models and perspectives that inspire much research in the social sciences in general and TIS in particular will be outlined. Without knowing the basic models, it is difficult to contextualise one's own research and its implications or the research conducted by others and see other possibilities. Knowing models allows us to eliminate inconsistencies in approaches to our research. It should be borne in mind, though, that models are only general guidelines, as no theory conforms fully or should be interpreted as belonging to one model only. On the contrary, all theories tend to have features of several models.

Society as an organism

The first model and its variations are called macrosociological because they view society as a structured whole. The emphasis is on the suprahuman structures. These structures are parts of the society and they function in such a way as to meet the needs of the whole. The dynamics of the interaction of the parts may be different from harmony to conflict, but the scale of sociological description stays the same. Let us consider three principal kinds of the macrosociological model.

Box 6.1: Society as an organism

Traces of the organismic vision of society go as far back as Plato's ideas of society as comprised of three elements – the rational, thinking element, the spiritual element and the appetitive element. The association is based on the individual human, but Plato ascribed these different elements to different social classes: to the class of wise rulers; to the class of active and energetic warriors; and to the class of workers providing for everyday necessities of the society. As was briefly mentioned in Box 1.1, biological analogies were among the most prominent sources of modern sociology. On the one hand, the idea of biological evolution inspired seeing society as

evolving over time. On the other hand, parts of the social whole were seen as comparable with parts of the body. The entire society was associated with 'structure' and the parts with 'functions' in the writings of Comte and Spencer and were further developed by Durkheim. Societies were described as structures with functioning parts by such anthropologists as Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown. One of the most prominent American sociologists Talcott Parsons and his students have made a major contribution and are now known as the structural-functionalist school (see Chapter 7). The sociological theory of one of Parsons' students, the German Niklas Luhmann, has been applied to translation studies. Another sociological theory figuring quite prominently in Translation Studies, the theory of social fields of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, also has features of the organismic model of society (see Chapter 9).

The harmonised organism

One of the oldest and still influential models is the organismic model, according to which society is thought of as an organism (see Box 6.1). Different parts of this organism are imagined as having a place in the structure of the whole and playing a particular role contributing to the smooth working of the whole. This role is called a 'function' and the entire approach is often referred to as structural-functionalist.

Despite differences, all theories relying on the structural-functionalist model of society primarily emphasise the whole: society and institutions of which the society consists. Individuals or groups are considered in terms of their relationship to the whole.

The principal question asked by structural-functionalism is: How is social order possible despite the turnover of members with every new generation? How, although people are born and die and generations replace one another, does society manage to retain its form and order? The structural-functionalist answer is that this is possible because society is a structure reproducing itself through the functioning of its parts. For instance, a family is a mechanism that provides new members through sexual reproduction and basic socialisation; educational institutions continue the socialisation of new members; the government ensures the overall harmonisation of all social functions, and so on.

Parts of society are coordinated and interrelated. The structural-functionalist model emphasises the importance of studying not only the institutions of which society consists but also how they relate to each other and to the whole. By theorising society as a structure of interrelated parts, it has become possible to explain the dynamics of social life when a change in one part leads to changes in all the other parts, in some sectors of society smoothly and in some with resistance. This idea has led to exploring social hierarchies – higher or

lower positions in society resulting in different degrees of influence on the overall social decision-making.

The structural-functional model contributed greatly to the development of modern sociology in that it directed research into the study of such phenomena that cannot be reduced to individuals and their actions. Society was shown to be a phenomenon *sui generis* (of its own kind), irreducible to anything else.

Structural-functionalism has generated the idea of social comparativism. Since various social institutions are considered as manifestations of universal structures and functions, it becomes possible to compare outwardly dissimilar societies. Although some societies may appear to have little in common with others, according to the structural-functional model, all societies have basic needs which need to be met in order to ensure social order: all must produce new people and have some form of government or economic management. The translation student working within this paradigm may ask:

? How can translation be described as a social institution and what function does it fulfil to contribute to the maintenance of social order?

In TIS such questions may help the researcher see unity in the diversity of forms translation takes as a social institution in different societies. Translation may be practised and called differently in different societies, yet any society is a network of connections and any society interacts with other societies, whether neighbouring or far-flung. Interactions may be intra- or interlingual or inter-semiotic, as for example is the case in the interaction between political and economic institutions. Translation practices may differ significantly depending on how the interaction is organised and what the relationship between the interacting parties is. Research questions may be:

? Can translation be described as a simple triad: communicant 1 – translator – communicant 2, or is it a more complex type of interaction with more complex translational structures, such as translation schools, agencies, teams of translators, and with translator-controlling parties (editors, publishers, fellow translators)?
? Is translation a separate institution – a profession – in this society made up of people who are called translators or interpreters and who consider the remuneration they receive for their work as translators and interpreters as their main or only income?
? How does this society or some of its strata use translation for meeting their specific needs (interacting with other social strata or other societies through translation)?
? What is the relationship between social groups involved in the interaction through translation (translators, clients, commissioners, publishers, editors, project managers, etc.) and how does this relationship affect the outcome of translation projects?

The main criticisms levelled against structural-functionalism are that it is essentially teleological, that is, it considers collectivities as having purposes. Such criticism considers the word 'function' as a short-hand term for 'purpose', but, it is argued, only individual human beings may have purposes, while collectivities do not have purposes, even if their coordinated efforts do give the impression of a single organism. Some structural-functionalists, therefore, try to avoid the question of purpose by saying that their use of the term 'function' is synonymous with the expression 'as a consequence of': different parts of the whole function and as a consequence of that functioning, there is an effect.

A more serious counter-argument is that it is not clear, just *for what* something that is said to be 'functional' is functional? What is functional for one group in society may not be so for another. Structural-functionalism postulates society as one 'item' with one set of interests or needs, whereas society comprises many different groups that have different interests and needs and who may be in antagonistic relations. This leads to the fundamental question: What exactly is meant by the term 'society'?

Structural-functionalism is said to be conservative: theorising a given society as having functions that ensure its existence implies that whatever functions are identified are necessary for that society and should not be changed, let alone destroyed. If these functions cease to be performed, the society will be incomplete and some of its needs will not be met. Thus, if societies have all they need, why do we see ever-changing societies? Should they not be stable as all their needs are met? Politically, such theorisation of society endorses conservatism, securing the status quo and resistance to any change.

Finally, structural-functionalism underestimates the individual since it primarily looks at the social, the collectivity. The individual's needs and activities may thus be neglected or played down. Individuals may become reduced to playthings in the hands of all-powerful social structures.

All this being said and although critics of the structural-functionalism are legion, virtually every sociologist is a structural-functionalist at least to some extent and simply cannot be otherwise. All sociologists agree that the social is a matter of order and coordination. All sociologists agree that in order to continue this social order certain functions must be fulfilled: the regulation of sex for reproduction (family or another type of family-like unit), socialisation of children (upbringing, enculturation, schooling), controlling violence (through law and police-like forces), and so on.

In TIS, this model is perhaps the most widespread as it is implicitly present in theorising translation as a type of social activity. Translation is considered, therefore, as fulfilling a social function. In linguistic theories of translation, translation is considered as mediating across languages, in cultural theories – across cultures; some translation scholars consider different social roles of translation going beyond translation's primary social function – mediation, notably translation as a form of social activism. In all these approaches

translation is implicitly theorised as inscribed in the structural-functional society. Since this commitment to theorising translation as a distinct social function is not always fully realised, some scholars illogically question translation as a full-fledged social domain ('field' or 'functional (sub)system' in different terminologies). However, if it were not, then on what basis could translation be distinguished as a distinct activity? If translation were not a social function with its own social space, however diffused, evanescent or elusive, then the very foundation of theorising translation would disappear.

In conflict or equilibrium?

The organismic or structural-functionalist model of society may also be described as the equilibrium model of society. The way it presents society is criticised for playing down conflicts and tensions, observed virtually in all societies, as well as changes caused by these conflicts and tensions. One of the most prominent functionalists of the twentieth century, the American sociologist Talcott Parsons, and his followers, applied to their description of society the concept of homeostasis borrowed from physiology, according to which the organism has mechanisms of remedying injuries or diseases. Parsons's model of society followed this picture and portrayed self-stabilising society. If there is a danger, the society resolves the problem. For instance, when there is a crime, the police investigate it, catch the criminal, and a trial isolates the criminal by convicting him/her to a term in jail, thereby making sure that social order is restored and social values are respected. The social equilibrium is thus redressed.

However, critics noted that this concept of social equilibrium did not resolve the fundamental problem of the structural-functionalist static model. There is plenty of evidence of societies' failing to control what befalls them or effectively cope with all of the things throwing them out of their equilibrium. Also, in order to apply the notion of homeostasis to society, the notion of the optimal state of the society should be defined.

In opposition to the equilibrium model, the conflict model has been elaborated. As the exponents of this model argue, the vision of homeostatic society is an illusion. It is misleading, they claim, to portray societies as struggling to restore some sort of equilibrium. Rather societies are intersections of constant conflicts of interests. Some conflicts are hidden, some are obvious, some lead to battles fought with words, some to bloody civil wars. Ultimately, these conflicts are caused by the struggle for power or advantages in our world of scarcity.

In TIS, the conceptualisation of translation as bridge-building is in accord with the equilibrium model such as the Parsonian theory of the homeostatic self-remedying society. Translation is seen as one of the mechanisms redressing the social equilibrium, remedying breaches in the social order. Translation functions both intrasocietally or intersocietally. For instance, translation may help restore order in a society between groups speaking different languages. In

this case it is interlingual translation that mediates between the conflicting parties. If the conflicting parties speak the same language, intralingual translation mediates between different interests.

Recently, this vision of translation's role has been challenged. More and more studies appear that explore translation's function within the paradigm of the conflict model. Translation, as it turns out, does not always bridge gaps; sometimes it may widen them.

Which one of the models is preferable – the equilibrium or conflict one? Both should be taken into account as societies do have conflicts and at the same time try to reach consensus. Similarly, translation can be both a bridge builder and a factor in exacerbating or even causing conflicts.

The evolving organism

Another model of society, or rather a variation of the organismic model, inspired by biology, is the evolutionary model. Although the evolutionary model is now less popular, at least in its explicit forms, there are still theories that are based on visions of society as an evolving organism.

Box 6.2: The evolving society

For a long time, under the influence of biological theories of evolution, society was seen as progressing from earlier, primitive stages to more advanced, civilised stages. The Scottish philosopher Dugald Stewart (1753–1828) wrote that when "we compare our intellectual acquirements, our opinions, manners and institutions, with those which prevail among rude tribes, it cannot fail to occur to us as an interesting question, by what gradual steps the transition has been made from the first simple efforts of uncultivated nature, to a state of things so wonderfully artificial and complicated" (cited in Bottomore 1987: 4). Comte discussed the development of society as progressing from the theological to the metaphysical and finally to the positive philosophy. Spencer saw sociology as a study of evolution of the most complex unit – society; hence, sociology at its dawn was seen to focus on evolution in its most complex form.

Another variation on the evolutionary theme was the belief that there was a natural law prescribing the succession of various stages of the social evolution. The sociology developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels is a prime example. According to Marx and Engels, society developed in stages from the slave society (Ancient Greece and Rome) through feudalism (medieval European kingdoms) through capitalism (modern European nation-states) through socialism to communism.

The evolution in these *universal* theories concerned the entire human society taken as a whole. *Unilinear* theories of social evolution also

theorised individual societies as passing through a sequence of stages. *Multilinear* theories consider neither the evolution of individual societies nor that of the entire humanity. Rather, these theories concentrate on limited sequences and ask questions about the dependence of economic and technological developments on social institutions: Does a change in, say, agricultural methods always influence the family? This sociological thought bridges the evolutionary model with the structural-functionalist model, which postulates that a change in one section of the social structure leads to a change in another.

Some theories did not speak of evolution directly and yet considered society as evolving in this or that respect. For instance, Durkheim viewed societies as evolving in terms of the division of labour. There are two kinds of societies, he claimed, those based on "mechanical solidarity", usually smaller communities where primary social institutions (family, kinship, religion) held people together, and those based on "organic solidarity", in which members are tied to one another by common interests, contract and more abstract symbols (consider the notion 'Motherland', patriotism, citizenship). In the second type of society the division of labour increases and, therefore, specialisation, which ties the society up organically, increases, too.

Leslie White (1900–1975), a leading American anthropologist of the twentieth century, considered society as evolving in terms of how it handles technology. Primitive societies did not have agriculture, then the agricultural revolution helped humanity to move ahead. The next stage was the Fuel Age, which began in the nineteenth century. White believed that this evolution was shared by all humanity (it was, therefore, a universalist evolutionary theory). Moreover, different societies benefit from one another's progress through the diffusion of technological breakthroughs. Eventually, according to White, humanity will reach higher degrees of integration and will become "a single political organization that will embrace the entire planet and the whole human race" (cited in Inkeles 1964: 32).

William Fielding Ogburn (1886–1959) also considered the role of invention in social development and formulated the law of cultural lag. According to this law, development in technology always precedes development in non-material culture – ideas, social arrangements.

? What is the role of translation in the dissemination of new ideas and, ultimately, in social evolution?

The German sociologist Niklas Luhmann suggested that the unification of the world in terms of social functions, such as law, science, arts, the economy, also suggest an evolution when the boundaries of these functional systems overcome geo-political frontiers. He saw only politics as still retaining the

separations of nation-states. However, such developments in world politics as the European Union or supranational political unions may indicate that even the political subsystem goes beyond national territories. Luhmann says that seeing functional globalisation, "[i]t has become impossible to limit society as a whole by territorial boundaries, and consequently it is no longer sensible to speak of 'modern societies' in the plural" (1990: 178).

Luhmann's vision brings us to theories of globalisation. Globalisation is seen as the emergence of the world society. Since this process has everything to do with interactions across languages and cultures, it is only natural that translation has been actively considered as a crucial factor of globalisation (Cronin 2003; Bassnett 2005).

Action model

As a reaction to the macrosociological models described above, the action model of society was developed. The action model considers society as a collection of individuals, rather than as a suprahuman structure. Individuals interact and form networks of interaction. Macrolevel models see society as exerting its influence on the individual's behaviour, whereas microlevel models argue that society is the result rather than the source of individuals' interaction. In macromodels social order is secured by the society which is the reality *sui generis*; in micromodels social order is negotiated and re-negotiated in human interactions.

Some human actions are involuntary, purely physiological or psychological reactions to external stimuli: we do not choose to sneeze or to experience fear. The majority of human actions are, however, voluntary and purposive. We choose to act in this or that way and we act in order to achieve a goal. This is true about our own action and about the way we interpret others' behaviour. In order to decide how to behave in a particular situation, we first define the situation, as action theorists would say. For instance, if we meet someone whom we know, we recognise the person as our acquaintance or a colleague or a friend and act accordingly: we greet the person, ask how s/he is doing, etc. If we act as an interpreter in business negotiations, we act as an interpreter should act: we listen to what is said and interpret the phrases from one language into the other, we do not say anything that has not been said by those whom we are interpreting. Dress or gestures or words or place-taking in a particular setting are meant to be interpreted and thus we dress and act to signal to others our intentions, our status, etc.

The action model theories are usually criticised for ignoring the influence of social conventions on the individual's action and suprahuman factors in the social reality. The portrait of society as painted by the action model results in an allegedly unstructured theory of human action, as if nothing or little constrained it, as if it were dependent only on other actors' contingent behaviour. There are, however, certain settings in which humans act without negotiating their actions with others but rather in a way they once learned. Consider a student's behaviour in a classroom. Although there is a degree of freedom,

even if s/he is revolting against the conventional order of things, the student is unlikely to act like the professor.

The action model also fails to explain the undeniable basic needs that each society must meet in order to survive: some form of government, some sort of law enforcement, etc. Functionalist models seem to be more fitted to describe such social mechanisms.

Since theories based on this model consider humans as acting based on their interpretation of situations and other humans' actions, they are also referred to as interpretative theories. Acting individuals or actors make sense of their social environment and thus decide about their line of action. Other people might define the situation differently and, as a consequence, act differently. It is important to understand that the point is not so much whether this particular person's definition of the situation is correct or not. Moreover, in so many situations there may be no 'correct' interpretation. What matters is that humans cannot help but interpret a situation and decide how to behave based on their interpretation.

The action or interpretative model informs, albeit implicitly, some important theories, notably the skopos theory and the theory of translational action (*Translatorisches Handeln*) (Reiss and Vermeer 1984; Holz-Mänttäri 1984). In TIS these theories are called functionalist, but this meaning of the term 'functionalist' should not be confused with the sociological functionalism. In TIS, functionalism is derived from the idea that the translator as an expert in intercultural communication understands the function of the source text and determines the function of the target text: s/he may retain or change the function depending on the brief or the goal of the target text, its skopos.

Two perspectives

In what follows two critical discourse approaches will be outlined – postcolonialism and feminism – as examples of perspective in contrast with models. What I refer to here as 'perspectives' (for want of a better word) are bodies of thought that are less complete and all-inclusive than models that, as we have seen, attempt to represent the entire social reality, although rarely convincingly enough for all, hence competing models have been created. Perspectives are points of view (feminism, postcolonialism[1]) or methodological approaches (poststructuralism, deconstructionism). The lack of unification of theories within perspectives causes the terms, such as 'postcolonialism', to be "diffuse and nebulous" (Gandhi 1998: viii).

Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism refers us back to colonialism:

> [… T]he term 'post-colonial' […] cover[s] all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This

> is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression.
>
> (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2003: 2)

Postcolonialism is connected with the liberation movements starting in the post-WWII period, but it covers the historical period of European expansion starting from the Renaissance, which resulted in the killing and subduing of populations in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Australia and New Zealand. This colonisation has had a most radical influence on the modern world: "[… T]he rise of Europe to global dominance from 1500 to 1950, with the holocausts and diasporas thus caused, has been the most significant event structuring world power […]" (Schwarz and Ray 2000: 2).

The term is, however, criticised for reflecting the coloniser's perspective and implying (by the prefix 'post') the end of colonialism; in fact, it is argued, political independence of former colonies does not preclude the continuation of other forms of colonial oppression – economic, cultural, political and so on. Therefore, one can speak of neo-colonialism or a new form of orientalism (Spivak 1999; Vukovich 2012; Barlow 1997).

This perspective in all of its variations theorises modern society in terms of the inequality of power relations: the coloniser wields the power to exploit the colonised politically and economically and to influence them culturally.

There is no one line of theorisation in postcolonial studies and a variety of colonial relations are discussed. The vast subject matter resists a unification of approach. For instance, different types of colonial relationships are distinguished: in settler societies where Europeans pushed the natives out of their lands (notably, in North America, in Australia and New Zealand) or in other colonies that were primarily used as sources of raw materials (in many African and Asian countries). There is a vast variation of races, classes, religions and other factors involved and all in a multitude of ways.

The Palestinian scholar Edward Said (1935–2003), considered one of the founders of postcolonial studies, outlined the main strategies used by European colonisers in presenting the East in his classic book *Orientalism*, first published in 1978. The East was shown as enigmatic, exotic and remote. Thus, Said raised key questions that laid the foundation of the postcolonial perspective – the questions of representation and discourse:

> The Orient is an integral part of European […] civilisation and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.
>
> (1995: 2)

Another influential scholar of postcolonial studies Homi Bhabha in his book *The Location of Culture* (1994) makes two other concepts, mimicry and

hybridity, central in postcolonial inquiry. Mimicry denotes the process to which the coloniser submits the colonised: for instance, the coloniser encourages or even compels the colonised to learn the coloniser's language and imitate the coloniser's culture, religion and so on. But this affects the coloniser's culture as well: the resulting copy is "blurred" and may verge on mockery "locat[ing] a crack in the certainty of colonial dominance" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2002: 139).

The notion of hybridity denotes interacting cultures' mutual transformations – transculturation. Bhabha argues for nuanced approaches to cultural identities, which are intrinsically hybridities. Hybridities are formed in what Bhabha refers to as the 'Third Space' between two interacting cultures. This is the place of "a colonial or postcolonial provenance" and a location of "an *inter*-national culture"; this 'inter' is "the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *in-between* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (2003: 38).

The questions prompted by the postcolonial perspective may be as follows (based on Schwartz in Schwarz and Ray 2000: 5):

? How tolerable/acceptable/pardonable/unavoidable are all forms of violence in the process of cultural interaction and, since no intercultural communication is possible without translation, what is the ethical stand of translation in relation to intercultural violence?
? "[Postcolonialism] also proposes practical models of ending or channeling conflict, often by rethinking the nature of identity in situations where groups come together and interact. Is it really sufficient, for example, to speak of humans as belonging to particular ethnic or national groupings, and therefore, excluded from others? Under what terms?" How does translation resolve or highlight issues of identity in intercultural contexts?
? "When is one group imposing on another?" How does translation position itself in the context of intercultural imposition?
? "What is the difference between interaction and imposition?"
? How legitimate is the division of humankind into regions ('West' vs. 'East', 'West' vs. 'the Rest', etc.)? Is it unavoidable to think of humans as 'others'? What is the relationship between the essential and the specific? What repercussions do all these contrasting categories have for translation?

The postcolonial perspective is a typical example of what a perspective is like. First of all, postcolonialism is based on models: the world and its parts are viewed on a macrosociological scale. Indeed, the categories postcolonialism operates with are 'Orientalism', 'West', 'East', 'coloniser', 'colonised'. In this it is different from the microsociological or action model. This is not to be misunderstood: postcolonial theorists may study individual cases but always as either typical examples of established social mores and structures or exceptions from them, proving general rules and patterns.

More specifically, among macromodels postcolonialism is a variation of the conflict model. The world is shown as antagonistic, its parts clash, people's interests, viewpoints and ideals are not in harmony. Postcolonialism seeks to redress the balance or at least to alert us to the existing imbalance. The postcolonial perspective is focused thematically: it considers the imbalance between the coloniser and the colonised, the imbalance often associated with different parts of the world and races.

Frantz Fanon (1925–61), the author of important texts that influenced the development of postcolonial thought, provides a clear strategy of the postcolonialist perspective. In his *Peau noire masques blancs* [Black Skin White Masks] (first published in 1952), he started with the original colonialist configuration: "Le Blanc est enfermé dans sa blancheur. Le Noir dans sa noirceur" (1995: 7).[2] He finishes with the barriers of races disappearing between an inquisitive and open-minded human:

> Je me découvre un jour dans le monde et je me reconnais un seul droit: celui d'exiger de l'autre un comportement humain. Un seul devoir. Celui de ne pas renier ma liberté au travers de mes choix. […] Ma vie ne doit pas être consacrée à faire le bilan des valeurs nègres. Il n'y a pas de monde blanc, il n'y a pas d'éthique blanche, pas davantage d'intelligence blanche. Il y a de part et d'autre du monde des hommes qui cherchent. […] Supériorité? Infériorité? Pourquoi tout simplement ne pas essayer de toucher l'autre, de sentir l'autre, de me révéler l'autre? […] Mon ultime prière: O mon corps, fais de moi toujours un homme qui interroge!
>
> (1995: 186, 188)[3]

Feminist perspective

Another type of conflict in the world is explored from the feminist perspective. Like postcolonialism, this perspective has also stepped outside academic debates: it has worked hand in hand with feminist social movements. Feminism is also based on the conflict macromodel, the conflict between patriarchy and women. Over its long history, which is traced back at least to the end of the eighteenth century, feminism interpreted patriarchy as or associated it with a number of social phenomena: inequality in such matters as education, legal matters, sexuality, voting and the participation in the political life of the society; Marxist feminism saw the connection of patriarchy with capitalism; sex-class theories of radical feminism considered patriarchy as a social order in which sexes are also classes and the tension between them is analogous to tensions between economic classes. Like postcolonialism, feminism is far from being a unified paradigm or movement: feminists may be more or less radical, fighting against patriarchy as represented by capitalism or sexism, against social structures that silence and suppress women or against male violence specifically. Yet in all these variations the feminist

perspective focused on one theme – the suppression of women and the need to redress the balance.

Although "the history of feminism can never be written fully" (Eva Gamarknikow in Mann 1983: 129), several waves of feminism can be distinguished. The first wave is traced to women's participation in the French Revolution and to the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's (1759–97) *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* in Britain in 1792. This wave stretched over to the early twentieth century. One of its famous results was the Suffragette movement in Britain when women fought for their right to vote. In Soviet Russia, the Marxist version of feminism flourished after 1917.

The second wave of feminism of the 1960s–1970s became an important period in which women were brought to public attention. The personal was made socially and politically relevant. At this period women as a subaltern learned to speak, to evoke a famous essay of Spivak (1988). Characteristically it is in this period that feminism entered the hitherto highly patriarchal academic world: feminist ideas were discussed as part of academic programmes, women's studies were introduced into the higher education curriculum.

The third stage is associated with the late 1980s. It is more diverse and fragmented and, in its academic version, seems to be less directly associated with social movements. It is also very often associated with gender studies and is embraced as part of the academic exploration of other subalterns and especially closely with sexual minorities within the LGBT studies.

Although women-translators, sometimes specifically acting as *women*-translators, were known in the first wave,[4] feminist translation practices flourished in the period of the second wave. Somewhat later TIS specifically studied feminist translation (Simon 1996; Flotow 1997; Delisle 2002). In recent years more studies of women as translators have appeared (for instance, a special issue of *MonTI*, 2011(3), edited by José Santaemilia and Luise von Flotow).

To summarise, feminism and the study of it are informed by the conflict macromodel. The hope of the resolution of the conflict identified (women vs. patriarchy in whatever guise) is based on the postulate that all knowledge is socially constructed. As such, knowledge informs social position-taking or position-assigning. It is argued by feminism that women have been assigned and, therefore, tend to take certain positions in society. The socially constructed knowledge assigning gender roles has led to the imbalance in the overall social structure, in the social whole. Women as a part of the social whole were ousted to the periphery of social life, their problems and concerns were relegated to the domain of the 'private' (as opposed to the 'political', that is, socially relevant). The goal of the feminist perspective is to redress the balance by making women equal members of society.

Combinability of models and perspectives

In conclusion, it should be reiterated that no theory is based on one model or one perspective. Sociologically informed studies combine features of different

models and perspectives. For instance, postcolonialism and feminism show a high degree of compatibility in that patriarchy and colonisation can be seen as forms of domination:

> Given the parallels in the way in which women and Asian and Afro-Caribbean ethnic minorities are configured by white male attitudes, it is not surprising that in radical debates in the 1970s and 1980s women and ethnic minorities would see themselves as being in very similar if not identical positions and that consequently they should employ each other's vocabulary with reference to equality of opportunity, affirmative action, proportionate representation and educational disadvantage.
>
> (Watson 2000: 8)

It has been mentioned above that women's studies are often considered as part of gender studies. Postcolonialism can be combined with feminism and deconstructionism and poststructuralism (e.g., Spivak 2012).

Models may also be combined so that different aspects of the studied phenomenon are approached as the material requires: large-scale macrostudies may be complemented by micro-case-studies. In fact the allegiance to either one or another model or perspective was and is characteristic for earlier stages of social research. As will be shown in later chapters, both in sociology and in the social sciences in general the tendency is to be guided by the logic of the effective study of phenomena under investigation, rather than by the logic of the purity of paradigm and/or method (cf. 'Combinability of methods' in Chapter 5).

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main questions opening the chapter.
2 Which model informs the theory of translation as a decision making practice in Levy (1967)? Explain.
3 Which model underlies the vision of translation in Nord (2007)? Explain.
4 What model(s) underlie(s) the presentation of the history of TIS in Snell-Hornby (2006) and Pöchhaker (2008)?

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

On the postcolonial perspective: Robinson (1997a); Fanon (1995, in French); Gandhi (1998); Niranjana (1992); Schwarz and Ray (2000); Spivak (1999).

On the feminist perspective: Flotow (1997); Simon (1996); Santaemilia and Flotow (2011).

On the deconstructivist perspective: Game (1991); Derrida "*From* Des Tours de Babel" in Schulte and Biguenet (1992: 218–27).

An example of a combined approach: Bartolovich and Lazarus (2002, "a strong and visible *Marxist* postcolonial study" (p. 1)); Gentzler (2008).

Notes

1 In this chapter the feminist and postcolonialist perspectives are chosen as examples of perspectives because they have played a more prominent role in TIS than others.
2 The White is locked in his whiteness. The Black in his blackness. (*My translation – S.T.*)
3 One day I find myself in the world and I recognise only one right: the right to demand of the other human behaviour. One duty. The duty not to renounce my freedom in my choices. […] My life should not be the life of drawing up the balance sheet of negro values. There is no white world, nor is there white ethics, let alone white intelligence. There is in every part of the world people who search […] Superiority? Inferiority? Why not simply try to touch the other, to feel the other, to discover the other? […] My final prayer is: O my body, make me always a man who questions! (*My translation – S.T.*)
4 For instance, in the 1860s, in Imperial Russia, women set up a publishing house in which books, mostly translations, were produced exclusively by women (Tyulenev 2011b: 92–94).

Chapter 7

A panoramic view

The main questions:

- **What is functionalism?**
- **What is the principal question that functionalism leads us to ask about society?**
- **What makes the functional paradigm indispensable for translation research?**
- **What are limitations of functionalism?**
- **What conflict theories do you know?**
- **What are power, domination and critique?**
- **What are the applications of the macrosociological model to translation studies?**

The quest for the sociological unit of study[1]

In order to study a phenomenon scientifically, the unit of investigation must be established. This is necessary because research methods depend on what is studied. For instance, in sociology, Durkheim insisted that 'a social fact' should be taken as the unit of sociological inquiry. He defined social facts as "ways of acting or thinking, recognisable by the distinguishing characteristic that they are capable of exercising a coercive influence over individual consciousness" (Durkheim 2004: 56). He suggested studying them as 'things', that is, as phenomena external to the human mind. In order to study social facts, Durkheim insisted, the scholar should find external evidence, such as texts, moral codes, statistics. For Max Weber, the unit of sociological enquiry was 'social action', that is, "an action in which the meaning intended by the agent or agents involves a relation to *another* person's behaviour" (1978: 7). The meaningfulness of the social action requires 'understanding' (*Verstehen*) of the situation and actors by the investigator. The two different units of research

and, as a result, two different methods of studying them were suggested (cf. quantitative and qualitative methods, see Chapter 5). As we will see, the tortuous trajectory of sociology shows that striking a balance between these approaches, whether to make the social actor the unit of research or the action, is far from easy and it is still debated.

Traditionally in Western sociology the unit of investigation was 'individual'. The reason for this is the entire anthropological tradition, which can be traced back to Greek antiquity when the philosopher Protagoras proclaimed that the human being is a measure of all things. On a practical level, too, Western societies have been largely centred on individuals. Legal codes recognise individuals and the state administration deals with individuals registering them with their unique numbers in databases. In sociological research, introducing individuals means taking into consideration their self-respect, freedom of choice, responsibility, activism, etc.

In translation research, the situation was quite different. Translation, rather than the translator, has been the unit of the study. Although now attention is also drawn to the translator, it is impossible to theorise the translator without identifying him/her by the social function s/he fulfils. This is a fundamental problem with making the translator the unit of TIS research and the sociological functionalism makes this abundantly clear.

Box 7.1: Functions and functionalism

The term 'function' is used in sociology in two ways. Following the mathematical usage of the term, function is seen as a variable that is viewed in relation to other variables and whose value is determined by this relationship. For instance, in his statistical analysis of types of suicide, Durkheim observed that the rate of suicide is a function of other social phenomena, such as religious beliefs, family ties, etc. In other words, suicide rates depend and are determined by these factors.

The second meaning of the term 'function' is borrowed from biology. There, function is defined as the contribution that a given part makes to the entire organism. For example, heart, skin, the digestive or nervous systems have their distinct functions, that is to say, their contribution to the whole helps the whole operate and survive. The British social anthropologists Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) and Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942) were the first to start speaking of social functions as a key factor of social organisation.

Functionalism in sociology is a paradigm shared by many authors. It flourished in the 1940–60s and at this peak the American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–79) and his students and followers were especially prominent functionalists. However, well before them, at its dawn, sociology had been conceived as a fundamentally functionalist scientific discipline. In his

Course of Positive Philosophy (1830–42), where he coined the term 'sociology', Comte suggested studying social phenomena in terms of their contribution to the social whole, and the sociological knowledge itself was supposed to help resolve social problems and facilitate social integration.

Functionalism is close to structuralism, a paradigm stressing the relationship of contrast that organises diversities of socio-cultural phenomena as structured systems. Like structuralism, functionalism sees society in a holistic way, that is, as a system of interdependent and interrelated practices forming subsystems. The goal of functionalism is to discover latent functions and structures which, as functionalists claim, constitute the basis of observable practices. Functionalism minimises the role of agency, wilful and intended human activity. Although structuralism and functionalism are different approaches, they are often fused into a single approach, structural-functionalism. The main proponents of this paradigm were Spencer, Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, Parsons and Robert King Merton (1910–2003).

Classical examples of functionalist discourse are readily found in Spencer's and Durkheim's writings. Spencer specifically compared the social and biological 'organisms' and found important similarities: both differ from inorganic matter in that they can grow and develop, become more complex and differentiated in functions; both consist of interdependent parts and a change in one part affects the whole.

Durkheim developed many of Spencer's ideas, for example Spencer's distinction between structures and functions: structures have functions meeting the needs of the whole. The concept of social-systemic needs proved, however, controversial as it led to the problem of illegitimate teleology (from Greek 'telos' meaning 'end' or 'goal'). Although theoretically Durkheim understood that to discover the 'need' that a social structure meets is not the same as to discover the need's cause, he failed to observe this distinction in his practical analyses. For example, according to him, the division of labour in modern societies is created because it is needed for the integration of social systems, thus the need of integration causes the phenomenon that meets that need (Turner and Maryanski 1979: 17–21).

Durkheim saw essentially one need that all social functions meet – the need for integration. Bronislaw Malinowski, an empirical anthropologist, based on his fieldwork observations, increased the repertoire of needs that any society must meet. Malinowski (1944) described a hierarchy of needs: from biological to cultural, from prerequisite (the most basic) to derived (which are consequences of meeting the prerequisite needs).

Parsons and his students and followers made a major contribution to the development of functionalism. Building on the ideas of his predecessors, Parsons developed and refined those ideas and created a complex theory of society with requisites that are fulfilled by functional subsystems. Overcoming Parsons's vision of society (1959) as an equilibrium system,

Robert Merton distinguished between positive functions and functions having no effect or having a negative effect on society or its parts.

Post-Parsonian sociological functionalism is known as neofunctionalism. The rationale of neofunctionalism is that "it is virtually impossible, at this point, to theorise about contemporary society without reference to some of the major themes in Parsons' work," such as structural differentiation, his ideas about culture and about the interplay of personality and social structures (Alexander 1998: 4). Neofunctionalism influenced a wide variety of sociological research projects in the sociology of culture, the sociology of professions, feminist studies, political science, to name just a few. The major representatives of neofunctionalism are Anthony Giddens, Jürgen Habermas, Niklas Luhmann, Pierre Bourdieu and others. Initially the main goal was to overcome divisions in post-Parsonian sociology. In the early 1980s, reconstructions of earlier functionalist ideas were attempted, such as Giddens' *New Rules of Sociological Method* (1976) reminiscent of Durkheim's 1895 classic *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Later some neofunctionalists started to offer their own original theories (e.g., Giddens's *The Constitution of Society* (1984), Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), Habermas's *Theory of Communicative Action* (1984–1987), Luhmann's social systems theory (1995)). Neofunctionalism in its "ecumenical ambition" opened itself to embracing "various, often antagonistic strands of contemporary and classical thought" (Alexander 1998: 9). Thus, neofunctionalism is "a critical reevaluation and extension of the functionalist, and particularly the Parsonian, legacy"; it keeps "theoretical and empirical gems and showcases those of enduring value", accepting "many, but not all, of the criticisms levelled against conventional social functionalism" while "employing Parsonian orthodoxy as its sextant" (Colomy 1990: xi).

Although functionalism is no longer *the* sociological paradigm as it used to be in its heyday in the mid-twentieth century, it is still a most important part of the theoretical foundation of sociology. To an extent, every sociologist, no matter what his/her theoretical leanings are, is a functionalist because all social phenomena are considered as meaningful, causal or influential in relation to (and therefore, in 'function' to) some other social phenomena.

No doubt, the personality of the translator should be studied, but with making the translator the unit of sociologically informed translation studies, as in sociology, problems arise. Translators may be men or women. In different societies individuals of different sexes have been treated differently and these differences cannot be ignored when talking about the translator. Women and men have different social statuses, the analysis of their social roles would, therefore, require taking into account such complex issues as their gender

(socially acceptable behaviour based on one's sex) and sexuality (one's sexual orientation), as feminist and gender studies conclusively show. Thus, there is no such thing as 'translator', rather it is always a complex bundle of factors and characteristics that cannot be unified to make the translator the legitimate unit of study.

Moreover, considering the translator as the unit of study is also problematic because considering the translator in his/her decision-making, this approach may overemphasise intentionality and rationality, that is, freedom from social institutions. The scholar should not bracket off the social conditioning of translation as a social activity: society is a precondition of individual activity, for no translator acts outside society.

Finally, there is yet another problem with championing the translator as the unit of study: translation can be performed not only on the level of the 'entire' individual ('Mr or Ms X is a translator or interpreter') but also on the infra- and supra-individual levels. Indeed, translation can be described as part of mental processes or as being performed by groups of humans acting as teams. How for instance to describe the translation processes when the final text is a result of contributions of several people, some of whom are translators while others are project managers, editors, proof-readers?[2]

In sociology, the complications arising from making the individual the unit of research made sociologists reconsider this issue and put 'action' in the centre of sociological research. That is why even for Weber who stressed the importance of understanding actors' motives, sociology is "the science whose object is to interpret the meaning of social action and thereby give a causal explanation of the way in which the action proceeds and the effects which it produces" (1978: 7). This approach helps resolve issues with the notion of individual by drawing a line between psychology and sociology. In sociology, actions can be examined independently of actors and the degree of actors' rationality can be better assessed, for the meaning of the action can be seen as either intended or not intended. The same holds true about translators.

This approach, however, is not without its problems, too. It may overemphasise the role of cultural and social patterns. In sociology, this was seen as the main problem of functionalism, which makes individuals virtually 'cultural dopes'. In order to overcome this, Alain Touraine suggested the notion of 'social actor' taking into account both the socialised nature of the individual and his/her ability to make choices (e.g., Touraine 2000).

Although Touraine's is a more balanced approach, Martin Albrow sees the social actor as the unit of study in sociology as "downplay[ing] society and the sheer resistance of social configurations to people's wishes," what is called "the facticity of the social [present in] all society at all times" (1999: 77). Durkheim emphasised this facticity of the social when he talked about the objectivity of the social and its coercive nature in relation to the individual. Yet in order to avoid Durkheim's determinism, Albrow suggests the social relation as the unit of sociological studies: "It is the primary human experience,

it defines and sorts objects, and predates ideas. The totality of relations between human beings is the constitution of society" (1999: 77).

The search for the unit of sociological research has occupied a continuum between the individual and society and it has brought us to the social relation. Not all sociologists would agree with Albrow, but what is clear is that modern conceptions of the sociological unit try to strike a balance between the socialised individual and the social action and especially in theorising the professional activity of individuals the latter should be considered as having pre-eminence.

Functionality of translation

Translation as a text or activity performs a function, for example it either brings the source text/culture/system to the reader and vice versa or meets a need of the target social system. If translation is seen as performing a function, then the functionalist paradigm is implied. Indeed, the functionalist paradigm is a very important vision of society for TIS because understanding translation as an activity meeting certain social needs underlies all theorisation of translation. No discussion of translation would be possible, if translation were not (seen as) a social activity playing its distinct role in society.

What is the distinct social role of translation? That is a matter of discussion. No doubt, there is more than one need that translation meets in society: translation may help to increase social visibility of some groups or of transnational activism in our globalised world (Tymoczko 2006: 16; Yang 2013: 178–81), but the main function of translation is mediating between parties that cannot or find it difficult to communicate directly. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between different types of social needs. Functionalism may help us in this, too.

There is another question that is discussed in relation to the social functioning of translation. It is the question of the media between which translation mediates: between different languages and cultures or within one and the same language or between different semiotic domains (cf. Schleiermacher 2012: 43; Jakobson 1959; Petrilli 2003: 19). The unification of such different manifestations of translation is possible only from the functionalist point of view: all types of translation fulfil the same social function – mediation.

Fundamentally, the functional theory of society shows society as a network of interrelations of different social activities that fulfil certain social tasks or meet certain social needs. Such activities ensure operation of a particular aspect of society so that the overall social order would be made possible. Functionalism identifies and explains social patterns of practice, that is, persistent or institutionalised social activities, by studying effects of these patterns for the social whole. The implication is usually that the social whole needs to exist as an integrated system and that as a system it strives to be in equilibrium. This brings us to functional prerequisites of the social equilibrium and, ultimately, survival.

The main question that functionalism invites us to ask is: What does this or that particular social activity do for the entire society? In the case of translation, the main question is: What does translation do for society?

This question implies that translation is not a one-time activity, but that there is a body of activities that can be subsumed under one category 'translation'. Hence:

? How should we define this activity? What features make all the individual manifestations of this activity (translations) the same activity (translation)?
? What prerequisite functions of society does translation fulfil?
? What other additional functions, if any, does translation fulfil?
? What is the dynamic between the two types of function? Which functions are primary and which secondary?
? How does translation function in different types of society?

All about needs

Before we continue we should understand to what extent the functionalist paradigm can be used in TIS. In sociology, it was criticised on three counts: that it is allegedly ahistorical, conservative and unable to explain change. Considering these three criticisms, Jonathan H. Turner and Alexandra Maryanski in their special study *Functionalism* (1979: 113–32) argue that functionalism was not meant to be historical (which does not mean that it cannot be used historically); its goal was to help discover general laws of human social organisation. Functionalism is not inherently conservative. It is true that scholars working with it were interested in how social order is maintained but if somebody is more interested in disorder, functionalism will not cause a problem. The same can be said about the alleged failure of functionalism to explain social change. Modern functionalists simply did not focus on reasons for unsuccessful socialisation cases or inefficiency of social control mechanisms. Functionalists did not classify conditions under which such mechanisms fail causing malintegration, anomie, etc.[3] Moreover, with its emphasis on the consequences of the operation of parts of the whole, functionalism is quite capable of investigating social change. Turner and Maryanski conclude that "the three substantive criticisms of functionalism […] have less merit than the critics contend. What investigators prefer to study is not the same matter as what a theoretical approach forces them to study" (1979: 117).

Turner and Maryanski, however, do find problems with the logic of functionalism. One of them is illegitimate teleology (see Box 7.1). Another problem is tautology or circular reasoning in which "variables are defined in terms of each other, thus making causes and effects obscure and difficult to assess" (ibid.: 124). For instance, a structure may be said to meet certain needs of the whole, while the persistence of the whole maintains the structure. Typically, attempts are made to avoid such tautologies by factoring in the social selection

argument which explains the persistence of structures by their having selective advantages for the system's survival or equilibrium and therefore, allegedly, as long as the system continues to require them they remain in the system. But to make such an argument valid either comparable systems that did not survive or lost their equilibrium without the structure in question should be showcased or the notions of 'survival' and 'equilibrium' should be clearly established. Among ways to solve these problems, Turner and Maryanski suggest viewing functionalism as a heuristic device and a methodological tool. They suggest functionalism to be used as it was used by Malinowski and Goldschmidt to whom we will turn shortly. Neofunctionalists saw potential with more inclusive applications of classical functionalism (Alexander 1998; Colomy 1990). Modern sociology shows that functionalism has retained its epistemological appeal, especially for macro-scale research. This aspect will be illustrated below by the application of Niklas Luhmann's sociological theory to translation.

Basic and derived needs

Central to all functionalist research is the notion of 'system', more specifically 'social system'. The social system strives to maintain internal order between its parts. To ensure social order, a certain set of needs should be met. Initially, only one basic need was theorised – the integration of society or, to use Durkheim's term, 'solidarity'. For Durkheim, the division of labour or religion meet this need of society: they help unite its members and create or maintain a well-integrated social system.

Bronislaw Malinowski, an empirical anthropologist who observed the complexity of social life in his field work, was instrumental in enlarging the repertoire of social needs. Malinowski distinguished basic physiological needs of human beings. In societies, these basic needs are met by different institutions. For instance, humans need to reproduce and society institutes kinship. But social institutions meeting basic needs also create new, 'derived', needs to obey the requirements of those institutions, for example, the rules of marriage. Malinowski's theory of basic and derived needs leads us to the following questions:

? To what extent does translation meet some basic human need(s)? What are these needs?
? Or does it meet only some derived needs? If so, which?[4]

Communication should be considered a basic need (not listed by Malinowski, however; 1944: 91), as much evidence of the impossibility for a human being to develop properly outside society implies, then at least intralingual translation must be considered a cultural response to this basic need (cf. 'Hypersociality' in Chapter 3 and Box 3.2).

Translation must also be part of training that meets the need of growth, as the 'growth – training' process involves "train[ing] in skills, [teaching] to use language and other symbolic devices of [a] culture, [introducing the child to] the ever-widening set of institutions of which he will become a full member when he reaches full maturity" (Malinowski 1944: 107). Training implies intralingual and intersemiotic types of translation, but also less theorised intrapersonal and intergenerational translation. In the process of training, the child is introduced to a variety of social and cultural phenomena. The complex interaction of the biological, psychic and social is the centre of attention of scholars studying childhood. TIS still needs to make its own contribution to the study of the role of translational processes in this interaction (see Chapter 3).

As is clear from the term itself, intergenerational translation aims at bridging the gap between mature and younger members of the society. Social values are handed down from generation to generation and these values are inevitably interpreted; one of the reasons for radical changes or evolution of values in society is acceptance or rejection of norms into which human beings are 'trained' during their growth. Obviously the study of translational phenomena in this process may be of great interest. The need to grow through training involves the derived need of accomplishing intrapersonal and intergenerational translations by each and every socialised individual. This requirement is thus a derived need of the basic need of growth (in Malinowskian terms).

The Malinowskian dilemma and Goldschmidt's solution

There is another subdivision of social needs in functionalism that may prove useful for translation students. This is the difference between functional requisites and contingent functions. In his critique of Malinowski's dictum that all cultures are to be understood in their own terms as all their institutions are products of their unique cultures, the American social anthropologist Walter Goldschmidt (1913–2010) suggested that the research in social anthropology based on Malinowski's suggestion does not help scientifically generalise knowledge of human beings-in-society. He argued that the study of human beings' social existence should be carried out by comparing societies. But this is hardly possible if the researcher starts and finishes with the description of institutions of one society, as follows from Malinowski's logic.

Institutions are different from society to society; they come in a variety of shapes and guises. It is possible to compare them only based on what needs they meet. The needs are universal and can be enumerated in a relatively short list: all humans need nourishment, safety, all human societies need to reproduce, be somehow governed or coordinated, etc. Goldschmidt called the discrepancy between the need to generalise through comparison and the overconcentration on the particularity of each society the Malinowskian dilemma. As a solution he suggested identifying "a model" whose essence is "in a recognition of the universality of functions to which institutions are a

response" rather than making "institutions as such" a primary concern of sociological research (1966: 5).

His analysis of needs and the ways they are met in different societies has led Goldschmidt to distinguish between "universal elements in social life", such as food-sharing and regulating sexual behaviour, and "secondary institutions", such as statecraft, management of social affairs by state-like institutions (1966: 107). For instance, he suggested distinguishing between the function of governance and the institution of government. Each society has to regulate its members' relationships and social activities, but the institutions responsible for this regulation run the gamut from a council of elders or a tribal leader with his advisers to a complex government with a parliament and a head of the state. Thus, institutions are contingent, that is, subject to variation, whereas requisite functions that these institutions perform are universal. If we focus on institutions, such as these,

> the end result is usually either an elaboration of taxonomies or the proliferation of terminological disputes (or both). The latter are never resolved, while the former often become so complex that each possible subsubtype contains but a single case.
>
> (Goldschmidt 1966: 16–17)

The solution, Goldschmidt insists, is *not* to take

> a familiar list of governmental functions as we know them (executive, administrative, courts, military, taxation) and render them into other languages, but [to identify] functions as such – functions which not only may be variously performed but are performed in very different ways in different societies.
>
> (ibid.: 115)

Goldschmidt's distinction between functional requisites and contingent functions is useful in the current debates in TIS about how to define translation and how to identify it in its staggering variability. It is obvious that if we proceed from listing names of translation used throughout the world or collect descriptions of what might qualify as translational activity, we repeat the error of social anthropologists described by Goldschmidt and fall into the trap of the Malinowskian-like dilemma: we want to understand translation as a social phenomenon and even compare its different manifestations in different cultures but it is impossible unless we identify translation's universal social requisite functions and distinguish them from its contingent manifestations.[5]

Functions in systems

Social needs are to be met and, therefore, there must be social structures that function so as to meet social needs. Building on Max Weber's notion of 'social

action', Talcott Parsons's theory of social system was the pinnacle of the functionalist paradigm. Although his theory has been severely criticised and has lost popularity, it was an important contribution to theorising the social and as such it inspired much research.

Parsons came up with a set of the most basic social needs: adaptation, goal-attainment, integration and latency, abbreviated as AGIL. Social systems draw resources from their environment. This is the need for adaptation. On the level of the social system as a whole, this need is met by economy – or the economic function system. Social systems set goals for themselves and work out ways of achieving those goals. This is the requisite of goal-attainment. The function system of politics meets this need. Social systems need to be integrated, that is, they need to maintain coherent interrelationships among their parts. This problem of integration is met by the fiduciary function system. Finally, the overall system needs to establish a set of values for its members. This is the requisite of latency (latent, because not always manifest, but always present) and this need is met by culture. Each of the function systems has its own medium of operation: money in economy; power in politics; influence in integrative domain; the latency sector's symbolic medium is commitments.

? What place in Parsons's AGIL can be ascribed to translation? Can it be said to belong to one of the AGIL function systems, such as the fiduciary or latent? Or does its function suggest a more complex attribution?

Yet Parsons focuses primarily on the system itself, not emphasising its interactions with other systems, whereas to theorise translation in functionalist terms, one needs a theory with a strong intersystemic element. Also, although Parsons's AGIL is applicable, according to his intention, to all levels of the social system and the term 'system' embraces all types of social structures from interpersonal interactions to large-scale structures, such as nation-states, Parsons's list of social functions is limited to the most basic social needs. That is why another functionalist theory suits translation students better. That is Niklas Luhmann's Social Systems Theory (SST). It develops Parsons's theory and considers the relationship between the social system and other systems that all form its environment. This is going to be discussed below, but for now suffice it to say that Luhmann's SST provides a sophisticated conceptual apparatus to discuss intersystemic relations allowing us to appreciate translation as a vital mediating social phenomenon. Translation is an 'inter' phenomenon par excellence: translation mediates between differences and, in this sense, even intralingual translation is an 'intra' phenomenon only if seen from the point of view of language. If the nature of translation and the situation in which translation functions in society are taken into consideration, translation mediates between different persons, different groups, all kinds of other differences. Translation is never an 'intra', but always an 'inter' phenomenon.

Translation as a system

The German sociologist Niklas Luhmann's (1927–98) Social Systems Theory allows us to view translation as a social system or, in the context of the entire social system, as a subsystem. Luhmann theorised modern society as a system consisting of subsystems with distinct functions (hence, the term 'function subsystems'). Examples of function systems are religion, politics, education, art, etc. Arguably, translation can also be described as one of the social subsystems.[6]

In a nutshell, Luhmann sees the social system in connection with its environment. The system is an entity made of interrelated elements; the environment is everything that is not the system.[7] The system is separated from the environment by a boundary. Since Luhmann's theory is a classical example of the organismic model, it is only natural to compare the social system with the human organism. In order to grasp the idea of Luhmann's vision of society, one can think of one's body in its relationship with its environment and one's skin as a boundary between the organism and the outer world.

All social systems are self-reproducing systems (Luhmann borrowed the biological term *autopoietic*, which is composed of two Greek roots: *auto*, self and *poiesis*, creation). Social systems reproduce themselves thanks to functioning of their subsystems, which can be defined as structured clusters of elements. For examples, all social elements related to law and legal activities cluster to form the subsystem of law, which ensures the orderly operation of society.

Each social function subsystem has its own communication – its own type of operations governing relationships between its elements. For instance, law operates based on distinguishing between right and wrong according to the legal codes in effect in a given society. It cannot operate in any other way: law will not take the tears of the convict into account or change its decision if offered a bribe.[8] Law operates only by its own rules. Mercy is handled by other subsystems, such as politics (the President may pardon those who have been found guilty) or religion, which pardons on behalf of gods not because the sinner is not found guilty but because gods show mercy. Money, too, is handled outside the subsystem of law, in the economy. Law is blind to both mercy and money; it just weighs pieces of evidence of right and wrong. Law, thus, is operationally closed.

Operationally closed systems interact with their environments. The political decision to pardon will influence the legal decision, although the law will look at this influence from its own point of view: it will consider the President's pardon only provided there is a law allowing that. The dynamic is very much like in the relationship of our body with the rest of the world. Our body interacts with the world, for example, it eats, but it digests food from the environment according to its own internal 'rules' or, more technically, operative communication. In sum, social systems and subsystems are operationally closed, yet they do interact with their environment.

Translation can be described as a social system, because it can be shown to have all the properties of a social system. Every social system has its function, efficacy, code, programmes and medium. Translation's function is mediation: as was explained at the end of the previous section, it is always an 'inter' phenomenon, it is always between differences. Translation ensures social interaction across boundaries; this is its efficacy. Translation treats all phenomena as either mediated or unmediated, translated or not. This is the basic binary systemic code of translation: what translation sees as unmediated it mediates; what it sees as not mediated properly, it remediates (cf. retranslations). Translation also has flexible programmes reflecting changes in the mediation policies from culture to culture, from period to period and even from one translation agent to another translation agent.[9] Retranslations or remediations are made exactly because programmes change over time and space. Finally, each translation event has its medium, out of which it is formed. Translation uses different media depending on the semiotic domain within which it occurs: language is the medium of interlingual translation; colour is the medium of the intersemiotic translation in painting.

SST's invitation to consider translation as a social (sub)system leads us to ask fundamental questions about translation as a social activity:

? What social function does translation perform?
? What makes translation unique among other social function subsystems?

Translation as a subsystem

As a next step, translation can be viewed as a subsystem of a larger social system – another social-systemic formation.[10] It will be recalled that systems are separated from their environments by boundaries. Inside the boundaries, systems have their communication, a sum total of all relations between their elements, but systems also interact with the environment across the boundaries. According to the functionalist vision of society, specific needs are met by function subsystems. Translation is one of such subsystems which allows the overall system or any subsystem within it to interact with the environment.

Translation facilitates interactions across boundaries – both intra- and intersystemic. Therefore, translation is a social boundary phenomenon: it is 'located' on and functions across boundaries. While mediating between two systems, translation does not become a third space. Translation is always an integral part of one of the interacting systems. SST sees the system–environment interaction as a dyadic relationship. The boundary is a liminal phenomenon belonging to the system, rather than an independent separate entity. Hence, translation's allegiance is toward the system commissioning its activities.

SST offers a fresh way of theorising the relationship of translation and power. Modern societies are function systems; each function subsystem is unequal to the other subsystems by dint of having its unique function. The

only property shared by function subsystems is inequality: they are equally unequal. What law does, no other function subsystem does. What translation does, no other function subsystem does. Law and translation are equally unequal.

Social systems are multipolar; this has ramifications for the distribution of power in society. Power is one party's influence over another's decision-making ability. There is, for instance, an undeniable influence of the function subsystem of politics over business, education, art and translation, yet this influence is never absolute, the reason being that politics needs the other function subsystems because it cannot do what they can do. Hence, all subsystems are interdependent. Translation is no exception: translation may express the will of the politics subsystem, but it can also undermine political regimes.

The SST perspective leads us to consider translation as part of the overall social system and as a social (sub)system *sui generis*. Such a view of translation is productive for several reasons. It shows translation's natural social habitat: translation is never practised outside of social systems. Social systems theories also help us substantiate TIS's claim that translation is a unique social activity deserving to be studied as such. Translation's uniqueness makes it equal with other social activities. Systemic views of international communication, such as those conceptualised by world-system theory help to explain international translation flows and differences in the consumption of translation products.

One more advantage of the functionalist approach to the study of translation is that the functionalist logic allows the identification of translation's element (Tyulenev 2012a: 38–42). The element of translation may be considered as the unit of sociologically informed study of translation comparable with that suggested by Albrow as a sociological unit of analysis – the social relation (see above). Indeed, if "the totality of relations between human beings is the constitution of society" (Albrow 1999: 77), then the totality of translational relations is the constitution of translation in its social functionality. As such this functionally defined unit of the sociologically informed translation analysis can be taken as a basis of comparative studies of translation across time and space and thus resolve the Malinowskian-like dilemma in TIS: translation can be studied both in the past and in the present and in all cultures as a social-functionally described activity with its unique element.

The unit has been called 'translation communication event' or TCE. It has a unique structure: it consists of at least two communication events joined by mediation. In its basic form, TCE brings together three parties: A < > B < > C, where A and C are parties interacting through the mediator B in both directions. It is important not to confuse 'parties' with 'individuals': the parties involved in TCE may be individuals, but not necessarily. For instance in the intrapersonal or intergenerational translations discussed above TCE will include infra- and supra-individual parties. Mediator B understands A's utterance in the sense that it chooses only a few of all possible pieces of information

extractable from A's utterance. Party A may utter the following sentence: "We are completely satisfied with this meeting." This sentence may be understood in more ways than one depending on the context, the intonation, etc. What A wanted to say is the information. Mediator B understands the phrase (the understanding may be correct or not or only partially correct) and B's understanding becomes B's utterance which then reaches C. C attempts to derive the informational core of B's sentence: out of all the pieces of information extractable from B's utterance, C selects one and this constitutes C's understanding. Schematically, TCE can be represented as follows: A: Utterance_1 > Information_1 ≅ B: (Understanding_1 = Utterance_2) > Information_2 ≅ C: Understanding_2.

TCE is what translation students are focused on in their research. Despite all contingent forms that TCE may take in different societies and cultures, it is its basic structure highlighting its primary social function – mediation, that allows the identification of translational phenomena as well as the unifying conceptualisation of translation as a social activity.

The research questions prompted by the above discussion may be as follows:

? What is/are the manifestation(s) of translation, identified by its structure (TCE), rather than by its names, in a given society in a given period?
? In what interactions between the social system and its environment (and which sector of the environment) does/did translation function as a boundary phenomenon?

Merton: Overcoming the three postulates of functionalism

Before we close the discussion of functionalism, it seems useful to take heed of another influential functionalist, the American sociologist Robert King Merton. He critically assessed the three basic 'postulates' of classical functionalism (1967: 79–138). The three postulates are:

- Social activities are believed to be functional for the entire social system;
- All social activities are believed to perform a function and a positive one at that;
- All social activities are indispensable.

Merton claims that these postulates should be aligned with empirical observation. The full integration of societies is hardly ever possible. Societies demonstrate different degrees of integration. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that all social activities are functional and in the same way for all units of a particular society. That is why functional analysis should specify for which social units this or that social phenomenon is functional. For some groups the phenomenon may be found functional and for some dysfunctional. We may think of the institution of serfdom in feudalism. For whom did it function positively and

for whom negatively? As far as translation is concerned, imagine translations made by monks or literati in the Middle Ages in Europe for a very narrow circle of those who could read; the illiterate groups of society could hardly benefit from those translations.

The third postulate implies two propositions: the indispensability of a minimal set of functions (we may recall Parsons's AGIL as a set of requisites of all social systems) and a larger number of actually observed functions with their alternatives, equivalents and substitutes. Having questioned the validity of one of the "cloudiest and empirically most debatable concepts in functional theory" – functional requirements (needs and prerequisites), Merton suggests abandoning it and theoretically allowing a "range of possible variation" of functional manifestations (1967: 106). Translation is needed in every society, however it does not manifest itself in the same way: in some societies and in some periods of their history translation is performed by non-professionals or translating is considered one of the duties of another profession;[11] in some societies translation and interpreting are considered as different activities and in some they are viewed as virtually the same.[12]

These refinements of the functionalist postulates can help us ask questions about the intrasystemic social role of translation:

? What social unit or group initiates or commissions a translation or translations?
? For whom is translation made?
? What social function(s) does translation perform for which unit of the society? What function(s), if any, does translation perform for other parts of the social system?
? Is translation functional or malfunctional or to what degree of each in a given society?

Merton considers the intrasystemic functional analysis (because he based his theoretical propositions on functionalist theories which, unlike SST, concentrated on systems, rather than on the relationship between the system and its environment), yet similar questions can be asked about the intersystemic role of translation in a particular society or in society in general. The intersystemic role is to be understood in the Luhmannian functional analysis – as the role of translation in the relationship of a particular social system with another social system, for example, between two nation-states or different language groups within one society, etc.

Societies in conflict

The macrosociological view of society analysed above was focused on social equilibrium. Yet some social thinkers considered the following paradox of the consequences of collective action: society never goes the way any one individual would like it to go. Even when people seem to be trying to achieve the

same goal, something always goes not quite as intended. A classical example is the German Social Democratic Party, which started as a party with equality and justice on its banners but ended up being swayed off its initial course by an oligarchy that concentrated all power in their hands (Michels 1962). The same can be said about the Communist Party in the former USSR.

The course of collective actions in society depends on who has access to the social helm; this, in turn, ensures access to material and other resources without which there is no possibility of realising any, even altruistic, intentions. Those who can make use of resources gain power and can formulate powerful ideologies, systems of ideas and ideals, which are imposed on the entire collectivity or a social group.

Power and interdependences

Power is one of the key concepts of the social sciences and, to this or that extent, in this or that way, it is discussed in the majority of theories explaining social life. But perhaps the most concerned with power are theories within the conflict paradigm.[13] In TIS the conflict paradigm has been actively applied in the research related to the power exercised over translation (such as censorship) and translation's role in ideological conflicts.

Max Weber defined power as "every possibility within a social relationship of imposing one's own will, even against opposition, without regard to the basis for this possibility" (1978: 38). It is clear from this definition that power permeates all social relationships – from the intimate interdependence of members of one family to the interdependence of nation-states. Power is always directional: somebody or some group exercises power over somebody else or some other group. In another sense, power implies the ability to do something. Power is possible because the one having it has also something that those over whom one has power desire or need.

When discussing power it is important to think of balances and imbalances of power in a relationship of interdependence. In the situation of the division of labour, the two parties performing different functions for each other, due to their specialisation, gain power over each other. The power each one of the professional parties has may be stable or changing over time or constantly fluctuating. Power resources are anything that can give one party control over how much, when and on what terms those willing to obtain the resource(s) may be allowed to access the resource(s). Examples of power resources are ownership of the means of production, income, status, scarce skills or knowledge.

One of the major recent theorists of power, Michel Foucault saw power as not something that dominant social groups possess and the dominated lack. Rather, for Foucault, power permeates society, connecting both the dominant and the dominated. According to Foucault, "power is exercised rather than possessed" (1979: 26). It is a result of social networks and dynamics of social

relations within them. David Couzens Hoy gives an apt example: a game of chess. He explains that power is "the effect of the overall arrangement of the pieces at the time as well as of the strategy leading up to and including the capture [of one piece by another]" (1986: 135).

Translation is one of the social phenomena involved in power relationships. It is one of the skills that allows members of a society to communicate or interact with those not belonging to their society. One of the major characteristics of power resources, translation being one of them as a scarce skill, is that what serves as a power resource depends on the type of society. Obviously in the present-day world of globalisation when international interactions become ever more active, complex and widespread and encompass more and more social groups, translation becomes a more and more valuable resource, which can be used for gaining power.

Another aspect of power in relation to translation is that usually translation is thought about as dependent on such social structures as politics (translations are approved or rejected by political institutions), the economy (translators need to have a job and earn a living), and art (translations are compared with original works of verbal art produced within a given culture). Yet Luhmann's social systems theory discussed in 'Functions in systems' above allows us to see translation's involvement with other social systems as the relationship of interdependence. The equally unequal function systems as theorised in Luhmann's SST are in the relationship of power/interdependence: politics need translation and, thus, translation exercises power over politics; translation, in turn, needs politics for the realisation of its professional project (see Chapter 4) and for the circulation of translated texts (in the form of different types of imprimatur as a kind of censorship). Thus it is not only translation that depends on politics, but politics also depends on translation, for only translation can provide politicians with the information about internal and external politically relevant affairs. Some political programmes can be realised only thanks to translation. For instance, in the eighteenth century, the Russian empire, which was trying to transform itself, relied heavily on translating Western sources of information about numerous social, economic, political, aesthetic issues (Tyulenev 2012b). Research questions may be as follows:

? What place is translation given in different types of society? Think of such signs of the recognition of translation as its professionalisation, its social status, translators' access to higher state or religious circles, the rewards and pay translators are granted for their work.
? How does translation influence society and different function subsystems in it? For example, how does translation contribute to the formation of the terminology and the pool of knowledge in various professional domains? What place do translated texts occupy in different professional canons?

It has been said that the networks of power interdependences are ubiquitous. If so,

? What are the networks of power interdependences involving translation and translators?

As a human being, every translator depends on something and at the same time controls access of other human beings to some resources. Translators as human beings have the same physiological, psychological and social needs as any other human being. To meet some of these needs, they have to work as translators: in order to eat, they need to earn money and this is what their job as translators gives them. They also provide resources to their significant others (for instance, their families whom they may support). In this sense, in the physiological, psychological, social realms, somebody exercises power over translators and they exercise power over somebody. From this point of view the following research questions may be asked:

? What does the network of interdependences involving translators in your country include?
? Does the translator involving power networks change over time? Think of how translation was practised in the past: for example, not all people who translated considered translation work their (only/main) source of income, as there were people who translated for other reasons – some for the love of art, some because they wanted to achieve fame or raise their status. What variables would such different networks include or exclude as compared to translators-professionals of our own time?

The above listed questions inquire into the state of translators as socialised humans (cf. Chapters 1 and 3). As professionals, translators increase their networks of interdependences (cf. Chapter 4). To their human networks of interdependences, they add their interdependences with their commissioners, clients, superiors or subordinates at work, etc. Translators depend on suppliers of their work tools and the quality of those tools: think of how translators choose CAT tools. But these networks are mutual dependences. For instance, a client pays the translator for the work and in this way the client wields power over the translator's access to the money the translator needs. On the other hand, the client depends on the translator's skills and knowledge and the translator's ability to work respecting the schedule, etc. On the one hand, CAT tools producers provide translators with their products, on the other, they depend on translators buying those products and providing them with the feedback on what needs to be improved or changed.

? What are the interdependence networks in translation agencies and in the work of freelance translators?

Domination

Domination is a stronger form of power over somebody or a group. Domination that is a pattern resulting from the distribution of power resources can take different forms. Domination is effective when it is considered legitimate. Domination that is not (considered) legitimate can be tolerated only for a more or less short time. Domination that is accepted as legitimate is usually referred to as authority.

In his classical theory of power, Weber distinguished between three types of authority depending on what basis its legitimacy was claimed. Rational-legal authority is based on the belief in the legality of established rules and the right of those who came to power under these rules to be in authority and to issue commands. Bureaucracy is an example of such authority. Another type of authority is based on traditions. Patriarchy, the rule of the father and by extension of the male, is an example of traditional authority. Charismatic authority is gained by sanctity or heroism or some other exceptional quality of the leader. There are plenty of examples of charismatic leaders who created social movements on different scales. The notion of 'domination' invites us to ask the following questions:

? What are the types of authority that dominate translation and the translator?
? What is the ratio of different Weberian types of authorities experienced by the translator?
? How does translation contribute to the establishment and maintenance of different types of domination, both legitimate and illegitimate?

Legitimacy of domination may vary in degree. The higher the degree, the less necessary openly coercive means of domination. This aspect of power has been studied within the Marxist tradition. Marx considered the power of social classes and the struggle for power as the most important factor of human history.[14] His is a classical macro-sociological conflict theory. He also saw human history as a succession of stages of different economic relationships, which put some classes in the position of power over other classes.[15] The dominant classes have to use different means to secure their dominancy by legitimising it whether openly or in a hidden way, both by coercion and through imposing their ideological discourse.

Box 7.2: Ideology

The term was coined by Destutt de Tracy (1755–1836), a French Enlightenment philosopher. The term originally meant the study of ideas as opposed to metaphysics, the study of the fundamentals of reality. Later the term took on a pejorative connotation and became to mean mostly

false or mistaken ideas in socio-political contexts, although the term can also mean the system of ideas in a neutral sense. In the negative sense, ideology means such ideas that distort reality, whereas when the term is used neutrally, it means what de Tracy intended it for – transformation of the experience of reality into the realm of ideas. Marx and Engels and their followers discussed ideology both in the neutral and negative sense. Ideology may stand for the entire complex of ideas about reality, including ideas concerning nature, psychological and social experiences. The term may also be used in narrower senses, such as 'political ideology', 'economic ideology', etc. Ideology is different from other notions meaning ideational aspects of human existence, such as 'beliefs', in that sense ideology is applied to a broad range of phenomena and is rarely fully articulate. Different schools of thought point to different origins of ideology, notably Marxists see the root of ideology in material factors of existence and in social status (class).

In the twentieth century, society is seen as a ground for conflicts not only between classes, but also smaller or larger groups, both within larger social formations, such as nation-states, as well as between nation-states. The intersocietal struggle may seem irrelevant for intrasocial realities, yet in our time of globalisation when people of different cultural backgrounds interact more and more often and coexist in multicultural spaces, inter-social conflicts may cause problems intrasocially. This aspect has been studied in relation to translation as practised in multicultural and multilingual cities (Simon 2012).

The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci examined the nature of social domination (1971). One of the mechanisms described by him was the 'spontaneous consent' that dominated groups give to dominating groups. This consent is spontaneous because more often than not it is unconscious and unquestioned. It is the consent about the general direction of the social life or order established by the dominant group. The roots of this consent are in the prestige that the dominant group confers on their position, function and values. The dominated groups are socialised in such ways that ensure their appreciation of the dominant groups' prestige and thus their resistance to domination is curbed. According to Gramsci, the dominant class prevails upon subordinate classes to accept social values and norms. Gramsci wrote that the dominant group imposes the general direction of social life. This general direction is imposed, among other things, by social norms and conventions. Here the translation student may want to pause and ask:

? Are translation norms (and if yes, to what extent) a reflection of translators' spontaneous consent with dominant classes' ideologies?

To be sure, the translator does not always comply with imposed norms, as Mona Baker emphasises in her discussion of Toury's norm theory (2010: 115),

but even her idea that the translator works at the intersection of different narratives and framings leads us back to the social context of the translator's work and, consequently, the question is bound to arise:

? Where do all the narratives and framings come from?
? To what extent are the narratives personal or are they only idiosyncratic combinations of available socially generated discourses?

From the logic of sociological theories of socialisation (Chapter 3) it follows that the translator interiorises these discourses or their parts during his/her socialisation, but it is society which makes different narratives and framing options available to the translator. Whichever options constitute his/her narrative, the translator's activity and its products are to be considered as a spontaneous consent to the domination of one of the interacting social groups. Arguably, the translator always takes sides; there is no translation outside society and therefore, there is no neutral translation. The most rebellious and seemingly independent translator inevitably acts based on some interiorised social narratives, perhaps not giving spontaneous consent to the general direction but giving spontaneous consent to some anti-general direction. In this sense, "the numerous individual and group attempts at undermining dominant patterns and prevailing political and social dogma" are, therefore, as "strong patterns of socialization" as those described by Toury, except Toury analyses one side of the coin, whereas Baker addresses the other side of the same coin (Baker 2010: 115).

Gramsci also wrote that if spontaneous consent fails, the dominant class uses state coercive power and enforces discipline on those not giving their active or passive consent. Although translation history knows examples of severe disciplinary measures against translators, today non-normative behaviour of the translator is also punished, if less harshly. Toury (2012: 64) mentions this side of the translator's social existence, but Baker, while highlighting the interplay between dominance and resistance, surprisingly, does not say much on the repressive mechanism of the society against resistances of translation: in their activities, the translators, discussed in her analyses, are presented as 'comfortably' resistant, tucked in the right places where the repressive or coercive power mechanisms do not seem to be able to reach them. Gramsci's theory allows us to see that translational activities are no different from any other social activities: it is likely that framings and narratives of resistance and dominance, consent and dissent coexist in the translator's social experience.

The questions one might ask in relation to translation are:

? What are the manifestations of the translator's spontaneous consent?
? What are the discourses to which the translator gives his/her spontaneous consent?

Power vs. critique

Foucault's vision of power as detached from any particular social agency makes one wonder what counterbalances power. Critique is seen as the main candidate for this role. According to this view, critique is distinguished from criticism and is defined as the application of reason to reality. Moreover, even reason itself and its use are to be critically assessed. In Foucault's own words:

> I think that the central issue of philosophy and critical thought since the eighteenth century has always been, still is, and will, I hope, remain the question: *What* is this Reason that we use? What are its historical effects? What are its limits, and what are its dangers? How can we exist as rational beings, fortunately committed to practising a rationality that is unfortunately crisscrossed by intrinsic dangers? One should remain as close to this question as possible, keeping in mind that it is both central and extremely difficult to resolve. In addition, if it is extremely dangerous to say that Reason is the enemy that should be eliminated, it is just as dangerous to say that any critical questioning of this rationality risks sending us into irrationality. One should not forget – and I'm not saying this in order to criticize rationality, but in order to show how ambiguous things are – it was on the basis of the flamboyant rationality of social Darwinism that racism was formulated, becoming one of the most enduring and powerful ingredients of Nazism. This was, of course, an irrationality, but an irrationality that was at the same time, after all, a certain form of rationality.
>
> (1984: 249)

Critique is such an account of what is observed in reality which shows not only reality but how it can be otherwise. Marxism sees critique as undermining ideologies of dominant social groups leading to changes in society and eventually, since Marxism is an evolutionary paradigm that argues that society progresses to a communist, classless society, critique will help reach the ideal. Outside Marxism, critique is any account challenging the status quo or offering alternatives.

Translation is a critical phenomenon as it offers alternatives coming from outside a given society. It may suggest alternatives from a society speaking a different language and having a different culture. This, in itself, juxtaposes the discourses of the target system with the discourses of source-text systems. This juxtaposition may confirm the dominant discourse, but also it can undermine it by questioning it and by offering alternative scenarios of socio-cultural dynamics. Translation can provide something that would give one of the peripheral discourses means for stating their cause in a clearer way or in a way that would make it accessible and visible to layers of the society ignorant about or unsympathetic to the cause. The questions that can be asked here are as follows:

? What is the role translation plays in voicing social critique?
? How is translation a manifestation of the critique of power and social reality in a given society?
? What is the nature of the interplay of translation's spontaneous consent and translation's critique?

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main questions opening the chapter.
2 Try to suggest answers to research questions bulleted with '?' in 'Basic and derived needs'.
3 Suggest research questions as regards the intersystemic role of translation in terms of Merton's refinements of the functionalist postulates (see 'Merton: Overcoming the three postulates of functionalism' in this chapter).
4 Consider the sociocritical potential of translation as exemplified in Brisset (1990 or 1996).

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

On functionalism: Merton (1967: 73–138, "Manifest and Latent Functions"; "A Paradigm for Functional Analysis in Sociology" as a part of this essay contains a detailed list of prerequisites of functional analysis, pp. 104–8); Luhmann (1997, in German); Luhmann (1995, in English); Tyulenev (2012a).
On power and censorship: Foucault (1980); Merkle (2010); Baker (2009): Part 6 (vol. II); Parts 10, 11, 12 (vol. III); Parts 14, 15 (vol. IV).

Notes

1 Before reading this chapter, it is advisable to review 'Society as an organism' in Chapter 6.
2 To reiterate, this is not to say that the individualities of translators cannot or should not be studied, but it should always be borne in mind that translators are translators because they produce translations which fulfil certain social functions.
3 Although they could as Durkheim's study of suicide demonstrated.
4 The reader is invited to think about this in the 'Topics for discussion and assignments' section.
5 A variation of the Malinowskian dilemma has recently surfaced in a debate on the methodology of conducting historiographic research in TIS about the relationship between the specificity of translation practices in different periods and places and generalisations as regards the nature of translation (*Translation Studies*, Vol. 5 (2012), no. 2: 232–48).
6 In TIS, there have been several explicit attempts to apply SST. Andreas Poltermann was the first with his article published in 1992. Later Theo Hermans published several articles or devoted book chapters to SST as applied to translation. Hans J. Vermeer

explored SST in the hope of deepening his skopos theory. A fuller monographic treatment of SST in application to translation can be found in Tyulenev (2012a and 2012b).

7 Luhmann distinguishes between biological, psychic and social systems. Human beings are at the intersection of three systems: biological (body), psychic (mind) and social. Luhmann interprets society as a communication system, whose elements are communication events; according to Luhmann, society should not be considered as a collection of individuals. He rejects such a view as an uncritical inertial acceptance of the old anthropological tradition.

8 If a legal decision is made based on the judge's pity or because s/he was bribed, the decision will be found illegal, that is, wrong, and itself will become a subject of the law-enforcement procedures.

9 Translation agents are not necessarily individuals!

10 It would be a mistake to identify social systems exclusively with nation-states. According to SST, groups, nations, all sorts of minorities within nation-states, the entire world or a conversation between two people function as systems.

11 For instance, in medieval Russia, translation was performed by merchants who, by virtue of their profession and travelling abroad, knew foreign languages and cultures and thus had to mediate for the Russian state officials when there was such a need.

12 Another example from the Russian history of translation, some surviving documents show that there was a separation between translators and interpreters and the former were considered as professionals of a higher standard and therefore before anybody became a translator, he had to serve first as an interpreter to gain experience (Tyulenev 2012b: 59–60).

13 Review 'In conflict or equilibrium?' in Chapter 6.

14 Historiography after Marx has never been the same. Discussing the connection of sociological neofunctionalism with the legacy of Parsons's theory of society, Charles C. Lemert compared it with Foucault's answer to how indebted his theory is to Marxism: "It is impossible to think as a sociologist without being Parsonian. [… T]he idea is close enough to Foucault's similar remark upon the impossibility of being an historian without being Marxist, just as impossible as being a physicist without being Newtonian or Einsteinian" (in Alexander 1998: ix).

15 Marxism may help us examine translation as an economic activity and translators as political, ideologically and economically engaged and engagé.

Chapter 8

A close-up

The main questions:

- **What is the difference between macro- and micromodels?**
- **What is the difference between psychological and sociological (both macro- and micro-) descriptions of human activities?**
- **What are the most important microsociological models?**

In Chapter 7 macrosociological theories were discussed. In Chapters 8 and 9, microsociological theories and theories attempting to strike a balance between the two models come to the fore. When reading the next two chapters, and especially the present chapter, it should be constantly borne in mind that however minuscule the unit of sociological inquiry can be as compared to grand-scale phenomena discussed in macrotheories, the sociological focus never changes. At this point the reader may be reminded that the principal question of sociology is 'How is social order possible?' This implies the necessity to look through microphenomena at larger configurations and clusters. Sociology does never stop at units, but always goes further to unities.[1]

Verstehen and ideal types

The first word in the title of this section is a German word meaning 'understanding'. One of the classical founders of sociology, Max Weber, introduced it to mean a specific method of sociological research. He disagreed with those at his time who attempted to understand society by formulating a set of laws similar to the laws formulated in natural sciences. For one thing, Weber argued, the historical process through which social life unfolds in time produces ever new forms, which require ever new concepts of describing them. The social sciences (or in his terminology 'cultural sciences') should reconstruct concepts people used in trying to understand reality. The social sciences deal

with human beings who have consciousness which, according to Weber, the researcher has to understand in order to explain social reality. Weber agreed with those who insisted on describing the function of an action, yet he insisted on the need to go further:

> It is certainly necessary to know in the first place what kind of action is functional, from the point of view of 'survival' and also, even more so, of cultural distinctiveness and of continuity of development of a particular type of social action […] Only then can we pose the questions: how does this kind of action come about? what are its underlying motives? It is essential to know what a king, an official, an entrepreneur, a pimp, or a magician does – in other words, what typical 'action' (which alone, after all, marks them out as belonging to a particular category) is important for the purpose of sociological analysis and has to be taken into account – before the analysis itself can begin […] But it is only in this analysis that sociology first accomplishes what it *can*, and therefore *should*, achieve by its understanding of the actions of typically differentiated individual human beings […]
>
> (1978: 21; emphases in original)

The functionalist foundation of sociologically informed translation studies was stressed in Chapter 7. Indeed, only acting as translators and interpreters marks social agents out as objects of translation studies. Yet, if we follow Weber's logic, we should not stop there, we should try and understand "which motives led and continue to lead individual functionaries and members of this 'community' [of translation in our case – *S.T.*] to behave in such a way that [this behaviour] came into being and continues to exist" (Weber 1978: 21).

The goal of what Weber calls interpretative sociology is to generate probabilistic statements about social actions and their outcomes "in terms of the typical motives and typical intended meanings of the agent in question" (1978: 22). Weber is very cautious to explain the difference between this sociological view of agents' actions and psychological approaches:

> A science of psychology which in practice studies *only* what is classified as 'mental' in terms of the methodology of the natural sciences, uses only the methods of natural science and therefore refrains from the quite different task of interpreting human behaviour in terms of its intended meaning, will yield findings which, whatever form its methodology may take, may of course come to have some importance for sociological enquiry in particular cases just as may those of any other science […] But sociology is not in general related any more closely to such a science than to any other discipline. The mistake lies in a concept of the 'mental' according to which whatever is not 'physical' is 'mental'. […] When a man deliberates in a rational way whether certain clearly specified interests would be

> advanced or not by a particular action, in terms of its likely consequences, and comes to the conclusion which follows from his deliberations, then his action is not made an iota more intelligible by bringing in 'psychological' considerations. But it is on the basis of precisely these kinds of rational presuppositions that sociology […] constructs most of its 'laws'. When the sociologist attempts, on the other hand, to explain the *irrational* elements in action, he can certainly derive valuable assistance from a psychology based on the *understanding* of such elements. But that alters nothing in the fundamental methodological situation.
>
> (1978: 22–3; emphases in original)

On the other hand, Weber distinguishes sociological research from that conducted by the historian. The sociologist seeks to construct "*type*-concepts" and generalise, whereas the historian is interested in a causal analysis of individual actions. Although the sociological conceptualisation of actions is "relatively lacking in content as compared with the concrete realities of history", "sociology can offer in return […] greater conceptual clarity" (1978: 23). The sociologist attempts to understand both rational phenomena and irrational (mysticism, prophecy, inspiration, emotional states). In both cases, the sociologist "abstracts himself from reality and advances our knowledge of it by elucidating the degree of *approximation* to which a particular historical phenomenon can be classified in terms of one or more of [sociological meaning-seeking generalising] concepts" (1978: 23; emphasis in original).

The sociologist constructs what Weber calls ideal types. The ideal type is a type of studied phenomena that cannot be found in reality because it is a pure form of real-life phenomena of that kind. The latter always have complications or deficiencies as compared to the pure ideal type. The ideal type serves as a frame of reference whereas 'real' types are viewed as 'deviations' (Weber 1978: 9). For example, if a particular social event is studied, such as elections, real-life elections help form the ideal type of elections, which is used as a yardstick for analysing more real-life elections. The ideal type will include such aspects of elections as democracy, equality of rights, representativeness (a particular minimum number of voters should vote for the results to be recognised as valid), transparency of the procedure, no falsifications. This is 'real' (in the sense of 'ideal') elections; not all real-life elections will be up to this standard and thus they will be 'deviations' from the 'real' election. The ideal type, however, will be a useful model for research against which all real-life elections may be studied. Human consciousness always typifies real-life phenomena, but the scholarly effort cultivates this human ability and makes it fully rational.

The researcher also applies the strategy of *Verstehen* in dealing with real-life phenomena. This means that the researcher tries to understand the meaning that this or that action has/had for the agent(s). On the one hand, the action can be examined as an externally observable fact. Somebody smiled or frowned in a particular situation. In order to understand why, Weber suggested "empathetically

re-living the experience" (1978: 8). In some cases, when the studied phenomenon belongs to the realm familiar to us, *Verstehen* is easier, than in other cases, but in every case the researcher can reach at least some understanding of what the subjects of his/her research felt and thus gain an insight into the motivations that brought about the action. Naturally, *Verstehen* should be practised with care: the researcher should be careful not to impose his/her own values, but rather try and appreciate the values perceived or demonstrated in the action by the agent(s).

As may already be clear from the example of the ideal type of elections, *Verstehen* and the construction of ideal types of actions are hermeneutically connected: some action is observed and is perceived by the researcher (based on his/her experience and knowledge) as belonging to a particular class of phenomena that are seen as belonging to that class based on their common features, which are crystallised as an ideal type. The researcher then tries to understand one of its manifestations and compares it with other manifestations and the ideal type, which will be used for classifying other phenomena as belonging to that class. The more *Verstehen* of a variety of real-life types of a given action is done, the clearer the ideal type will be and, in turn, the clearer the ideal type is, the easier it will be to appreciate the peculiarity of each real-life deviation.

The methods of *Verstehen* and of the construction of ideal types are useful for describing translational phenomena. First of all, we are led to create the ideal type of the translational action. Second, Weber's *Verstehen* suggests the necessity to consider possible or the likeliest motivations of the agents performing the ideal and real-life translational actions. The research questions can be as follows:

- What is the ideal type of translation?[2]
- What are the basic elements of every translational action that allow us to identify certain actions as belonging to the class of translation?
- Are only translators/interpreters to be included in the ideal type of translation? If yes, how should we account for other agents (project managers, editors, publishers, clients, etc.): as variables of 'deviated' types of translation, that is, real-life translation situations? How do the positive and negative answers change our ideal type of translation?
- What are the translation agents' motivations in the ideal type? What 'deviations' can there be in real-life situations (political or religious convictions, openness or bigotry, bias or fairness, etc.)?

"All the world's a stage"

Weber insisted on the need to understand human actions as part of causal explanations in the social sciences. His attention to concrete actions and meanings that people associate with their actions is considered as one of the sources of inspiration for microsociological theories, such as symbolic interactionism.

As its name suggests, symbolic interactionism studies how people interact using symbols. Social order is seen as negotiated by people, rather than imposed upon them by some collective structures. The main representatives of this school of thought were George Mead and Charles Cooley who have already been mentioned in connection with socialisation (Chapter 3). The most important in Cooley's and Mead's theories is the focus on the development of actors as social beings: in their childhood in their primary groups (families), actors learn social symbols (language, gestures, etc.) and develop their 'self'-image by learning to see themselves through the eyes of others ('looking-glass self', the 'I' and the 'me'); they also learn to generalise people around them (the 'generalised other'), on the one hand, and to see concrete acting individuals by 'taking the role of the other', on the other hand; their entire lives unfold as an interaction with other humans through the use of shared symbols.

Yet another significant scholar who worked within the tenets of symbolic interactionism was Erving Goffman (1922–82) who viewed social interaction as dramaturgical impression management.

Goffman metaphorised society as a theatre with people as actors and actresses. He compared social interactions to role-playing and performance; hence, the term "dramaturgical approach" associated with this theory (1959: 233). According to Goffman, individuals present themselves to others so as to give a certain impression about themselves and thereby control the outcomes of the interaction. Players may 'perform' singly (cf. a soliloquy) or in 'teams' (dialogues or joint coordinated acting). Players act in a 'setting' ("furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it", Goffman 1959: 32–3). The setting may include both physical and contextualising or ritualistic elements. For instance, a formal reception is connected not only with the venue as its setting but also the established procedure, which unfolds according to a protocol.

Each player has 'appearances' (those elements of the performance "which function […] to tell us of the performer's social statuses", ibid.: 34) and a 'manner' (functioning "to warn us of the interaction role the performer will expect us to play in the oncoming situation", ibid.: 35). For example, the appearance will be different depending on whether the performer acts in a formal or informal situation, at work or at leisure. An aggressive manner of the performer suggests that s/he is to initiate interaction and control it; conversely, a meek manner indicates that the performer is ready to be led. Performers move between 'frontstage' (the centre of public attention) and 'backstage' (where they hide from others). Goffman summarises his theory as follows:

> [… A]ny social establishment may be studied profitably from the point of view of impression management. Within the walls of a social establishment we find a team of performers who cooperate to present to an audience a given definition of the situation.[3] This will include the conception of own

> team and of audience[4] and assumptions concerning the ethos that is to be maintained by rules of politeness and decorum. We often find a division into back region, where the performance[5] of a routine is prepared, and front region, where the performance is presented. Access to these regions is controlled in order to prevent the audience from seeing backstage and to prevent outsiders from coming into a performance that is not addressed to them.
>
> (1959: 231)

Goffman's dramaturgical approach applies well to the translator/interpreter experience or 'performance'. Translators and interpreters act in settings of interlingual and intercultural interaction. They have their place on the stage and an assigned part; they 'put on' their translator/interpreter appearance and act according to their translator manner. Goffman's theory invites us to ask:

? What are the constitutive parts of the setting in which the translation/interpreting role-playing takes place?
? What is the assigned place and role of the translator/interpreter in that *mise-en-scène*?
? What constitutes the translator/interpreter appearance and manner?

Ideally the performance and the audience should act in harmony, when open conflicts are avoided, or in a 'working consensus', when differences are not stressed for the common good. However, performances do not always run smoothly. Sometimes disharmony may trouble the performance or even bring the interaction to a halt through unmeant actions, *faux pas*, intentional disruptive activities or individuals playing 'discrepant roles', that is, when during the performance-interaction somebody divulges the information about the performance or his/her relations to the performer which "are not apparent and which complicate the problem of putting on a show" (Goffman 1959: 231). We might think of disruptions of translation/interpreting caused by clients' failure to perform according to the requirements of the translation setting (speaking too long in the situation of consecutive interpreting or when, in written translation, the source text is defective leading to the 'garbage in – garbage out' effect) or by somebody in the audience acting as a prompter 'helping' the interpreter to find the right words or correcting him/her. Critics of written domesticating translations are discrepant role-players for translators: they may break the 'show' of translation presented as equal to writing an original text.[6] An interesting case, from the point of view of Goffman's dramaturgical approach, is foreignising translation since such translation disrupts its own show. Such a view of the foreignising strategy of translation questions one of the fundamental elements of the social setting of translation – creating the illusion of an original. Foreignisation, thus, questions the most wide-spread socially-assigned role of translation.

The performers dramatise their actions, especially those of their actions that may otherwise remain unnoticed. They use signs to indicate what they want the audience to see about them as performers, their "claimed capacities" (1959: 40). Goffman gives an example of a baseball umpire whose self-assumed or 'achieved' role or status[7] requires him to hide any doubt or a moment of thought when s/he declares his/her judgment. S/he reassures his/her audience (both the players and viewers) of his/her capacity to judge clearly and with full confidence and has to act as umpire "during a split second in the interaction" (ibid.). This often happens to translators and especially interpreters who have to demonstrate their expertise in translation settings hiding moments of hesitation or even passing off their decisions and choices as fully or even uniquely acceptable; in some situations they have to save their face[8] when their decisions turn out to be mistakes or receive criticism (cf. 'How a 'guilty' translator behaves' in Chapter 2 on the typical actions of a 'guilty' translator).

Goffman studied social actors in a variety of settings: in public places, in asylums, in what he termed 'total institutions', that is, organisations maximally separated from the rest of society, such as prisons, army, monasteries. He also studied how people resolve role-related problems, notably when they as individuals or groups are stigmatised, partially or completely disqualified from social acceptance (1997: 73–80). Stigma can be physical (lepers in the leprosarium), documentary (a record of a conviction for a criminal offence) or contextual (in some social settings gays are not accepted). Some stigmatised groups have little control over their situation; some fight for their rights and the lifting of the stigma (struggles for civil rights of ethnic minorities).

Obviously as social actors translators and interpreters have their assigned position on the social stage. Translators and interpreters are not stigmatised, but they may feel that they are 'pushed' from centre stage. Translation and interpreting is usually described as necessary but a 'second-role' occupation. Seeking social recognition as a profession (see Chapter 4) is one of the ways translators and interpreters as an occupational group are trying to secure a more dignified and more visible and socially acknowledged position for themselves.

However, to this day, we can still find translated books published or referenced in bibliographical lists without the names of their translators. The names of speakers in conferences or congresses and similar events are always announced, but the names of interpreters never. The work of translators and interpreters is often undervalued and underpaid. Not infrequently translation and interpreting projects are managed without professionals and/or as a volunteer job. Such state of affairs may be described as a discrepancy between the ascribed and achieved social roles and statuses. Translators and interpreters are ascribed less important roles on the professional market; they themselves assume a higher position. Ideally, the assumed and ascribed roles of translators and interpreters and their profession should coincide.

? Compared with such professions as doctors, lawyers and bankers, whose assumed roles tally better with their ascribed roles, what can be said about translators and interpreters?
? How does the situation vary from country to country and from period to period?
? What reasons do translators and interpreters give for their role-assumption: the specificity of the work they do? Their specialised education or training? Anything else?

In the sociology of symbolic interactionism, role-assumption and role-ascription are related to the concept of 'labelling'. Labelling is naming, but in society labelling is not only naming. Labelling organises the social space, assigns roles and significances. Names or labels are important social facts. They offer stimuli, create meaning and transform society into a symbolic construction.

? What are ascribed and achieved statuses of translation, translators and interpreters in your country?
? What do translators and interpreters do, if anything, to improve their position, if they are not satisfied with it?

Labelling may be interpreted as a type of translation. It may be intralingual or interlingual. A well-known example is euphemisms that are used to affect positively the perception of the situation (not necessarily positive). Compare such English euphemisms as 'mature' or 'seasoned' and 'old'; 'misinformation' and 'lies'; 'economically nonaffluent' and 'poor'; 'lady of the night'/'sex worker' and 'prostitute'. In the case of intralingual translation, every user of that language becomes a translator.

But there is also an interlingual aspect of using euphemisms or other labels. Consider the norm that has developed relatively recently in public speech situations in English when 'he' or 'man' have virtually stopped being used as gender-inclusive. Now 'he' means only a male, and to refer to a female 'she' must also be used.[9] Some cultures and languages are still somewhat reluctant to accept this norm. This influences the translator's decision about how to render even the simplest phrases such as "While working on his/her book, the author may draw inspiration from real life events or his/her own imagination." The researcher may ask the following questions:

? How do translators/interpreters go about translating such euphemisms from one language into another?
? What is the relationship between the translator's/interpreter's own socio-political convictions and his/her translation decisions under such circumstances?

Returning to ascribed and achieved roles, some translators and interpreters consider the financial side of their profession as not only remuneration for

their work, but also as an indicator of their status in the eyes of their clients. The questions to ask here may be as follows:

? How do you feel about being a translator/interpreter?
? How do translators and interpreters whom you may know feel as professionals?
? How does remuneration for translation and interpreting jobs reflect the social status of translation and interpreting as professions?

Symbolic interactionism (see summarised in Box 8.1) has proved to provide an inspiration for generations of sociologists working within a variety of paradigms, including macrosociological theories, for example neofunctionalism has adopted some of the ideas of symbolic interactionism.[10] Symbolic interactionism also enriched the phenomenological approaches to the study of social life (see below). As has been shown in this chapter, it inspires questions about social translational activities and agents, which may provide useful insights into the social functioning of translation and into the social roles played by translators/interpreters.

Box 8.1: Symbolic interactionism at a glance

Symbolic interactionism emphasises the interaction between individuals with the help of symbols, such as language, gestures, visual symbols, etc. Social structures grow out of individuals' constant negotiating and renegotiating their relationships, their social positions, lines of action, etc. On the other hand, society is also the context in which the individual develops. Thus, the individual is contextualised in the society from his/her birth and at the same time, in his/her dealing with people around them, they contribute to shaping the society.

Symbolic interactionism is also known as the Chicago School (it developed primarily on the basis of the sociology department of the University of Chicago). The most important contribution was made by George Herbert Mead (1863–1931), Charles Hortan Cooley (1864–1929) and Erving Goffman (1922–82). The term 'symbolic interaction' was coined by another important figure in symbolic interactionism – Herbert Blumer (1900–87) in 1937 after his studying works by Mead.

Highlights of symbolic interactionism

1 Social actors are self-aware. Their actions are purposive and intentional.
2 Their self-perception depends on others' perception of them (Mead's 'I' and 'me'; Cooley's 'looking-glass self' (see 'Socialisation models' in Chapter 3)).

3 The self is not pre-given or static; it emerges and develops in the process of socialisation.
4 The self is mediated symbolically, that is, through language, gestures or other socially relevant signs.
5 The self is realised through social interactions.
6 The self performs different social roles in different circumstances (Goffman).
7 Social order is the process of constant negotiation and renegotiation of agents' relationships and is never static or fully predetermined.

Living in a lifeworld

Another important direction of microsociological thought has been phenomenology. Phenomenology is "[t]he study of the various forms and varieties of consciousness and the ways in which people can apprehend the world in which they live" (Mann 1983: 286). People never deal with the world directly. Rather they contact the world through their senses and consciousness. Therefore, phenomenology asks:

? How does human consciousness create its sense of the external 'real' world?

The key concept developed by the founder of phenomenology the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) is 'lifeworld'. The idea came from Kant who argued that humans live in a 'phenomenal' world, the world they perceive with the help of their senses and their minds, which process and structure the information received from the senses and thereby create a picture of the external world. It would be helpful to recall that the word 'phenomenon' comes from the Greek word *phainomenon*, which means 'a thing appearing to view'. The world for us is the world as we see it, rather than the world as it is. Therefore, it is more precise to speak not of the 'world' but of social actors' lifeworlds.

People take their lifeworld for granted and rarely reflect on whether what they take as the world is really what it is or to what extent it coincides with their perception of it. Since people's consciousnesses are different, all people have their own lifeworlds, but they act on the presumption that they and the people they interact with all experience the same world. To understand how people construct a shared picture of the external world is the main goal of phenomenology.

The German sociologist Alfred Schutz (1899–1959) was the first to apply Husserl's phenomenology to sociology. Schutz's sociological phenomenology brings together elements of the theories of Husserl, Weber and of symbolic

interactionists. From Husserl he borrowed the concept of 'lifeworld' and the idea that people act as if they had the same lifeworld. He built on the Weberian *Verstehen* but took it a step further: he argued that Weber assumed that social agents share their subjective meanings but failed to explain how agents acquire and/or create shared meanings. After Schutz moved to the USA in 1939, he came into contact with symbolic interactionism, which stimulated his ideas about how interacting agents create a shared vision of the world and what implications that has on the maintenance of social order. Schutz's ideas (summarised in Box 8.2) played an important role in deepening and refining microsociological approaches.

Box 8.2: A summary of Schutz's phenomenology

All citations are from Schutz (1962).

1 Humans do not interact with the external world directly. They do it only through their senses and consciousness.
2 The subjective picture of the external reality they form in their minds is their reality or their lifeworld: "[…] the common-sense knowledge of everyday life is the unquestioned but always questionable background within which inquiry starts and within which alone it can be carried out" (p. 57).
3 People act based on the knowledge they have at the time of planning an action. This knowledge consists of their experience of acting in similar situations and rules of thumb and recipes of possible lines of behaviour. This is what Schutz termed "stock knowledge at hand" (p. 38). Social actors use their stock knowledge as a frame of reference for constructing not only their own behaviour but also their interaction with others.
4 Stock knowledge also helps actors sense a "paramount reality," the absolute reality in which they exist over many subjective universes: "It is the world of physical things, […] of my locomotions and bodily operations; it offers resistances which require effort to overcome; it places tasks before me, permits me to carry through my plans, and enables me to succeed or to fail in my attempt to attain my purposes. By my working acts I gear into the outer world, I change it; and these changes, although provoked by my working, can be experienced and tested both by myself and others, as occurrences within this world independently of my working acts in which they originated. I share this world and its objects with Others; with Others, I have ends and means in common; I work with them in manifold social acts and relationships […]" (p. 227). Social actors do not doubt the existence of the paramount reality or "that the world and its objects might be otherwise than it appears to [them]" (p. 229).

5 Social actors have "the natural attitude" to their lifeworld, their stock knowledge and the image of the paramount reality. The natural attitude is different from philosophical or psychological views in that it is purely practical ("an eminently practical interest", p. 208). The natural attitude sees the world of everyday life only as a scene and object of actions and interactions. That is why stock knowledge and the image of the paramount reality are rarely questioned or reflected upon by social actors: "[… I]t is self-evident to me that the world actually exists and that it is actually *thus*, as I experience it […] No motive exists for the naïve person to raise the transcendental question concerning the actuality of the world […]" (p. 135).
6 Actors acquire stock knowledge in the process of their early socialisation. "'World of daily life' [is] the intersubjective world which existed long before our birth, experienced and interpreted by Others, our predecessors, as an organized world. Now it is given to our experience and [practical] interpretation. All interpretation of this world is based upon a stock of previous experiences of it, our own experiences and those handed down to us by our parents and teachers, which in the form of 'knowledge at hand' function as a scheme of reference" (p. 208).
7 Actors are socialised in such a way that when they interact with others they assume that they all share the same stock knowledge: "[… I]f I were to change places with my fellow-man I would experience the same sector of the world in substantially the same perspectives as he does, our particular biographical circumstances becoming for all practical purposes at hand irrelevant" (p. 61). Schutz terms this 'the reciprocity of perspectives'.
8 Actors experience "everyday life in the mode of typicality": unique objects and events are unique only "within a horizon of typical familiarity and pre-acquaintanceship" (p. 59). Schutz gives as an example the way he may look at his Irish setter Rover: as a unique individual dog or a typical example of "Irish setter", "dog", "mammal", "animal", etc. The ability to typify their experiences allows social actors to process novel situations and objects not as completely unique, but as members of classes which actors already know and this helps them deal with new situations (p. 73).

In the beginning were jurors

Husserl's and especially Schutz's phenomenology inspired what became known as ethnomethodology. The term was coined by the founder of this sociological school, Harold Garfinkel (1917–2011). He explained that he studied the tapes

of jurors' deliberations in a 'bugged' jury room and later he interviewed the same jurors about those discussions. While studying those materials, Garfinkel asked the question: What makes the jurors jurors in their own eyes (1974: 15)? The emphasis was laid on how the jurors themselves perceived their functions, the rules "of correct decision making" they observed (or claimed to have observed) (1967: 104). Garfinkel tells how in coining the term he was inspired by such terms as 'ethnobotany', 'ethnophysiology', 'ethnophysics'. In Garfinkel's own words:

> Here I am faced with jurors who are doing methodology, but they are doing their methodology in the 'now you see it, now you don't' fashion. It is not a methodology that any of my colleagues would honor if they were attempting to staff the sociology department. They are not likely to be looking for jurors. Nevertheless, the jurors' concerns for such issues seemed to be undeniable.
>
> (1974: 16)

He saw the term as a useful reminder of the main goal of his approach to the analysis of the jurors' conversations:

> 'Ethno' seemed to refer, somehow or other, to the availability to a member of common-sense knowledge of his society as common-sense knowledge of the 'whatever'. If it were 'ethnobotany', then it had to do somehow or other with his knowledge of and his grasp of what were for members adequate methods for dealing with botanical matters. Someone from another society, like an anthropologist in this case, would recognize the matters as botanical matters. The member would employ ethnobotany as adequate grounds of inference and action in the conduct of his own affairs in the company of others like him. It was that plain, and the notion of 'ethnomethodology' or the term 'ethnomethodology' was taken in this sense.
>
> (1974: 16–17)

The term consists of three parts: ethno+method+(o)log(y). The last part (-log-) means 'study of'; 'method' refers to the way of doing something; and 'ethno' is 'folk' or 'people'. This expresses the main thrust of ethnomethodology: to understand how people describe themselves and their actions, what methods they use to create or maintain the sense of social order.

Ethnomethodology focuses on everyday activities and people's behaviour and accounts of their behaviour, explicit or implied: "Ethnomethodological studies analyze everyday activities as members' methods for making those same activities visibly-rational-and-reportable-for-all-practical-purposes, i.e., 'accountable,' as organisations of commonplace everyday activities" (1967: vii). Ethnomethodology sees itself as a practical sociology dealing with people-in-society's

routine reasons for and reasonings about their everyday activities and the actors' common-sensical judgements about the situations in which they find themselves.

Importantly, like sociological phenomenology, ethomethodology does not deal with the question whether the external reality exists and what its properties may be and whether actors' definitions of that reality are true or false. Rather, the purport is to understand how agents perceive what they see as reality and how they maintain that vision of reality. Garfinkel focused on how jurors themselves saw what they did.

One of the most effective methods used by ethnomethodologists is 'breaching experiment'. The logic of this method may be better understood if we recall Durkheim's idea that the best way to feel how strong social influences are is to try to go against them:

> [I]n a public meeting, the great waves of enthusiasm, indignation and pity that are produced, have as their origin no single individual consciousness. They come to each of us from outside and are likely to sweep us along despite ourselves. Of course, it can happen that by unreservedly abandoning myself to them I do not feel the pressure they exert on me. But it becomes evident as soon as I try to fight against them.
>
> (2004: 59–60)

Although Durkheim spoke from the macrosociological point of view and ethnomethodologists proceed from the microperspective, they converge here in seeing the social, whether as pre-given (in macrosociology) or actively created by agents themselves (in microsociology), as humans' natural 'habitat' and the natural context of their actions. Humans hardly notice their social habitat because to them it is the same as what water is to fish. And as the fish is the last to discover water, so also it is difficult for humans to notice their social habitat. It is easier to do that by getting out of our routinised behavioural patterns, that is, by breaching the routine, for example by questioning what is implied and perceived as socially established. Garfinkel gives examples of experiments conducted by his students; one of them is the following brief dialogue (1967: 42–3):

> [Dialogue I]
> (S[ubject]) Hi, Ray. How is your girlfriend feeling?
> (E[xperimenter]) What do you mean, "How is she feeling?" Do you mean physical or mental?
> (S) I mean how is she feeling? What's the matter with you?
> (He looked peeved.)
> (E) Nothing. Just explain a little clearer what do you mean?
> (S) Skip it. How are your Med School applications coming?
> (E) What do you mean, "How are they?"

(S) You know what I mean.
(E) I really don't.
(S) What's the matter with you? Are you sick?

The student-experimenter feigned ignorance of what his subject (friend/acquaintance) expected him to know. As a result, the interaction was broken.

Consider another example. It is a conversation between Garfinkel's student-experimenter and her husband. One evening when they watched a film, her husband complained that he felt tired. She asked him whether he felt tired physically, mentally or simply felt bored.

[Dialogue II]
(S) I don't know, I guess physically, mainly.
(E) You mean that your muscles ache or your bones?
(S) I guess so. Don't be so technical.
(*After more watching*)
(S) All these old movies have the same kind of old iron bedstead in them.
(E) What do you mean? Do you mean all old movies, or some of them, or just the ones you have seen?
(S) What's the matter with you? You know what I mean.
(E) I wish you would be more specific.
(S) You know what I mean! Drop dead! (Garfinkel 1967: 43)

Ethnomethodologists distinguished three main methods to ensure successful interaction:

- doing the reciprocity of perspectives (see Box 8.2, point 7);
- an attempt to return to the normal;
- relying on the et cetera principle.

The two dialogues above are good illustrations. In both Dialogues I and II, the conversation starts with the assumption of reciprocally interchangeable perspectives: the concern about the other human's situation is assumed to be reciprocal. A friend asks about his friend's girlfriend and his educational prospects and would expect his friend to do the same, should they change places. The husband assumes his wife's understanding and compassion when he complains to her about his feeling tired. The aspects touched upon are also supposed to be mutually understandable. Personal differences are temporarily ignored. The assumption is that these are two identical human beings engaged in a conversation and they both understand the situations referred to, that is why the husband in Dialogue II protests against his wife's insistence on further specifications: "Don't be so technical."

When the assumption turns out to be erroneous, attempts to repair the situation are made by suggesting to return to the 'normal'. In Dialogue I, this

is the purpose of the phrases: "I mean how is she feeling? What's the matter with you?"; "You know what I mean"; "What's the matter with you? Are you sick?" In Dialogue II: "You know what I mean!"

In conversations nobody explains everything, much is left unsaid. Actors rely on the other to reconstruct the unsaid, fill in the gaps or wait for missing information to be supplied in due course. This is the 'et cetera' principle: only a part of the whole is said, the rest ('etc.') is to be reconstructed based on the shared knowledge of the situation. In Dialogues I and II, the subjects of the experiments act on the presumption that the 'et cetera principle' is at work and protest when they are asked to explicate the implied.

Box 8.3: Ethnomethodology at a glance

Ethnomethology emerged in the 1960s and was especially influential in the 1970s. Initially ethnomethodology was viewed as a revolutionary break with all sociological theory from functionalism to symbolic interactionism, which, however, did not prevent Harold Garfinkel, the founder of the ethnomethodological school, from acknowledging the help he received from earlier sociologists, even such confirmed functionalists as Talcott Parsons. In his introduction to *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (1967), he wrote that the articles gathered in his book "originated from my studies of the writings of Talcott Parsons, Alfred Schutz, Aron Gurwitsch and Edmund Husserl. Parsons' work, particularly, remains awesome for the penetrating depth and unfailing precision of its practical sociological reasoning on the constituent tasks of the problem of social order and its solution" (p. ix). This testimony problematises spectacularly any attempts to draw an impenetrable borderline between different sociological paradigms even so seemingly diametrically opposite as macro- and microsociology.

Ethnomethodology, like any sociological school, studies how social order is possible. Importantly, under the influence of phenomenology, it reformulates the main question of sociology as follows: How is the *sense* of social order created? This means that with ethnomethodology there is no longer a search for an objective reality, but rather for a reality constructed by this or that social actor or a group; there is a search for lifeworld(s), and the methods social actors use to maintain their sense of social order.

Actors' activities aimed at preserving the sense of the commonly shared reality cannot fail to remind us of Goffmanian actors' 'acting', managing their dramaturgical impression, yet the ethnomethodological view is more radically phenomenological in that actors are seen as unreservedly believing in what they do. The Goffmanian metaphor of social life as a theatre carries the connotation of social actors being not necessarily sincere or fully involved in their acting. Ethnomethodologists' vision of actors' involvement is closer to the Bourdieusian *illusio* (see Chapter 9).

The best way to analyse ethnomethodology is perhaps using their own method and asking them how they themselves theorise the creation of the sense of social order. The following is the opening paragraph of Aaron Cicourel's paper "Police Practices and Official Records", which presents in a conveniently crystallised form the major points of the ethnomethodological theory (the numbers in square brackets indicate concepts explained after the citation):

> I have argued that police and probation officials 'make the system work' [1] despite many problems associated with classifying juveniles, events labeled 'offenses', 'family settings', and the like [2]. How the day-to-day activities [3] of the police, probation, and other officials associated with the court or detention facilities produce information [4] that becomes part of an official file on the juvenile (as distinct from the ways in which the file may be interpreted after its assembly [5]) is not understandable without reference to the improvised but 'normal' rules and theories [6] utilized by officials. The rules and theories, however, have their roots in common sense or folk typifications [7] making up law-enforcement officials' stock of knowledge [8]. Without some understanding of everyday categories – the 'strange', 'unusual', 'wrong', and what is 'routine', 'normal', 'harmless', 'right' [9] – we cannot understand how improvisation necessarily enters into the picture in making the formal legal and clinical categories invoked by law-enforcement officials work.
>
> (1974: 85)

[1]: Actors "make the system work." This is important for any micro-sociological approach which, as it were, turns the functionalist view, in which it is rather the system that makes actors work, on its head.

[2] and [9] are examples of how important labelling is. According to ethnomethodologists, "*to do* interaction is *to tell* interaction, or, in other words, the primary folk technique used by actors is verbal description. In this way people use their accounts to construct a sense of reality" (Turner 1998: 418).

[3] and [7]: Ethnomethodology studies primarily everyday, routine activities, the realm of the common sense and folk typifications of situations and actors which form actors' stock of knowledge [8] based on which they act.

[4]: Ethnomethodology argues that information is created "from below" and "from within" social settings and in concrete circumstances or practical contexts. Every action and every account of it is, therefore, 'indexical', that is, contextualised and should be understood in its context (Garfinkel 1967: 4–7).

[5]: Actors' accounts of their actions are taken as important data. Different actors may explain differently the same actions and their explanations during and after the acting may also vary but these differences may lead to insights into the actors' ethnomethodology. For instance, Garfinkel first listened to the tapes of the jurors' discussions and later interviewed them and based on these two types of evidence he drew his conclusions (1974: 15; 1967: 104–15).

[6]: Actors form their rules and theories of the reality that they expect others to share, at least to an extent; that would allow further negotiation. If they find that the ones with whom they are socially involved do not share their rules, the interaction may be disrupted or may need a repair (cf. Dialogues I and II in 'Living in a lifeworld').

Ethnomethodology experiments with disrupting the everyday flow of social life in order to make palpable what is taken for granted. There is a good, if caricaturistic, example of such breaching experiment with interpreting. It is a comedy sketch in the British actress Catherine Tate's show about one of her many and diverse characters, Helen Marsh, whom we also know from other sketches as falling short of her claims to be able to do things. In one of the sketches, Helen offers her help as an interpreter for chief executive officers speaking as many as seven "different" languages and she assures she can do that because in her gap year she studied in a TEFL programme.[11] Her interpreting turns out to be little more than a phonetic imitation of the seven languages. This unprofessional behaviour, naturally, flies in the face of the participants' expectations and breaches the interaction. We are shown their surprised eyes and raised brows.

What did this breaching experiment show about the conceptualisation of translation? The sketch illustrates stereotypical views about translating/interpreting, such as that having a TEFL certificate qualifies him/her to translate or interpret. Helen agrees as if there were nothing easier ("Well, I can do that"). The chair of the meeting believes her as easily: he is convinced that it is enough to graduate from a TEFL programme in order to be able to work as an interpreter.

Little wonder, all participants in the meeting are speechless when the 'interpreting' begins. This shows the high expectations of the public from translators and interpreters regardless of the conditions of employment (at the last minute, without sufficient professional credentials or appropriate tests). Interpreting or translation are considered to be less professional than being a CEO.

If we compare interactions as exemplified in Dialogues I and II and interlingual communication with professional translators and interpreters, the degree of tolerance is higher: neither Dialogue I nor Dialogue II would be stopped without an attempt to explain what the other party meant. Translators and interpreters are trained to help such situations when one of the parties is likely to ask questions of the type 'What do you mean … ?', that is, when one of the

parties does not understand the meaning of the other party's utterance. The translator/interpreter assumes the shared vision of the world between her/himself and the target audience. Consider a text that is being translated from one culture into another. The source text may refer to cultural phenomena that are unique to the source culture; the translator understands that if left as they are in the source text, the references will not be understood by the target audience, so the translator may explain them or, if they are not crucial to the topic discussed, may leave them out completely. In terms of social phenomenology, the translator tries to bridge the gap between the two cultures and present the original text as if the original and the target texts share the same vision of reality, at least to a certain degree, otherwise the meaning of the source text will be unclear to the target audience and the attempted interaction will fail. The translator, thus, shares the two lifeworlds, the one captured by the source and the other by the target text; s/he also makes the two lifeworlds compatible.

TIS also has a line of research that comes close to ethnomethodology, although not in those terms, studying translators' commentaries on their own translations, such as prefaces or other statements (cf. St Jerome's "Letter to Pammachius"). Translators and interpreters were also involved in what is known as TAP experiments, where TAP is a think-aloud protocol. An important difference from the ethnomethodological approach is that translation scholars hoped to understand the reality of the translation process – the process of translating/interpreting in the 'black box' of the translator's/interpreter's mind, while ethnomethodologies would study such statements only in order to understand how the translator/interpreter makes sense of his/her professional work. The value of translators'/interpreters' TAPs and other statements has been questioned (Toury 2012: 232, 235) and that is absolutely correct if the researcher hopes to see the reality of translating/interpreting. There is, however, a great potential in those experiments and documents for the ethnomethodology of translation. Like any other ethnomethodology, the ethnomethodology of translation would ask not about the reality of translators' and interpreters' work but

? How do translators and others see translation? In other words, how do they themselves and others around them create and maintain the sense of social order through translation and interpreting in intercultural communication?

Follow translators

Another application of ethnomethodology in TIS is the application of Actor-Network Theory (ANT). Bruno Latour (b. 1947), whose work is primarily associated with this theory, calls ANT "half Garfinkel and half Greimas" (2005: 54, n. 54). To understand why Latour referred to these two theorists – one sociologist and one semiotician (Algirdas Julien Greimas (1917–92)) – will help explain two main aspects of ANT.

Latour acknowledges Garfinkel as the founder of ethnomethodology and sees ANT as one of its developments. Like ethnomethodology, ANT watches the formation of social networks rather than considers them as ready-made or imposed upon actors. Rule 1 of ANT is to study a social phenomenon "in action" (1987: 258). Latour focuses on science, his ethnomethodology being primarily the ethnomethodology of science: "[T]he focus on 'the social' […] emphasizes the construction of 'sense' in science" (Restivo 2011). He looks at science allowing the interplay of multiple views: that of involved actors, sociological perspectives, such as symbolic interactionism together with ANT, and the ethnographic perspective with Geertzian "thick descriptions" of observed phenomena.[12] All these views are seen as competing but also as complementing one another.

The main methodological motto of ANT is 'follow actors': the subtitle of Latour's *Science in Action* (1987) is "How to follow scientists and engineers through society" (see also Latour 1988: 11; 1993: 3). The researcher who wants to understand science in action must follow those who make science and document all their interactions, both internal (within scientific institutions, groups, etc.) and external (with non-scientific actors). ANT assembles the social "without prejudging what is and what is not social" (Restivo 2011).

This blurring the lines of division between the social and non-social brings us to Latour's second acknowledgment of influence, the other 'half' of ANT – Greimas. Greimas was the semiotician who, building on the Russian Vladimir Propp's formal analysis of fairy tales, developed the actantial model. Actants are not just characters of narratives, but also roles or functions in the structure of the narrative: in fairy tales there are, for example, a hero and a villain who fights against the hero, there is a helper who aids the hero, etc. These are actants, that is, roles or masks or functions, rather than psychologically developed characters.

Latour applies the notion of 'actants' to his ethnomethodological descriptions in order to free sociology from seeing exclusively humans as objects of sociological observation. The sociologist should be freed to factor in any actant who is involved in forming social networks. Actant is described as having any "figuration" (appearance), not only anthropological (Latour 2005: 54).[13] Actants may be anything: people, crowds, microbes, machines, ideas, technologies, even fate (Latour 1988: 252) – in a word, anything that participates in network creation or maintenance. That is why ANT's method is said to be material-semiotic. For example, a bank cannot be reduced only to interactions between humans; rather, it is a "network of interactions involving people, their ideas and concepts, and technologies" (Restivo 2011).

Actant is represented by a spokesperson (Latour 1987: 72, 89). The spokesperson makes sense of actants' existence and activities and presents them to others. A person, a potential actor of a network, may be very talented and possibly very useful for particular jobs or projects, but until and unless the person is accepted into a project by the spokesperson, the person's talents are 'speechless', they are unknown to the world.[14] Non-human objects, even

more so, need spokespersons. Pasteur was a spokesperson for microbes, the Curies spoke for plutonium, Einstein for the universal laws of physics. Spokespeople turn actants into actors (Restivo 2011).

ANT prompts the following questions:

? Can translation projects be described as networks?
? If so, who are the likely or the most typical actors?
? Which actors in translation networks function as spokespersons?

The process of creating networks is termed in ANT 'translation'. Thus, the term is used in a sense that is broader than intra-/interlingual or intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 1959). Translation in ANT is recruiting actants into projects of building networks. The process of translating-recruiting consists of four stages, which Latour suggests analysing from the point of view of one of the key actors.[15] During the first stage, problematisation, the focal actor conceives a project, identifies all necessary actants, sets oneself/themselves/itself as an 'obligatory passage point' (OPP) through which the project is coordinated. At this stage a problem that is to be resolved is formulated. At the second stage, the *interessement* stage, the OPP actor sets about recruiting necessary actants into the project using a variety of techniques of getting the actants interested.[16] Then the enrolment stage sets in when the actants become actors of the project by accepting the OPP actor's project description. The final stage of mobilisation determines the actual scope of the network fulfilling the initial task of resolving the problem defined in the beginning. Consider the following questions:

? In what projects can translators function as OPP actors? Or can they?
? Who can function as OPPs in translation projects?

Networks are transient, ever-changing, re-making themselves. Networks compete in the intrinsically agonistic social realm. The power of networks is gauged by the number of actants the networks mobilise as compared to rival projects. Moreover, the relationship of actors within the network may change over the course of the project: the OPP actor may lose control over the project and other actors may compete for occupying the OPP position.

? Can a translation project be described as a network in which the OPP functions are handed over from one actor to another at different stages?

ANT describes different aspects of the network's existence. Some networks may create special mechanisms making sure that the interests of the actors are protected: collected and processed scientific data may be encrypted so that it would be accessible only for the network members (think also of the development of terminological apparatuses in various professional spheres, including the translation domain). Translational terminology is created in order to

ensure the professionalisation of translational practice. Translation theorists creating theories of translation may function in the capacity of OPP actors. Their theories, on the one hand, may help optimise translation practice and, on the other hand, make it look professional for outsiders.

Networks may be described in terms of the irreversibility of projects. The more stable and the more coordinated the network is, the less likely that the project can become reversible, that is, be dismantled or return to earlier stages. Imagine a publisher who wants to get a new book by a popular foreign author translated. The publisher starts negotiating with the copyright holders and selecting a potential translator. At this stage, it is not clear whether the project will be successful. When the copyright is obtained and the translator is found and ready to start translating, the project becomes more and more irreversible. Only when the translation is finished, edited and proof-read, when the book is formatted and ready for printing, the project becomes completely irreversible. Networks are dynamic and this is both good, because they are flexible, and bad, because they are fragile. Every network or at least its OPP tries to make it reach the state of irreversibility, when it cannot return to the point where it is one among other equal possibilities. Thus, the project can be described as a progression from reversibility to irreversibility.

The notions of punctualisation and depunctualisation denote the degree of smoothness of running the project. When all members and parts of the project function properly, the network appears as one entity. When parts of the network are in conflict or poorly coordinated, this is a depunctualised project. Punctualisation presents a multi-actored network as a unity. Depunctualisation is the opposite process; it is a symptom of the malfunctioning of the project. Sal Restivo gives a simple example: an automobile is a complex system of many parts that are hidden from the view and it looks like one unit. But when it breaks down, the driver sees the car as a collection of parts, one of which has caused a problem and fallen out of the coordinated network (Restivo 2011). Think about the following:

? How harmonious, 'punctualised', or disharmonious, 'depunctualised', can translation networks be?
? What factors may be responsible for such punctualisation – depunctualisation dynamics?
? With which actors of translation networks may translators find it easier or harder to cooperate?

The value of the application of ANT to translation studies is at least twofold. On the one hand, it allows us to see translators and interpreters as involved in networks together with commissioners, publishers, editors, project managers, proof-readers, critics, computers, internet, etc. Translators and interpreters may be recruited into projects-networks or they may initiate them in which case they will try to 'translate' (in the ANT sense), that is, recruit other

actants. On the other hand, it helps us see the importance of factoring in not only humans, but also technology, such as CAT tools, the equipment used in interpreting. Thus, translation is seen in a broader and more realistic social context of its existence.

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main questions opening the chapter.
2 How is the concept of networks applied to translation studies in the special issue "La traduction et les études de réseaux / Translation and Network Studies" (edited by Hélène Buzelin and Deborah Folaron) of *Meta*, Volume 52, no. 4 (December 2007)? Analyse one or two contributions.
3 Think of examples of punctualisations/depunctualisations in translation projects. Consider examples in Venuti (1998; 2008).

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

Goffman (1959); Garfinkel (1967); Callon (1986); Latour (1987); Buzelin and Forlaron (2007); Sturge (2007).

Notes

1 Before reading this chapter it would be advisable to review 'Combinability of models and perspectives' in Chapter 6 on the action model of society.
2 Cf. the translation communication event (TCE) explained in Chapter 7, 'Translation as a subsystem'.
3 The rather technical term "definition of the situation" is interchangeable with a simple "view of the situation" (Goffman 1959: 20).
4 "Taking a particular participant and his performance as a basic point of reference, we may refer to those who contribute the other performances as the audience, observers, or co-participants" (Goffman 1959: 26–7).
5 Also, "part" (Goffman 1959: 27) or, broader, "social role [… which is] the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status [involving] one or more parts […] presented by the performer on a series of occasions to the same kinds of audience or to an audience of the same persons" (ibid.).
6 This is by no means to be understood as negating the importance of the role of the critic. The analysis according to Goffman's theory focuses on what the performer wants to show, rather than whether the show is good or bad, effective or weak and unconvincing.
7 The term 'achievement' and its variants are used in sociology in a broad sense and denote any type of attainment allowing one to occupy a particular position. The criteria may be as varied as educational achievements to "marks of physical prowess like exceeding a given height or weight or winning a fight" (Mann 1983: 2). The achieved status may also include a status taken on voluntarily (for example, anti-globalists). The terms 'role' and 'status' in some contexts may be used interchangeably, although the difference is that a status is a position in society while a

role is its realisation through the actor's fulfilling a set of expectations associated with his/her status (duties, rights, ritualistic behavioural patterns in certain, especially formal, situations).

8 The term 'face' and its derivative 'face-work' mean the outward expression reflecting the individual's social status and the part s/he plays in ritualistic circumstances: "[… S]ocieties everywhere, if they are to be societies, must mobilize their members as self-regulating participants in social encounters. One way of mobilizing the individual for this purpose is through ritual; he is taught to be perceptive, to have feelings attached to self and a self expressed through face, to have pride, honor, and dignity, to have considerateness, to have tact and a certain amount of poise" (Goffman 1997: 110).

9 Some speakers tend to use plurals, 'they' or its forms or 'she' and its forms as gender-inclusive alternatives to 'he', which may still be used but interchangeably with any of the alternative labels. Whichever the preferred usage, the principle remains the same, 'he' or 'man' are no longer the only way to refer to humans generically.

10 Describing neofunctionalist approaches and the links between macro- and micro-sociological paradigms, Jeffrey Alexander wrote about Giddens being "deeply affected" by Goffman (1998: 212).

11 Teaching English as a Foreign Language.

12 The American anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1926–2006) suggested describing ethnographically observed phenomena and behaviour providing the context in which they occur. This method has been accepted not only in anthropology and ethnography but in other social sciences, including TIS (see Appiah 2012 and Sturge 2007).

13 ANT comes close to anthropological approaches which consider cultures holistically as networks of people together with *sociofacts* (objects related to social interactions), *mentifacts* (objects of mental culturally relevant processes or ideas in people's minds) and *artefacts* (objects of material culture) (Restivo 2011; terms coined by Sir Julian Sorell Huxley and developed by the anthropologist David Bidney).

14 Certainly, the person may become his/her own spokesperson, create a project and recruit other actants into it. A person who likes to paint and can paint may recruit-translate a canvas and paint something and then try and sell his/her works by recruiting-translating art agents.

15 It should be remembered that the actor is not necessarily a human individual, it may be a group of individuals initiating a project and network construction or, conceivably, some non-human object, for instance a computer program that starts transactions within a project.

16 See a summary in Tyulenev (2012a: 96–7).

Chapter 9

Negotiating a balance

The main questions:

- **How can the macro- and micromodels be combined?**
- **Why do they need to be combined?**
- **What theories are examples of such combinations?**
- **How can individual translators/interpreters and translations be described from the sociological point of view?**

After having familiarised oneself with macro- and microsociological models, one may be tempted to discuss social functions of translation within the framework of *either* some macro- *or* micromodel, that is, describe translation in terms of either structures, institutions, functions or in terms of individual translators and other translational agents. However, since the decline of functionalism in sociology, there have been attempts to build theories that would strike a balance between macro- and microparadigms, between focusing *either* on individual actors *or* social structures. Social reality is viewed as more complex than any one element of dichotomies. For example, in the previous chapter, we discussed ANT, which was an attempt to blur the boundaries between the members of a number of deep-seated dualisms, such as 'nature–society', 'human–machine', 'male–female', 'person–fetus', 'life–death' (Restivo 2011). In this chapter we will look at several more such theories.

Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory

Constructivism + Structuralism

Pierre Bourdieu described his sociological work as *constructivist structuralism* or *structuralist constructivism*. He explained that his is a structuralist approach because he believed that in the social world there exist "objective

structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations" (1989: 14). Such a view would make Bourdieu a macrosociologist, but he added that his structuralism is constructivist, which means that "there is a twofold social genesis, on the one hand of the schemes of perception, thought, and action […] and on the other hand of social structures", such as social classes (ibid.). Thus, although constrained by structures, people act intentionally and thereby they construct social phenomena. Bourdieu connects the two ends of the social continuum: agent and structure. He tries to overcome the dichotomy 'individual versus social'.

How does he do that? Bourdieu sees structures not as rigid constraints, but as pliable and flexible which, although they do circumscribe individuals' repertoires of possible action – or human agency, allow a choice – from following structural constraints through modifying to resisting them. Bourdieu illustrates this with the relationship between grammar and the practical use of language. Grammar constrains speech acts, but only loosely; grammar prescribes how to use language 'correctly', according to rules, but it does not deprive the individual of the possibility to use the language innovatively. Think of literary experimentations with language, when rules can even be broken – although some degree of communicability always remains in such play with the language: even the most radical experimenters in literature want their works to be appreciated (that is, understood) at least to some extent, either on the level of content (message) or form (expression). Experimenters act, thus, within the language structure, retaining their freedom to experiment.

The same can be observed, according to Bourdieu, in the social domain. There is no such thing as limitless freedom in the social realm. On the one hand, there are structures of social behaviour that exist independently of actors; the structures define the limits within which actors act, yet individuals act as wilful agents who, while obeying structures, may also introduce changes into these structures (of course, for these changes to take root and be recognised on the social level as new rules of the game, so to speak, more wilful acts than one are needed: the entire social group should ratify the suggested changes).

Bourdieu's sociology is a critique of 'pure' structuralism. His critique is similar to microsociologists' critique of functionalism with its emphasis on norm-determined behaviour, which makes 'dupes' of individual actors. Bourdieu, however, does not reject the macrosociological approach completely and seeks to discover suprahuman social structures. Bourdieu considers social classes or factions as objectively observable social structures constraining individuals' volition (Bourdieu 1984).

On the other hand, Bourdieu is critical of microsociological approaches because he sees social life as more than interaction. He insists that interactions can and should be understood in their contexts. He argues that individuals are actors who act as members of groups and classes. Even the possibility of

interaction is determined by actors' belonging to a social group. Agency is, thus, embedded in structure.

Bourdieu's is a reflexive sociology. This means that no observation of the social is a-social, that is, independent of some social structures. The sociologist is an agent-in-structure as are objects of his/her study. Social research is never fully objective – every sociologist has a social background that prompts the choice of topics, angles of observation and the ways of constructing the social. Bourdieu (1988) introduces the term 'homo academicus' (academic person) who as a student learned that the task of the scholar is to discover objective structures and, therefore, s/he objectifies the world 'out there', sees it as a 'spectacle' observed by a neutral professional academic. Homo academicus presents the world as objective, by objectifying the world.

All interpretations of social phenomena are inevitably constrained by social structures (group interests, class interests; prompted by respective backgrounds, values, ingrained beliefs, habits, attitudes). In this aspect of his vision, Bourdieu was influenced by Marxism, which positions both actors and their acts within social classes. Actors cannot escape the systems of their classes' ideologies which, ultimately, strive to legitimise their classes' interests (Bourdieu 1977: 22ff.).

Bourdieu claims that all social practices are 'interested'. Even when agents are not (fully) aware of their interests or their interests are not material benefits (economic pay-offs in the form of money or some other form of material gain), there is some interest – social recognition, better social networking opportunities, a higher social-cultural status, etc. Even in the academic world where objective research is presented as disinterested (and therefore 'objective'), it is this 'disinterestedness' that brings the highest profit – academic reputation and recognition. This is not to say that all social agents are cynical in masking their real interests. They may be aware or unaware of their interests, but even unintentionally they do harbour some interests that motivate them in what they do and how they behave. Applied to translators and translation, the following research questions may be considered:

? What social structures influence the translator's/interpreter's work or translation theorist's ideas?
? To what extent are players in the translation domain conscious of social influences?

Key concepts of Bourdieu's sociology

Habitus and capital in the field

Bourdieu never fully systematised his theory, therefore the best way to outline it is to discuss its key concepts. The key concepts encapsulate the complexity of Bourdieu's thought and may be used as gateways into his sociology.

The notion of 'habitus'[1] captures the relationship of the individual agency and its social anchorage. By introducing this term into his theory, Bourdieu intended to transcend the dichotomy 'individual versus social'.[2] This is where Bourdieu's theory began: "[A]ll my thinking started from this point: how can behaviour be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?" (1990: 65). The notion 'habitus' addresses one of the most puzzling practical and theoretical conundrums: experientially, we feel we are free in our choices of action, while on the other hand, we act upon socially determined expectations of how our choices will be perceived by others. Habitus orients thinking of social life as a relational phenomenon vacillating between the individual and the collective, that is, while analysing the individual's actions, habitus leads us to bear in mind that those actions are unfolding in connection with their social environment.[3] Actions are shaped, formed, by the individual's past experiences (upbringing, education) and present circumstances (the working conditions and relationship with colleagues), on the other hand, however, habitus is active in shaping the individual's present practices and, thereby, may contribute to changing the social environment.

Bourdieu chose the word 'habitus' because, on the one hand, it is close to 'habit' and on the other hand, it implies something that is acquired, something that is part of the individual thanks to his/her social experiences, especially in the corporeal sense (hence, the Latin term used in psychology and medicine for bodily build or constitution; cf. also the notion of 'hexis (corporal)' stressing how one's past experiences find their reflection in the socialised individual's bodily manifestations – gait, posture, facial expressions).

Habitus is both structured and structuring. Habitus is explained by Bourdieu through the notion of 'disposition', which comprises results of the individual's exposure to social structures and the resulting tendency to act. If we are born in culture X and passed through its educational institutions, we will act according to the standards of culture X. Even if we *revolt* against them, we revolt against *them*; we, therefore, act within the realm of culture X as we interiorised it.

But it is not only the upbringing that shapes the individual's actions. Bourdieu connects habitus with the notion of 'field', which he defines as a structured social space with the interplay of forces of domination where some people dominate and some are dominated. There is a constant struggle between those who try to preserve and those who try to transform the field. Individuals bring all the power they have to the field and the amount of power they have determines their position in the field.

There are many social fields in the social space, yet one of them includes all of the fields – it is what Bourdieu calls the field of power, this is the common shared social space. Within the field of power there are the economic field, the political field, the education field, the art field, etc. Fields are areas of specific activity; they have their institutions and laws of functioning (rules of the game). Bourdieu correlates fields with specific stakes and interests, that is,

there are economic and psychological investments that agents make, such as their time and efforts as well as other resources (for example, money for obtaining a university degree).

Whether a particular kind of activity qualifies as a field depends not whether it is included in a list, but whether it can be described as a field. Every field, according to Bourdieu, has its rules and laws (*nomos*) as well as unwritten norms and regulations concerning the fair play in the field (*doxa*, see more below), ways of discussing field matters or specific vocabulary and discursive patterns (*logos*), actors' involvement or interest in the field (*illusio*, see more below), actors' code of behaviour and barriers to entry. The translation researcher can ask the following questions:

? Can translation be considered as a Bourdieusian field? If yes, what properties of translation as a social activity make it a social field? If not, what does it lack?

If we agree that translation is a social field, we can continue:

? What are the boundaries of the field of translation? Which agents involved in the production of translations or their distribution in society are to be included and which are to be excluded (if any)? What types of action are to be included/excluded (translating, editing a translation, project management)? Why?

Bourdieu suggests studying any social field taking into account three dimensions: (1) its relationship with the field of power; (2) relations between the agents or institutions in the field and examining the nature of those relations (the degree of involvement in competing for authority; the interest in preserving or transforming the field); (3) the analysis of agents' habitus, the differences in their dispositions and the resulting trajectory of their participation in the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 104–5). These aspects when applied to translation as a social activity lead us to ask the following or similar questions:

? What is the relationship of the field of translation (assuming that it is shown to be a field) with the overall field of power, that is, what position does translation take in the overall social structure?
? What is the structure of relations within the field of translation? Who are the major players (not individuals, but positions, ranks, institutions, such as translation agencies) and what do they bring to the field?
? What are the habitus of agents, both those who may be considered typical and those who may be considered a-typical (against what benchmark?)?

To understand how fields work and how agents with their habitus exist in the fields is impossible without the notion of 'capital'. Bourdieu adopted the notion of 'economic capital', which means wealth, such as money or other

assets used for economic activities (producing goods and selling them). Bourdieu broadened the notion to embrace the exchange of social and symbolic resources. People use not only money or other economic valuables to secure their position in society. Their status may be determined by their being erudite in a particular field or being well-connected with powerful members of society or having high professional credentials. Bourdieu distinguishes between four types of capital: economic (e.g., money), cultural (knowledge, aesthetic taste), social (networks, religious or cultural heritage) and symbolic (educational or professional credentials, a title of nobility or any other "capital – in whatever form – insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically", (Bourdieu 2006: 115, n. 3)).

The term 'symbolic capital' is sometimes used generically, to mean any type of non-economic capital: cultural capital, linguistic capital, scientific capital or literary capital. If the symbolic capital is seen as an alternative to the economic capital then the fundamental difference between the two is the degree of the openness of interest: in the economic capital (also called 'mercantile'), the openly admitted goal is economic profit. In the symbolic capital, there is also some sort of interest that motivates agents, but the interest may be hidden under the guises of disinterestedness or seeking intrinsic value of the activity, rather than some form of extrinsic recognition. Thus, in the scientific field, the declared disinterestedness of research does not mean that there is no interest at all. There may be interest in gaining a higher status, respect of colleagues, reputation, etc. This change of the form of capital "whereby the most material types of capital – those which are economic in the restricted sense – can present themselves in the immaterial form of cultural capital or social capital and vice versa" is termed *transubstantiation* (Bourdieu 2006: 105). To return to the scientific field once again, both the general public and scientists believe that generating knowledge is a quest for truth and therefore, "[t]he formal presentation of the principle of social capital is that of altruism", but such "systemic denial [whether conscious or unconscious] of the fact that symbolic capitals are transubstantiated types of economic capital" is called by Bourdieu *misrecognition* (as opposed, for instance, to the *recognition* of economic capital as capital, profit as the real motivation for business activities) (Moore 2012: 101).

Misrecognition may take more or less harmful forms. When certain things, such as social hierarchies, are misrecognised (misrepresented) as unquestionable or natural, rather than culturally arbitrary and historically accidental, misrecognition becomes *symbolic violence*. Symbolic violence causes symbolic suffering of the dominated and less privileged at the hands of the dominant. A powerful means of symbolic violence in all societies is language: the way things are expressed in languages confers on the phenomena expressed a value (cf. labelling discussed in Chapter 8). Somebody called a title that denotes subordination to his/her superior is likely to behave as a subordinate even in situations not related to work. A manager is likely to treat the president of the

company in which s/he works differently as compared to a rank-and-file worker not only at work, but also at a birthday party of a common friend.

Here, questions in relation to translational professions may be as follows:

? How do translators/interpreters explain their motivations for working as translators/interpreters? Do they transubstantiate the types of capital which they are seeking?
? How do translators/interpreters see themselves as professionals? How do non-translators see them? What symbolic capital do translators/interpreters have and what position in the field of power does that capital offer them?

If only the economic capital is put at the centre of the explanation of social activities, such as translation, it is impossible to explain why interpreters and translators, although they complain about being unfairly treated in the workplace, about the lack of social visibility and about the need to have a status commensurate with their expertise, are "'pretty' or 'extremely' satisfied" (in their own words) with their profession (Katan 2011: 82–3). Obviously, translators and interpreters find values different from purely economic ones.

Every individual's position in society is determined by the type and amount of the capital they have; their capital determines their positions in society: they are said to belong to a class. Like the notion of 'capital', the notion of 'class' is borrowed by Bourdieu from Marxism, but once again it is broadened to include not only economic and political aspects (being rich or belonging to a group struggling for dominance in society). Bourdieu's classes are close to what Max Weber called status groups defined by lifestyles, tastes and the prestige they enjoy. The distribution of different types of capital is determined by the class structure of a given society (see Table 9.1).

The questions about the position of the translators/interpreters in the hierarchy of social classes may be asked with the help of Table 9.1:

? What types of capital do translators/interpreters have and how does that position them in society?
? Is that position constant or changing across space (in different cultures, countries, groups of a society) and across time (in different periods of history)?
? How does the self-assessment of translators and interpreters compare with the assessment of them by the society in general? (An interesting study that may provide some substance for such a comparison is Katan (2011) and other, more nation-focused studies, such as Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger (2011).)

Habitus, field and capital are the key concepts in Bourdieu's sociological theory. They allowed him to describe social practice succinctly as an equation:

[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice.

Table 9.1 Classes and capital (adapted from Turner 1998: 513)

Class	*Fraction within the class*	*Type of capital*	*Representatives*
DOMINANT (high levels in all types of capital)	Dominant	Economic capital (used to buy other types of capital)	Bourgeoisie
	Intermediate	Some economic capital and moderate levels of social, cultural and symbolic capital	High-credential professionals
	Dominated	Little economic capital but high levels of cultural and symbolic capital	Intellectuals, artists, cultural workers
MIDDLE (moderate levels of all types of capital)	Dominant	Rich in economic capital (less rich than the dominant faction in the dominant class)	Small business owners
	Intermediate	Some economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital (less than the intermediate faction in the dominant class)	Skilled clerical workers
	Dominated	Little economic capital and comparatively high social, cultural and symbolic capital	Educational workers with relatively low income involved in cultural production
LOWER (low levels of all types of capital)	Dominant	Comparatively high economic capital for this class	Skilled manual workers
	Intermediate	Lower economic and other types of capital	Semi-skilled workers without credentials
	Dominated	Low economic capital, some symbolic capital	Uneducated ideologues

This means that one's practice is a result of the interaction between one's dispositions (the structured perception of oneself and one's social experiences and the tendency to act accordingly; in short, one's habitus) and one's position in a given field (determined by one's capital or a ratio of different types of capital) as well as the current state of the field (Maton 2012: 50). Thus, options of one's behavioural decisions are a difference between all options of behaviour and the options of behaviour in this particular situation (in this place at this point of time); moreover, the options of behaviour open to this particular individual in this particular situation are the difference between the options of behaviour in this particular situation and his/her dispositions

(habitus) and his/her position in the field (capital). This way of describing social practice may seem too abstract, but it is worth investing some time into understanding it because in this formulaic fashion Bourdieu captures the complex interaction of the individual and the social. The translator's/interpreter's behaviour can be understood better with the help of this description, which is relational in that it takes into consideration both the social in the individual and the individual in the social. Without a clear understanding of Bourdieu's idea of social relationalism any application of his theory will be little more than just borrowing his terms while failing in the main thing – in adopting his vision of society.

Factors of dynamics in social fields

Bourdieu's theory cannot, however, be exhausted by its key concepts of habitus, capital and field. Fields and individual agents' involvement in them are very dynamic. The dynamic depends, on the one hand, on values, beliefs, principles of operation in the field – all that falls under the category of *doxa* (from Latin 'opinion'), and on the other hand, on the degree to which individual habitus are attuned to the doxa. The doxa of a field is a set of unwritten rules governing the game in the field. Habitus may follow these rules, resist them or follow some of them while resisting the others. Simple examples of the two extremes are when we feel comfortable in a particular place with people around us, like a fish in water; or, conversely, we may feel like a fish out of water.

In reality the full complicity of the field and the habitus is rare; there are almost always tensions between the rules of the game and its participants. The mismatch between the field and the habitus in its extreme form is *hysteresis*. Hysteresis is a term used in physics to mean a lag between a physical property and changes in its environment. In the social realm a good example is Don Quixote whose habitus was that of chivalric errantry, while the field around him changed and for the audience, that is, people attuned to the changed rules of the social game, his actions, his heroic exploits were ridiculous or, at best, puzzling. Hysteresis is an effect of the inertia of habitus, our practices are informed by our past experience and we do not always change as fast as the fields in which we act do.

The phenomenon of hysteresis does not necessarily have consequences as dramatic as in Don Quixote's case. Think of the rapidly changing field of translation with the introduction of computer assisted translation tools (CAT tools).

? What effects do such changes produce for different translators? Do all translators successfully keep pace with the field?
? Are there any particular characteristics of the most vulnerable sectors of the translation labour force? What may such characteristics be: translators with a deep-seated aversion to or phobia of technology? With reluctance to change? Or simply not needing them (e.g., literary translators)?

? Another area of research might explore hysteresis and its consequences as experienced by translators/interpreters who, ideally, would prefer either translation or interpreting but have to take up both jobs. Perhaps, ways of resolving such hysteresis problems may be suggested.

The relationship of habitus and field is never value-free. When the actor is initialised into a field and starts his/her praxis (practical activities, rather than thinking about or explaining them), s/he is simultaneously introduced to the values suggested by the doxa of the field and to various types of capital. Actors get involved in the social game of pursuit of higher field positions through acquiring more of this or that type of capital. Their participation in the game is driven by what Bourdieu termed in different works as *interest* or *libido* (from Latin 'desire') or *illusio* ('illusion'): "Each field calls forth and gives life to a specific form of interest, a specific *illusio*, as tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game as practical mastery of its rules" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 117). Actors are "invested, taken in and by the game" (ibid.: 116; see also Webb, Shirato and Danaher 2002: xiii). In other words, illusio is the illusion of the actors in the field who do not notice that they have an illusion. They participate in the social game without doubting its reality, without questioning its fundamental rules. When people stand up to their national anthem, they act with all the seriousness the game of citizenship prescribes. The illusio of the social game fully envelops them and determines their behaviour.[4]

? What are the aspects of illusio in the translator's habitus and in the translation field?
? Which subfields of the translation field can be described in terms of the following rules of the game: faithfulness, loyalty, talent, experience, skill, art, earning a decent living, making masterpieces of foreign literatures available to the target audience? Which of these and similar categories are the rules of the game of the literary/non-literary subfields?
? When, how and by what mechanisms and agents are the aspects of the translation illusio inculcated in the translation field? (Cf. the general and professional socialisation.)

Translation project and conatus

One more characteristic of actors' habitus in a given field is their *conatus* (the past form of the Latin verb *conari*, meaning 'to try'; in the past, 'having tried'). With this concept Bourdieu further highlights the unconscious aspects of behaviour in the field. Conatus is in opposition to 'project': "[…] to avoid the logic of conscious intent implied in 'project', we can refer to *conatus* (a striving, inclination, natural tendency, impulse or effort)" (Bourdieu *et al.* 1999: 508). Conatus is defined as

> that combination of dispositions and interests associated with a particular class of social position which inclines agents to strive to reproduce at a constant or an increasing rate the properties constituting their social identity, without even needing to do this deliberately or consciously.
>
> (Bourdieu 1988: 176)

Conatus is deeply personal and yet it is a result of socialisation in a particular field. Echoing psychoanalysis, Bourdieu connects conatus with the figure of the father in the family, whose children are supposed to continue all family traditions associated with the figure of the father.[5] Children inherit not only goods, but also the way of being:

> The father is the site and the instrument of a "project" (or better yet, of a "*conatus*") inscribed in inherited dispositions or attributes. It is transmitted unconsciously, in and by his whole way of being, and also overtly, by educational acts aimed at perpetuating the line or what certain traditions call "the house." To inherit is to relay these immanent dispositions, to perpetuate this conatus, and to accept making oneself the docile instrument of this "project" of reproduction. This successful inheritance is a murder of the father accomplished at the father's injunction, a going beyond the father that will preserve him and preserve as well his own "project" of going beyond, given that this going beyond is in the order of things and, as such, in the order of succession. The son's identification with the father's desire as a desire for preservation produces an unproblematic inheritor.
>
> (1999: 508)

The inheritor's identification with the father and his project is essentially the process of socialisation: being introduced into the game (with its doxa, stakes and illusio) "considered interesting in a given social universe" (Bourdieu 1999: 508, n. 3). Of course, not all inheritors may be unproblematic. Some may revolt against the "father's project" or its certain aspects. This potential for ruptures in the intended continuity of inheritance is ever present in every field.

To sum up, on the one hand, conatus "endows people with certain propensities, via the habitus accumulated by them, which evolve into personal life-projects"; on the other, conatus "suggests that one may be enabled to act in particular ways, and recognised by others as possessing such capacities, even without much forethought by the agent and independent of the agent's self-declared life project" (Fuller 2012: 175–6). Conatus, thus, is a mixture of inherited unconscious or semi-conscious features with seemingly independent projects that one formulates for her/himself. To unravel this mixture is the goal of the scholar working with the notion of 'conatus'.

How does this apply to translation? The research questions may be as follows:

? Is there anything comparable with the "father's project" in translation praxis, education and theory? Consider the basics of the translation profession and ethics and how translators/interpreters are encouraged to maintain their professional standards.
? What do practising translators, students as would-be translators and interpreters see as something they have learned from their more experienced colleagues and from their university supervisors that they consider the basis of their own practice? What were they taught to reject as unprofessional behaviour/attitudes?
? How does the translator's/interpreter's conatus influence his/her professional decision-making/behaviour/attitudes?

Translators and interpreters are almost all the time finding themselves at the intersections of different types of conatus. The most obvious and well studied (although in different terms) is the clash of unconscious or semi-conscious allegiances to the conatus prompted by the translator/interpreter's home interests (for instance, national, cultural) and the conatus of faithfulness in rendering the values of the other side. Moreover, even the translator's 'home' conatus is far from simple: it may contain clashes within itself, between competing interests tearing apart the translator's home culture. The translator's behaviour appears complex indeed and the concept of conatus helps to appreciate both conscious and unconscious elements enmeshed in such complex behaviour.

Another interesting aspect of conatus in relation to translation is how the translation conatus is influenced by other types of conatus. A few examples will suffice. Literary translation borders on writing as a literary activity; interpreting is close to public speaking or even theatrical acting. Consider how translation can be considered as 'good writing' and then the translator may feel obliged (a kind of *noblesse oblige* behaviour) to produce translations of foreign literary works according to the principles of good literary writing of their home (target) system. Some may revolt and this is the genesis of translations going against social expectations. In the latter case, the translator's behaviour is less prompted by the conatus requiring literary qualities from his/her translation, but some other conatus is likely to be lurking behind the scenes: perhaps the translator sees smoothing out the source text as betraying its difference from the target culture. This is quite common in postcolonial, foreignising, feminist translation practices.

Interpreting, especially when the interpreter is not hidden from the audience in the interpreting suite, can be seen as public speaking and may be more or less histrionic in nature: the interpreter with propensities to histrionics may consider her/himself as obliged to convey the message of the speaker as effectively as the speaker does thereby subsuming his/her acting under the category of faithfulness of the translator conatus. The dramatic actor conatus suggests a particular line of behaviour that may contradict the interpreter conatus

requiring staying in the 'shade', out of the limelight. The interpreter may experience a clash of the two types of conatus: the conatus of interpreting and the conatus of acting.

Bourdieu's notion of 'conatus' helps us think of these different types of translational behaviour as having social roots, on the one hand, and unconsciously or semiconsciously inherited values, on the other. Moreover, the translator conatus may bear traces of the types of conatus of adjacent fields.

Mise en abyme

The last point to be mentioned in this brief introduction to Bourdieu's sociological theory is reflexivity. The French expression in the title of this section is a term borrowed from heraldry (the art of creating and describing coats of arms). Literally, it means 'put in the abyss' but actually it refers to the heraldic techniques used to create complex images where the image of the entire coat of arms is reproduced within itself, usually in the centre, on a smaller scale. Thus, it means 'put in the centre' or 'put within a larger image'. This device was adapted in painting, photography and literature. For example, the artist is placing the image of him/herself painting within the painting that is shown as being painted. A famous example is Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (1656) in which the painter shows himself painting King Philip IV of Spain with his wife reflected in the mirror behind the painter. The technique is used to show a moment of self-reflection. Another way to understand the *mise-en-abyme* effect is to imagine oneself between two mirrors when each of the mirrors reflects the other thus replicating images *ad infinitum*. Bourdieu's principle of sociological research – reflexivity – can also be imagined as a *mise-en-abyme* technique (Deer 2012: 198).

Reflexivity is one of the central methodological principles informing Bourdieu's sociology. All along his anthropological and sociological career, Bourdieu wondered how the researcher's perception of reality influences the object of his/her study. The questions Bourdieu asked himself embraced all possible interactions between the subject and the object of research from selecting the object through its study to drawing conclusions. Bourdieu objected to the method known in sociology as 'participant observation' and to the method of 'external' observation. Participant observation consists of the researcher's becoming part of the observed phenomenon: for example, if the researcher studies a social group, s/he becomes a member of the group in order to experience what members of the group experience. External observation does not penetrate the observed group, rather the researcher remains an outsider. Bourdieu criticised the participant observation method as "an artificial familiarization with a foreign social environment" and he criticised external observation as "rel[ying] too much on a transcendental intellectual understanding pertaining to the scholastic doxa" (Deer 2012: 196). In other words, participant observation claimed to understand the object by no more than pretending to be part of it, while external observation followed traditional scientific

methodologies that could not reflect the unique nature of a new phenomenon inevitably distorting it in order to force it into the existing schemata.

Bourdieu suggested what he termed *participant objectivation*. This means that the researcher – the subject of the research – makes him/herself one of the objects of the research, an objectified participant. The researcher may want to ask what prompted his/her interest in the research project and its object(s), compare differences between his/her images of what is normal/abnormal with the image of what is normal/abnormal for his/her object(s), analyse her/his own methods, impressions and pre-reflexive classifications. In this sense, Bourdieu wrote of engaging in a 'sociology of sociology'. Moreover, reflexivity should be a joint scholarly effort: nobody can carry out participant objectivation individually:

> [Reflexivity] has to be a common and shared effort, aiming at making explicit the "unthought" categories, perceptions, theories and structures that underpin any pre-reflexive grasp of the social environment. When Bourdieu himself reverts to discussing and theorizing at length upon his own personal trajectory [in his book *Pascalian Meditations*, 1997, translated into English by Richard Nice in 2000], he stresses that this should only be seen as an illustration of how the social scientist can objectify his own position and practice.
>
> (Deer 2012: 198)

This type of reflexivity is vital in translation practice and research, too. That is why the importance of acknowledging the translator's and translation student's subjectivity has been stressed in TIS more than once (Pym 1998: 27; Tymoczko 2002: 16, 22–3; Wolf 2002; Sturge 2007). The translator with his/her choices of texts to translate or compliance with somebody's choices of texts to translate and the strategies and techniques of rendering those texts into target languages and cultures do not come from an asocial limbo. Translation theorists are also inevitably influenced by their socialisation in choices of their research topics and methodologies.

In this sense, the concept of translation as a 'third place' placed 'in-between' cultures may be a dangerous notion. Translation is said to be a 'third place or space' because it "can be reduced neither to the Self nor to the Other, neither to the 'original' nor to the 'target text'" and is a "hybrid of culture" (with the acknowledged inspiration from Homi Bhabha in Wolf (2002: 188)). The metaphor of translation's 'in-betweenness' has been studied by Tymoczko (2003). To that study it can be added that the notion was borrowed from Bhabha by translation scholars working on postcolonialism; Bhabha's conceptualisation of translation can be traced to Derrida and his interpretation of Walter Benjamin's classical article "The Translator's Task" and Benjamin's image of "virtual translation[s] between the lines" of all great writings (Benjamin 2012: 83). Bhabha transposed the concept of translation as a hybrid to the social. Yet such theorising, if not done carefully, risks divorcing translation and the translator (together

with all other agents involved in the translation production) from their socio-cultural milieu and, while working for one geopolitical area, this conceptualisation of translation as hybridity does not necessarily work for another: where little hybridity manages to take root and the opposites remain two places without any third one. Some nations or minorities and majorities within them fail to "negotiate" third places, instead they kill one another, set fire to places of worship or cultural sites or, at best, erect separating walls.[6]

By way of concluding the section on Bourdieu's theory of social fields, Figure 9.1 summarises in broad brush strokes Bourdieu's main ideas.

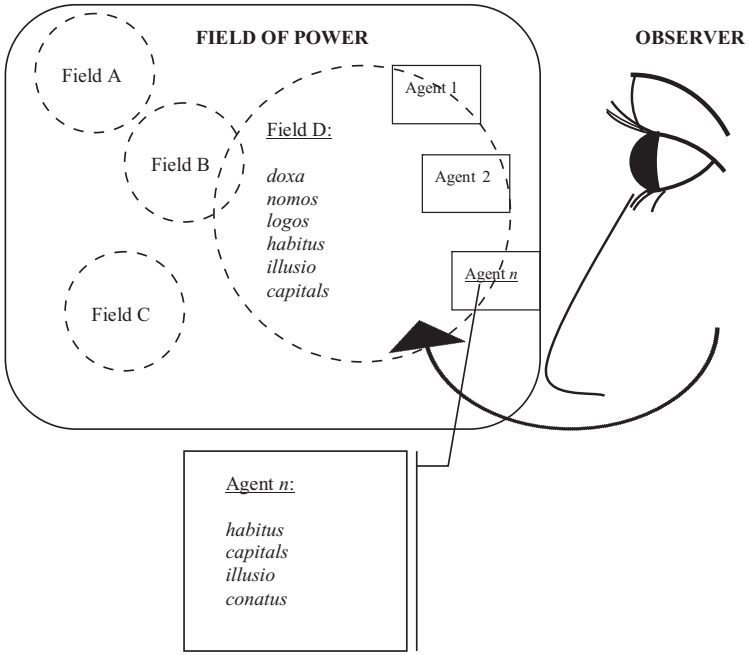

Figure 9.1 Bourdieu's theory at a glance. The figure is composed of two parts: field of power and observer. The field of power contains practice-specific fields (Fields A, B, C, D). The boundaries of fields are fuzzy, hence they are shown as circles with dotted lines. Some of the fields intersect (see Fields B and D). Agents take different positions within fields (squares 'Agent 1', 'Agent 2' and 'Agent *n*' in Field D). Agents are active in more than one field, therefore the squares denoting agents are shown to cross the boundary of Field D. Fields and agents have sets of features enabling them to function; some of the features determine functioning of both fields and agents (*habitus, capitals, illusio*). Square 'Agent *n*' exemplifies a typical agent. The observer is, on the one hand, outside the field of power and Field D, which is the observer's object of study (that is why Field D is drawn larger than the other fields). On the other hand, the observer is an agent of some fields, too (that is why in the figure there is a curved arrow indicating that the observer belongs to Field D of the field of power)

Structuration

Bourdieu's theory is one of the attempts to reconcile the macro- and the microsociological approaches. Such attempts have been a result of dissatisfaction with the failure of macrosociological theories (notably functionalism, see Chapter 7) to explain the reproduction of societies over time and the participation of agents in this process, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the failure of microsociological theories (notably, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, see Chapter 8), which emphasise social agents' transformative abilities, to give a satisfactory account of the extent to which the agents' actions are determined or, at least, motivated by social structures.

The term 'structuration', figuring explicitly in the British sociologist Anthony Giddens's theory is an endeavour to capture the undichotomisable social reality. The term 'structuration' may be thought of as a portmanteau term, bringing together the social *structure* and the individual *action*, emphasising that the two are not separate or separable, but are "elements of one single process" (Inglis and Thorpe 2012: 209). We have discussed Bourdieu's sociological theory as an attempt to bridge the gap between structure and action. In this section we briefly consider Giddens's solution of the same problem, comparing it with Bourdieu's, wherever possible.

Bourdieu's is a theory focusing on 'practices', routinised everyday activities. So is, although in a different way, Giddens's. Putting practices in the centre of sociological inquiry, both scholars claim, allows seeing social structures and agents in indissoluble unity, as they should be: agents are active and they draw on structures in their practices and in so doing they transform and reproduce structures. This requires a conceptualisation of the three elements of the process of structuration, the intimate relationship between the agents and the structure: (1) of the nature of the structure; (2) of agency using the structure; and (3) of the way structure and agency implicate each other in the process of social reproduction and transformation. As we saw, Bourdieu explained these three elements of social structuration with the help of the notions of 'field', 'habitus' and the notions capturing different dynamics of and factors structuring their mutual influences (hysteresis, capital, doxa, illusio, conatus).

Giddens starts with the notion of 'duality of structure' where the term 'duality' goes beyond the dichotomy or dualism 'structure – agency' and this is "vital to [Giddens's] structuration theory" (1993a: 2). The key elements of Giddens's theory are 'structure', 'system' and 'structuration'. But before we define them, let us consider the example of the relationship of the three concepts given by Giddens himself. We speak a language; the language has rules. This language can be found only in speech acts of people who speak it. Thus, "[w]hen I produce a grammatical utterance, I draw upon the same syntactical rules as those that utterance helps to [re]produce" (Giddens 1984: 24). The Giddensian 'structure' is comparable to language as a set of rules and resources drawing on which speakers construct their utterances. 'System' in Giddens's theory is

comparable to speech, the interaction by means of utterances. 'Structuration' is the practice of using language rules and resources in speech acts and thereby reproducing the language. Giddens summarises this fundamental part of his theory as follows:

> Structure [≈ language], as recursively organized sets of rules and resources, is out of time and space […] The social systems [≈ speech] in which structure is recursively implicated, on the contrary, comprise the situated activities of human agents, reproduced across time and space. Analysing the structuration of social systems [≈ the practice of using language] means studying the modes in which such systems, grounded in the knowledgeable activities of situated actors who draw upon rules and resources in the diversity of action contexts, are produced and reproduced in interaction. Crucial to the idea of structuration is the theorem of the duality of structure, which is logically implied in the arguments portrayed above. The constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. According to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize. (1984: 25)

Structures, once again like language in relation to speakers' speech acts, are not only constraining (as macrosociologists would view them), but also enabling speakers to create utterances and be active (as microsociologists would emphasise). We need a language to express our ideas in our interaction with other people and that language does constrain what and how we can express (or, to an extent, even what we can think about), but, Giddens insists, the language also provides us with rules and resources (e.g., vocabulary) that enable us to communicate our ideas. The same can be said about social structures: they help agents interact by providing them with rules and resources through which they realise their intentions. Structures are realised through interaction, that is, through systems (note the difference of Giddens's meaning of the term from the functionalists'), and this systemic interaction structurates (reproduces) society.

It is important to understand Giddens's conceptualisation of agents.[7] Under the influence of microsociologists, Giddens theorises agents as knowledgeable and active, "monitor[ing] continuously the flow of their activities and expect[ing] others to do the same for their own" (1984: 5).

Although agents demonstrate skills in their practices, they are not always ready to discuss them in words and provide clear explanations of their actions, that is, they do not apply *discursive consciousness*, yet there is always *practical consciousness* behind agency. In TIS, this problem poses itself when there is an attempt to study translator behaviour with the help of think-aloud protocols (TAP), the technique when translators, while performing a translation task,

comment aloud on their decisions and choices. Unfortunately, translators may tell what they subconsciously feel the researcher wants them to say and therefore "it would be wrong to maintain that thinking aloud provides any *direct* access to mental process" (Toury 2012: 235). The essence of the problem is the complexity of agents' practice in terms of the relationship between the discursive and practical consciousnesses: translators do things semi-consciously, that is, drawing on their practical consciousness. Compare this with how a football player kicks the ball: he kicks it without verbalising how and why and in what direction he kicked the ball. If asked to explain, he would have to transfer (≈intrapersonally translate) his practical consciousness into his discursive consciousness and words may not be found immediately. Moreover the verbal explanation will hardly reflect all the complexity of the practical consciousness (reasons that crossed the player's mind in a split second). The same is true if we consider the relationship of the translator's/interpreter's practical and discursive consciousnesses. That limits the validity of the TAP-based experiments.

Giddens discusses the intentionality and motivation of agency. In Giddens's theory, agency is uncoupled from intentionality and, although "an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently", the agent does things which s/he/it does not necessarily intend to do; Giddens's theory of action therefore, "ought to be seen as 'purposive' – not 'purposeful'" (Baert 1998: 101). In other words, the relationship between agents and their actions is not always straightforward: agents may act automatically with subconscious intentions, not discursively accounted for, or they may act with some intentions, but the results of their behaviour may be unintended.

Agents' capability to act purposively (that is, with a purpose not necessarily realised or realisable as the individual would like) is termed by Giddens 'power'. Giddens's concept of 'power' is different from many other sociological theories. For Giddens, power is agents' purposive usage of resources in systems of interactions in the process of social structuration (1984: 14–16; Turner 1998: 493).[8]

As far as motivation is concerned, there are many pressures that make the agent act as s/he/it does. The agent does not perceive many of these pressures, therefore much motivation is not fully conscious. Moreover, motivation can be *diffused* so that there may be no direct correspondence between an act and its motive. Agents may offer their own explanations of why they acted the way they did, but from psychoanalytic research it is known that people tend to 'rationalise' their actions, especially 'bad', undesirable, shameful ones (but not only!), by offering plausible or logical rather than real reasons, which they may or may not even be (fully) aware of. Finally, "much action might not be motivated at all; an actor simply monitors and responds to the environment" (Turner 1998: 498). Think of people's knee-jerk reactions to the situations in which they find themselves.

We saw in the case of the Bourdieusian notion of 'conatus' how far he went to connect the social with the psychological: Giddens also goes very deeply by bringing into social theory psychoanalytic ideas to explain agents' motivations.

He drew on the psychoanalysis developed by Erik Erikson (Giddens 1984: 45–60). Giddens's theory helps us to think of the continuum encompassing social reality from the deepest motives of human agency to the highest levels of social structures (see Fig. 9.2). Such a view of human motivation may be useful if a deeper insight is sought into what motivates translator behaviour: translators in their work rarely employ discursive consciousness and their motives may be a complex bundle of the conscious and unconscious.

Giddens's theory of social structuration awaits its application to translator agency. The goal here is only to adumbrate how Giddens went about resolving the 'structure–agency' dualism and to showcase his theory as an important alternative to Bourdieu's theory which has been actively applied in TIS, although largely outside its sociological context or with sufficient depth and accuracy.

Dancing society

To be sure, Bourdieu and Giddens have not been the only sociologists who tried to overcome the dichotomisation of social reality into individuals

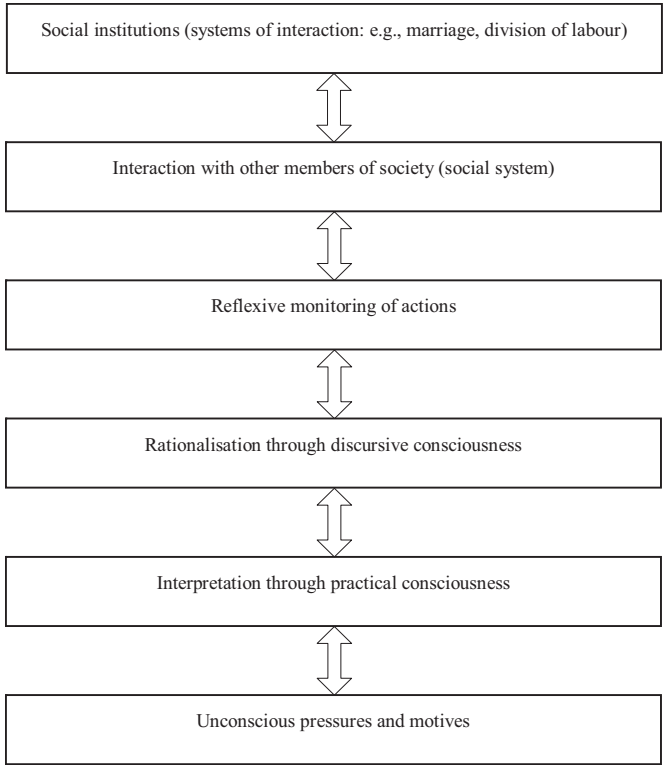

Figure 9.2 The scope of Giddens's structuration theory (loosely based on Turner 1998: 497)

and collectivities, structure and agency. I will only briefly mention just two more.

One of the great sociologists of the twentieth century, Norbert Elias (1897–1990), incidentally a senior colleague of Giddens at the University of Leicester in the 1960s, elaborated a theory of social formations, or rather 'figurations' (in his own terminology). The figurations can be both large and small, durable or ephemeral. He paid special attention to the role individuals played in social processes (like microsociologists), yet he conceptualised the term he chose – social 'figurations' – as an alternative to the Parsonian 'system', thus spanning the entire spectrum from micro- to macrosociology. Interestingly, Elias thought of the term 'figuration', which gave its name to his 'figurational sociology' as an analogy with dance:

> One should think of a mazurka, a minuet, a polonaise, a tango, or rock'n'roll. The image of the mobile figurations of interdependent people on a dance floor perhaps makes it easier to imagine states, cities, families, and also capitalist, communist, and feudal systems as figurations. By using this concept, we can eliminate the antithesis […] immanent today in the use of the words "individual" and "society." One can certainly speak of a dance in general, but no-one will imagine a dance as a structure outside the individual or as a mere abstraction. The same dance figurations can certainly be danced by different people; but without a plurality of reciprocally orientated and dependent individuals, there is no dance. Like every other social figuration, a dance figuration is relatively independent of the specific individuals forming it here and now, but not of individuals as such. It would be absurd to say that dances are mental constructions abstracted from observations of individuals considered separately. The same applies to all other figurations. Just as small dance figurations change – becoming now slower, now quicker – so too, gradually or more suddenly, do the large figurations we call societies.
>
> (1998: 37)

Folding/Unfolding Society

The French sociologist Bernard Lahire (b. 1963), on the one hand, develops Bourdieu's theory of social fields, and on the other hand, he acknowledges the influence of Erving Goffman and Norbert Elias on his sociological thinking, which attempts to consider the social world on the scale of the individual. Challenging the Bourdieusian notion of 'habitus', he argues that when the individual is made the object of sociological inquiry, one sees socialising 'influences', which form individuals, as hardly ever comparable with socialising influences experienced by other individuals, contrary to what one can imagine when abstract "classes of conditions of existence" constitutive of habitus are discussed (2013). The inherited dispositions are rarely homogenous.

Lahire's intention is to emphasise the variability of individual behavioural patterns which, he explains, is recognised in psychology, but is absent from sociology. Lahire stresses, however, that his project is a critique of Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' strictly from the sociological point of view – not psychological. He sees his mission as going beyond declarations of the social embodied in individuals and of the social being both inside and outside the individual.

Lahire speaks metaphorically of the social as hidden in the 'folds' of the individual, the 'folded' social (*le social á l'état plié*) (2013). This metaphor means that the social world does not manifest itself only on the exterior of the individual, but can be found in the form of dispositions and incorporated competences which are results of the individual socialisation. What is cut asunder (*découpé*) by social institutes (schools, family, workplace, trade union, etc.) or by the social sciences as separate types of experience is put back together again (*recoupé*) in a unique way in each individual. These dynamics, in turn, complexify the vision of socio-structural phenomena, such as a crowd or a class, on the one hand, and on the other, with their open possibilities for endless variations of the same themes.

These two perspectives – the collective and the individual – can be studied separately but, Lahire argues, the folded and unfolded (*le déplié et le plié*), what is cut asunder and put together again (*le découpé et le recoupé*), the collective and the singular are not opposed to each other. These are two different perspectives on the same social reality.

Another sense that the metaphor of folding brings to the fore is that the interior of the individual is nothing else but the folded exterior. Individuals do not exist outside a society. The social is the very tissue of which the individual is made.

If each individual, Lahire suggests, can be compared to a crumpled sheet of paper (*une feuille froissée*), the task of the researcher is to understand and trace social ways of this particular agent as a product of all foldings (*plissements*) that occurred in the social space as experienced by that individual. The result of Lahire's approach is the genre of sociological biography (*biographie sociologique*).[9] For instance, he wrote a sociological biography of Kafka where he traced Kafka's socialisation predating his literary activities – his family experiences and the experiences of his upbringing. Lahire considered the writer's professional experience and his political and personal experiences. Moreover, Lahire tried to inscribe these experiences into large-scale social structurations (*grandes structurations sociales*) of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, embracing such aspects of the social as national, linguistic and religious (Lahire 2010).

Topics for discussion and assignments

1 Discuss the main questions opening the chapter.
2 Discuss Bourdieu's theory of social fields in terms of socio-theoretical models (see Chapter 6).

3 Think of research questions for 'Structuration' on Giddens's theory of social structuration.
4 Think of research questions for 'Dancing Society' and 'Folding/Unfolding Society'.

See more topics and assignments at www.routledgetranslationstudiesportal.com.

Further reading

Shusterman (1999); Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002); Giddens (1993b); Lahire (2013).

Notes

1 The plural form can be *habituses* or the same as the singular – *habitus*.
2 That is why habitus is not to be confused with biography, "an account of someone's life" (*New Oxford American Dictionary*).
3 Bourdieu strived to overcome other dichotomies entrenched in sociological analysis. For instance, his notion of 'hexis', connecting socialisation with the individual body, posture, appearance, costume, etc., aims to overcome the dichotomy 'body vs. mind'; the notion of 'habitus', in addition to transcending the dichotomy 'social vs. individual', helps rethink the relationship between the objective and the subjective, structure and agency; the notion of 'practice', the continuum of following rules of the game in the social space and at the same time the practical logic, sometimes breaking or modifying these rules, helps overcome the opposition 'structuralism (when actions are prompted by structures) vs. hermeneutics (making sense of agents' active decision-making)'. (See more in Maton 2012: 64, n. 2 and 52–4.)
4 The concept of 'illusio' cannot fail to remind us of the way social actors exist in their lifeworld as described by Schutz and other phenomenologists (Chapter 8, 'Living in a lifeworld'). Ethnomethodologists use the breaching experiment (Chapter 8, 'In the beginning were jurors') to break the otherwise invisible illusio-like lifeworld routine.
5 Cf.: "The super-ego arises, as we know, from an identification with the father regarded as a model" (Freud 1961b: 943).
6 I thank Professor Annie Brisset for her ideas on theorising translation as a 'third place' (from personal communication, with kind permission).
7 Both Bourdieu and Giddens pay much attention to the role agents play in the structuration of society and to agents' relationship with structures, yet some critics are sceptical about how successful Bourdieu and Giddens are: "[E]ach ends up falling towards one side of the old structure/action divide, Bourdieu towards the former pole, Giddens towards the latter" (Inglis and Thorpe 2012: 211).
8 See a similar conceptualisation of power in 'Power and interdependences', Chapter 7.
9 Lahire's sociological biography is not unique in sociology. It is similar to Elias's sociological research found in his essay "Mozart: The Artist in the Human Being" (1998: 95–105). Another example of a sociological biography inscribing an actor in the complex social network is Latour's *Pasteurization of France* (1988). All these biographies are good examples of how sociology sees generalised patterns even when the focus is on an individual.

Conclusion

Moving forward

Finally, in this brief conclusion, I would like to emphasise one of the main features of present-day sociological research – combinability of paradigms. Obviously there is still place for purely macro- or microsociological approaches, especially in small-scale research projects. Researching the social, however, requires more than either macro- or micro-. Whereas in its earlier days sociology was preoccupied with its emancipation from psychology, now that it is a well-established academic discipline in its own right with a distinctive focus (generalised patterns of human interrelations making social order possible), it now explores areas very close to its borderline with psychology: for example, Bourdieu's and Giddens's borrowing ideas from psychoanalysis and the genre of social biography (see Chapter 9). Another way to conceptualise the social world is to theorise it by viewing different approaches and paradigms as enriching one another:

> [M]any apparent 'theoretical' differences [between micro- and macro-sociology] are not theoretical differences *per se*. These are often differences in a much more limited number of ways of conceptualising social phenomena. Theories of social activity are underpinned by specific conceptualisations [… which] are not tied to theoretical differences in a one-to-one way. It is these 'perspectives' or 'approaches' that generally figure in courses and textbooks on social theory rather than specific theories themselves. [… S]uch conceptualisations may often be seen more fruitfully as complementary frameworks rather than rival approaches.
>
> (Scott 2011: 2–3)

Reasoning along these lines, John Scott singles out such key themes in modern sociology as mind, structure, culture, action, system, nature and space-time. Doubtless, all of them are applicable to translational phenomena.

First of all, let us connect **mind**, **structure** and **culture** where mind is the very personality of the social actor, which is a result of socialisation and

enculturation. Obscuring or ignoring the complex relationship between the individual and society may result in a skewed vision: either the mind seems to be independent of society or society seems to be constantly nipping in the bud any individual initiative. Reconciling the two approaches is a better way to understand the relationship between the individual and society, although a focus may be either on the individual, moving us to the psychological end of the spectrum, or on the collective, bringing us closer to the purely sociological perspective. We do specialise in our approaches, even for the sake of methodological clarity, yet, while moving towards one of the perspectives, we need to remember the other one. Applying this to the study of translation, when we consider translation, we need to remember who is involved in an activity producing translations; while studying a translator, we need to keep in mind that a translator is a translator because s/he is socialised and enculturated and s/he does translation, which is a social function and by fulfilling this function s/he contributes to social structuration. Revealing the complexity of the interaction between these three phenomena is impossible only along a macro- or micro-approach, hence cooperation of complementary perspectives is required (although research can still focus on one or another paradigm).

Dealing with the complexity of the relationship of the mind (individual), structure (society) and culture, one comes to the problem of the relationship between **action** and **system**. Foregrounding one at the expense of the other is once again to run the risk of distorting the picture: translation as a social action means anything only in the social system and the social system can be realised only through actions. Only such a balanced approach is viewed as acceptable in modern sociology: even in theories arguing for the purely sociological approach such as Luhmann's social systems theory, social systems cannot be conceived without action and through action the idea of social contingency returns: social structures are no longer theorised as rigid constraints. Real-life social systems are functionally structured, as our experience teaches us, yet they are flexible and allow change introduced through action. We can consider translation in terms of the system–action relationship: on the one hand, the translation system is realised through translation actions (translation communication events, see Chapter 7) and on the other hand, translation functions within the overall social system and through TCEs brings in social change and contributes to the social evolution or development (Chapter 6). Again, a combined macro-/micro- approach is needed to reflect on the system–action interaction in a balanced fashion.

Reproduction of social structures would be impossible without the involvement of **nature** and **space-time**. With regard to the place nature occupies in the social, it should be noted that there are the materiality of human bodies and the environment in which societies exist. A functionalist perspective, such as Malinowski's or Parsons's (see Chapter 7), helps us see that every society has to meet basic needs of its members as well as its own basic needs, which are related to the materiality of human existence: humans have to eat, drink,

reproduce so that societies can exist and societies have to coordinate activities, maintain social order, etc. Recently, the role environment plays in society has generated new approaches in sociology. Doing justice to the non-human social agency has been a prominent feature not only of Actor-Network Theory (Chapter 8), but also of 'posthumanist' sociological theories which act on Derrida's idea that it is necessary to "stud[y] all living creatures as being so diverse that their plurality cannot be understood by creating a simple distinction between the human and the animal" (cited in Zake and DeCesare 2011: 4) and to see human society as affected by physical and physiological aspects of human organisms and as including animals co-existing with humans (Haraway 2003; 2007; Sanders 2006; Shukin 2009; Wolfe 2010). Fair enough, such theorisations of society still create much controversy (Zake and DeCesare 2011: 2–5). On the other hand, if we are prepared to take into consideration the participation of technology in human social existence, for no one would deny that human societies are what they are today, to a considerable extent, thanks to technology (cf. the influence of CAT tools on translation) why not think about the role dogs and other pets play in human society: for instance, consider dogs helping physically impaired people to live a fuller social life. Reconsidering the role non-human social agents play concerns nearly all social activities and opens the social research to transdisciplinary projects. We can appreciate from this perspective the research into the functioning of the interpreter/translator 'black box', which comprises neurological inquiry. Although animals do not perhaps mediate between people linguistically, they do communicate with people. Redefining the terms 'language' and 'translation' to embrace non-human semiotic sign systems would broaden the scope of translation to accommodate posthumanist sociological theories with their requirement of transdisciplinary scholarly cooperation and thereby enrich translation studies with more examples of translation in the biosemiosphere (Petrilli 2003: 19).

Drawing the final line of the discussion of translation and sociology in this book, it is time for a reminder that the purpose of this introduction to this vast and exciting realm – translation and society – was to

- formulate the aim of studying translation sociologically;
- outline directions of research;
- reinforce the foundation laid for sociologically informed translation research;
- widen the scope of present-day translation studies;
- appreciate what sociology has in store for the translation student and what s/he may contribute to the understanding of society;
- raise new research questions;
- deepen the appreciation of the sociological turn in TIS and its potential.

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