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Traditions, Gaps and Synergies

Edited by Christina Schäffner

Translation Research and Interpreting Research

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Researching Translation and Interpreting

CHRISTINA SCHÄFFNER

Translation and Interpreting as Activities and as Objects of Research

It does not happen very often that the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* devotes an article to translation but this is what happened when the fifth volume of the Harry Potter books was put on the market (Sucher, 2003). The two main issues of the article can be summarised as follows:

(1) since the German version of the book will not be available until early November 2003, eager fans have decided to start translating the book themselves and have set up a website to exchange ideas; and
(2) the social status of professional translators, especially their financial situation, is getting worse.

Although the text refers exclusively to translation, the labels 'Übersetzen' (translation) and 'Dolmetschen' (interpreting) are mixed up and used interchangeably (which was criticised and duly corrected in a reader's letter in a subsequent issue of *Der Spiegel*).

Such terminological confusion is evidence of the fact that – despite the ubiquity of translation and interpreting in social life – a lot of people seem to be almost completely unaware of the specific nature of these activities. Translators or interpreters are rarely noticed at work, except maybe in cases when an interpreter is placed next to a head of state who is giving a speech which is broadcast live on TV. Although the name of a literary translator is now usually provided on the cover next to the name of the author, there are no widely known 'stars' in the profession. In fact, Harry Rowohlt, a German literary translator, is better known for his part in a German soap-opera than for his translation work.

If asked what the difference is between translation and interpreting, laypeople may come up with the rather general characterisation that translation is concerned with written texts and interpreting with oral speech. In the academic field of Translation Studies and in translator/interpreter training, attempts have been made to provide more specific criteria for defining the two activities. For example, Kade (1968) introduced a time factor as the basic differentiating criterion: the availability of the source text. For a translator, the source text is available in some fixed form (for example, printed on paper or recorded on a tape) until the target text has been produced. This allows the translator to refer back to the source text as often as necessary and to correct and revise the target text, using a variety of tools. Therefore, the final target text may be the result of several 'attempts', having been produced in several stages from a first draft to the final product. An interpreter, in contrast, gets only one attempt at producing the target text as output as the source text is presented to the interpreter orally and only once and the target text has to be produced immediately.

There is no possibility for consulting tools and only a very limited possibility for correcting the output. The possibility for checking comprehension of the source text and correcting the target text depends on the type of interpreting: for example, checking comprehension is possible in the case of liaison interpreting but not for simultaneous interpreting with the interpreter working in a booth. Even if the source text is available in some fixed form to a conference interpreter (i.e. as a copy of a speech), the actual input is the orally delivered speech (which may differ from the prepared written text).

The differences in the working conditions and practices of translators and interpreters are undeniable and these differences demand different skills. For example, memorising and note-taking skills are important for interpreters but not to an equal degree for translators. In addition to differences, translation and interpreting also have features in common. They have indeed been described as two modes of mediated communication or two modes of language mediation (for example, Kade, 1968, Shlesinger, this volume, p. x). But what do we really know about these two modes? What exactly are the common features and what are the differences? With which methods can we conduct research into translation and into interpreting? Who is conducting this research? Which discipline describes and explains translation and interpreting? Are the two modes objects of one and the same discipline or rather of different (sub-)disciplines?

These are the questions addressed in this volume, which originates from a one-day seminar held at Aston University in February 2002. The main contributor to the seminar, and subsequently to this volume, is Daniel Gile from the Université Lumière Lyon 2 (France). He is one of the most prolific and productive authors on interpreting. In fact, his name tops the list of the 25 most productive authors set up by Pöchhacker (1995: 49). Although Gile's name is primarily associated with interpreting (for example, he guest-edited the 1995 special issue of *Target* devoted to Interpreting Research, and he is the editor of the *IR(TI)N Bulletin* which disseminates information on conference interpretation research), he has published widely both on translation and on interpreting, and often with a specific focus on research (see, for example, Gile, 1995, Gile *et al*., 2001). It is indeed *research* on translation and interpreting which is the focus of this volume.

In his position chapter, Daniel Gile explores kinship, differences and prospects for partnership between Translation Research (TR) and Interpreting Research (IR). He gives an overview of the history of research into translation and interpreting, reviews the differences between translation and several forms of interpreting, explores their commonalities and discusses the implications for research in these two fields. The other contributors to this volume use Gile's chapter as a starting point and elaborate some of his arguments, add new perspectives and/or point out what they considered gaps or misperceptions. Most of the contributors focus on common aspects of researching translation and interpreting. The edited Debate (Chapter 2) gives a flavour of the issues that were the main concern to the participants in the actual seminar. Apart from Janet Fraser and Moira Inghilleri, all other contributors to this volume were not present at the event itself (for an initial evaluation, see also Newmark, 2002).

Traditions and Topics of Research

Translation and interpreting activities are almost as old as mankind. Interpreting as an activity is actually older than translation but translation has been the object of research more often than interpreting. It seems that more has been written on translation than on interpreting and, as Gile points out, introductory textbooks or historical overviews (for example, Bassnett, 1980; Gentzler, 1993; Stolze, 1997; Robinson, 1997; Munday, 2001) are also more concerned with translation than with interpreting.

There exists a relatively long tradition of thought about translation (see the extracts in Robinson, 1997). However, Translation Studies (TS) has only a short history as a discipline in its own right, i.e. as an academic subject and a field of knowledge. The *Translation Studies Reader* (Venuti, 2000) provides an overview of the most significant developments in the 20th century, with the 'oldest' article included being the well-known essay by Walter Benjamin which was originally written in 1923. Interpreting Studies (IS) is much younger and the *Interpreting Studies Reader*, published in 2002, starts with a paper on the early history of interpreting by Alfred Hermann, originally written in 1956, and an article by Eva Paneth from 1957 which is characterised by the editors as 'the very first academic study on the subject' (Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002: 25).

Apart from the 'age difference', TR and IR have also addressed different topics. In the literature on translation, a variety of topics, such as philosophical arguments on translatability, linguistic aspects (such as equivalent structures between source language and target language), textual and discursive features (in respect to text types, genres, genre conventions, text functions), situational, cultural, historical, ideological and sociological issues (for example, the impact of translation on cultural developments, the relevance of norms for translation behaviour, the facilitating or impeding role of power relations), have been dealt with. In this context, the very notion of translation itself has been defined differently and/or set apart from such notions as adaptation, rewriting and language mediation. In TR, the study of literary texts has been a major concern but due to the development of the translation industry and market needs, more recently non-literary texts have received more attention (new keywords are, for example, software localisation and media translation). Research on interpreting, in contrast, originally focused on the interpreting process, i.e. on such features as working memory, human processing capacity, time lag, attention span and cognitive skills. Conference interpreting, performed in the simultaneous mode, was at the centre of initial research but other forms of interpreting, especially community interpreting and similar forms of face-to-face interaction have recently seen more attention. Related to this, the communicative and social dimensions of interpreting as well as ethical and sociological issues are being addressed (see the contribution by Jan Cambridge to this volume, and Thomas [2003] on the role of interpreters in conflict situations such as wars). Gile provides an overview of the topics that have been addressed in TR and IR and he also comments on the different research paradigms and the variety of research methods that have been applied.

Methods and Paradigms

TR has been conducted on the basis of a number of approaches or models (see Neubert & Shreve [1992: 12–32] for a review of different models and Chesterman [1997] on memes which are reflected in metaphorical definitions of translation such as rebuilding, copying, imitating, creating, transcoding, sending, or manipulating). In interpretation research, as Gile points out, the foci and methods are also spread over a rather wide spectrum. In analogy to Chesterman's memes of translation, Franz Pöchhacker (this volume) suggests two overriding ideas as 'supermemes' in the history of ideas about interpreting: interpreting as process(ing) and as communicative activity. In his contribution he outlines methodological approaches (paradigms) which have been influential in IR, e.g. Seleskovitch's (1975) 'interpretive theory', approaches focusing on cognitive processing in (mostly simultaneous) interpreting, neuroscientific experimental approaches and interpreter-mediated encounters as discourse in interaction.

Interpreting as interaction and the (communicative, social, ethical) role of the interpreter has become a very prominent paradigm in IR today. A view of interpreting as a form of social action, as a norm-based, socially constituted activity is also stressed by Moira Inghilleri in her contribution. She argues that interpreters are influenced by social and political contexts and that in their work they are caught up in larger social configurations of power and control. Studying how sociological and ideological determinants function within interpreting contexts will thus provide valuable insights (in Inghilleri's own case, studying interpreting norms that operate in asylum interviews). The organisational setting and its impact on the interpreter's performance and on the reception of his/her output by the audience has recently been studied by Diriker (2001). She analysed the roles, expectations and interactions between all parties involved in an interpreting event, i.e. interpreters, conference organisers, speakers, audience, technicians, and illustrated the active role of simultaneous interpreters in shaping the event. In other words, her study is an example of describing interpreting events in terms of a full participation framework, as suggested by Ian Mason in his contribution to this volume. Mason proposes the use of a participation framework as a research model that can be applied equally to translation and interpreting. He argues that similarities are apparent as soon as both translating and interpreting are seen as interactional events and he illustrates how interactional pragmatic variables such as footing, politeness and relevance are central to the concerns of translators and interpreters alike.

It is the similarities between translation and interpreting, the shared features, which motivate contributors to this volume to look for models, frameworks, and research methods that can equally be applied to study the two modes. The methodological framework presented by Mariana Orozco (this volume) is one such attempt to allow scholars from both fields to join forces and proceed in the same way. It is open for discussion, however, whether a research methodology can be developed which will be able to account for all components of translation and interpreting, or indeed whether we need such a methodology at all.

In the development of both TR and IR, it has always been the case that traditional paradigms have expanded and new ones have been established. These

developments have also been influenced by the impact of related disciplines, notably linguistics, literary studies, philosophy, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cultural studies for TR, and cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics, neurophysiology, neurolinguistics for IR. Some of these neighbouring disciplines seem to be relevant either for TR or for IR. For example, neurolinguistics has been primarily applied for research into the cognitive aspects of the interpreting process, although it is potentially equally applicable to researching the cognitive aspects of translation (in addition to Think-Aloud Protocol studies). Linguistics has traditionally been of importance both to TR and IR, whereas sociology is becoming more influential in the context of the currently growing interest in ethical and sociological issues of both translation and interpreting. In other words, interdisciplinarity is a keyword for both TR and IR. This aspect is linked to the question of the very nature of translation studies and interpreting studies as (sub) disciplines.

Identity Crisis?

Translation and interpreting are objects of research, but objects of which discipline? Do we need two separate disciplines to study the two modes? Or can, in view of their commonalities, one discipline account for everything? And how specific or 'pure' would such (a) discipline(s) have to be if we acknowledge the valuable contribution of other disciplines to researching translation and interpreting?

Gile argues in his chapter that, in spite of differences, translation and interpreting have much in common and, therefore, it makes much sense 'for both disciplines to work together'. As pointed out by Miriam Shlesinger, Franz Pöchhacker and Andrew Chesterman (all in this volume), Gile seems to see translation and interpreting as discrete and self-contained entities. For Shlesinger, such an opposition is counter-productive and she prefers to regard translation and interpreting as subdisciplines of (generic) Translation Studies. In her view, pursuing each subdiscipline separately may mean obscuring the shared ground by differences in terminology or in the formulation of the issues to be explored. For Chesterman too, TS and IS are part of the same interdiscipline. Pöchhacker points out, however, that Gile does not actually use the label 'Interpreting Studies' and he, therefore, refers to a need for conceptual clarification. 'Translation Studies' has become widely accepted as a label for the discipline as a whole, including the study of the written modality (translation) and the oral modality (interpreting). But as Pöchhacker rightly argues, English-writing TS scholars do not always indicate whether they use 'translation' in the wider sense or with reference to the written mode only, which may create ambiguity and confusion. Other languages may allow for a terminological differentiation. Pöchhacker mentions that in German the label *Translation* is used as a hyperonym to cover both translation ('Übersetzen') and interpreting ('Dolmetschen'). He also recalls that, in other publications, Gile himself has used 'Translation' with an upper-case T to denote both translation and interpreting (for example in Gile [2001], which is his response to the debate in the journal *Target* on shared ground in TS). Maybe a label such as Translation and Interpreting Studies (TIS) might be another possibility to avoid confusion.

In his paper in *Target*, Gile (2001: 151) argues that we need to 'seek a

common TS-identity-marking element which would distinguish TS-research from research relevant to Translation'. This plea for disciplinary autonomy is repeated in his chapter in this volume. He warns that interdisciplinarity 'adds to the spread of paradigms and may therefore weaken further the status of translation and interpreting research as autonomous disciplines'. Both Chesterman and Pöchhacker reply by saying that adopting and adapting conceptual and methodological tools from other disciplines has been enriching – to each subdiscipline and to TS as a whole. They propose that we should continue to appreciate the full variety of ideas and combine different approaches in order to understand and explain translational phenomena (i.e. phenomena of both translation and interpreting).

Yves Gambier, in contrast, argues in his contribution that the call for interdisciplinarity in TS has so far not led to a more advanced epistemological and methodological reflection. It is indeed Gile's aim to stimulate research in order to develop the discipline(s) further, since – in his personal assessment – the overall level of scholarship is still too low. As main reasons for this situation, he mentions the absense of research expertise among TR and IR scholars and a weak institutional infrastructure. In a previous article, Gile presented his view on research expertise in the field as follows:

> This diversity of paradigms causes inter-paradigm compatibility and communication problems, as well as research expertise problems, as TS scholars engage in research in paradigms for which they were not trained. (Gile, 2001: 15)

The contributions in this volume are united in the aim of enhancing the discipline(s) by promoting research, despite a diversity of academic discourse (see, for example, the arguments on the relation between theory and data in empirical and hermeneutic research, in Chesterman's contribution and Gile's response [Chapter 13]).

Translation Studies (TS in its widest sense) is still a relatively young discipline and arguing about its ('proper') object of study, problematising its key concepts and its research methods are part of its development and growth. It is premature to say whether or not IS will emerge as a field of study in its own right (see also Pöchhacker & Shlesinger [2002: 3–10] on the development so far). It is equally possible that the generic discipline of TS will expand and take in more forms of mediated communication as objects of research (such as localisation, multilingual text production). It could be argued that it is of minor importance whether we have two separate disciplines or one generic discipline as long as our research helps us to gain new knowledge of both translation and interpreting. But research is usually conducted within an institutional environment, and, in his position chapter Gile comments explicitly on the advantages of this institutionalisation of TR and IR and also on the associated problems and risks. There is no doubt that a strong discipline will also promote the training environment and the professional world (this issue is also taken up in the Debate).

The Way Forward

As Gile argues, 'since translation and interpreting share so much, the differences between them can help shed light on each'. The idea that each step in the

investigation of one can contribute valuable input towards investigation of the other is supported by all contributors to this volume. Gambier also points out that the objects of our research, i.e. translation and interpreting, are themselves undergoing transformation, due to the development of information and communication technologies and the growing globalisation of exchanges (new forms have emerged, such as media translation, translation for and on the Internet, tele-interpreting, not to forget signed-language interpreting). These changes will have an impact on how we define and research translation and interpreting. In Gambier's words, 'researchers should review their objects and methods'. A good opportunity for doing so will be the fourth Congress of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST) which will be held from 26–29 September 2004 in Lisbon. The Society is concerned with TS in the widest sense and explicitly refers to translation and interpreting in listing its objectives (i.e. to promote research in the field of translation and interpreting; to promote further education for translation and interpreting teachers and trainers; to offer consulting services on issues of translation and interpreting teaching and training; to facilitate contacts between the profession and academic translation and interpreting training institutions – see http://est.utu.fi). The main title of the 2004 congress is 'Translation Studies: Doubts and Directions' and its aim is to appraise and update the concepts and analytical tools used within the discipline and to discuss current relevant problems and possible future developments in TS. Congresses such as this will contribute to progress in the field.

Progress in TR and IR can also come about by new forms of research, such as joint projects across the translation/interpreting divide, multinational teams dealing with medium- and long-term projects and joint research projects with specialists in other fields. The diversity of the professional environment of translators and interpreters, in which boundaries often become blurred as new technologies develop, offers wide scope for research. For example, in reporting on the role of translation and interpreting in Internet chats organised in the European Commission, Campbell (2003) points out that incoming questions are translated immediately by an interpreter. She comments that '[i]t was first thought that this was a translator's job but it requires a rapidity which did not lend itself to translation with its need for complete accuracy and "the right word".' (Campbell, 2003: 91). That is, specific skills of interpreters are being employed for translation in a highly specific context. It could be interesting, for example, to study the translation strategies of interpreters in comparison to those of translators, and this could be done by involving the practitioners themselves, i.e. practising translators and interpreters (see also Janet Fraser's contribution in this volume and the discussion in the Debate on the issue of joint research projects involving scholars and practitioners).

The growing academisation of the field is coupled with a search for effective ways of teaching translation and interpreting. In order to achieve progress in the long term, it is necessary to train highly qualified professional translators and interpreters (see, for example, Pöchhacker and Kadric [1999] on the problems associated with the still widely observed practice of using untrained bilingual speakers as interpreters) and also the next generation of qualified researchers. It is, therefore, not surprising that issues of translator and interpreter training, such as course content, structure and socio-academic constraints, were extensively discussed during the seminar at Aston (see

Chapter 2 and Zuzana Jettmarová's chapter [8] on the role of academic institutions and on the design of a course on TS methodology).

Advances in research and in training will ultimately also bring benefits to the professional practice, for example in respect of qualification norms, statutory recognition, the social status of translators and interpreters, and more public awareness of translation and interpreting in general. If the Harry Potter boom can help make translators more visible to the public and interest the young generation in translation, we should be grateful. In fact, just a cursory look at the exchanges on the forum on the website mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (www.harry-auf-deutsch.de) makes for fascinating reading. The comments by the lay translators (mainly youngsters) on translation problems encountered and their own solutions reveal a reflection on, for example, the genre (what can be said in a children's book?), the situational background (what works in the world of magic?), the characters (would a young boy use elevated style and loan words?) and social relations (how would a teacher address a student?). If such curiosity and interest could make these youngsters apply to a university programme in translation and interpreting, we need not worry about the next generation of professionals.

To conclude: the main aim of Daniel Gile's chapter (and of this volume as a whole) is – in Gile's words – 'to initiate a discussion within a wider circle of interpreting and translation scholars in order to gain a broader insight into the differences, similarities, and effective and potential interactions in the wider field of TS'. It is hoped that this aim can be achieved and that this voume will be the start to further explorations into the partnership between TR and IR within the wider field of Translation Studies.

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Chapter 1

Translation Research versus Interpreting Research: Kinship, Differences and Prospects for Partnership

DANIEL GILE

Translation research (TR) and interpretation research (IR) have different histories (TR is much older), differently hierarchised foci (traditionally, TR has focused on ideological, cultural and sociological issues and IR on the interpreting process), different academic environments (TR has been conducted mostly within the humanities and IR within interpreter-training programmes), and differently trained and motivated scholars (academics versus professional interpreters). However, phenomenologically, they share a deep common basis and recent developments have also narrowed the gap between their environments and foci. As research disciplines, they also share epistemological, methodological, institutional and wider sociological concerns and do not seem to be in territorial competition. It, therefore, makes much sense for both disciplines to work together in spite of the differences.

Introduction

The study of translation has a history as long as history itself (see, for instance, Steiner [1975] and Bassnett [1980], who start their historical overview of the literature on translation studies with the Romans). Proper academic research into translation, however, is only several decades old. Interpreting has a longer history than translation, since it was presumably practised before texts were actually written. Academic research into interpreting is slightly younger than its counterpart in translation but also started in the 1960s (see Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002).

Initially, the two academic disciplines evolved with little contact between scholars and institutions. In the past two decades, institutional and personal factors have led to greater mutual awareness and even to some cooperative work. In particular, some scholars have been researching and publishing in both disciplines, translators and interpreters are active in international learned societies such as EST, the European Society for Translation Studies, teach in the same doctoral seminars such as the CETRA programme and are posing an increasing number of epistemological and methodological questions of a similar nature.

This position chapter is a humble attempt by an analyst, whose research interests lie mainly in conference-interpreting research and in translator-training issues, to initiate a discussion within a wider circle of interpreting and

translation scholars in order to gain a broader insight into the differences, similarities and effective and potential interactions in the wider field of Translation Studies (TS), as it is sometimes called. It reviews a number of fundamental differences between translation and several forms of interpreting and their implications for research in these two fields, as well as developments over the past decades. The territory covered is wide and I can only claim reasonably good knowledge of a small area within it. I will, therefore, start this analysis from the point of view of conference interpreting, which I assume to be less well known to most readers of this collection and hope that input from partners in this exchange with better knowledge of other types of interpretation research (IR) and translation research (TR) will fill gaps, correct misperceptions and give a better balance to this collective analysis.

Translation and Interpreting: Shared Features and Differences

By way of a reminder, a few definitions and a brief review of the fundamental shared features and differences between translation and interpreting may help prepare the ground for a discussion of research into these two disciplines. Since these aspects are explained elsewhere in the literature, and are only mentioned here by way of introduction to an analysis of research into translation and interpreting, the following review will remain fairly general, with a few pointers to the literature for further information and views.

Definitions

For the purposes of this chapter, I shall use the word *translation* for a written target-language reformulation of a written source text and the words *interpretation* or *interpreting* for a non-written re-expression of a non-written source text. Most of the discussion will focus on interpretation from a spoken language into another spoken language, but much of it also applies to interpretation from a spoken language into a sign language and *vice versa*. Within interpreting, I shall refer mostly to conference interpreting, the type of interpreting which enjoys the highest prestige and the highest remuneration. Conference interpreters work mostly at meetings organised by international organisations, by large industrial corporations, by government bodies at a high level and for radio and television. Court interpreters work essentially at court proceedings. Sign-language interpreters work in all environments where deaf people need to communicate with hearing people. Community interpreters (also called dialogue interpreters, public service interpreters, etc.) work mostly in environments where individuals from minority groups or foreigners, interact with the public authorities and medical authorities in a host-country (see Roberts *et al*., 2000). This 'social' classification of interpreting has implications for the development of research, as is explained later.

Besides 'pure translation' and 'pure interpreting', there are also 'intermediate' types, such as sight translation, where the source text is written and the target text is spoken but this distinction is not relevant to the present discussion.

'Simultaneous interpreting' is a mode in which the interpreter reformulates the source speech as it unfolds, generally with a lag of a few seconds at most. In 'consecutive interpreting', the speaker makes a statement, which generally

lasts up to a few minutes, while the interpreter takes notes; then the speaker stops and the interpreter reformulates the statement. This is repeated until the speaker has finished his/her intervention. Conference interpreters also distinguish between 'true consecutive', as described here, and sentence-by-sentence consecutive, where the speaker's statements are much shorter and do not require note-taking.

'Working languages' are those languages effectively used by translators and interpreters in their translation and interpreting activity. 'Active languages' are those into which they translate and interpret and 'passive languages' are those languages which they translate from but not into. 'A languages' are translators' and interpreters' native languages or the equivalent thereof. 'B languages' are active languages other than native languages. 'C languages' are passive languages.

The process and working environment

Both translation and interpreting consist in reformulating a source text (written, spoken or signed) into a target text (also written, spoken or signed). Both translators and interpreters have to deal with problems raised by interlinguistic issues, such as lexical and grammatical discrepancies which force them to decide what information to keep, what information to discard and what information to add. Both translators and interpreters have to deal with intercultural issues as well. Both translators and interpreters have to deal with their lack of relevant thematic and LSP-specific knowledge, which forces them to look for additional information in order to complete their translation and interpretation assignment: such additional information is largely terminological but also phraseological and thematic.

The main *obvious* differences in the processes of translation *versus* interpreting (as opposed to more subtle or controversial differences) have to do with technical constraints. Translators have hours, days, weeks or longer to deal with problems that arise, whereas interpreters only have seconds or minutes (depending on whether they are working in simultaneous or in consecutive mode). Generally, while translating, translators can also consult various sources of information, including printed and electronic reference texts, colleagues and experts in the relevant field. Interpreters cannot, except possibly for a glance at a glossary or a document they have in the interpreting booth in front of them while they are interpreting, at the risk of missing part of the incoming speech (see Gile, 1995b).

Another important difference is that the translation process and the interpreting process are constrained differently in the working environment. In (business) translation, the main source of stress is the required speed of processing and associated fatigue. In conference interpreting, stress may originate in stage fright at high-level meetings or when interpreting for the media, especially in view of the fact that, unlike translators, interpreters cannot correct their initial utterance (with some exceptions), and also in the physical environment in the booth (see Mackintosh, 2002). In court interpreting and dialogue interpreting of various types, much stress is inherent to the situation and in the interpreter's responsibility (Roberts *et al*., 2000).

Last, but not least, conference interpreting is often associated with an

exciting, sometimes glamorous working environment: presidential palaces, international conferences on highly visible, highly topical issues and events, international festivals and sports events, the possibility of meeting and sometimes talking face-to-face with well-known personalities. As explained later in this chapter, this attractiveness of one aspect of conference interpreting probably plays an important role in the attitudes of interpreters toward research.

The product

The product of interpretation is an oral (or signed) text, which is mentally processed by the listener as soon as it is heard (or seen), at a rate determined by its rate of delivery, generally in the original communication situation. It is highly personal, as its perception by the user of the interpreting service depends not only on its content and linguistic choices in terms of 'words' but also on the quality of the interpreter's voice and on various delivery parameters, including accent, intonation, pauses, articulation speed, etc. (see, in particular, Collados Aís, 1998). The product of translation is a written text, which is read at the speed chosen by the reader, as many times as the reader wishes and potentially in any communication or non-communication situation. Roughly speaking, none of the personal delivery parameters relevant in interpreting are present in translation, where only the 'words' remain, in an anonymous printed form: in a more subtle analysis, one could argue that the page layout as well as punctuation, the length of sentences and even the choice of words – or characters in the case of Japanese – are comparable to delivery parameters in interpreting. However, at least the subjective feeling of interpreters, also based on the on-the-spot reactions of their clients, is that they have a direct relationship with the users of their services than translators.

Skills and personality

Both translators and interpreters have to be familiar with the respective norms of their professional environments with respect to the requirements of professional translation/interpretation. This includes the acceptability and relative merits of various strategies to help them cope with translation/interpretation problems. They obviously also need the knowledge and know-how required to implement such strategies.

Translators are required to produce editorially acceptable written text, while interpreters produce spoken text for immediate processing by listeners. Translators, therefore, have to be good writers and not necessarily good speakers, while interpreters have to be good speakers (and, in dialogue interpreting, good social mediators) but not necessarily good writers.

Interpreters have to master the oral form of their passive languages, including various accents, well enough to process them rapidly and without difficulty. Translators do not need to understand their passive languages as they are spoken. Neither do they require the same immediate comprehension and processing ability, since they have some leeway to deal with comprehension problems by taking more time and consulting various sources of help (Gile, 1995b).

The most formidable problem in conference interpreting, be it in simultaneous or in consecutive mode, is cognitive load: the operations involved in processing the incoming speech and producing a target speech, in simulta-

neous mode, or notes, in the first stage of consecutive interpreting (the second stage being the production of the target speech), impose a heavy mental load on the interpreter, with frequent saturation problems (Gile, 1999a). The specific cognitive skills required to cope with the task, which have attracted the attention of psychologists, are probably the most important single differentiating factor between simultaneous interpreters (mostly conference interpreters, but also sign-language interpreters and some court interpreters) and other interpreters and translators.

As to personalities, in spite of much speculation and some research (Henderson, 1987; Suzuki, 1988) on alleged differences between translators and interpreters, there are few solid findings. Suffice it to say here that interpreters need to have the sort of personality which allows them to perform under high stress in the presence of the communicating parties, when stakes may be very high and the risk of failure is ever present.

The social and economic environment

A final aspect which is relevant to the analysis of the development of research into translation *versus* research into interpreting is sociological and economic in nature. Professional translators can be found at many social and economic levels in socio-professional terms but mostly at a low to intermediate level (very few become senior executives) in companies where they are employed. Successful freelancers enjoy a comfortable income but their social status in society at large is rarely high, unless they are writers themselves. Most conference interpreters are freelancers and a minority among them are international civil servants working for international organisations. Their remuneration is not necessarily high (their remuneration per day of work can be relatively high but the number of interpreting assignments they have varies greatly) but their social status, as perceived by themselves and often by society at large, is relatively high. This is partly linked to their skills and partly to their physical presence and participation in events involving high-level and highly visible political, scientific, industrial and other personalities (see previous section). The income and status of court interpreters, sign-language interpreters and dialogue interpreters is much lower, probably due, to a large extent, to their lower visibility and to the lower social and financial status of users of their services (see Roberts *et al.*, 2000).

Research into Translation and Interpreting: Tradition as a Differentiating Factor

Perhaps one of the most important factors underlying the differences between TR and IR is the fact, mentioned in the introduction, that TR is built on a long history of study of, and statements on translation, whereas IR is devoid of any such tradition. Indeed, in most works on the history and present status of TS, including Bassnett (1980), Robinson (1997), Stolze (1997), Venuti (2000) and Munday (2001), mention is made of theoretical contributions dating as far back as the Romans Cicero and Horace and extending into later history, in particular with Luther, Bible translators, literary authors and philosophers. Very few such statements are found on interpreting and no trace of deliberation on interpreting in past centuries seems to have influenced the development of IR.

Causes

The first question that may arise is why translation has been the object of so much thought, while interpreting has not. After all, interpreting is presumably much older than translation, insofar as people speaking different languages had to communicate before writing was available on a large scale and possibly before writing was available at all. Neither is the fact that interpreting has only recently become a profession *per se* sufficient to explain the difference. After all, most of the thinkers who devoted their efforts to translation were not professional translators themselves. Two factors, not found in interpretation, may be hypothesised to have played an important role in the development of translation theories (which are not found in interpretation).

The first is the very high value assigned to many translated texts by the recipient cultures. It is an obvious fact that throughout history, many scientific, literary and religious texts played an important role in the recipient civilisations. It was probably with reference to the prescriptive texts, in particular the Bible, that the most basic issues of translation were first discussed systematically: what is maintained through the translation process, what is lost, how should one translate? The value of these target-language texts in the recipient cultures is linked to their literary, scientific or religious content and also to the fact that as texts written on a solid medium, translations had a very long physical life, could travel widely and influence and be studied in depth by many readers. By contrast, the product of interpreting was a speech which physically faded away seconds after it was uttered and could only reach a very small audience gathered on the relevant site at the relevant moment. It was only in the 20th century that technical developments made it possible to record speeches on a medium which allowed multiple playback for closer scrutiny.

The second differentiating factor found in translation is the fact that the translators themselves were often important personalities who were interested in the texts they were translating for their intrinsic value or for the value they saw in their potential message to the recipient culture. The statements of major religious, literary and philosophical personalities on translation, made on their own initiative, carried significant weight. In contrast, interpreters processed oral texts which, taken individually (as opposed to the set of a personality's oral statements on important subjects throughout his/her life), were of relatively little importance and did not generate similar interest and statements by interpreters.

Some consequences

The existence of such a long tradition of thought in the field of translation, as opposed to the lack thereof in interpretation, is also reflected in major differences in the scholarly dimensions of the two disciplines.

Paradigms and foci

First and foremost, after centuries of consideration of the *essential* relationship between a source text and its translation, and of how to preserve the source text's value in the target text (note the prescriptive dimension), a considerable body of literature has developed on the subject. In an academic context, this literature represents a particularly welcome pool of citations which could lend scholarly credibility to the emerging academic field of TS. But what is an

advantage on the one hand may slow down progress on the other, because it makes more difficult the exploration of new pathways, such as empirical studies of the process of translation (see, for example, Tirkkonen-Condit & Jääskeläinen, 2000) or studies of linguistic aspects of translation. Uncharted territory is potentially attractive to researchers but fraught with uncertainty and difficult for those who do not have the necessary research background for such endeavors, as is the case for most translation scholars (see further down). This imbalance may be a good partial explanation of the fact that a large part of TR still revolves around ideas in a humanities-inspired paradigm, i.e. around discussions of translation theories. One telling sign of this is the fact that in relatively recent books introducing TS (Bassnett, 1980; Chesterman, 1997; Venuti, 2000; Munday, 2001), the focus is indeed on the history of ideas and theories and the increasing volume of empirical work is hardly mentioned. This is particularly interesting in the case of Chesterman, who is a strong follower of Popper and his view of progress in science as consisting of a cycle of theoretical propositions, their testing and subsequent corrections feeding into corrected or alternative theoretical propositions (Chesterman, 1997: 16–17, Chesterman, 2000). In spite of this well-defined position, modelled on the paradigms of natural science, Chesterman does not conduct empirical research to test his own theories; neither does he quote actual results of empirical research into translation as triggers of theoretical progress in the field.

In fact, it would be difficult for him to do so, because so little empirical research does, in fact, generate theoretical progress in TR. When trying to identify those factors which have so far made translation theories and translation paradigms popular, it is difficult to find actual testing and resulting action. One could argue that, in a very broad sense, testing is done conceptually, insofar as theoreticians look at theories (or, more generally, at ideas), consider their internal consistency, plausibility and degree of coverage of phenomena as they perceive them and correct and enhance them to improve consistency, plausibility and coverage. However, while in highly formal, logical disciplines such as mathematics, such conceptual testing is rigorous and in line with the principles of the hard sciences on which Popper bases his analysis, in TS, I would argue that such conceptual testing is too subjective to be included in the Popperian model. My own *speculation* (not tested empirically) is that in TS, the move from one paradigm (or one meme – Chesterman, 1997) to the other, results only marginally from a Popperian process and mostly from a combination of the following two (sets of) drivers:

(1) *Sociological factors* and, in particular, a prominent position occupied by a scholar, or group of scholars, who support a certain paradigm (a phenomenon which has been the object of remarkable analyses by sociologists of science ever since Kuhn's ground-breaking *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* [1970] – see also Dunbar, [1995]. In IR, such sociological factors are probably most conspicuous when analysing the influence of Seleskovitch and her group in the 1970s and 1980s (Gile, 1995a). In TR, the influence of the skopos theory (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984) in German-speaking circles may be interpreted similarly. In both cases, it is difficult to see how the respective paradigms were adopted as offering an alternative filling the gaps identified through tests of previous theories.

(2) *Convenience* and, in particular, the opportunity to explore new areas with relatively little preliminary preparatory work. For instance, trying to add to the existing body of psycholinguistic knowledge about translation requires much reading, much assimilation of previous ideas and debates and much exploration of potential gaps and openings for innovation. Adding to the body of findings in the Think-Aloud-Protocol (TAP) paradigm or, even more conveniently, in corpora studies does not require similar preparation (although whatever paradigm is chosen, good research always involves solid work).

Note that convenience and sociological factors interact: when a new paradigm has gained weight, more literature is available for reference and more potential supervisors may be interested in advising younger scholars at many universities. Also note that by identifying sociological factors and convenience as determinants of new research directions, I make no judgement about the value of the directions involved: some may be very innovative, as I believe is the case of Toury's concept of norms and the 'descriptive' approach (see Toury 1995), while others may be self-restrictive, as I consider Seleskovitch's 'interpretive approach' to be (e.g. Seleskovitch 1975), in spite of its value as a training paradigm.

In IR, the basic factors which guide the scholars' move towards this or that paradigm are essentially the same but there is no longstanding tradition of prescriptive reflection and writing on the nature of interpretation or on what a good interpreter is. The first writings on interpreting as a profession, in this case conference interpreting, are about 50 years old and were mostly handbooks and papers on professional and didactic issues not intended by their authors to be academic (Herbert, 1952; Rozan, 1956; Fukuii & Asano, 1961; Van Hoof, 1962, etc.). When actual research started, in the 1960s, outsiders such as psychologists and psycholinguists as well as conference interpreters themselves were interested mostly in gaining insight into the mental process of simultaneous interpreting and in didactic issues (see Gile, 1995a, 1995b, 2000, Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002). The development of Conference Interpreting Research (CIR) thus began very differently from that of TR (also see Pöchhacker, 2000; Riccardi, 2001).

Institutional aspects

The importance of literary texts and religious texts in early studies of translation made them natural research objects for scholars in the fields of literature, cultural studies and philosophy. Their obvious association with linguistic issues also made them a natural focal point for investigation by contrastive linguists, just as the use of translation in the modern language classroom made them natural candidates for investigation by teachers of foreign languages. Thus, over the years, scholars in many departments of foreign languages and cultures started research on translation. The more scholarly tradition of philosophy, cultural studies and literary studies *versus* modern language instruction is also reflected in TR production in the 1960s and 1970s. By and large, the more abstract theory came from literary circles (the Descriptive Translation Studies group around Hermans, Lambert, Toury and others is a case in point), while language teachers wrote more practical manuals, only a few of which (in particular, Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958) are still quoted for their theoretical contribution.

Despite some initial interest by psychologists and psycholinguists and isolated publications of a scholarly nature in the 1950s and 1960s, research into interpreting only became established when professional interpreter-training programmes within universities took an interest in the subject, in the 1970s (with a special impetus from ESIT, Paris, under the strong leadership of Danica Seleskovitch). Most research into conference interpreting until very recent years was the work of instructors in such programmes (see Pöchhacker, 1995), quite distinct from language departments, where there was some research into translation. The recent popularity of academic writing on both translation and interpreting in language departments has also changed the situation but while TR can be found in departments of literature and cultural studies, in professional training programmes and in language departments, IR has remained mostly circumscribed within conference interpreter training programmes (and common programmes with translation and interpreting).

The community of translation scholars

One corollary of the longstanding traditions in TR *versus* IR and their consequences as previously outlined is a difference between the TR community and the IR community. Initially, most translation scholars were essentially academics rather than practitioners of and/or trainers in translation. Their availability, motivation and training were also essentially academic and similar to that of scholars in most other disciplines, including having had to pass through the usual set of 'filters' (through examinations and peer reviewing) when applying for admission to graduate programmes or doctoral programmes, and when going through the various stages of an academic career.

Since IR started with professional interpreter-training programmes and since most of the research was (and still is) done by interpretation instructors, who are generally supposed to be active interpreters – this is a strong position adopted by AIIC (the International Association of Conference Interpreters), and by CIUTI, the Conférence Internationale des Instituts Universitaires de Traducteurs et Interprètes – their attitude towards research was different. Their main occupation was interpreting and teaching was an interesting but a secondary activity to most of them, and a financially insignificant one, in view of the much higher remuneration levels of conference interpreting in the 1960s and early 1970s. Moreover, since they were not academics in the full sense of the word, research was not part of their work. They had not been trained for it, did not receive any financial compensation for it and did not expect any promotion through their scholarly achievements, not to speak of the time spent involved in research, with its potentially high financial cost (while attending courses, seminars and conferences, they could not accept interpreting assignments – a far from negligible factor which colleagues from TR tend to forget). The first generation of interpreting scholars was thus composed of professional interpreters who were highly motivated for personal, not institutional or professional reasons or who were spurred on by charismatic leaders, such as Danica Seleskovitch. This may also go a long way towards explaining why most of the literature on interpreting during this early period amounted to prescriptive texts, to essays, to introspection and speculation, which require little legwork, as opposed to scholarly work, whether theoretical or empirical. Interestingly, in the Soviet Union, where most interpreters were civil servants

and did not depend on the number of interpreting assignments for their remuneration, more research proper was carried out, including interdisciplinary research – see Čeňková *et al*., 2001).

Recent Developments

Over the past two decades, and especially in the 1990s, the landscapes of TR and IR have evolved considerably and have changed some social and institutional parameters of TS. The most obvious fact is the huge growth of the field, in terms of publications, conferences and authors in the literature (for IR, see Gile, 2000). Underlying this are a number of phenomena:

(1) A natural demographic growth of the discipline: students of the first generation of scholars, who were very young in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s, have had time to develop their own careers and have their own students, who, in some cases, already have their own students in their turn, who make up the third generation of translation and interpretation scholars.
(2) A spectacular growth in the number of translation and interpretation programmes in universities worldwide: this is due in particular to the growing economic and technological interdependence between various parts of their world and to pervasive cultural exchanges (including popular culture).
(3) Increasing popularity and institutionalisation of research. The growing number of scholarly publications and scholarly conferences and symposia in the field of translation has created a pole of attraction for young scholars and young instructors in professional training programmes who might not have been interested in the environment of the 1960s and 1970s.
(4) The rapid development of information technology and the emergence of the Internet as a rapid, cheap, powerful communication tool. The Internet has made much of the activity reported here possible (including distance supervision of theses and dissertations – see Mead [2001] – the management of administrative issues in scholarly associations by individual office-holders living in different countries, the editing of collective volumes by editors living hundreds of miles apart), whereas traditional means of communication such as 'snail mail' could not have sustained the same level of international cooperation in view of the relative isolation of many translation and interpretation scholars and the lack of local institutional and financial support for their research activities. The effects of the Internet are probably going to become more and more salient, in particular with online publication and more intensive international projects.

This growth has been associated with a number of shifts which, to a certain extent, interact with each other.

Foci and paradigms

The growing number of translator- and interpreter-training programmes means that a growing number of researchers are interested in didactic issues. Whereas the topic has been a major one in IR from the start (see Gile, 2000), it has been growing in TR as well, with a more research-oriented approach (as exemplified by Orozco, 2000). This focus has given rise to many descriptive

and prescriptive texts on translator training but has also generated much interest in the translation process (see, for instance, Kussmaul, 1995, Beeby *et al*., 2000; Schäffner & Adab, 2000). This, in turn, has led to a certain rise in popularity of the Think-Aloud-Protocol (TAP) paradigm, an empirical paradigm for indirect observation of the translator's mental operation.

Another important focus for TR is translation for the media, which is becoming a major client for translation (see Gambier & Gottlieb, 2001). Yet another major field of translation activity is localisation, which has also attracted the attention of many authors and is part of many translation conferences. Both of these developments are linked to powerful economic factors which have changed the distribution of professional translation over the years.

As to information technology, its rapid development has also made it possible to use the computer easily and conveniently for large-scale quantitative research using methods derived from corpus linguistics (see *Meta*, 43: 4, 1998; Olohan, 2000).

In interpreting, the growth in the field has not had the same effects, since the environment from which interpreting researchers come, essentially interpreter-training programmes, has remained the same, with the same motivations and the same constraints. The two important changes which have occurred are linked to different factors:

(1) More empirical research: over the past few years, in IR, there is definitely more empirical research (Gile, 2000). However, upon close scrutiny of publication data (see the online *IR(TI)N Bulletin* at http://perso.wanadoo.fr/daniel.gile/), it appears that a large proportion of these studies come from interpreting students' graduation theses, as opposed to studies by experienced researchers. This suggests that the time and effort required to produce an original empirical study are within the reach (and compatible with the motivation) of students, presumably thanks to the support given to them by their supervisors. But as soon as they become professional interpreters, they devote their time to the more lucrative profession of conference interpreting and can no longer find enough motivation to undertake new original research. Thus, the upward trend in the production of empirical research may be more a result of institutional factors, linked to the requirement for a thesis at the end of an academic course than an actual paradigm shift.

(2) More research on dialogue and community interpreting: while it is difficult to pinpoint the precise weight of each factor in its present evolution, it is easy to acknowledge the social need for better provision of such interpreting services in many countries over the past decade or so, and this clear need has led to much interest on the part of public authorities in the relevant countries in research into these forms of public service interpreting. This has been reflected in both funding of and effective cooperation from such authorities in research projects (see Roberts *et al*., 2000) and is generating more research into the relevant types of interpreting.

However, the most important paradigmatic change in both TR and IR is probably the wide acceptance of TS as an 'interdiscipline' (among the many statements and publications about this topic, see the title and preface of Snell-

Hornby *et al*. [1994], which may be a misnomer for the acceptance of much input from neighbouring disciplines. In translation, it is not really new, since over the centuries, comparative linguistics, literature and philosophy were always part of the study of translation. However, new interdisciplinary components have been added, in particular text-linguistics, corpora linguistics, psycholinguistics (in connection with TAP studies), pragmatics, cultural studies. In IR, interdisciplinarity has meant the acceptance and use of cognitive psychology, neurophysiology and, more recently, text-linguistics and pragmatics (see, for instance, Kurz, 1996; Setton, 1999).

Institutional and organisational aspects

Academic translation and interpreting programmes

In institutional terms, the most important factor for both TR and IR is probably the growing proportion of undergraduate and postgraduate translator- and interpreter-training programmes within academic institutions of higher education and the associated need for publications by faculty members and for some graduation-level research by students, as previously explained. In the past, many translation and interpretation courses were part of modern language programmes and did not lead to translation-specific theses, while in high-level professional interpreter- and translator-training programmes, the focus was on professional issues, the instructors were mostly non-academic professionals and research was marginal. In recent years, institutionally speaking, more translator and interpreter instructors are required to do research and acquire higher degrees in order to obtain tenure and promotion.

This had led, in particular, to the creation of an increasing number of doctoral programmes specifically dedicated to translation and interpretation, as opposed to doctoral dissertations being prepared under the umbrella of departments of comparative literature, modern languages, etc.

Research-training programmes

Another important determinant of present research into translation and interpreting is the creation and subsequent development of institutional entities focusing on research. This includes research-training programmes dedicated to translation and interpreting. The first and probably most important is the summer translation research training programme CE(T)RA, set up in 1989 at the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium, at the initiative and under the leadership of José Lambert. The role it has played in the development of research into translation and interpretation (as evidenced by the high proportion of CE(T)RA alumni in TS conferences noted anecdotally, and probably also by its effect on the spread of some DTS-related paradigms in many countries, an effect that could be investigated and confirmed or falsified by scientometric research) can be attributed, to a large part, to two of its features:

(1) the fact that it was designed and operated from the start with participants from all over the world on the 'student' side, and from many countries and streams of TR and IR on the 'staff' side; and
(2) the fact that it operates on a wide, international networking principle, with much continuity and a solid, wide and widening kernel of staff members.

The principle of this intensive research-training programme is being adopted and its implementation is replicated elsewhere. A one-week seminar held in Aarhus, Denmark, in 1997, and tailored to the specific needs of interpreting researchers (see Gambetti & Mead, 1998) is one example. A similar summer school in the UK started in 2002 and other initiatives of the same kind are being planned.

European conferences

European conferences and seminars in the field of TS are a further example of the impact of institutional factors on research. Some of these conferences add 'PhD school' components; such was the case of the conference on 'Text and Translation' held in Prague in March 2002.

Journals and other publications

The launching of scholarly journals is also part of the institutional development of TS. The best examples are probably the young journals *Target* (Tel-Aviv/Leuven), *TTR* (Canada), *The Translator* (Manchester) and, more specifically for interpreting, *The Interpreters' Newsletter* (Trieste and Bologna), and *Interpreting Research/Interpreting Studies* (Tokyo). Such journals are in need of publishable material, which creates a demand for papers and interacts with the academic institutionalisation of TR and IR.

Alongside the journals, there has been strong and sustained commitment of several publishers, in particular John Benjamins (Amsterdam and Philadelphia), with its Benjamins Translation Library, Routledge (London) and St Jerome (Manchester), the last one with a number of publication initiatives besides the journal *The Translator*.

Learned societies

Last, but not least, the role of learned societies in the field of TS should not be neglected. Translators' associations, such as FIT (the International Federation of Translators, founded in 1953) and its affiliated bodies, have been concerned mostly with professional issues and research was not a priority. The founding of scholarly societies and associations specifically devoted to research has had a much greater effect. In Europe, the most visible example is probably that of EST, the European Society for Translation Studies, set up in 1992 in Vienna, with its congresses and involvement in many other research activities, including publications. In Japan, the Japan Association for Interpretation Studies (JAIS) succeeded the Interpreting Research Association of Japan and has attracted a larger number of academic members than its predecessor, which had a larger proportion of non-academic interpreters and interpreter trainers.

The community of translation and interpretation scholars

With respect to the community of translation scholars, the growth in the number of academic translator- and interpreter-training programmes has been associated with a considerable rise in the number of graduation theses and MA theses on translation and interpreting. There is, therefore, an increasing number of authors in the literature. However, at least as far as conference interpreting is concerned, most of the authors of such theses are one-time researchers, and discontinue any scholarly activity after graduating (see Gile,

2000; Pöchhacker, 2000: 98–102), as their professional activity is more attractive than research. The growth in the number of academic translator- and interpreter-training programmes and the ensuing institutionalisation of research in such environments have also generated a more moderate growth in the number of trainers who do research (again, such trends can be documented by scientometric studies).

In qualitative terms, two types of change seem to have occurred, though it is still difficult to measure their amplitude. First, the TS community has become more cohesive as a social group, thanks to an increasing number of conferences and research-training seminars and internet communication, which have allowed geographically dispersed scholars to feel they are part of an international community which has reached the critical mass required for genuine 'academic existence'. Second, from a scholarly viewpoint, the increasing number of calls for an improvement in research standards and the resulting overall awareness of the importance of good scholarship seem to have brought about a change: less introspective speculation, fewer prescriptive texts, more genuine theoretical analysis, more empirical research. My admittedly personal assessment of the situation is that the overall level of scholarship is still too low, more so in terms of rigorous rationale than in terms of thematic knowledge of theories, ideas and facts, but that it is gradually improving.

Prospects for a continued progression in this direction seem bright, because the underlying trends as presented here should have a long life.

Translation Research and Interpreting Research: A Common Nest or Separate Tracks?

The fundamental potential of TR and IR synergy

In this analysis of TR and IR as they have developed and are evolving, I have deliberately chosen to highlight psycho-sociological and environmental determinants, which tend to be neglected in other reviews, rather than the more frequently discussed phenomenological shared ground. Nevertheless, at least one epistemological point should be stressed when considering the potential for partnerships or synergy between the two disciplines (or subdisciplines): since translation and interpreting share so much, the differences between them can help shed light on each, so that besides the autonomous investigation of their respective features, each step in the investigation of one can contribute valuable input towards investigation of the other.

For instance, as interpreters are on site and perform their work as the speaker's production of a source speech unfolds and as the listener's reactions occur, they are able to observe steps in the act of communication to which translators do not have access. Inter alia, they can actually see and hear a speaker stumble when producing his/her speech and are thus aware of the speaker's difficulties and able to detect possible deviations, in the actual words uttered, from what s/he wished to say. This generates a natural set of reformulation strategies which would not be justified if the interpreter did not have solid reasons to suspect a discrepancy between the ordinary meaning of the speaker's words as opposed to his/her real intentions. I had worked as a trans-

lator for 10 years before starting to interpret but only became aware of these phenomena when interpreting and I subsequently developed a systematic approach towards fidelity in both translation and interpreting on this basis (see Gile, 1995b).

In the opposite direction, research on multiple translations of the same text (literary or not) help investigators understand and measure the effect of various linguistic, cultural, sociological, ideological and other factors on the process and the product. Since it is difficult to find multiple interpretations of the same speech, similar research would be difficult to conduct on the same scale in interpreting; and yet, interpreters also follow certain norms and are under the influence of linguistic, cultural, sociological and other factors. In this case, evidence from TR can provide useful input to IR.

Disciplinary/co-disciplinary aspects

Institutional aspects

Are TR and IR part of the same 'TS' discipline? Are they separate? Should IR become part of TR or take an independent path? These questions have been the focus of much reflection within the community of interpreting scholars (see, for instance, Stenzl, 1983; Pöchhacker, 1994), much less so in the community of translation scholars. For some, including Stenzl and Shlesinger, it seems only natural that interpreting, as a specific form of translation, should be part of the general discipline of TS (cf. Shlesinger, [1995a: 9], 'a (sub) discipline in the making within a discipline in the making'). For others, there are institutional reasons: the institutional weakness of interpreting, as described earlier in this chapter, means that it could benefit from the stronger status of TS if considered part of it. Clearly, this rationale does not have the same weight for translation scholars, precisely because of the institutional weakness of IR and its different foci and paradigms, which may jeopardise the already uncertain cohesion of TS by adding more diversity (see later). And yet, over the past decade, interpreters have increasingly participated in TS institutions, as illustrated by several salient examples:

(1) Interpreters have held office within EST from its inception, starting with Franz Pöchhacker, the first Secretary General of the organisation, with Daniel Gile, co-editor of the *EST Newsletter*, and with Heidemarie Salevsky's term of office on its Executive Board. There is continuity in Miriam Shlesinger's two terms on the same Board and in the involvement of many interpreters in all EST activities.
(2) An interpreter (Daniel Gile) was appointed CERA Chair Professor in 1993 and has remained on the 'permanent staff' ever since. Franz Pöchhacker has also taken part in a CE(T)RA summer session. Other interpreters participate in research seminars organised for translators by various universities.
(3) Interpreters regularly participate in translation conferences, are part of organising committees, scientific committees and of editorial teams of conference proceedings.
(4) Similarly, there are interpreters on the editorial boards of translation journals such as *Meta* and *The Translator*.

Thus, although the status of interpreting as part of TS is not necessarily acknowledged in texts presenting the discipline, in effective terms, it does seem to take an active part in its institutional life. This contradiction requires an additional analysis (see later).

Interdisciplinarity

As mentioned earlier, interdisciplinarity is one of the major trends in the recent development of both translation and interpreting. However, such interdisciplinarity is rather different in translation from what it is in interpreting. In particular, cognitive psychology and neurophysiology, which are being explored for the purpose of gaining better insight into the interpreter's mental operation/brain, call for experimental set-ups and theoretical components which are marginal in research on written translation. Symmetrically, the TAP paradigm used in research into written translation is difficult to implement in interpreting (the interpreter's job is to produce a spoken translation, to which a running comment on the process cannot be added) – though there has been an attempt to use other introspective methods (see Kalina's account in Gambier *et al*., 1997: 118–120) and the use of techniques from corpus linguistics in interpreting requires a large mass of transcripts, which, at this point, can only be secured manually at the cost of a forbiddingly large amount of work.

Even within (written) TR, some scholars believe that the paradigms are too diversified to actually refer to a single discipline. Their rejection of IR because of the added spread of concepts and methods is, therefore, easy to understand.

IR's foci and methods are also spread over a rather wide spectrum: conference-interpreting research has always had its focus on the interpreting process (Shlesinger, 1995a; Danks *et al*., 1997), with the resulting primary relevance of cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics, neurophysiology and neurolinguistics (Gran, 1992), and it is now also looking at the product in terms of pragmatics, text-linguistics and phonology, whereas dialogue and court interpreting are more oriented towards ethical issues, sociological issues and psychological issues (see Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002). Moreover, as explained earlier, social and economic factors and, in particular the differences between conference interpreters and other types of interpreters have suggested that, in both professional and research terms, the two communities are quite different. Some efforts have been devoted recently to bringing them together and some conference-interpreting researchers have shown increasing interest in dialogue interpreting (in particular, Pöchhacker – see Pöchhacker, 2000). Nevertheless, so far, the actual effects of such efforts seem uncertain.

Prospects for shared ground

Ironically, such internal cohesion problems in TR, on the one hand, and IR, on the other, suggest that the two disciplines are not so distant from each other or, rather, that the distance between some TR foci and paradigms and some IR foci and paradigms is sometimes smaller than the 'internal' distance between foci and paradigms within each of these disciplines. The following are a few examples:

Didactic issues: Training issues have been central to IR from the beginning and have become central in TR as well over the past decade or so. The basic issues in both fields are similar. What are the basic requirements for good translators/interpreters? What are the most effective ways to train them? What tools

are best for the measurement of competence acquisition? What is the relevance of an artificial classroom situation to the field situation? What is the best relationship between language enhancement and professional know-how acquisition in the classroom? What is the best institutional position of translator/interpreter training in the academic establishment? What is the best role for professional translators/interpreters (as opposed to academics) in the classroom? What is the role of translation/interpretation theory in the classroom? Should trainers use authentic texts/speeches or didactic materials? Two recent doctoral dissertations, one on competence measurement by Orozco (2000) in the field of translation (also see assessment issues in *Meta* 46(2), (2001) and the other on curricula by Sawyer (2001) in the field of conference interpreting, show how convergent such research efforts can be.

Furthermore, much is common to translation and interpreting with respect to the communication situation in the field, as well as to the classroom situation. They have much in common with respect to fidelity principles and problems (see Gile, 1995b), to the prerequisites in terms of language skills and extralinguistic knowledge, to *ad hoc* information acquisition strategies, to ethical issues, to process-oriented *versus* product-oriented teaching strategies, etc. This is why translation and interpreting are often taught together, albeit in a variety of relationships (translation with interpreting, translation as a preparation for interpreting, consecutive interpreting as part of translation training, etc. – see Sawyer [2001]).

Such research could, in particular, take the form of observational studies of the students' progress and difficulties, the testing of various experimental classroom procedures or the development of assessment tools (see, in particular, Orozco, 2000).

The didactic area is, thus, one where shared features definitely call for an exploration of the possibilities for common research endeavours without major institutional or methodological difficulties, with the added advantage that the potential benefits of translation training for interpreters and *vice versa* are an important issue in the training environment and investigation into the matter could be highly profitable.

Quality perception issues: Yet another central research area for both translation and interpretation is that of quality perception, i.e. investigation into how receivers of the product (the target text or target speech) perceive it. Common issues are fidelity norms (what deviations from the source text/speech are considered 'legitimate'?) and their variability (see, for example, Gile, 1999b), sensitivity to errors and omissions, as well as the relative importance of various quality parameters (quality of language, fidelity, professional behaviour, etc.).

Methodologically, such issues are often investigated through questionnaires and interviews as well as by text-marking by assessors. A major difference between translation and interpretation is the fact that, in translation, it is a written product which is submitted to respondents and/or assessors, whereas in interpreting, ideally, it is a speech. When it is not, the assessment is problematic, due to the loss of such elements as prosody (see Collados Aís, 1998). However, much of the thinking and the development of methods in one discipline could benefit from the work and findings in the other, and the relative

popularity of quality perception studies in the field of conference interpreting could benefit the less popular field of reception studies in translation, while serious investigation of translation criticism could provide good input for studies on quality perception in interpreting.

Language skill issues: Translators and interpreters require specific operational skills in language comprehension and production. As mentioned earlier, requirements differ markedly but common issues emerge. In particular, both translators and interpreters need to develop an ability to produce statements in the target language without being influenced by the source language text or speech they are translating. Both translators and interpreters need some maintenance of their working languages if they do not wish attrition to set in (Gile, 1995b). Both translators and interpreters have active languages and passive languages, with excellent production skills in the former and excellent comprehension skills in the latter, in an unusually unbalanced set of skills (active *versus* passive) if looked at from the usual language-learning and assessment paradigms.

These skills need to be more precisely defined and measured, with possible applications in terms of working language additions, which may become an important part in the translators' and interpreters' lifelong adjustment to changing working environments. Such descriptive and analytical research work could well be shared within projects common to translators and interpreters (and to linguists specialised in bilingualism and language training).

Target-text description: Yet another central component of both TR and IR is target-text description, not only for the analysis of the product itself, most importantly for quality assessment (see *Meta* 46:2), but also for comparison of the source text and the target text and, in particular, for the assessment of the effect of independent variables (previous knowledge of the subject, previous training, experience, translation and interpretation techniques) and of strategies on the target text.

Again, there are marked differences between interpretation and translation in this respect, most conspicuously in the existence of body language and in the importance of delivery parameters in interpreting (including voice quality and prosody) against the print-only nature of translation (see a discussion in Dam, 2001). Nevertheless, researchers do continue to use transcripts of target speeches made by interpreters to analyse various parameters, including errors, omissions, proposition matching, lexical choices, syntactic choices etc. on the basis of words and linguistic structures *per se* (see, for instance, Shlesinger, 1989, 1995b, Lamberger-Felber, 1998; Mizuno, 1999; Diriker, 2001; Komatsu 2001; Gile, 2001; Schjoldager, 2001; Wadensjö, 2001) – a valiant attempt to devise a transcript system which includes other hyper-text features was made by Pöchhacker (1994) but does not seem to have been used much so far. Work on descriptive tools that will allow more precise and reliable measurements in both translation and interpreting is required as a matter of some urgency, and translators and interpreters share similar views on the relationship between the actual text and the author's/speaker's intention in a verbal communication act.

Personality issues: Yet another set of issues which are of relevance and interest for both professional and didactic purposes (admission tests for students most likely to succeed as interpreters or translators) have to do with the interpreter's and translator's personality. Personality features are clearly of some importance for dialogue interpreters working for customers experiencing a crisis and for liaison interpreters who have an intercultural mediation role to play besides the transmission of information. Furthermore, some recent evidence suggests that affective factors also play a role in the *quality* of professional translation (Jääskeläinen, 1999), which makes personality makeup relevant from a different perspective. What are the features that will make translators steadfast enough in their translation optimisation efforts over the long term, what are the features that will make conference interpreters capable of withstanding the stress and of taking the right decisions on the spot when certain difficulties arise? What are the personality features that will make community interpreters capable of having the right approach with their clients, with both public authorities and ethnic minorities? What personality features make for happy translators *versus* happy interpreters?

Many of the tools used to determine personality profiles are questionnaire- and interview-based personality tests and can be administered to translators and interpreters alike and research in this field can be conducted jointly by translation and interpretation researchers.

Sociological issues: An issue that comes up often in analyses of the translators' and interpreters' professional environment is the social status problem, in view of the low level of recognition and lack of recognised qualification norms for translators and interpreters in many countries. An investigation of translators' and interpreters' social status would certainly be welcomed by professional associations and trade unions and might lead to some action aimed at raising translators' and interpreters' status and their associated working conditions, including their level of remuneration and hierarchical positions in companies which employ them.

Other issues are more discipline-specific: for instance, the status of community interpreters in the eyes of the ethnic community from which they come *versus* the attitude of the public authorities which employ them are not as important in translation. However, again, investigation methods can, to a large extent, be shared by translation researchers and interpretation researchers.

Research methodology and policy issues: Last but far from least in this list, TR and IR share common interests with respect to research methodology and research policy, because of both the shared ground in the nature of translation and interpreting and the issues they are addressing as research disciplines, including the following ones:

(1) *A tension between practitioners and researchers:* Most established academic disciplines are either self-contained and focus on the production of knowledge (history, literature, astronomy, archaeology) or produce knowledge and apply it outside the academic field (mathematics, physics, biology, psychology, linguistics, sociology). Translation and interpretation are very different insofar as they do not use knowledge produced from within but process *external* information and knowledge, i.e. the author's or speaker's.

If translators and interpreters cannot use *knowledge* gained from research into these disciplines, in their eyes, the justification of such research would lie in its production of *know-how* enhancement. So far, there does not seem to be enough evidence that research has contributed to the translators' and interpreters' know-how to convince them of its usefulness.

This fact, combined with sociological issues having to do with the status of academic research *versus* the status of practical translation and interpretation work, has created some tension (see, for example, Danaher, 1992), which both disciplines should try to resolve.

(2) *An uncertain academic status:* In institutional terms, TR is only just starting to gain some academic autonomy, with a small number of translation departments and translation chairs, while most translation scholars are still on the staff of either professional translation schools or departments of literature, of modern languages, etc. IR is even less institutionalised in this sense of the word. In fact, many academics from other disciplines still fail to see the point in 'so-called research' into translation and interpreting – just as practitioners of translation and interpreting do. Others still consider that translation and interpreting should be part of linguistics, while some active translation and/or interpretation scholars find that it is in their interest to keep their activity within the field of comparative literature, cultural studies, philosophy, linguistics or psychology, which have a recognised academic status, with all the associated advantages.

The issue is compounded by the aspiration towards interdisciplinarity, as partnerships established with other disciplines are almost always unbalanced: the status, power, financial means and actual research competence generally lie mostly with the partner discipline. Moreover, interdisciplinarity adds to the spread of paradigms and may, therefore, weaken further the status of TR and IR as autonomous disciplines.

The development of more numerous and stronger translation- and interpretation-training programmes in universities around the world is changing the situation for the better, but wise orientation in research policy by leaders of the community could contribute significantly.

(3) *Gaps in baseline research expertise and research-training requirements:* As mentioned earlier in this chapter, many translation scholars are qualified researchers who have gone through the institutional training and selection processes within their parent disciplines before reaching their academic position. However, interdisciplinarity has caused many to move away from their initial disciplines and embrace research paradigms for which they are not prepared. The most striking example is that of scholars with a background in literary translation attempting empirical research involving questionnaires, interviews, TAP research. In interpreting, the problem is even more salient, as most authors of publications have had no training in research and many take up experimental research with experience only in interpreting and interpreter training, supplemented by whatever ideas and knowledge about research they may have gleaned by reading other publications. Indeed, as more people with a similar non-academic background join the TS community, a higher proportion of translation scholars find themselves in a situation similar to that of their colleagues from interpreting. The result is overall methodological weakness in TS. See, for

instance, Toury's criticism, centered around a less-than-perfect implementation in TR of methods from other disciplines (Toury, 1991), as well as the numerous reviews of books, theses and dissertations in the literature, where criticism is often fundamental on methodological issues – perhaps the lack of rigorous thinking among TS scholars is most easily seen in the way the literature is (ab)used in many cases (see Gile, 1999c).

Part of the answer lies in research training, be it as a regular activity in translation and interpretation programmes or in the form of specific training seminars (see, for example, Gerzymisch-Arbogast, 2001). While specific research methods depend on the issues studied, which can be literary, linguistic, historical, sociological, cultural, psychological, neurophysiological, etc., the fundamental approach of science is common to a wide range of disciplines, and many paradigms are used, or could be used, in both TR and IR (this applies in particular, to text description and analysis, to experimental designs, to survey studies – see Gile *et al.*, 1997; 2001).

A Tentative Conclusion

Most of the shared features and differences between translation and interpreting reviewed in this chapter may seem obvious to readers but, nevertheless, to my knowledge, their influence on TR and IR has not been evaluated systematically so far. In this necessarily incomplete overview, an attempt has been made to highlight the importance of some determinants of TR and IR. By way of a conclusion, I should like to submit to the combined TS community the following ideas:

(1) When analysing the evolution of research into translation and interpreting, it might be wise to give much more weight to social and psychological factors than has been done so far. Whatever the objective facts, research is conducted by individuals, who act if motivated. To what I believe to be a marginal extent, such motivation may arise from the 'objective' importance of issues for society at large (the importance of getting a religious message across, of giving the largest possible number of people access to vital scientific information, of catering to the needs of ethnic minorities in immigration countries). However, far more important is the personal motivation of individual researchers. In traditional academic disciplines, such motivation is provided by institutional mechanisms (professional promotion through research activity, the peer-review system, competition). Roughly speaking, such institutional mechanisms only act strongly in the humanities area of translation research and only upstream of TS, i.e. in the parent disciplines, and become much weaker within TS, a small community which wishes to grow. These mechanisms should be strengthened.

(2) Translation and interpreting share much, both as professional activities and as research areas. Each has cohesion problems due to the wide spread of paradigms and foci they both cover. Both their common ground and the issues raised by their interdisciplinary nature and aspirations make them natural partners in development, as indeed can be seen through the participation of many interpreting scholars (minority partners) in joint translation- and interpreting-research activities and institutions. However, levels

of motivation and competing motives (in the case of conference interpreting, the social and financial attractiveness of interpreting assignments as opposed to research) may mean that it will be difficult to enlist conference-interpreting researchers for sustained high-intensity participation in such partnerships, especially participation requiring their physical presence in specific places at specific times.

(3) Over the past decade or so, the TR and IR scenes have been changing rapidly, along with changes in environmental conditions (the conference-interpreting market may be shrinking, the localisation market and translation-for-the-media market may be developing), with the increasing availability of communication and data-processing technologies (Internet technology, computers and linguistic corpora), with new interest by governments and industry in particular types of translation or interpretation (court interpreting and community interpreting, software localisation, translation for the media). Even in TR, despite the weight of tradition, especially in literary translation, changes have been rapid. The most striking examples are the rise (and fall?) of the TAP paradigm in translation, as well as the present popularity of corpora work, and the rising popularity of research into public service/community/dialogue interpreting in the field of IR.

The wide spread of environments, foci and paradigms in both TR and IR are undeniable, and so are the epistemological and methodological problems they raise. But evidence in terms of interpersonal relationships, cross-citation, academic institutionalisation, conferences and publications seems to suggest that at a global level (as opposed to a local or a national level), TS is not on the verge of breaking down into components to be absorbed by the larger adjacent disciplines such as linguistics, comparative literature, psychology, cultural studies, etc. In fact, it seems to be gaining both social cohesion and some weight as an academic identity.

Under the circumstances, TR and IR are natural partners, which do not threaten each other, and can cooperate with each other. Many interpreting researchers (such as Kalina, Pöchhacker, Schjoldager, Shlesinger, Stenzl to quote just a few), have found interesting ideas and methods in TR which they have used in IR. If TR scholars keep their minds open to ideas and methods found in the IR literature, they may well find them productive in TR as well.

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Note: When dealing with a topic as wide as the one tackled in this chapter, it is impossible to provide an even remotely comprehensive coverage and choices must be made. Many important publications relevant to the various points discussed in this chapter have not been listed and I apologise to the numerous authors concerned. Self-citations indicate texts where more detailed discussions of points made here can be found, and are a way of avoiding unnecessary repetition. I have also tried to indicate collective volumes where several relevant papers can be found, to list at least some references in languages other than English and to highlight recent doctoral and other work with which TS scholars may not yet be familiar.

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Chapter 2

The Debate[1]

True and False Opposites

Peter Newmark (University of Surrey): I would argue that the title of Daniel Gile's paper reflects a false opposition. The true opposition in my view is between interpretation in general and non-literary translation. Interpretation in general includes public service interpretation. We do have literary translation but there is no such thing as literary interpretation as a mode of translation. Literary translation is concerned with the mind or imagination, whilst non-literary translation is about the world, extralinguistic reality. There are also resemblances between the two: both types of translators are trying to arrive at the truth. The trouble with the majority of books on translatology is that this distinction is not made.

Daniel Gile (Université Lumière Lyon 2): Perhaps there is a false opposition when you talk about literary translation *versus* non-literary translation. The difference may lie in different weights of the same translation components in different contexts. When dealing with practical issues, such as training, the distinction is useful. But if you want to get as close as possible to the 'truth', to what is really essential, I am not even convinced that there is a fundamental difference between literary translators and non-literary translators. There is no real opposition as far as I'm concerned.

Peter Newmark: I completely disagree. For non-literary translation, the truth is the factual truth and in literary translation, the truth is the moral and aesthetic truth, unless it's trivial literature but that's another matter.

Janet Fraser (University of Westminster): Instead of straightforward opposites, we might be thinking in terms of two hierarchies, i.e. types of interpreting and types of interpreter, and types of translation and types of translator. Your chapter, Daniel, referred to the status or the glamour that is supposedly attached to a lot of interpreting. I wonder if, in fact, if you were to join those two hierarchies together, you might produce a new hierarchy. Up at the top, you would probably have the literary translators along with the conference interpreters and, down at the bottom, you would have the people doing translations of, let's say, tourist literature, along perhaps with the court interpreters. Those are just examples but that perhaps represents where the kudos in research comes from. In terms of research, the thrust has very much been on the literary side, the big names come out of literary translation or perhaps from conference interpreting. Wouldn't we rather have to see things as more disaggregated?

Margaret Rogers (University of Surrey): But we must not forget the power of terms either. Outside of the walls of academia, you hear the term 'commercial translator', which is set up as an opposition to 'literary translator'. It is always said with some disdain and you can imagine the modifiers that go with it: 'only' or 'just', and so on, and this is the perception.

Anne Pearce (London): Based on my own experience as a conference interpreter, I can tell you that thinking of conference interpreting as a high-level, glamorous life is a slightly misleading image. I never say to people 'I'm a conference interpreter', without some additional explanation; there's no point in Britain anyway, because an interpreter is often seen as being on the same sort of level as a multilingual secretary.

Gunilla Anderman (University of Surrey): 'Opposition' seems to be a key word; it also struck me when I read Daniel's chapter. It seems to characterise the climate we're working in: literary and commercial translation, and one 'must' be inferior to the other; practitioner *versus* academic; linguistic study *versus* literary study; and so on. I think these oppositions need to be seen in the context of the academic approach, which is that language has never been considered as important as literature. If you study, say French language and literature, it's generally considered that it's the literature that's the interesting part but not the language. I think that in other parts of Europe, where you have speakers of lesser-used European languages, you're aware of the importance of the language side much more than you are in many cases here in the UK. And this is reflected in the attitude towards translation which is seen as something of lesser importance. We can talk about getting over those views and cooperating but some of this opposition seems inevitable and will not disappear quickly.

Daniel Gile: I think it is quite true in France as well. To laypersons, students and even faculty and researchers in many fields, language is just language, which everybody can learn, whereas literature is much more prestigious. And teaching translation, especially non-literary translation, is at the bottom of the scale, because it is tantamount to teaching some specific use of language. But I think there are ways out. We can try to do away with all these hierarchies. There is now much opportunity for new research into translation, and scholars have the chance of doing studies that can be perceived as useful by society. These old oppositions may well fade away to a considerable extent if the tone is set in a certain way. I don't think that translation of advertising, or public service interpreting need to be considered 'low-level'. Some very good TS scholars such as Franz Pöchhacker from Austria, Roda Roberts from Canada or Ruth Morris from Israel have recently published on interpreting in hospitals and, more generally, in public services. When such people get interested in so-called low-level forms of translation and interpreting, the status of these forms of translating and interpreting may rise.

Janet Fraser: All this is linked to the question: why are we doing research? Are we purely interested in devising theory? Are we interested in devising theory to assist with training; or are we researching to help the profession? I think these are three very different things.

Palma Zlateva (University of Leeds): We are doing research in order to find out how translation or interpreting happens and be able to explain why it may happen in different ways in different circumstances. On the basis of evidence we can arrive at some plausible explanation, and this can help the practitioners too. I don't think you go into research with the expressed aim of developing a theory for a specific use. Nobody expects literary theory to teach people how to write novels or poems but, for some reason, a lot of people seem to think that translation theory is for teaching translators how to translate.

Types of Research

Janet Fraser: Daniel's chapter has 'Translation Research' in the title. In my mind, however, there is a very clear distinction between 'translation research' and 'translation studies research'. This distinction is clear to me, and it probably reflects my own background but I'd like to know how other people see the faultline, if indeed they do see a faultline.

Gunilla Anderman: My interpretation would be that translation research would be the type of research that would tell you how to become a better translator, i.e. related to the practice, the practical aspect of a translator's task. With Translation Studies, you also want to see, for instance, how something in translation was received, so this means that you branch into culture and various other aspects. Which also means having more awareness and being able to advance the subject in general. But that might be a totally idiosyncratic view.

Christina Schäffner (Aston University): I have never made a terminological difference between the two. I'm afraid that a differentiation between translation research as being more practical, and translation studies research as being more concerned with the conceptual level and more abstract reflection, would just bring another opposition into the discipline.

Margaret Rogers: I would see the division differently, bringing in a slightly different perspective. Translation studies is usually associated with literary studies, cultural studies and so-on. A literary text, though, is broadly speaking one sort of genre, and there are many other genres of text which you could also study from a research perspective. If you talk about translation studies research *versus* translation research, I think you miss those other types of texts. That links in also with your earlier point about the prestige hierarchy, what's at the top and what's at the bottom. If you translate tourist brochures, you're obviously at the bottom of the pile, and if you do research in tourist brochures, you're at the bottom of the pile. But this fails to understand that what you're actually looking at is texts, whether they are literary texts, or special language texts, or whatever. I would see translation as a text-based discipline, and not necessarily as translation *versus* translation studies.

Beverly Adab (Aston University): I'd like to add one point to what Margaret has just said. When we talk about different types of genre or text having a certain value as a research object, I think we are simply perpetuating views brought in from other disciplines. In that way, we are ourselves contributing to the divide between practitioners and academics, because what practitioners do and work with, is not necessarily what outsiders might perceive as being hierarchically high status objects for research. Until we can resolve our feelings about that, we're not going to be able to come to a point where we can bridge the gap and actually benefit from each other's work.

Peter Newmark: Anybody would know what translation research is but translation studies research would be presumably the analysis and criticism of two or three books about translation. Translation studies research would be quite useless, unless it was related to translation research. In other words, it oughtn't to have any kind of autonomous existence, including this aspect of reception, which I don't rate very highly, although it's interesting sociologically.

Janet Fraser: I thought the background of the researchers might be seen as a distinguishing criterion, i.e. whether they come really from linguistics and language, or whether they come from literary theory and language. Obviously the language is the common element, so you imagine two linked icebergs below the surface and the language is there below the surface but the bit that shows is these different origins. But our discussion just confirms that people are using terms slightly differently. I acknowledge that not everybody will find the distinction helpful.

Margaret Rogers: Daniel, could you please explain what you understand by empirical research in translation and interpreting?

Daniel Gile: Empirical research is research that deals mostly with facts, with evidence. This does not mean that it has nothing to do with theory, or even that it is not somehow theory-based, but it mainly collects and processes data. Theoretical research deals mainly with ideas, analyses, theories, not necessarily drawing on evidence.

Margaret Rogers: This definition of yours begs another question, which is what do we count as evidence? Just take the debate in theoretical linguistics about the nature of evidence. If you subscribe to a systems-based model, as in universal grammar, then introspection is a valid type of evidence. But if you take a more use-based model, such as corpus linguistics, then introspection is, crudely speaking, not a valid type of evidence. There is also a third model of elicitation, which we take from psycholinguistics and early experiments in language acquisition. The nature of evidence is thus very relevant and if you relate that to some of the questions we are asking about research in translation or translation studies, whatever you want to call it, then I think this impinges directly on your view of whether something might be theory or whether you regard it as empirical. I don't think this is actually such a simple question.

Daniel Gile: I agree that it is not a simple question. However, asking what evidence is valid and what evidence is not, whether from introspection or from a corpus, is a rather different question. Evidence from introspection, however valid or non-valid, is empirical, and ideas lie in the theoretical realm. As to approaches, they can combine theoretical and empirical components and methods considered 'objective' or 'scientifically valid' by hard-nosed experimentalists with more qualitative methods. Peter Mead (2001) did his doctoral work on pauses in consecutive interpreting. He measured the evolution of various types of pauses in the production of the target speech in consecutive interpreting. He made so-called 'objective' measurements, using a computer screen showing exactly when the voice stopped and when it started again, measuring length and frequency of pauses. He also used retrospective reports, i.e., he had people listen to the recording of their output and asked them why they paused in certain places. Both types of input are evidence, though some researchers might argue that one type is more 'valid' than the other.

Margaret Rogers: Well, that's why I hesitated when I said corpus linguistics. Of course, it provides observational evidence, it is evidence-based in this sense. But when you're interpreting data from corpus-based studies, you introspect about what's relevant and about what's not relevant.

Daniel Gile: Aren't you always interpreting data? Is there any case when you're not?

Peter Newmark: I just want to say that I don't think corpus linguistics is complete as a subject of research without a consideration of keywords which is more a subject of introspection. Although there are some statistics, keywords have not been sufficiently regarded as a subject in corpus linguistics and also in translation studies.

Janet Fraser: Daniel mentioned the tension between practitioners and researchers, a topic that is very dear to my own heart. I would say that especially in the case of action research, there is a chance to overcome such a tension, since we see practitioners in the role of researcher. Would you agree?

Daniel Gile: Action research has been conducted in sociology, anthropology, education science, and increasingly also in translating and interpreting research. We know the advantages, i.e. access to the people, access to the scene, direct observation. We also know the risks involved in it, in particular bias and insufficient distance from the phenomenon under study. I try to focus on the advantages. But I think that as soon as a practitioner becomes a researcher, some tension may arise, because his or her approach will be different from that of the 'pure' practitioner, and because either implicitly or explicitly, s/he will claim or be (mis-)perceived as claiming some scientific 'superiority' of his or her knowledge or view of translation over the practitioner's.

Research Methods in Translation and Interpreting

Mary Phelan (Dublin City University): A problem I see, especially in empirical research, is access to material. It seems to me that it's much easier to have access to materials for translating than for interpreting. If you want to do research on translation, there's so much stuff out there: there's EU documents, there's material on hospitals for multilingual patients, huge quantities – your only problem is choosing. When it comes to interpreting, on the other hand, you've a whole load of obstacles in your way. If you want to do research in conference interpreting, you have to get permission to record, you have to get permission from the interpreter to use material. Then you have the problem that if you ask for permission before, this may affect the quality of material that is produced. There are similar problems with public service interpreting. Research on court interpreting in Ireland is hampered by the fact that recording is not allowed in court. Police interviews with interpreting are one good source because usually video recordings are made, or audio recordings, or both, but you have to go through procedures to get access to that material. In the case of medical interpreting, you have to go through ethics committees. In a word, it is much more difficult to get started in interpreting research.

Maria Teresa Musacchio (University of Trieste): These difficulties in finding material are mainly due to the fact that interpreting is a process, whereas in most cases of research in translation, you are working with a product. In some research in translation, for instance research into revising, you come up with problems that are very similar to what you find in interpreting, because then you are exploring the process and not so much the final product.

Peter Newmark: The word 'scientometric' analysis which Daniel used suggests that research can be measured in a stricter way than I think is possible. You can include some counting in your research, for instance, you

have a sentence which has been translated in three different ways and you put at the top the most frequent translation, i.e. the norm. The norm has its interest but it doesn't include sensitive writing, so that we can't measure an imaginative or inspired translation. Research is necessary and always welcome but there are so many factors involved in translation, which is why it is an interdiscipline. And because of this, research in translation doesn't just require science or an ability to count.

Daniel Gile: Indeed, people say you cannot measure the nature of translation – and you cannot measure the nature of sensitive writing. Would you not say that you cannot measure the *nature* of health either? And yet, we use quantitative indicators to measure body temperature, heart rate, blood pressure, etc. Don't they give us useful input for an assessment of our health status? What empirical research does is use indicators to try to establish correlations between values that can be measured and entities that cannot be measured. You referred to sensitive writing; actually, you also perform measurement when you say that one piece of writing is sensitive and another is not. Classifying into categories is also part of measurement. My claims on the power and usefulness of quantitative methods are far more modest than some people make them to be. In one recent paper on scientometric analysis as applied to research into the history of conference interpreting research (Gile, 2000), I explicitly address the limitations of quantification, and argue with examples from my evidence that, in some cases, numbers taken as sole evidence do not tell us the truth but distort it.

Moira Inghilleri (Goldsmiths College, University of London): Daniel, you made a distinction between the usefulness of the concept of norms in conference interpreting and public service interpreting. You said that, in conference interpreting, power is not an issue and that social issues, including power relations, are more relevant to public service interpreting. Therefore, norms would be of greater relevance to public service interpreting than for conference interpreting. I think that norms are very relevant as an overarching theoretical approach to translational activity in general.

Daniel Gile: My distinction actually refers to priorities perceived by the research community rather than to usefulness. The norm concept has recently taken on more relevance in the eyes of conference-interpreting scholars as well but their initial priority was studying cognitive aspects of the interpreting process.

Moira Inghilleri: I was keen to clarify that because, to me, norm theory addresses the social dimension of interpreting activity whatever the context. The norm concept is useful in explaining the link between micro- and macro-aspects of language use. I was just concerned that you were suggesting that norms are more relevant where issues of power and conflict are particularly obvious when, to me, it is a very useful theoretical window into the social relations involved in all translational or interpreting activity.

Daniel Gile: Yes, and into any use of language, in particular in a sociolinguistic perspective.

Theory and Practice

Sonia Russell (Canterbury)[2]: Speaking as a professional interpreter, I think it is very important to draw practitioners into research and I wonder how this could be done. Practitioners, particularly of interpreting, feel very isolated from the academic world.

Moira Inghilleri: We have mentioned action research before and this has also worked quite successfully in the field of education, as I can confirm from my own experience of doing research in an educational context. Education has become informed by linguistics, sociolinguistics, psychology, to name but a few. Some very interesting partnerships have been formed between researchers and practitioners, i.e. teachers, who take on some of the theories from whomever it may be that's working with them, and both inform the theory as practitioners but also bring some of that theory into being in their classrooms. It can work as a real partnership, although it can also cause a lot of conflict because some practitioners feel that there's nothing to be learned from theory and some academics often refuse the realities of the classroom. But such conflicts should not be exaggerated. Any such partnership serves a dual purpose: it can move theory along and it can inform practice and perhaps improve practice.

Sonia Russell: Cooperation that can take place between teachers and researchers is perhaps a special case, because teachers are still within the academic community. I think that the problems that we have, certainly in interpreting and interpreting research, is that we are so far apart, there's nothing to hold us together.

Moira Inghilleri: Primary and secondary school teachers as well do not feel themselves to be part of any academic community. But they begin to see themselves as forming a part of it, when they become involved as researchers of their own practices and then the links are made.

Janet Fraser: Speaking from my own perspective, I can say that it is not difficult at all to get the professionals involved in research. In the UK, we have two professional translation bodies, the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI) and the Institute of Linguists (IoL), i.e. a great pool of people whose expertise could be tapped. I am an active member of both bodies, I always contact other members, and I've never ever had trouble getting professionals involved. They are usually only too pleased to be asked. For the last piece of research I did, I got 41 people to interview on the telephone and I only had to approach 43. In other words, only two turned me down. But only very few academics seem to belong to our own professional bodies, which I can't understand. To me it seems obvious that through membership one would actually establish one's own credibility in the discipline.

Beverly Adab: It's actually very difficult as an academic to become a member of ITI, because one doesn't have a sufficient annual turnover to justify inclusion.

Janet Fraser: I'd like to say that ITI has now a far broader base for associate membership, thus making it much easier for academics to join.

Gunilla Anderman: I was the Chair of the Education and Training Committee of the ITI for five years. And after having been asked to take over as chair, it took two or three years to make me a member because I hadn't been

translating a sufficient number of words. The bureaucracy that was attached to this was absolutely astounding. So I can see that many academics would have been discouraged from trying to take out membership of the ITI, and this development Janet has mentioned is a good sign that things are getting better. I became active because the opportunities that come with membership, e.g. communicating via the *ITI Bulletin*, are a successful way of bridging the gap between academics and practitioners.

Margaret Rogers: I can give another example of how synergy between academia and professional bodies can operate, in both directions. The ITI was recently discussing in their admissions committee whether terminologists and lexicographers should be included in the professional association. I was asked to provide some arguments as to why terminologists and lexicographers should be included, and I used more or less academic arguments. I illustrated how the history of translation had developed in synergy with terminology work, and similar academic arguments. And this was appreciated.

Sonia Russell: Membership might be useful but I can't see the necessity in any case for academics to join these organisations, like ITI or the National Register of Public Service Interpreters, which is what most of us professionals do. Very often all you need is communicating with the members through their bodies. If you want to get practitioners involved in research, you would be able to reach them in that way.

Daniel Gile: I think that's a very important question. How do we draw practitioners in? Another possibility is to take advantage of the graduation theses our students are required to write in some countries. We want students to find intellectual stimulation and enjoyment in this work. We need to guide them so that their research effort is sufficient to provide stimulation, some input to the research community and enjoyment for themselves. This means we cannot be too ambitious or ask for too much, otherwise they will get discouraged. Once they have completed their theses, they may have a different view of what research is like than practitioners who have never been in direct contact with it, even if they don't go into research themselves after graduation.

Annalisa Sandrelli (University of Bologna, Forlì School for Interpreters and Translators): I think that one of the links could come from more involvement of practitioners in university courses. For example, the people teaching on medical science courses are doctors. We should have the same practice in our own field. If you haven't got any awareness of what professional translation and/or interpreting is, you can't teach it. I think universities should take the initiative to get more practitioners involved in their teaching, to give students up-to-date perspectives on market conditions, for example. We could set up more *stage* periods in translation companies, because there's not enough of that being done, at least in some countries, including Italy.

Margaret Rogers: Some of this already happens. We are actually quite fortunate in the UK higher education system in that we have relative freedom to employ people who don't have doctorates, who don't have a standard academic background. This is not the case in many other countries. I think that's a plus point for the UK in so far as involving professionals in academic training courses is concerned.

Anne Pearce: When you are talking about bringing in professionals to teach,

there seems to be an assumption that they might be the best ones to do it, which is not necessarily the case. Professionals aren't always the best ones to tell other people how they do what it is they do because they also need some sort of feedback from the academic world and from the research world, which is something else which is not happening.

Mary Phelan: I fully agree with Anne. We all complain about people assuming that if you're bilingual, you can interpret. And if you can interpret, it doesn't actually mean that you can teach interpreting, it's a similar kind of corollary there.

Beverly Adab: I think we perpetuate the divide as well. Annalisa referred to medicine, people who lecture in medical schools have to be trained medics first, trained practitioners. For academics in our field, however, there isn't the opportunity to be a trained practitioner and an academic in the same way, there isn't the obligation either. When we talk about getting practitioners involved in academic training, we must not overlook that there are financial implication for the practitioners, because academia can't match the loss of income which would be involved in bringing them in. There are obstacles that are inherent to our discipline that we've got to resolve.

Gunilla Anderman: All the applied translation courses at my university are actually taught by professional translators. Even if we can't match what industry would pay them, it's quite interesting that many of them enjoy getting out and working with students. They even take that loss in income, because they feel that it gives them an opportunity to meet with people, because translation can be a lonely occupation.

Myriam Salama-Carr (University of Salford): On the basis of my own experience of leading a course on a programme in translators' training, I can confirm that the profession is involved and professionals are keen to be involved as well. You mentioned the loss of income: it is quite amazing to see how you can get professional translators and interpreters coming and teaching on a course for a nominal fee that doesn't probably cover one hour of their time if they were translating or interpreting. I would have thought that on most training courses, professionals are involved nowadays. It may not have been the case 10 or 15 years ago.

Christina Schäffner: Professional involvement may come in different forms. We have mentioned cooperation with professional bodies. But there are institutional and organisational obstacles if you want to get a professional translator or interpreter come in, let's say once or twice a week, to university to teach a class. Just the timetabling of such seminars may cause problems. In the UK, we are all familiar with requirements such as annual monitoring, subject reviews, research assessment exercises. All those procedures would have to include professionals as sessional teachers as well.

Myriam Salama-Carr: To me, professionals can be translators, or trained translators, and also people who have done research in translation. That is, universities can have full-time staff who are trained translators, and who also practise translation. And this is happening more and more, because you also have a newer generation, who have training in translation research.

Gunilla Anderman: You can recruit your own students.

Christina Schäffner: True, and if these graduates have come through a translator-training programme, hopefully at a postgraduate level, they will

also have some experience in research. And this knowledge and expertise will inform their teaching.

Daniel Gile: In France, and indeed in many other countries that I know, most of the teachers of translation at university come from a language-teaching background. Often they oppose the ideas and initiatives of professional translators in their midst. I have seen that in my own university, when I tried to introduce some issues of professional relevance in the teaching of translation, making the courses better tailored to the needs of professionals. A specific project was developed, and I pointed out that regulations required us to have a certain percentage of professional translators as instructors, and that there might be some problems, because we would have to deal with differences in the attitudes of the two types of instructors to teaching translation. After a heated debate, the project was dropped. Involving professional translators and interpreters in research into translation is not easy either. Overall, people involved in Translation Studies have a different approach. They may not be professional translators themselves but they look at translation academically, know something about how translators operate, know that it is not essentially a matter of word-for-word and structure-for-structure correspondences. In this respect, they are different from translation teachers with a language-teaching background only.

Gunilla Anderman: This is very relevant to research. I can think of a number of people who are fully convinced that they are in the field of Translation Studies, where, in fact, they are in language teaching where they use translation. And this is linked to what Daniel talks about in his chapter about quality of research, because those people are actually doing something different, they're just not aware of it. It's going to take quite a bit of time before people realise that we are dealing with two different disciplines here.

Daniel Gile: So the question is: How do we go about doing something concrete to get professionals to take part in research into translation, to reduce hostility, to get language teachers to accept our academic viewpoint, or professionals' viewpoint on translation? I think we need some concrete, down-to-earth action, starting with small, targeted operations.

Breaking Down Barriers and Moving Forward

Anne Pearce: Daniel's chapter says already quite a lot about crossover between translation and interpreting research. Both are fundamentally concerned with the same thing, which is explorations of meaning and communication. Because of this crossover, we need to break down barriers. Actually, it's already happening in the professional field. There are a lot of people who are doing all sorts of things, they translate and interpret, they also do voice-overs and other kinds of work with languages. It is purely because of market pressures that people become multi-skilled. We have spoken about hierarchies before and mentioned that there seems to be a common perception that the work of conference interpreters is very prestigious because they interpret for heads of state. On the other hand, interpreting while taking someone around a factory, interpreting in a hospital or public service interpreting in general, is apparently classified as being further down the scale. It is assumed that anyone can do it, wheras it is much more difficult. I think it's very important to discuss

how we can break down all these mental barriers, and actual real barriers as well.

Peter Newmark: It's our job to correct common perceptions, i.e. misperceptions. For example, there is now a diploma in public service interpreting, administered by the Institute of Linguists. It is the only recognised, national diploma in the UK. This is one way of making sure that public service interpreting is only done by qualified interpreters.

Daniel Gile: There has recently been more reflection on how to break the barriers between conference interpreters and public service interpreters. An interesting paper carrying the same message was delivered by Sylvia Kalina at the 2001 EST Congress in Copenhagen. But I think it is now time to move on. We cannot just say we should do this and that. Ideas need to be followed by concrete action. The question is how do we go about it? Can we raise the money? Take the example of sign language interpreters – they work mostly in simultaneous mode, under difficult conditions, under strong social pressure, because they have to mediate between what is perceived by the deaf as the oppressor community and the oppressed community but have low prestige and are paid poorly. What can we, the TS community, actually do for them?

Annalisa Sandrelli: The new technologies could provide a link between translator and interpreter training, professionals and the market. In universities, students now get some training in using translation memory tools etc. and a similar development is now starting in the field of interpreter training as well, i.e. using computer technology to train interpreters. The interpreting community can learn a lot from the translators community because they seem to have advanced a lot more in using electronic tools both for training and for professional purposes. And, incidentally, this also opens up a lot of opportunities for adult education or refresher courses. When we speak of crossover or kinship between translation and interpreting, perhaps another field which could be investigated further is the characteristics of more hybrid forms of translation, like sight translation and subtitling. There is definitely scope for collaboration in that area.

Maria Theresa Musacchio: I'd support that, and I think speed is one decisive factor here. The speed which is required in translation these days, especially considering all the computer-assisted translation tools that are available, is bringing translation and interpreting closer. Of course, translation is not a question of seconds but, in some cases what translators are asked to do is not much more than sight translation. And a job of that kind is required more and more frequently in the competitive market. I find that translation students tend to be really scared about it, unlike interpreting students. I think that one of the things that is very useful to do would be sight translation research, since this points to common ground between translation and interpreting.

Daniel Gile: I couldn't agree more. Actually, Andrew Dawrant from Taiwan did an MA thesis on a similar subject, trying to find out about problems in simultaneous interpreting by comparing simultaneous interpreting of specific linguistic structures of a speech in Chinese with the linguistic structures that resulted from a very fast translation of a transcript of the same speech.

Gunilla Anderman: Assessment is another topic where we can bridge gaps. At a symposium we organised, Peter Newmark brought up the whole problem

of assessing translation and, in your paper, Daniel, you are talking about assessing interpretation. You referred to a special volume of *Meta* on assessment of interpreting. Stuart Campbell (2003) from the University of Western Australia has pointed out that not much has been written more recently on assessment of translation in Europe. It would surely be worthwhile to look at assessment in a European context since we know that both translations and translators are assessed and marked differently throughout Europe. We could set up a project to decide on criteria for the assessment of translation and interpretation.

Daniel Gile: Here is a similar idea of how we can get translation and interpretation research together: in interpreting research, we cannot get easy access to much data. But from time to time important speeches are interpreted on TV into a number of languages and translations are also made available in the press or on the Internet. We can then carry out some comparisons. Such research could turn into a larger project, across languages and cultures but you would need one or two persons to set it up. If you look at the history of translation and interpretation research, you will see that often, one or two persons have really made a difference. One person, one project attracts the community's attention because it is positive, well designed, well written, with interesting findings; and then suddenly you get many people rushing in. Initiators of such movements are often people with charisma, good speakers, good writers, who can give a lot of drive to the research community.

Christina Schäffner: This status of researchers is also linked to the issue of who gets quoted and what gets quoted. Obviously, some people get quoted more often than others. We also don't know much about research which is going on in certain parts of the world. In some cases this is due to the fact that scholars have published in less widely know languages. In other cases, we may have an ignorance that is politically motivated. For example, before the end of the Cold War, a lot of ideas from Eastern Europe have been missed out, because they were not published in English but probably more because of an ideological attitude. Would you say that maybe some potential 'gurus' in the field of T&I didn't become gurus because they were just ignored?

Daniel Gile: I think that the guru status in our community is sometimes linked to sociological factors and/or to sheer publication mass, not necessarily to actual research achievements. Being ignored, for whatever reasons, means that by definition, you are not a potential guru. But I agree with you about the potential value of work from Eastern Europe which was not known to us in the West and could not play the role it might have played otherwise. For instance, I think that work done in the USSR would probably have changed the history of interpretation research if we had known more about it. Researchers in the USSR involved psycholinguistics in their studies as early as the 1970s. Most scholars in Western Europe rejected it until the late 1980s i.e. until Italian colleagues from Trieste spoke (and acted) strongly in favour of interdisciplinarity and empirical research. There are also good texts in Japan but they are written in Japanese. In the books of some Japanese authors from about the same period as the earliest Western writings, you find some very practical, down-to earth ideas and discussions of issues that are very relevant to us as well. For instance, Nishiyama Sen, a former electronics engineer and well-known Japanese interpreter, wrote in 1969 about information loss in direct

communication (without interpreting). How much is lost in direct communication and how much is lost between the speaker and the interpreter, and then between the interpreter and the listener? This is an interesting issue that could have led to more research. We could have attempted to investigate what it is exactly that gets lost, and how much gets lost in direct communication *versus* speaker-to-interpreter and interpreter-to-delegate communication. If we had seen all these ideas earlier, more people might have been doing research.

Moira Inghilleri: When you say that the relevance of psycholinguistics to interpreting research was initially ignored, was this maybe also due to a kind of fear that interpreting research could be invaded by other disciplines? In my view we need to acknowledge the unavoidable interdisciplinarity of the field of translation studies and interpreting studies. In both translation and interpreting, there are always social, aesthetic, linguistic and cognitive dimensions, and we need to be able to validate our data and our methodology. I think interdisciplinarity is actually happening in all sorts of what used to be seen as traditional homogenous disciplines.

Daniel Gile: It also exists in translation and interpretation. Listening to you, I actually had a very specific case in mind, an interdisciplinary conference held in Venice in 1977. There were papers by cognitive psychologists and linguists, and also by an interpreting research guru, Danica Seleskovitch. As far as I know, and I believe I have read all or nearly all her writings, she never cited any of the other scholars present at that conference. She could have criticised what scholars from other disciplines say about interpreting, and she could have presented a rationale, instead of just ignoring their comments altogether, but did not. But this has changed radically over the past decade or so, as evidenced by the large number of translation and interpretation conferences devoted to interdisciplinarity in recent years.

Moira Inghilleri: This may happen if there is no true partnership, if one theory is imposed. This may create some kind of conflict or even resentment between very valued and valuable members of different disciplines.

Palma Zlateva: Isn't it also because we don't have an established academic body of assessment as such? Very often translation studies – broadly speaking – is assessed in neighbouring fields. The people in these neighbouring fields, however, are not necessarily experts in the specific sub-field that is being discussed and assessed.

Daniel Gile: Interdisciplinarity is also constrained by institutional factors. Some academic departments where translation research is carried out are institutionally linked to literature, linguistics, economics, etc. and little opportunity is left in terms of partnership agreements or budgets for cooperation with other disciplines. Fighting against these institutional barriers is difficult. That is why I think we need to find other ways to promote our discipline and interdisciplinarity. One roundabout way is to try to enlist individual researchers from different institutions and disciplines to work together on common projects and, thus, achieve critical mass despite the unfavourable institutional environment in any single academic department.

Palma Zlateva: You are right in saying that there are institutional barriers which are very difficult to overcome, even in one and the same educational institution. For example, the programme I'm involved in is by necessity cross-

departmental. I have students from 12 languages and I can provide them with some broad basis for methods of translation and approaches to research, but I can't control what's happening in their language-specific classes because they are subject to their respective language departments. I would like my students to acquire specific knowledge in various areas, I would like them to combine translation with communication studies, for example, or with media studies, or with some elements of business studies. But there are institutional barriers such as the questions: in which department are the students registered, and who will get the money.

Daniel Gile: We need to be courageous and explore new avenues. I have mentioned using personal links between researchers to set up joint projects. What about joint supervision of PhD research? This could be arranged through the European Society for Translation Studies (EST), or the CETRA summer school, or a similar body. Such cooperation can involve researchers from different institutions and universities, from within Translation Studies but also from different disciplines. If we go ahead with cooperative research and come up with results which present new insights, then it should be easier to tackle institutional barriers.

Notes

1. I am very grateful to Susan Joyce and Alison Gage who provided the initial complete transcription of the recorded debate. Their meticulous work helped me enormously in producing this edited version. [Christina Schäffner]
2. We have learned with deep regret that Sonia Russell died a few months after the seminar at Aston. She had worked as a professional interpreter for several years, working with immigration officers and the police. In March 2001, she had completed a PhD on interpeter effects on interviews with suspects.

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Chapter 3

Public Service Interpreting: Practice and Scope for Research

JAN CAMBRIDGE

Public Service Interpreting (PSI) is an emerging professional grouping within the interpreting profession. The challenges faced by Public Service Interpreters are often more akin to those faced by AHPs (Allied Health Professionals) and clinicians than they are to those in other interpreting fields. The nature of these challenges is a training issue in itself. Furthermore, the need for Public Service Providers (PSPs) to understand the professional purposes and needs of their interpreters and to incorporate them into the multidisciplinary team on the basis of an understanding mind is often overlooked. The result can be like a dance with three participants, of whom only one knows the steps. This chapter attempts to outline some of these issues, advance discussion of and encourage research into such matters as client education and improved inter-disciplinary understanding and collaboration.

Introduction

Daniel Gile has raised a number of highly relevant issues in his chapter. It is interesting to see the two research disciplines, Translation Research (TR) and Interpretation Research (IR), compared and encouraging to be reminded that Public Service Interpreting (PSI) has become a subject considered worthy of academic study. I would like to comment briefly on some themes close to my heart. I will do so from the perspective of the practitioner, focusing on the actual working conditions as well as the professional needs of public service interpreters.

Public Service Interpreting in Practice

Gile (Chapter 1) presents IR as a discipline but even within the field of IR there are differences which mark out one branch from another.

(1) PSI, as it is known in the UK, is an emergent profession (see also the two booklets at www.rln-northwest.com/shop, which are a first attempt at disseminating information to Public Service Providers [PSPs]). Practitioners cope on a routine basis with emotionally charged atmospheres and emotional language such as endearments, jokes and curses. These include 'gallows humour': tension-release type jokes, which a physician would want to know about, as indicators of the patient's frame of mind and attitude to their illness.
(2) Public Service Interpreters do not have passive languages – all their languages must be active. They therefore tend to deploy, or claim, fewer languages than interpreters working in other fields. Besides coping with

an unpredictable volume of work, many PSIs work at night and weekends on a 'how soon can you be here?' basis. This often makes briefing impossible in practical terms, and anything demanding routines – such as research work – becomes less appealing.

(3) As Daniel Gile has pointed out, low levels of pay among PS interpreters mean that the freedom to take on unpaid work is reduced. The academic community seems to have a bit of a blind spot about the meaning of the word 'freelance'. It means a person without the support of an institution of any kind – no 'auspices', no library facilities and nobody paying for one's time let alone costs, when doing anything other than interpreting. These factors will necessarily depress any trend towards practitioners taking part in research or attending conferences.

(4) PS interpreters regularly work with clients of non-English-speaking background (NESB). In linguistic terms one of the major challenges for PS interpreters is the constant shift in register between client and Public Service Provider (PSP), and the use of dialect words and idiosyncratic language by an NESB client group of vulnerable, frightened and often not well-educated people. If a PS interpreter is going to fulfil his/her duty as 'alter ego' to each speaker, they must be adept at these register shifts and able to relay the curses and the 'rude bits'. For interpreters from some cultural backgrounds, this can present particular challenges, especially for the women, in assignments such as rape or child abuse. Furthermore, it is not always possible to avoid sending a female interpreter to an assignment with a male client (or the other way about) and/or doctor which deals with an intimate subject. The 'face threat' for some interpreters that is involved in having to use words like 'penis', 'discharge' or 'penetration' in a face-to-face situation can be more than they can cope with. The training implications of this type of challenge must not be overlooked. Vicarious trauma and the need for confidential support are also real issues.

Professional Needs as a Basis for Research and Training

Daniel Gile is absolutely correct to say that PS interpreters suffer from low status by association with their clients, in the minds of many PSPs. You have only to sit in court for a day to witness that. This has meant that hitherto any PSI service provided within a public service institution such as a hospital has been blighted by very poor, often ill-informed planning and management practices, with the result that the PS interpreters work is frequently rendered well-nigh impossible at acceptable levels of competence. A good example of this is the still prevailing practice in English courts of sitting the PS interpreter in the dock alongside defendants and expecting them to deliver whispered simultaneous interpreting in spite of completely inappropriate seating, nowhere to put a jury bundle, writing instruments being forbidden as potential weapons and dreadful acoustics. This situation is set to change over the next decade or two in the wake of Lord Justice Auld's report on the Criminal Justice System in England and Wales, which makes many recommendations concerning interpreters working in the courts. These include remarks about facilities for interpreters within court buildings. However, such change will be slow to be implemented in a widespread way and, in the meantime, qualified profes-

sionals will continue to be reluctant to take on court work.

There is a need for interdisciplinary collaboration in PSI work and this imposes a need for sound service frameworks and mutual training. Widespread non-understanding of the professional needs of PS interpreters at a very basic level too often puts great strain on a PSI code of good practice.

In terms of research, the issue of ethics raises another barrier to research. Research into PSI practice in health-care settings is beset by issues of confidentiality and the medical ethics committee, which can make collecting data, for e.g., discourse study very problematical.

In terms of training, it is expected that collaboration at the European level will bring fruitful results. Work continues to develop a European professional MA – the Grotius project 98/GR/131 was dedicated to establishing equivalent standards, in member states, for legal interpreters and translators in respect of

- their selection, training and accreditation,
- a code of ethics and guides to good practice and
- interdisciplinary working arrangements.

The dissemination of this project among member and candidate states constitutes the second phase of this project, and is currently the subject of international collaboration (see www.legalinttrans.info).

Chapter 4

Paradigm Problems?

ANDREW CHESTERMAN

This reponse agrees that translation studies and interpreting studies should be seen as belonging to the same general field. I underline the value of joint projects in translation research and outline a recent attempt to set up such a project in Helsinki. I then query the value of disciplinary autonomy from a research point of view, as opposed to the institutional point of view: if our aim is to increase understanding, this may best be brought about by combining different approaches and recognising that translation research is an interdiscipline and not necessarily autonomous. I briefly discuss different opinions of the relation between theory and data in empirical and hermeneutic research. These differences derive partly from different interpretations of the concept of a theory, and of the relative importance of facts* versus *ideas. In assessing theories, we also appeal to pragmatic criteria (is it useful?), not only truth-based criteria. The theory-data relation may be the weaker one of illustration, not only the stronger ones of testing or falsification. I defend a Popperian approach to research, based on the testing of hypotheses – including merely conceptual testing. A Popperian view can also help us to understand claims of progress in translation research.

Towards Joint Projects

I am very much in agreement with most of Daniel Gile's chapter on the relation between translation research (TR) and interpreting research (IR). I certainly take Translation Studies (TS) and Interpreting Studies (IS) to be part of the same interdiscipline. In particular, I agree that there is much that each can learn from the other, both as regards general methodology and as regards the generation and testing of specific hypotheses (e.g. about universals). Joint projects should be encouraged and a shared paradigm developed.

As an example of a potential research project shared between translation and interpreting, I would like to mention a recent proposal in Finland, involving four young scholars at the universities of Helsinki and Tampere. (In a sense, this project never got off the ground, as we were unsuccessful in obtaining funds specifically for this joint project. However, three of the four members have obtained personal funding for their own individual work, so most of the planned research is, in fact, being done. The resulting cooperation between the scholars, is nevertheless, somewhat looser than we had originally planned.)

The project was entitled 'Multilingual Communication in Institutional Settings' and aimed to examine aspects of translation and interpreting from a sociological perspective, looking at working and revision processes and the roles played by members of what we could call communication teams. Kaisa Koskinen is studying the translation process in the EU Commission, exploring

the challenges this poses to traditional concepts in translation theory. Lieselott Nordman is examining the quality of control procedures used by the Finnish–Swedish translators at the Finnish Parliament (Finnish and Swedish are both official languages here) and some other administrative institutions. Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva (now at Edinburgh) was planning to survey the institution of community interpreters in Finland, with special reference to issues of gender and power relations. And Satu Leinonen is studying the relation between community interpreters' roles and their actual discourse. The general aim was – and is – to contribute new knowledge about how multilingual communication takes place in different kinds of institutions and how the quality of both the product and the working conditions might be improved. Central sociological concepts are those of role, group (team), institution and status: these apply to both translation and interpreting settings.

Projects like this can also reduce the tension, mentioned by Gile, between practitioners and researchers. First, there is a focus on people rather than (oral or written) texts alone and, hence the need to use interviews, questionnaires, workplace observation etc. This in itself creates opportunities for communication between the researchers and the professionals they are studying. Second, and more importantly, all the scholars involved are themselves professional translators or interpreters or have worked professionally in this field in the past. They could thus combine an insider's view with the perspective of a researcher. (For more on the reaction of practitioners to ivory-tower theory, see Chesterman & Wagner [2002].)

It must be admitted, though, that the uncertain academic status mentioned by Gile remains a worry. Very few young translation scholars in Finland have tenured positions.

A Comment on Interdisciplinarity

It is perhaps the sociological approach adopted by Gile in his chapter that leads him to note that the inevitable interdisciplinarity of TS and Interpreting Studies may weaken the status of our field as an autonomous discipline, since the more our research paradigms spread out to overlap with neighbouring disciplines, the less we are seen to possess anything that is specifically our own, as it were.

From a different perspective, however, things look different. Being autonomous, or rather being perceived to be autonomous, may be good for institutional status and tenure opportunities but not necessarily for the internal development of the field itself. From the research point of view, autonomy is not, I think, a goal in itself. Our basic research goal is surely a greater understanding of our subject: this may be reached better though all kinds of cooperative projects and extensions of paradigms rather than by clinging to autonomy. One result of greater understanding may then be more public awareness and a higher status for translators and interpreters, and one result of this, in turn, might be a better institutional status for academics in the field.

Theories and Data

My major point of debate with Daniel Gile arises from his section on 'Paradigms and Foci'. Here I see a difference in approach that has wider implications. This difference is perhaps partly due to Gile's background in mathe-

matics and statistics *versus* my own in the humanities. Gile comes more from a natural sciences paradigm, whereas I come more from a hermeneutic one. Both of us, however, have an interest in bridging the gap between, on one hand, the tendency to focus more on empirical facts and, on the other, the tendency to focus more on ideas.

As pointed out by von Wright (1971), the traditional goals of explanation (in the natural sciences) and understanding (in hermeneutic disciplines) overlap to a great extent. Both terms admit multiple interpretations and each can imply the other. Explanation presupposes some understanding and understanding underlies and can lead to explanation. If, then, conceptual analysis and the discussion of ideas and theories lead to greater understanding, well and good. We also need empirical facts, of course, but facts themselves are not the end of our research: they are a means to the end, for the end is understanding/explanation. Any contribution that takes us a step forward is valuable; we can live with more modest goals than final truths.

In spite of the position I have taken in the *Target* debate on shared ground (starting in *Target* [2000, 12: 1]), I thus find myself here defending the value of what Gile calls the 'humanities-inspired paradigm'. It is perhaps a question of finding the most fruitful balance between the two general methodological approaches for a subject-matter such as ours.

Part of the problem is the notion of a theory itself and the different interpretations this term has. In order to understand and explain, we construct theories – but theories mean different things to different people (see Chesterman, 1997: 42–6). I favour a loose and broad interpretation, to the effect that a theory is any set of concepts and statements that purports to increase our understanding of a given phenomenon. I suspect that Gile would favour a narrower, stricter definition, based more closely on the use of the term in the natural sciences.

This difference of interpretation has an effect on the kind of criteria one finds acceptable for testing a theory. Gile mentions the traditional criteria of consistency, plausibility and degree of coverage of empirical data. More generally, we can distinguish between pragmatic criteria (is it useful?) and truth-based criteria (is it true?). Pragmatic criteria seem appropriate for much research in TS: if a theory seems useful, if it indeed seems to bring better understanding, fine; if not, discard it. Of course, it will also presumably be useful if it appears to be truth-like.

In my own work, I have discussed and proposed several low-level theories (in my sense of the term) dealing with different aspects of TS (e.g. concering strategies and norms). I have also offered a more general theory in terms of the meme metaphor. Like all metaphorical theories, this can only be tested for added value in use: it is not falsifiable and not empirical but conceptual. My claim has been that it is fruitful to think of translation in this way, because it allows us to see translation in relation to cultural transfer more generally. In time, empirically testable hypotheses might be derived from it, as, for instance, the ontological status of memes themselves becomes clearer. The meme metaphor at least provided me with a structuring instrument for a metatheoretical analysis of historical tendencies of TS in the West, which I found useful.

Ideas (theories) that seem to bear no relation at all to empirical reality (whatever we might understand that to be) can scarcely be said to have scientific

value (although they might have other values). But all our ideas nevertheless spring somehow from the way in which we construe Mother Nature, from the way in which we try to make sense of life and reality. Useful research ideas can be related to reality in several different ways.

It is quite normal for theoretical claims to be *illustrated* by empirical data. My own analyses of translation norms (Chesterman, 1997: Chap. 3), strategies (Chap. 4) or of possible ways of assessing translations (Chap. 5), for instance, are illustrated by data that show at least the possibility of such analyses. This is admittedly a weaker position than a quantitative one which would claim something about the frequency of instances of the various categories involved, about their generality. And I agree that *testing* is a more rigorous and decisive procedure than merely illustrating – particularly the kind of test that could, in principle, *falsify* a theoretical claim. However, the fact that these analyses have since been applied by other scholars who evidently find them useful (e.g. Schäffner, 2001) does bring them some added value. They are certainly (*pace* Gile) *triggered* by the empirical research of others: by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) on translation procedures, for instance, and by Toury (1995) on norms. More recently, empirical work on translation universals has also generated an abundance of conceptual analyses and theoretical discussion (see the volume of papers from the conference on universals at Savonlinna, Finland, in 2001, edited by Mauranen and Kujamäki, 2004).

Popper and Conceptual Testing

Gile takes issue with my application of Popper's theory of scientific progess. (In Chesterman [1997] I also proposed a Popperian theory of translation.) The core of Popper's approach is the claim that we make scientific progress by proposing tentative solutions (hypotheses) to problems and then testing them to eliminate errors, the result being a new problem. Popper developed his model for the natural sciences but I think it is in full agreement with the Popperian spirit to apply the model more widely, to cultural and intellectual development more generally, as Popper indeed does himself. He uses it, for instance, in his discussions of human learning, creativity, the social sciences and politics. (For an introduction, see Popper, 1992.)

Gile argues that most theoretical claims in TS have only been tested 'conceptually', which he says is too weak a procedure because it is 'too subjective'. I agree that many claims have (only) been tested conceptually, at the level of argument and counter-argument. But I do not agree that this necessarily makes the testing process subjective or invalid or, indeed, not useful. The arguments take place in the public domain, involving intersubjective feedback from colleagues and referees, in the course of normal peer debate via publication. Take the longstanding arguments about equivalence, for example, or about skopos theory.

While I agree that both sociological and convenience factors play a role in paradigm shifts (*pace* Popper, in any discipline), I do not agree with Gile that, in our field, theoretical developments do not fit the Popperian model, in that they are not triggered by the testing of previous tentative theories. There are several major shifts that do seem Popperian. A good example is the application of relevance theory by Gutt (1991/2000). The first chapter of Gutt's book is an

explicit critique of what Gutt sees as the previous (equivalence-based) paradigm. A Popperian finds it easy to interpret Gutt's own contribution as a claim about the necessity to revise a previous theory. Vermeer (e.g. 1996) then continues the cycle, criticising what he sees as weaknesses in relevance theory and proposing skopos theory as a better alternative. (Admittedly, the first publications on skopos theory were earlier but Vermeer does engage in a fair amount of what a Popperian could call 'error elimination' – i.e. errors in competing theories – in his 1996 volume.)

Even at the level of this response, I am taking part in the Popperian critical method. Gile has set out a position and made a number of claims. I respond not only by offering support but also by suggesting what I see as useful refinements or better alternatives etc. And he will no doubt respond in turn, correcting my own misinterpretations. So it goes.

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Chapter 5

Translation Research and Interpreting Research: Pure, Applied, Action or Pedagogic?

JANET FRASER

The classic translation research (TR) paradigm remains that of literary translation, thereby excluding much of what is actually done day by day in the translation profession and perpetuating the notion of the subservient translator in a professionally inferior position to the author. Yet empirical work with professional freelance translators shows that the model of the subservient, non-assertive translator is simply not applicable to the profession as it operates in the 21st century. By contrast, interpreting research (IR) operates – almost by default – much more in the 'here and now'; its paradigm is practice in the booth rather than a more abstract theoretical model. Thus, this contribution argues, TR and IR do indeed have much in common and much to learn from each other. There is, however, a need for greater clarity in formulating the purpose of and paradigm for such research as well as its informants. Many empirical data are 'translated' back into academic terms that do not always reflect the reality of practice or the need for relevance to practitioners. Following the IR model, it is argued, starting from real-life practice and working back to academic theory may ultimately be a better model for TR.

Introduction: Theory and Practice

> An economist is someone who, on seeing that something works in practice, asks if it could also work in theory. (anon.)

Daniel Gile makes a compelling case in his chapter for a greater pooling of resources and sharing of objectives in translation research (TR) and interpreting research (IR) and I should like in this contribution to endorse some of his points and argue the counter-case for others. More particularly, I shall be arguing that greater clarity is needed in formulating the purpose of such research and will use one recurring theme of TR – the notion of a 'habitus' of subservience – to illustrate that the IR paradigm has much to offer to the TR paradigm.

The previous quote above (variously attributed although its authorship has never been substantiated) could be said to be true also of many non-practising researchers in the TR field, producing a still widespread scepticism among practising professional translators with regard to the output of translation studies researchers. Indeed, Wagner argues that 'there can be few professions with such a yawning gap between theory and practice' (Chesterman & Wagner, 2002: 1). As (the then) section-head of one of the largest in-house trans-

lation departments in the world, the European Commission's Translation Service, Wagner has some authority in the matter and it is difficult not to feel some sympathy with her assessment. Compare the following two descriptions of translation:

> The purpose of translatorial action (*translatorisches Handeln*) is to produce a message transmitter (*Botschaftsträger*) that can be utilised in superordinate configurations of actions (*Handlungsgefüge*) whose function is to guide and co-ordinate communicative, co-operative action. In the process of translatorial action, texts act as message transmitter compounds (*Botschaftsträger im Verbund*) of content (*Tektonik*), structured according to function and represented by formal elements (*Textur*). (Holz-Mäuttäri's definition, cited in Baker, 1997: 4)

> You've got to put it in a way that people can identify with. To understand something [in a foreign language] and then to be able to explain it clearly gives me as much pleasure in life as almost anything else. ('Michael', freelance translator, quoted in Fraser, 1994 – see also Fraser, 1996)

At first glance, the two statements occupy places on the academic/professional spectrum as far removed one from the other as is possible to imagine. Looking beyond the academic language of the first and the more direct, even passionate, language of the second, however, reveals exactly the same message being conveyed about the nature of translation – that the purpose of translation is to convey information in the most appropriate way for its identified target audience. The second is from a practitioner who has internalised his *modus operandi* into a 'philosophy' of translation, while the first, I would argue provocatively, is from an economist *manqué*, at least as defined earlier.

Informants of Research

Gile (in Chapter 1) argues that research in the two fields is done by 'differently trained and motivated scholars (academics *versus* professional[s])' but he says little about the informants of such research or indeed the need for differing constituencies for differing kinds of research; hence, the title of this contribution. Pure research – the sort that Gile describes as being focused on ideological, cultural and sociological issues – and at least some aspects of pedagogic research benefit from the insights of the work of literary translators. That paradigm will not always, however, be the most appropriate one. Steiner argues that

> rough and ready division runs through the history and practice of translation. There is hardly a treatise on the subject that does not distinguish between the translation of common matter – private, commercial, clerical, ephemeral – and the re-creative transfer of one literary, philosophic or religious text to another. (Steiner, 1998: 264f)

Interestingly, Steiner's own choice of lexis – his distinction between 'common matter', on the one hand and 'texts', on the other, and between 'translation' and 're-creative transfer' – merely recreates the division he claims he is seeking to dismantle. Indeed, at a panel on translation for EU institutions

at the 2001 congress of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST), Wagner argued from the 'wordface' that

> [t]he material most professional translators deal with is not in Steiner's 'literary, philosophic or religious' category but it is not 'private, commercial, clerical or ephemeral' either. What we deal with is 'legal, technical and political' but they don't seem to feature at all in his list. If they did, I suspect they would be classed as 'common matter'. (see also Wagner, 2001)

For applied or action research, then, and perhaps at least some aspects of pedagogic research too, a different constituency – more precisely, a new *informant* constituency – needs to be found and a new paradigm needs to be formulated. When Alice goes through the looking-glass, she finds a book of which she cannot initially make sense 'for it's all in some language I don't know'; she then realises that if she holds it up to the looking-glass – in other words, reflecting the 'real world' she has left behind – then 'the words will all go the right way again' (Carroll, 1865: 201f.) For applied and action research, then, and for pedagogical aspects at the vocational end of the spectrum, maybe the economists have it right after all. Maybe we need to start from practice and work back from it to theory.

From Practice to Theory

And this principle is, almost by default, how IR proceeds. Gile comments several times in his chapter that IR has tended to focus on process since the performance in the booth is the only real criterion for assessing how effective a practitioner is. TR, by contrast, has tended, until recently, to focus on the bigger moral, cultural and philosophical issues. Moreover, even empirical research into translation – in respect of which Gile rightly issues a health warning – has tended to be 'translated' back into academic language, leaving the gulf between researchers and practitioners unbridged. IR is, however, *per se* more focused on the 'real world': the profession has no equivalent of the literary translator or of the paradigm of literary translation and as a result, research outputs have an immediate and visible relevance to the practitioner in the booth or the trainer of future practitioners.

Beyond the broader question of the paradigm, however, there is an issue around the message currently being conveyed from the research that is being done. Here, too, I would argue that the paradigm of the literary translator does a disservice to the many translators – indeed the majority – who do not work in that field. Borrowing from Bourdieu's work, Simeoni (1998) and Hermans (1999) have addressed the notion of the translator's 'habitus'. Bourdieu's own definition of a habitus (quoted in Hermans, 1999: 132) is 'a system of durable, transposable dispositions; internalised structures, common schemes of perception, conception and action'. Similarly, Simeoni describes the habitus of professional translators as being one of servitude: 'Translators, not unlike the scribes of ancient or pre-modern civilisations, have always occupied subservient positions among the dominant professions of the cultural sphere', he argues (Simeoni, 1998: 7). There is abundant evidence for his assertion if we restrict our consideration to the paradigmatic literary translator. Simeoni himself acknowledges, however, that there is now more to the profession than that field, prompting him at least to question the monolithic status of much of TR:

> [C]ould the increasing variety of tasks they are being asked to perform … have alerted translators to the relativity of the demands placed on them, thereby causing some degree of cognitive dissonance in their historically imposed submissiveness, making them perhaps also more receptive to Translation Studies? (Simeoni, 1998: 13f.)

He further argues, referring to greater assertiveness on the part of translators with regard to issues such as deadlines and input on the quality of the source text, that this 'might well be construed as a call for autonomy thwarted' (Simeoni, 1998: 28). Among the practitioners, however, at least at Steiner's 'common matter' end of the spectrum, there is as much evidence that translators' calls for autonomy are being heeded or, indeed, that autonomy is being appropriated by assertive professionals, as there is that such calls are being thwarted (Fraser & Gold, 2001; Gold & Fraser, 2002). This research, drawing on the experiences of over 250 established freelance translators finds, *inter alia*, that translators massively and regularly drop poor clients. More generally, they make a greater success of freelancing and 'portfolio careers' than many comparator groups not only because of labour market factors but also because of client management skills, notions of career and issues of 'professionalism'. Gile argues (Chapter 1) that the social status of freelance translators is rarely high and certainly lower than that of interpreters. While there is some truth in this assessment, things are changing: the model of the freelance translator as a successful exponent of 'new' or 'boundaryless' careers is one that neither economists and social scientists nor TS teachers and researchers can afford to ignore.

Yet the myth of subservience is perpetuated in research, even research whose stated aim is to enhance translators' professional status. Chesterman (2001: 153) proposes a 'Hieronymic Oath' for professional translators to 'promote genuinely ethical professional behaviour. … It would help … to distinguish between professionals and amateurs and promote professionalisation'. Yet consider just two of his proposed clauses, set against a revised version published for consultation among members of the UK-based Institute for Translation and Interpreting (ITI):

> (2) … I will always translate to the best of my ability.
> (6) … I promise to respect deadlines and to follow clients' instructions. (Chesterman, 2001: 153)
>
> (3) I promise to meet *reasonable negotiated* deadlines, *to give good professional advice* to all clients and to deliver translations that *both respect authors' intentions and are wholly adequate for their stated purpose and readership*. (Fraser *et al*., 2002: 15, my emphasis)

There is a potential, and often all too real, tension between the items in the original points (2) and (6): as Simeoni (1998) hints, a translator under pressure to meet commercial deadlines is unlikely to be able to translate to the best of her/his ability and as all practitioners know, there is frequently a trade-off between speed and quality of translation, with a skilled translator able to judge the balance and maximise both aspects within it. Moreover, a promise always to follow clients' instructions strips the translator of her/his expertise and status as a co-writer with cultural knowledge. This version of the proposed

oath, then, perpetuates the myth of servitude and subservience. The revised text restores the translator to her/his position of expertise, subject to professionally endorsed norms rather than to a client's whim.

As Hermans (1999) argues:

> [habitus] should prove useful to researchers interested in the translation process as such and to those in favour of paying more attention to real-life translators and their working environments than to impersonal norm systems. (Hermans, 1999: 135)

For those of us training future generations of 'common matter' translators, a more effective partnership between TR and IR, coupled with a change of focus and paradigm, promises to be a fruitful development.

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Chapter 6

Translation Studies: A Succession of Paradoxes

YVES GAMBIER

Today, different changes certainly explain the diversity of contexts in which professional translation is practised, the variety of disciplines dealt with by translatologists, the differing relevance of the studies conducted and the diversity of research discourses. Are there any obvious points of convergence behind this diversity? Do all scholars share common assumptions, and do they have the same expectations whether they focus on translation or on interpretation? This chapter argues that the current paradoxes of our field do not imply insurmountable contradictions. They might be a sign of vitality.

Introduction

Translation studies has a long history as reflection on translation but only a short history as a discipline in its own right, i.e. an academic subject of study and a field of knowledge. Since the 1980s, it has acquired many new theoretical frameworks and models, while modernising its methodological approaches. In the meantime, translation itself has undergone a transformation, partly due to the development of information and communication technologies and the growing globalisation of exchanges of all kinds. As a consequence of these changes affecting the professional practice of translating, the expectations of customers and recipients have also been modified.

The swift pace of all these changes certainly explains the diversity of contexts in which professional translation is practised, the variety of disciplines dealt with by translatologists, the differing relevance of the studies conducted and the diversity of academic discourse. Are there any obvious points of convergence, if not unity, behind all this diversity?

Diversity of Designations and Practices

From the cornflakes packet to the operating instructions of the remote control, at work, at leisure, during cultural activities (cinema, theatre, comics, etc.) or via the media (press, television, video), we consume translation every day. And in certain societies we do so sometimes in very large quantities: Finland, for instance, imports 80% of feature films shown, over half of theatre plays and three out of four television programmes. By contrast, society seems to be almost completely unaware of the ubiquity of translation. The topic is, indeed, scarcely discussed or only in a very stereotyped way (translation implies losses, lacks, inappropriate or misplaced words, etc.).

Another paradox is the apparent difficulty of categorising translations. Reflections on this level often lead to dichotomies (written *versus* oral, literary

versus non-literary, faithful *versus* acceptable, target-oriented vs source-oriented, literal *versus* free, etc.), thus creating pseudo-homogeneous classes and ineffective typologies. Besides, translations are regularly classified according to the genre of the original text (literary, poetic, drama translation, etc.) or according to a field (legal, scientific, commercial, medical translation). On this basis, strong oppositions are drawn (literary translation *versus* pragmatic translation, translation for publishing *versus* translation for information only, natural translation *versus* professional translation, translation *versus* adaptation, etc.).

The numerous meanings of 'translation' can be boiled down to six main definitions:

(1) interlinguistic equation, transcoding, word for word;
(2) psycho-pedagogical artefact in the language-learning process (translation into mother tongue or foreign language);
(3) transfer stage in the analysis of mental operations to be carried out by the translator aiming at automation (machine translation [MT], computer-assisted translation [CAT]);
(4) production of a text in a target language from a 'source' text (see the categories mentioned above);
(5) 'oral' translation or interpretation, in various modes (simultaneous, consecutive, whispered) and various occupational contexts, hence the distinctions between, for instance, conference, community and liaison interpreting;
(6) type of reformulation among other forms such as plagiarism, pastiche, paraphrase, etc. (Gambier, 1999)

All these categories and labels seem to be substantially related to certain postulates concerning the text and the author. They are part of a paradigm in which 'translation' is second and secondary to the source. Numerous metaphors and images about translation and translators strongly reproduce this hierarchical subordination.

What then are translation studies about? Do they deal more specifically with one category or the other? Attempts have been made to avoid these categories by means of a prototypology (Snell-Hornby, 1988: 31–36; Halverson, 2000: 3–16). Other attempts considering the textual and cultural aspects of translation studies concentrate rather on the turning of texts or messages from one culture or system into the other, and on their equivalence in both. This dynamic and contextualised vision sometimes leads to a tautological definition of translation, that is to say that the researcher comprehends translation as what is acknowledged and accepted as such in a given community at a given time (Toury, 1995: chap. 1). But what if translations are not presented in that way?

A new paradox: as the volume of translation grows, in an era of international communications and technologisation of discourse, a new generation of labels appears. The computerisation of the translator's tools (Internet, grammar and spell checks, terminological databases, translation memories, dictionaries on CD-ROM, CAT, speech recognition softwares, electronic corpora, etc.), development of the market and the diversification of demands have given birth to numerous new designations of 'translation'. Nowadays,

some professional sectors (trade, industry, media, IT) tend to favour terms like localisation, editing, multilingual documentation, technical writing, language mediation, versioning, etc., in order to prevent word-for-word processing as well as to underline the new multicoded character of documents (verbal, visual, sound, graphics, etc.).

In this respect, translation appears to differ from interpretation, which is more stable in its modes and contexts of operation. This divergence is definitely reflected in the object that is to be examined, described and explained. 'Translation' has become a fluid, negotiable object that arouses multiple images and expectations which vary according to the subject's role: consumer, requester, practitioner, researcher, student. Such an object is at the same time a service, a product, an occupation and a skill.

In response to this apparent divergence, we can note that today the socio-economic status of the actors has also become more diverse. A new hierarchical organisation of translators has emerged, based on whether they are working for the new technologies, within international institutions or as freelancers (Gambier in press a). A similar *de facto* hierarchical organisation exists between conference interpreters, court interpreters, interpreters in the media and so-called community interpreters. This duality (object examined *versus* social categorisation) is bound to have an impact on the development of research.

Diversity of the Disciplines Addressed

Every act of exchange (whether linguistic or not, whether informative or not) is a complex process. Let us consider a football match. As a player gets the ball while running, s/he must immediately decide what use s/he is going to make of it – pass it to the side, forward, backward, keep it and try to reach the opponents' goal with it, etc. This means that s/he carries out a series of observations and calculations about his/her speed, the speed and direction of the ball, the positions of the opponents, of the players in his/her own team. Then s/he makes assumptions and hypotheses about the best tactics to follow, the most efficient move to make. In a split of a second, s/he identifies and visualises a certain number of problems, suggests options, anticipates and evaluates their possible consequences and takes a decision. The whole process requires from the player awareness of his/her physical means and possibilities (breath, leg power, physical balance), knowledge of the conditions on the pitch (slippery grass or not, even or uneven pitch, wind, etc.) and of the public's reactions (psychological pressure), not to mention the external stakes, such as uncertainty of the renewal of his/her contract, his/her persistent failure to score, the more or less strained relationships with other players, etc. All these tasks can be described and computerised for a video game or a simulation in a training session. They trigger, among other things, neuro-physiological, cognitive, psychological and mathematical competencies. Of course, the swiftness of moves and decisions obscures this complexity. The same applies to all kinds of exchange processes, whatever the signs and signals used may be (verbal, visual, sound, gestures, proxemics, colours, etc.).

It is understandable, therefore, that complexity and multidisciplinarity are necessary in any attempt to address multilingual communication (oral or written). Can we then go as far as to conclude that translation studies require

an integrated, if not totalising approach? This is the double paradox of any analysis of human linguistic interactions: on the one hand, this analysis imposes a new discourse (a discourse on a discourse); on the other hand, the observer starting the metadiscourse is himself or herself involved in the object of his or her examination. Hence, the importance of constantly defining the objectives, the level and the unit of the analysis.

Can the interdisciplinarity called for in translation studies since the 1980s be anything other than an incantation or a long list of references (Gambier in press b) in so far as it has not led to a more advanced epistemological and methodological reflection? The list of disciplines involved is long (language studies, text-linguistics and discourse analysis, literature, philosophy, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, intercultural studies, gender studies, etc.). The list seems to be shorter for interpretation (cognitive psychology, neurolinguistics, pragmatics, etc.). Of course, interdisciplinarity is not a fully exhaustive concept. This confirms the assertion made by Daniel Gile (Chapter 1), that interpreting research sets more definite objectives and concentrates more on empirical approaches than translation research, for instance, identifying the role of pauses or the influence of the different types of memories in simultaneous interpreting, the role of notes in consecutive interpreting, or the importance of the foreign language in the directionality of interpreting.

The double paradox mentioned earlier involves another disparity, as it seems to be more explicitly acknowledged among researchers in interpretation than in translation. The reason may be that most of them are both practitioners and researchers at the same time, whereas many researchers in translation confine themselves to strictly academic activities, far removed from the translators' challenges and questions (see later). But when technology (such as translation memories, electronic corpora) and certain methodologies (such as think-aloud protocol analysis) play a major role, translatologists seem to be limiting their ambitions, satisfying themselves, for example, with short segments (sentences, collocations) as the units of their analysis.

Diversity of Research Relevance

At least two phenomena concerning research organisation are worth mentioning here before I examine their social relevance.

The first is the recent and rapid institutionalisation of translation studies, which is evident in the following developments:

- the foundation of various associations: the Canadian Association for Translation Studies (CAT) in 1987; the European Society for Translation Studies (EST) in 1992; similar organisations in Brazil, Japan and Korea; the regional associations (European, American, Asia-Pacific) of the International Association for Machine Translation (IAMT);
- the introduction of CETRA doctoral research seminars since 1989 and a similar activity in Great Britain since 2002;
- the inception of the European Council of Associations of Literary Translators (CEATL) in 1990;
- the creation of specific collections at publishing companies, especially John Benjamins, Multilingual Matters, Routledge, St Jerome;
- the launching of magazines (*TTR* in 1987, *Target* in 1989, *Koine* in 1991,

Perspectives in 1993, *Terminology* in 1994, *The Translator* in 1995, *Hermeneus* in 1999, *Across Languages and Cultures* in 1999);

- not to mention the working groups established by the European Union at the end of the 1990s (European Translation Platform, Thematic Network within the Socrates programme) notably to develop training and integration within the language industries, particularly via the research framework programmes (1994–98, 1998–2002, 2002–06).

All these organisations (associations, publishers, educational bodies) make up a 'field' in the sense of Bourdieu (1996), with its own mechanisms and rituals of recognition, acceptance, consensus, authority. The growing number of conferences and symposiums is all the more part of this trend since a number of these meetings are driven by an institutional strategy rather than a scientific one: a department striving to strengthen its position on a national level, the wish to legitimise a new programme or to reinforce the legitimacy of a degree in translation. Finally, a direct consequence but also partly the motive behind these developments is the ever-increasing volume of MA theses and doctoral theses. This is where interpreting research and translation research converge, except that interpreting research is probably based on fewer institutes, researchers and Internet discussion sites, although it provides the contents of various specialised magazines (*The Interpreter's Newsletter* [1998], *Interpreting* [1996], as well as regular publications in Japanese and in Korean).

The second phenomenon to be noted is the group effect and the influence of fashion. Indeed, translation studies seem to have moved forward by fits and starts; the successive steps have been the Vinay/Darbelnet model, the interpretative theory, the skopos theory, the Manipulation School, the Think Aloud Protocol, Venuti's approach and his plea for translator visibility, corpus-based studies. Nowadays, many authors focus exclusively on the cognitive sciences.

These effects do not necessarily entail a rational dissemination of theories, models and methods. The circulation of ideas, hypotheses, suggestions when not first expressed in English (see later) remain to be examined. In interpreting research, periods dominated by a certain type of approach and a certain type of concept (Gile, 1995: chap. 2 and 3) are also to be noticed, but the development of the field is a question of maturation rather than of fashion (Gile, 2000).

The recent focus on localisation, audiovisual media and community interpreting reflects market needs and the pressure of a social demand rather than a change of paradigm. Hence, a new question arises: what is the social relevance of the research?

Translation studies has long relied on literary and biblical texts. Even today, the literary heritage still influences, for example, feminist, cannibalist and postcolonial approaches as well as authors like Toury and Venuti, in spite of the globalisation of financial, banking, trade, industrial, technological and scientific exchanges (cf. Schäffner, 2000). The interdependence of economies, the need to communicate in the customer's language and the internationalisation of the so-called cultural industries have all increased the demand for translation in terms of volume, speed and standardisation. Thus, for example, numerous newspapers and magazines are now available in several languages (*The Times*, *The Financial Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek*, *National Geographic*, *Discover*, *People*, *Rolling Stone*, *Reader's Digest*, *Le Monde*

Diplomatique, not to mention many women's and men's magazines). A number of translations are also made to comply with legal obligations regarding information or security.

These changes also affect the politico-cultural function of translation and translators. They can either serve multinational companies, the electronics industry, mass entertainment providers or they can support various groups claiming the right to use their own language (language minorities; migrants; post-colonial societies like South Africa defending their multilingual status; regional institutions like the European Union using several languages every day in the name of plurality and language diversity, etc.). Nowadays, one and the same language practitioner may interpret for gypsies about to be returned to their country of origin or refugees fighting for their rights; s/he may translate annual reports containing falsified accounts as well as documents allowing the distribution of IT equipment. Acting on behalf of establishments as well as counter-establishments, translators face sociopolitical tensions and contradictions (Tymoczko, 2000). Thus, translation cannot be proclaimed with any certainty as a tool against ethnocentrism, colonialism, racism, sexism, etc.

In the context of these developments, the question is: whether research is anything more than simply a response to an institutional requirement for scientific production or to personal ambition? And if so, what are the demands to which it responds?

Today, we can consider that activities of translatologists share several common features, whether they focus on translation or on interpretation:

- they originate from individuals rather than laboratories or networks;
- they are usually part of an on-going (postgraduate) training or a beginning academic career;
- they lead to a considerable number of publications, which sometimes gives the impression that translatologists write more than they read; and
- they are often repetitive as to the choice of subject, type of corpora, inferences and conclusions drawn.

These features do not seem to be adapted to the challenges set by new technologies (as work tools, as tools for producing new types of multimedia documents), by the ambiguities of the translator's function (recalled earlier), by the new linguistic world order and its requirements (e.g. translations into a foreign language, liaison and retour interpreting). The emerging identity of translators and the new demands made on their skills and behaviours certainly make it necessary to renew our efforts at description and explanation. With this in mind, researchers should review their objects and methods (more speculative though empirical); they should reshape their organisation into multinational and multidisciplinary teams dealing with medium- and long-term projects in cooperation with companies; and finally, they should review their impacts in order to achieve quicker results and possibly benefits in terms of professional practice, training, statutory recognition, etc.

The social relevance and responsibility of research are still low because most research is self-sufficient and pursues strictly and exclusively academic purposes, regardless of the needs of professional actors, of the market (decision-makers in the economy, administration, industry, the media; judges; government authorities; etc.). This relevance should not be confused with

short-term needs and financial efficiency. It applies equally well to research programmes to be launched and to their objectives; it also concerns the dissemination of the results obtained, the raising of awareness about the problems of multilingual communication, openness towards the other, racial intermingling, the right to be different, the effects of transfers on cultures, on readers, etc.

Perhaps because conference interpreting is more limited in its practices, more aware of its importance in the interactions it supports, it appears to have given rise to more relevant research, serving a better understanding and recognition of what it does and how it does it.

Diversity of Research Discourses

In addition to the diversities already addressed (diversity of practices, disciplines, research relevance), there is also diversity in research discourses, which are not mere reflections of an object or a piece of knowledge. The social sciences and the humanities are, above all, discourses and even metadiscourses (see earlier), which can take different forms or belong to different genres (reports, magazine articles, papers, summaries of books, experiments or pilot studies, monographs, theses, etc.).

Some of those discourses are descriptive through using a metalanguage (concepts, definitions), while others are methodological, indicating which tools and procedures have been used for the descriptive level, or even epistemological, controlling the homogeneity and coherence reached at the methodological level. They constitute science and provide for its transmission and dissemination. As we know, they are supposed to be characterised by certain features (objectivity, impersonality, clarity, non-contradiction, accuracy, etc.). In order to achieve this and, thus, to succeed in formulating the conditions and stages of their work and to eventually to validate their results, authors have to conform to rhetorical conventions, stylistic standards and truth conditions in their propositions. This does not, however, exclude informal, anecdotal or subjective comments (see Gile, 1997: 5–6).

Science as literature is also subject to the collective approval of peers as it goes through editing processes. I will focus here on two main processes:

(1) editological, i.e. based on scientific criteria. Referees evaluate the text submitted for publication according to different perspectives: what it brings, how it situates in the whole of previous works, to what extent it is rigorous as regards the choice and representativeness of its data, the analysis, the interpretation of its results, etc.
(2) editorial, i.e. based on readability criteria related to the publication's objectives and scope, the writing protocol, etc.

All this raises the question of expertise. As it is, Translation Studies still only represents a limited community, although the number of institutes, schools and, thus students and graduates, has been increasing for the last 15 to 20 years. Hence, this contradiction in the field of translation and interpreting research: a relative abundance of publications backed by various magazines and publishing houses as opposed to a scarcity of people competent to supervise academic studies, obtain grants, conduct international research, approve articles and theses (cf. Gile *et al*., 2001). This scarcity is, on the one hand, main-

tained by the status of translation studies, still often attached to literature, linguistics or applied languages departments, and also paradoxically by the increasing number of symposia, which are more often ritual than scientific. On the other hand, scarcity is indirectly reinforced by calls for interdisciplinarity and the near-absence of solid criteria for evaluating the various types of discourse (master's theses, articles, summaries for conferences, etc.). Finally, it is subject to another paradox: the use of a *lingua franca*.

On what grounds do experts in multilingual and intercultural communication have to conform to the English language monopoly when describing and explaining the complexity and the stakes behind this communication and when developing research in this particular field? All the more so since this language and some of the societies using it are dominant and, therefore, do not take the trouble to transfer into other languages. This is not the appropriate place to judge the quality of the papers written (but seldom revised) in English according to non-Anglo-Saxon standards or conventions.

How can a community, supposedly open to differences, impose on its members in Japan, China, the Arab world and the Indian continent the obligation to speak a single language? Is not Translation Studies undermining its own position? What will the discipline take as the focus of its attention on which to formulate hypotheses and collect data in the future if today it promotes the emergence of a single language? But adding to the evils of this *lingua franca*, a second problem arises: the control of the dissemination channels. In fact, the use of English alone hampers the dissemination of research carried out, for instance, in Australia on community interpreting.

This new paradox (a *lingua franca* actually limited to a few networks) works against the development of the expertise needed to strengthen translation studies.

How to Conclude?

This reflection was meant to shed light on several paradoxes at the very heart of translation studies: its long past and its short history; the high volume of translation needs and the weak awareness of translation in society; the difficulties of categorising translations and the uncertainty about the object of research; translation studies as a metadiscourse and the researcher who is inextricably involved in the object of his or her research; the abundance of literature and the scarcity of experts; the very role of translators and translations; the use of a single *lingua franca*, etc. Therefore, the consensus or the possible unity in the diversity of approaches and of these paradoxes cannot be stable and definitive. In fact, the question whether research in conference interpreting belongs to Translation Studies or not becomes irrelevant: the threat jeopardising the whole field is endogamy, i.e. withdrawal into itself for lack of human and material resources.

Finally, Translation Studies has increased its research orientations, its loans from and connections with other disciplines; it should now strive to swell the ranks of actors, strengthening its institutions, promoting its findings and achievements outside its academic environment. Efforts made to train tomorrow's instructors and researchers are a sign of vitality – and the only way to overcome the current contradictions and face new paradoxes.

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Chapter 7

Aligning Macro- and Micro-Dimensions in Interpreting Research

MOIRA INGHILLERI

This chapter addresses several themes regarding: the role of interdisciplinarity in translation/interpreting research; the relationship between approaches to translational research, on the one hand, and interpreting research, on the other; and the relevance of norm theory to interpreting studies. It presents a view of interpreting activity as both a form of social action and social organisation and suggests that the particular communicative competencies that interpreters bring to their work are influenced by both the micro and macro features of the interpreting activity. It provides a brief discussion of the development of a framework for analysing the role of interpreters with respect to both norms and the sources of the generation of norms from within the wider social structure. The framework itself relies on an interdisciplinary approach. The chapter argues for the development of empirically-based research which addresses both the macro-social configurations of power and control in which interpreter practices are located and the possibilities for challenging or altering these practices in the context of local, interactional interpreting activities.

Introduction

As Daniel Gile's chapter suggests, there is a real sense that research in interpreting has reached a 're-defining' moment as traditional paradigms within that field expand and new ones are established, stimulating and continuing a dialogue across different paradigms within interpreting research, between interpreting and translation research and/or between the field of Translation Studies and outside disciplines. This chapter is intended as a voice within that dialogue, from my position as a sociolinguist engaged in research on norms in interpreting – an area of translation studies which has drawn attention to the social and ideological nature of translational activity. There is considerable overlap between aspects of the debates within translation studies and questions generated within the field of sociolinguistics concerning the relationship between macro-social and micro-interactional communicative processes. It, therefore, seems logical, and potentially worthwhile, from a research perspective, for the two disciplines to converge around questions of this kind. Such a dialogue, though not without risk of distorting or diverting theoretical or methodological foci, may serve to increase our understanding of the inter-relationship between language, culture and social processes that is common to all translational activity, whatever the particular focus of research.

Sociolinguistic Considerations of Interpreting Norms

My own empirically-based research examines the relational field of interpreter-training programmes and social and legal institutions involved in the asylum process with a view to considering how far observable translational and non-translational norms and expectations influence the professional practice of interpreters.[1] Though it derives its data from the interpreting context, it draws considerably on current debates and developments within norms and systems theories (see, for example, Toury, 1995; Chesterman, 1997; Pym, 1998; Venuti, 1998; Hermans, 1999) which for the most part have been concerned with the translation of written texts. Despite the relevance of these theories to spoken and signed interpreting activities, both the generation and application of descriptive and system-oriented approaches have largely been restricted to translation research. Although an emergent literature has been developing in what broadly might be considered 'interpreting norms' that includes attempts to identify generalised interpreting norms (Shlesinger, 1989; Harris, 1990) and to highlight norms that appear to be operating in particular interpreting contexts (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Morris, 1995; Niska, 1995; Barsky, 1996; Gentile *et al*., 1996; Fenton, 1997), the application of the concept of norms in these studies has remained at a fairly descriptive level in relation to interpreter practices.

Overlapping to some extent with this literature are accounts of interpreter-mediated, micro-interactional exchanges, for which the term 'dialogue interpreting' has been applied (Wadensjö, 1998; Mason, 1999, 2001; Roy, 2000). The term 'dialogue interpreting' is itself a reflection of a shift within interpreting research to view all interpreting contexts, with the exception of conference interpreting, as sharing a similar interpersonal, communicative structure. The term suggests a view of interpreted events as at least three-way exchanges, involving hierarchically arranged configurations of power, in which significant communicative shifts in the interpreter's participatory role occur. The growing body of literature that falls into this category derives its data from the spontaneous, 'face-to-face', spoken exchanges that constitute the interpreting event in a range of contexts. Research in this area draws on both a body of practitioner-led empirical accounts of interpreting practices and on a range of social/linguistic theory concerned specifically with interactional/conversational analysis (Goffman, 1981; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Sacks *et al*., 1974) and socio-textual practices (Halliday, 1978; Hatim & Mason, 1997). It focuses primarily on detailing misunderstandings and mis-translations vis-à-vis situated outcomes through close analysis of actual texts. The interpreted text is viewed as both generating and being generated from the social contexts of its occurrence, and interpreters are viewed as actively involved in the development and outcome of micro-level exchanges.

The close textual analysis of interpreting processes conducted within this research has importantly called attention to the constraints found within specific interpreting contexts linked to issues of power and ideology manifested in the encounter. These micro-textual approaches thus share with norm theory a recognition that translational activity, whatever its form, includes a sociological, ideological and historical dimension. The focus, however, remains primarily on the pragmatic and/or semiotic constraints on discursive prac-

tices. The starting point of analysis is the participant frame of the interpreted event itself – what Goffman (1983) referred to as the 'interaction order' to characterise social encounters as partially bounded domains whose communicative structures involve shifts in 'footing' that are determined principally by the demands of the situation of co-presence.

The emphasis on the shifting role of the interpreter in interactionistic accounts highlights how agency, despite being culturally or socially inscribed, is achieved in and through local, communicative practices – even in situations of institutionalised power asymmetry between interlocutors. It emphasises discursive freedom while at the same time, recognising that, in particular contexts, certain configurations of co-presence may serve to reproduce rather than challenge social/linguistic orderliness. With respect to interpreting contexts, the focus on the interactional dimension of interpreting activity emphasises the role that interpreters often play in the negotiation, maintenance and/or manipulation of structures of participation as they, with other members of different or the same cultures, enter into some previously uncharted linguistic relationship.

This growing body of interpreting research which focuses on the micro-interactional context represents a significant shift in perspective within interpreting studies. It claims a role for interpreters as actively shaping locally produced communicative practices and characterises interpreted events as a form of sociolinguistic activity, not merely exercises in decontextualised linguistic transfer. I would like to suggest, however, that other relevant questions remain with respect to the role that interpreted interactions and interpreters themselves play in the continuation *or* transformation of institutionally sanctioned social/linguistic practices. Such questions, rather than taking micro-textual features *per se* as the primary locus of data, take the macro social as their starting point in order to address the fundamental issue of what constraints there are on interpreting more broadly. If, indeed, interpreters do play a central role in interpreted events, it is worth investigating how, when and in what contexts interpreters are more likely, consciously or unconsciously, to contribute to the continuity of hegemonic social/linguistic processes or to challenge them.

Research of this kind – which can be located at the macro end of the macro/micro dichotomy – shares aims in common with norms and systems theories and sociological theories of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977; Bernstein, 1996). This approach, in which I would locate my own research, views interpreting activity – like all sociolinguistic activity – as both a form of social action and social organisation. It views *all* interpreting activity as located within distinctive belief and value systems which both operate on and legitimise particular communicative practices. This suggests that the ways in which interpreters work – the particular 'communicative competencies' that they bring to an interpreted event – are influenced by the social and political contexts in which both their work and the training that may inform their professional practice occurs. It maintains that interpreters – though not unreflexively – are caught up in larger social configurations of power and control – both internal and external to their professional field of practice.

A key aim of this approach to interpreting research is to access the higher level features of interpreted interactions having a bearing on discursive

production – features located within the social structure and having both an historical and a political specificity. It looks to analyse the ways in which different protocols of interpreting are framed by institutionally organised expectations and practices found in both interpreter-training programmes and in arenas of professional practice. While the primary focus is on the macro-institutional, the approach is empirical. Data are derived from an ethnographic approach, including observation of relevant sites and the interviewing of key participants drawn from each level of organisational structure. This sustains a dynamic relation between structure and action, freedom and constraint – there is no closure of the macro-social framework. Thus, while interpreting is perceived as being framed by macro constraints, local, interactional practices are acknowledged as crucial sites for the potential transformation of the social order.

A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Norms

In my own research, a framework has begun to emerge for analysing the role of interpreters in relation to norms. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss this framework in any detail (for a full elaboration, see Inghilleri, 2003), I would like to draw attention to its components and briefly allude to the macro-social theory that informs it in order to further explain the approach I am taking with respect to interpreting activity more generally. The framework is comprised of four interlocking components. It draws on Gideon Toury's (1995) distinction between initial, preliminary and operational norms in order to identify the explicit or implicit *norms* for interpreting found in particular settings and the relationship between translational norms and non-translational norms within this. This comprises the first component of the model. The second is the examination of the *sources of the generation* of norms. The third component involves locating both *official and unofficial discursive sites* in which norms may be realised or may even originate. The final component is the *text* itself – the micro-interactional event.

In addition to drawing on the body of theoretical work from within norms and systems theory, the model incorporates Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) social reproduction theory in order to address the second component more adequately – the sources of the generation of norms. Within translation theory, limitations have been perceived in norm-based, descriptive approaches, including Toury's work, for lacking an adequate conceptualisation of the social nature of communicative practices. A role for Bourdieu's social reproduction theory has been suggested (Hermans, 1996; Simeoni, 1998; Gouvanic, 1997), directing attention to the construction of fields, the impact of a 'translatorial habitus' on translational activity and, in particular, to the role of the translator in producing and/or maintaining normative practices within such activity. In my own research, Bourdieu's notions of field and habitus lend important theoretical support to the view of interpreting as a norm-based, socially constituted activity. The interpreting norms that appear to be operating in asylum interviews, for example, can be seen to be informed by a cultural, linguistic and political habitus derived from the wider social context. These habitus, or sets of dispositions to act in particular ways, constitute and are constituted by educational, economic, legal and political fields in which attitudes toward

language rights, policies of social inclusion/exclusion and a 'rhetoric of nation' become legitimised. It is these dispositions that are the sources of the generation of both the initial and preliminary norms found operating in interpreted asylum contexts.

The third component of the model suggests a relationship between the interrelated habitus observable within social institutions and individuals and the operational norms (or performance instructions) realised in both official and unofficial discursive practices. Norms will be evident, for example, in practices informing the professional differentiation of interpreter status as well as in the pedagogic content of formal interpreter-training programmes. It is also at this level that interpreters' own theories of best practice may be evident – in both how they talk about and understand their roles in a variety of interpreting contexts, as well as in how they perform these roles in specific exchanges, i.e. the actual texts produced.

The framework is intended to provide a means to conceptualise the relationship between the interpreter and the social world and to consider how sociological and ideological determinants function within interpreting contexts. It attempts to explicate the generative status of norms, viewing them as both sociocultural constructions and as constructive of social practices. At the same time, however, it seeks to avoid the over-determinism that norm-based and social reproduction theories tend toward. It does not presume an ingrained subservience and passivity on the part of interpreters with respect to the normative practices of their profession and their real or perceived invisibility with respect to interpreting activity. It suggests that while a 'translatorial habitus' may impact fundamentally on interpreting activity, playing a crucial role in what counts as 'legitimate' interpreting behaviour, observable gaps are evident between norms and their enactment in local, interactional practices. Such gaps illustrate the embodiment of distinctive, contradictory and/or conflicting habitus amongst the participants despite their dependency on the same macro-institutional context(s), that can disrupt the power and control that any one organisation or participant may have over the proceedings. This suggests that at these points – where the sayable and the unsayable can be either challenged or maintained – interpreters often do play a pivotal role.

It would be unproductive to characterise sociolinguistic, micro-interactional approaches to interpreting research as being concerned exclusively with locating change primarily with social actors and macro-level approaches with the social structure. Despite significant (and potentially unresolvable) differences in their epistemological orientations, sufficient theoretical and empirical overlap remains with which to explore the discursive probabilities and/or possibilities of interpreting activity in a range of contexts. It seems preferable to view any differences as a catalyst for the type of dialogue that Daniel Gile (Chapter 1) suggests and to which this chapter hopes to contribute.

Notes

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Chapter 8

A Way to Methodology: The Institutional Role in Translation Studies Research Training and Development

ZUZANA JETTMAROVÁ

The Prague Institute ranks among the schools that have put considerable institutional effort into the enhancement of empirical research, the status of translation studies and its academic standing over the past decade. It may serve as an illustrative example of the tendencies and institutional roles described by Daniel Gile. However, these advances could not have been made without the restructuring of both the Institute and the MA course that now integrates a substantial TS module. This in turn paved the way for advancing the PhD course. Although the quality of empirical research as well as its methodological multidisciplinarity and theoretical plurality on an MA level have apparently improved, there is the syndrome of 'one-time' researchers because of lack of motivation among graduates to opt for an academic career and gradually replace the old generation. Methodologically, Gile sees a most palpable problem in a lack of scientific rigour or rigorous research rather than in a lack of methodological knowledge – this may be a traditional phenomenon accompanying the study of languages and literatures. However, it is at least equally important to see to it that truly linguistic or literary empirical research does not pretend to be true (interdisciplinary) translatological research, which often happens to linguists both within and outside the translation studies field.

Introduction

At some stage of its formation, a discipline needs to be institutionalised in order to gain momentum but, in order to be sustainable, its development, including the methodological aspect, requires a whole range of parallel activities pursued on a long-term basis. This, in turn, requires human resources and an appropriate managerial policy; external conditioning, however, may prove to be more crucial than other factors.

As has been repeatedly pointed out by Daniel Gile (e.g. 2000, 2001, this volume), it is, first and foremost, the academic institutions – the translation/interpreting (T/I) schools – that should be aware of their responsibility and role in the development of the discipline, in terms of research and methodology, as well as for the production of 'informed' researchers.

This chapter aims to illustrate the scope of the institutional role to be played by an academic unit at a national level to acieve such developments. The scope of activities includes the following ones:

(1) institutionalisation in the form of official acknowledgement at a national level of translation studies (TS) as a discipline, including titles of academic degrees, institutional titles and the title of the discipline;
(2) institutionalised research: i.e. recognition of the specificity of TS research together with material support by institutions, especially in the case of large and more comprehensive interdisciplinary projects at national and international level, the provision of research output and its dissemination, and the development of PhD graduates and teachers with higher academic degrees;
(3) increasing awareness: i.e. popularisation of the discipline, cooperation with the T/I profession, various institutions and the outside world in general; and
(4) education: i.e. the development of potential researchers with methodological knowledge at MA and PhD levels (particular attention will be given here to the integration and conception of a TS methodology course at MA level.)

Institutionalisation of Translation Studies in the Czech Republic

Obtaining official recognition for a new discipline from government authorities is even more difficult in the case of TS: leaving aside the discussions among ourselves, it is a common misconception in academia and the outside world that translation and interpreting means speaking foreign languages. Linguists and literary scholars, even those writing about translation, believe that translation is a linguist's task, which has had its repercussions in methodological approaches and the validity of research results.

In 1996, two years after the submission of the initial application to the Ministry and after protracted discussions with the Ministry's Language and Literature Accreditation Board, TS was officially registered as an academic discipline in the Czech Republic. This opened the way for the production of scholars with academic and research degrees in TS. Until that time, the only degrees available had been either those in modern languages and literature or, from the late 1980s, a degree in 'translation and interpreting'– a significant misnomer for the discipline.

Arguing with academics in the field of languages and literature about the independent status of TS is difficult. The proposal must offer powerful arguments and data justifying the discipline. Amongst other things, the discipline has to present a specific title, a clearly defined object of study, a paradigm, methodology, history and track record, as well as a list of recognised scholars and institutional precedents in other countries.

An academic institution which obtains accreditation in TS acquires a certain prestige and influence over 'expert opinion' but also responsibility for the development of the discipline.

In order to obtain accreditation and safeguard development, the Institute of Translation Studies at Charles University (Prague) introduced a series of

changes at the beginning of the 1990s. One of them involved a difficult decision about the title of the discipline in Czech and, consequently the title of the Institute: the term *translatologie* was almost unheard of and the Institute was at the time known as the Department of Translation and Interpreting. In 1993, with institutional approval at university level, the department was renamed and restructured: while the former title and structure reflected a practical focus, i.e. T/I training, the latter reflected an academic focus, i.e. research and teaching. Language units have been replaced by the Departments of (1) Translation Theory and Teaching Methodology, (2) History of Translation and (3) Interpreting Theory and Teaching Methodology. The three departments also correspond to the three specialisations in PhD studies and reflect a nationally acknowledged paradigm.

As one of the disciplines in the multidisciplinary T/I training programme, TS represents a fully fledged course module and is part of the final examination.

Through its activities over the past decade, the Institute has won recognition both in the Czech academic world and in the T/I profession. The title of the discipline has become so well established that the concept is often overused and abused: teachers and MA students are referred to as 'translatologists' and the T/I training programme as 'translatology'.

To sum up, the following steps have been taken: the Institute was renamed and restructured; a substantial TS module was integrated into the MA course; an application was made to the Ministry and subsequently TS was officially granted independent status by the highest authority; and postgraduate studies were accredited and introduced.

Institutional research

Academic institutions representing a discipline are expected to carry out research at an institutional level, i.e. to establish projects funded by universities, the ministry or international institutions. TS projects may encounter three major problems (see also Lambert, 1993): (1) limited availability of funds and opportunities, (2) increased bureaucracy and (3) no interest on the part of the academic staff to get involved in such research. The first problem may be more evident at international level, namely in the domain of EU funding, with no 'slot' for true TS topics where, in order to be eligible and to succeed, the project must promise a utility value. Successful projects are, for example, the Grotius II project, aimed at the improvement of court interpreting services, the Euromasters in Conference Interpreting Project that has developed a postgraduate course and the Saarbrücken Euroconference project, with an implied value of, among other things, the potential use of its findings for the development of communication technologies.

Our TS project proposals have succeeded in obtaining funding at university and national level, in spite of the general preference for sciences over humanities. The largest current five-year TS project funded by the Czech Ministry accommodates all relevant areas: bibliography, historiography, methodology, theory, empirical description, criticism and evaluation and teaching theory. The advantage of the project is that, while the fields are streamlined, there is space for coordinated individual research and for accommodation of MA theses on pre-defined topics.

However, not many teachers are willing to produce any research, individual or collective; therefore, there is a need to involve more PhD and MA students. The major reason for such reluctance may be that there is very little material and moral support encouraging participation. The same factors have negative repercussions on the training of post-graduates and on the enhancement of academic qualifications (higher academic degrees). The main reason why PhD students abandon their PhD courses after two years is that they find it difficult to combine research with earning their living and, as a consequence, they lose motivation.

Institutional strength is also supported by the acknowledgement of the discipline in terms of specific publication series – our Institute publishes *Translatologica Pragensia* (Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Carolinum Press) and *Folia Translatologica* (Faculty of Arts Press), both publicising the results of individual research. Some specific problems arise in the area of individual research in the Czech Republic. Many of those who publish their findings or present them at conferences are language and literature graduates with no methodological and theoretical background in TS (however, a lack of up-to-date background reading is a general problem), and more often than not they lack reading competence in English.

Russian as the *lingua franca* of the past has also left its mark on the opportunities for dissemination of research findings: the consequences are that on the international platform, colleagues publish or give conference papers in English or French, with fewer opportunities for German; those in Spanish are restricted to Spain, and Russian is now very limited in scope.

However, research methodology can advance as research is pursued, especially by experts from the TS field who do not confuse linguistic research on translation material with true TS research.

Awareness of the discipline and its utility value

The framework of awareness-building covers three areas: the T/I profession, academia and the outside world.

Institutional activities in the profession include popularisation, further education, joint activities with professional bodies, participation in the definition of institutionalised assessment and assessment criteria development of professional performance and also representation of the institution in the profession by its graduates.

The Institute has developed close cooperation with the Czech and Slovak JTP (Association of Interpreters and Translators). Teachers, and sometimes students, publish articles, reviews and reports in the *TOP Bulletin*, contribute to JTP's conferences and seminars, proceedings and other publications. JTP has an Internet link to the Institute's website, and advertises the Institute's scholarly events, some of which are free for JTP members. The Translation Culture Club, established in the mid-1990s, as well as numerous refresher or training courses are further examples of joint activities with JTP.

On the initiative of the POSI project, JTP, the Institute, the Association of Conference Interpreters and a prestigious T/I agency have founded the Czech Committee for Translation and Interpreting. Its major activity has been the certification of translators and interpreters who do not have formal qualifica-

tions in T/I. The testing and assessment system has been developed by the Institute, and its teachers are Assessment Board members. The Institute is also represented on boards awarding prizes for literary translations and dictionaries, organised by the Translators' Guild and JTP.

The institutional role within academia involves, among other things, the Institute's participation in quality control of T/I and TS courses nationally through representation by one staff member in the national accreditation group for courses in languages and literatures.

Inter-related with the status and recognition of TS is the status of the T/I course itself. The seal of approval at national level is its accreditation, which places it on a par with other university MA courses, dispelling doubts about its university status and its adequacy as compared to, for example, languages. Status can be further enhanced by achieving recognition in the national system for the classification of university programmes. This was the case in Prague: until 2001 the T/I course was part of the Language and Literature Programme covering all languages and literatures, classical philology etc.; since 2002 there has been a separate T/I programme.

The various public relations activities, which are often the responsibility of the Institute's management, include communication, presentation and representation on all possible occasions and levels. Awareness and reputation are also built on the successful participation of MA students and graduates in university and national research competitions (e.g. the Bolzano award): this also testifies to the methodological soundness and relevance of TS topics.

It is also essential that staff members contribute to national language and literature conferences and periodicals which nowadays more frequently feature a section on translation. It is here that linguists and literary scholars often consider a study of language or literature a study in translation, use inappropriate methodology and know virtually nothing of TS. The staff member's role is a dual one: to give an exemplary paper and to make critical contributions in the discussion.

Access to the outside world is primarily through the national mass media and the aim has been to build awareness about the profession, training, translation quality, etc. Teachers also represent the Institute and TS by publishing critical reviews on current literary translations or popular articles in the specialised press, e.g. on models and methods in translation criticism addressed to critics.

In the area of expertise and consulting, the Institute has recently been registered by the Minister of Justice as the institution exclusively providing expertise on the quality of legal translation in cases of dispute. Translation agencies and clients of T/I services also turn to the Institute for analysis and assessment in cases of products of dubious quality. Such activities enhance both the status of the Institute and the discipline, demonstrating its practical value.

Education

In 1992, the T/I course programme was restructured and further adjustments were made in subsequent years. The aim of such restructuring was twofold: to enhance both the quality of the vocational component, which prepares students for the profession; and the development of academic skills and knowledge in order to produce graduates at the same academic level as

other courses in the university. Should a graduate choose an academic career s/he would be ready to start supervised research for a PhD and, consequently, the PhD course would maintain the same standards as other PhD courses building on research knowledge and skills acquired at MA level.

An integral part of the academic component was an enhanced TS module, resulting in a more balanced representation of academic disciplines that underlie the course. Before the restructuring, linguistics and cultural studies (including literature) were most prominent, while TS was represented only by a two-semester course in translation and interpreting theory and a two-semester course in the history of Czech translation. The translation theory course was isolated and unpopular with students (for reasons, see Woodsworth, 1993: 325). Such isolation can only increase the theory-*versus*-practice effect as observed by Roberts (1993: 321).

Apart from other changes, the following TS module has been introduced and integrated into the curriculum:

- introduction to TS (first year, two semesters),
- theory of translation and interpreting (third year, two semesters),
- history of translation (fourth year, two semesters),
- theory of translation II (fourth year, two semesters), and
- TS methodology (fourth year, one semester).

Integration has been an extremely difficult task for reasons which are well known: the existing schism between theory and practice, between the academics and practitioners among the members of staff, the initial reluctance and resistance of practitioners and students alike. Moreover, academics with a traditional language and literature background initially frowned on the cuts in and restructuring of the language and literature component. Both camps were reluctant to accept the revision of the final examination.

The only change readily accepted was the 'forking' of the curriculum after the initial three years of study into two specialisations (i.e. translation or interpreting), which had a substantial impact on the quality of the output – students without the necessary skills and aptitude were no longer required to pass advanced courses and a final examination in interpreting.

Integration is not a mechanical 'insertion': it requires the cooperation of all involved teaching staff because both the curriculum and the syllabuses of adjacent courses (theoretical and practical) must be coordinated and interlinked. If such a restructuring is to succeed, the process involves a substitution of the fusion for the 'schism', which can only be a gradual process working on the principle of 'seeing is believing'. The precondition is that 'practitioners' realise and subsequently recognise the role of theory in the training process. This presupposes that they familiarise themselves with at least some theory.

Gile (Chapter 1) points out that the problem of our discipline is that the T/I profession can happily live without theory and that it has nothing to offer to them, which basically coincides with the attitudes of professionals (members of staff) to TS theory. This opinion may be adopted by T/I students if they perceive no use for 'theories' in the vocational part of their university training.

It is not clear yet whether TS will evolve into theory-for-theory's-sake or whether it will become a utilitarian science. However, the little we know so far can be used both as a tool in T/I training and as 'material' in the development

of academic skills, i.e. critical thinking and research. Last but not least, TS now represents a body of knowledge that can be appropriated, disseminated, carried on and developed. Who else, other than T/I and PhD graduates, could do this? What is more, we all like to believe that it is our graduates who will promote our work in teaching and research. And if we look at the academic side of university education, we may find very little difference from, for example, language and literature courses when it comes to the state of the art, considering that their disciplines are relatively older (see, e.g., Lambert's criticism of methods in literary history and their negative effect on research in translation history in Lambert [1993: 10]; see also Pym [1998]).

Finally, if we look at the market, which is likely to remain unregulated in the T/I profession, with a varying quality of performance which we cannot influence, we can decide to develop not only translators and interpreters (or potential researchers) but also experts who are able to give an expert opinion on T/I performance in the market (including literary translation criticism and courtroom interpreting), which requires a conceptual framework. This has also been one of the aims of the Prague course.

The following is a uni-directional chronological representation of the integrated TS module in terms of interlinked courses and components of pre-final and final examinations:

- *Introduction to TS* ⇒ translation analysis, translation/interpreting methods, contrastive linguistic and cultural studies;
- *Theory of translation and interpreting* (especially Czech and Slovak models) ⇒ T/I subjects;
- Interim examination (translation and commentary);
- *History of Czech translation* (cultural role of translation and translators, development of norms, contextualisation and constraints, relevance of diachronic research for understanding mechanisms);
- *Theory of translation II* (foreign models and TS historiography; expert analysis and assessment);
- *TS methodology;*
- Final examination (translation or/and interpreting; expert analysis and assessment).

Introduction to TS is a crucial, attitude-forming course to theory and practice; i.e., at the very beginning of their training, students should realise the utility value of theoretical knowledge of TS and other disciplines in their training and the quality of their performance before they have acquired enough professional experience. They should also be familiarised with the limitations of theoretical knowledge, the mission of scientific knowledge, as well as with the aims of a university-level course. As is always the case, at the beginning students expect the sole aim of their course to be to turn them into good translators and interpreters, as they do not see themselves as future intellectuals, potential researchers, teachers or experts. The course is not easy to design and teach, as the key to success is in the process – as they progress from one class to another, students must perceive the 'eye-opening' effect of the course.

Another course that makes the theoretical and practical ends meet is the History of Translation course, where the subject becomes a dynamic, context-

dependent entity and students realise that this knowledge may only be available if it is a result of empirical research. The motivating effect of this course can be observed in the large number of MA theses with this focus.

The two courses in the theory of translation should, among other things and like other theoretical subjects, develop students' analytical thinking and critical skills. This type of thinking and skills are perhaps the most difficult to develop in our students (this is also reported by Mossop, 1992: 401). It is difficult to tell whether this arises from a lack of knowledge or as a result of the amount of effort these activities require, or perhaps because of the tendency to take the written word or the teacher's word for granted. There are some who demonstrate these skills when they begin their studies, while the majority seems to prefer the process of passive intake. In general, students combining their T/I studies with subjects like sociology or political science or even some language and literature courses, demonstrate better critical-analytical skills than students enrolled on the T/I course only.

Analytical and critical skills of a different type are developed in the expert analysis and assessment of translation, taught in the Theory II course and examined as part of the graduate profile in the final examination. In this exercise, the student may need to retrieve any kind of declarative and procedural knowledge acquired, depending on the texts.

The course on TS methodology

Design and aims

Coinciding with the opening of the PhD route, this course was introduced in 1996 to give explicit guidance to MA students for current and potential individual or supervised research. This was motivated by two aims: (1) to improve the quality of MA theses (in methodology, relevance and validity), especially when the supervisors themselves only had a traditional language and literature background or had no research background at all apart from their own MA thesis; and (2) to make sure that the research focus was on TS rather than on language or literature.

The course consists of an introduction to methodology, in general, and as applied to humanities, in particular. Students are acquainted with the basic types of research methods and techniques (qualitative, quantitative, triangulation; observational *versus* experimental etc.). The following aspects are stressed: objectivity, validity, reliability, relevance, feasibility and basic aims (a new research method, verification of hypotheses/models, new findings based on individual hypotheses and their generalisation); descriptivism *versus* prescriptivism, structuralism *versus* other models; generalisation, operationalisation, empirical cycle etc.

The second part deals with TS methods and the research focus. Students are encouraged to opt for empirical research rather than a theoretical thesis (unless it is historiographic) and are warned that experimental designs as well as any surveys (including questionnaires and interviews) must be discussed with psychologists and/or sociologists. Then follows a series of lectures on research design and methods in the main TS empirical fields: DTS (synchronic and diachronic), IS (see Čeňková, 2001; Gile, 2001), historical, such as editorial practices and policies. Translation criticism of one translation is not eligible for an

MA thesis, unless the focus of research is, for example, on the model of criticism. As for quantitative data-processing techniques, i.e. the use of corpora and qualitative research *per se*, students are given only introductory lectures and are referred to non-TS specialists. The last part of the course deals with the technical aspect of a research task and the presentation of the findings in writing.

Eligibility of models and methods

It is important for us that the students achieve greater theoretical and methodological pluralism. During the course of their studies, they become acquainted with various models and methods and they are free to choose any of them for their research but it is, nonetheless, indispensable that they have the teacher's guidance as to the advantages and disadvantages of selected approaches to their research topic. It is difficult to argue with Gile (Chapter 1) about the potential factors behind the popularity of translation paradigms and theories, but it is a fact that the Czech approach is based on Levy's integration of Prague structuralism and a communication model. This model is complemented with other functionalist models offering more precise or systematic tools. Models and methods used in interpreting research are described in Čeňková (2001, 2002). Methodological warnings that a model may 'blinker' the researcher, as it imposes limitations as to what s/he can observe, may only be true to some extent (for a discussion see Lambert, 1993: 11). What I see as more challenging is keeping the focus within TS and not allowing it to be slanted towards linguistics or literature. This is a trap linguists tend to fall into when the use of translation as empirical material in linguistic and literary research is confused with TS research.

Although students are warned about this slant and are given examples, their supervisors sometimes tend to overlook it, especially when the linguistic aspect is prominent in the analytical part of the thesis. For example, a thesis focusing on the ways of translating verbal aspect from one language to another may yield good results for contrastive grammar or interference in foreign language teaching (FLT), while it may yield no valid results for TS. In other words, linguistic norms, FL interference and translational phenomena should be seen as separate categories. To avoid drawing conclusions with a high involvement of intuitive knowledge, it is recommended that a relevant characteristic of the linguistic phenomenon in focus is first established via a sample of original texts in the two languages and then compared with the results obtained from translated texts. Institutionally, it is the Institute's Director who must exercise 'censorship' in the initial stage when staff members suggest MA thesis topics and write a brief outline of the student's project.

The student is free to choose either a suggested topic or his/her own topic (providing the latter has been approved by the Director). Topics suggested every year reflect either the teachers' individual research interests or the Institution's current research project(s). After the course, students have an idea about what individual types of research and topics involve, so their choice is more informed. Consequently, the number of cases when the student wishes to change the topic has been markedly reduced.

The course concludes with the submission of a five–page project on the MA thesis assigned and a methodological discussion of it. Students are instructed

to design the project only after they have read the bulk of the theoretical literature but before they proceed to empirical data analysis. The project structure covers all relevant parts of an empirical study: topic, focus and aims; relevance of the topic for current research; the state of the art in research on the topic; a hypothesis or hypotheses (where applicable); methods and materials; expected findings and contribution; MA thesis structure and basic bibliography.

The most frequent problems encountered in students' projects are: (1) lack of methodological soundness and validity; (2) insufficient background reading (students' reading competence is usually in two foreign languages, and the problem arises when English is not among them; students also tend to rely on a bibliography they receive from their supervisor instead of undertaking their own bibliographic search, not to mention reading in methodology). Some projects are returned for revision. Since 1998 there have only been two cases where the student has failed to defend her/his thesis while in earlier years such cases were more numerous.

Our plans for the immediate future regarding the development of the course and enhancement of research in general include (1) the production of a coursebook so that more time in class can be spent on seminar work (critical analysis, practical problem solving); (2) informal institutional cooperation, especially with the departments of psychology, sociology and economics, in the fields of interdisciplinary theses and methodological assistance in both quantitative and qualitative research and statistical methods; and (3) formal institutional cooperation with the Institute of the Czech National Corpus beginning in 2003 should result in the availability of parallel and comparable corpora with Czech and the future integration of corpus linguistics in TS research (see Laviosa, 2002). Apart from course development, institutional cooperation is also a way of enhancing the prestige of the discipline among researchers in academia.

Conclusion

Popovič's vision (in van den Broeck, 1993: 329) in which 'an ideal project would be the education of translators – theoreticians, critics, and practitioners in one person, i.e. of translators capable of solving both the theoretical and pragmatic problems of … translation' may be an ideal direction in which to develop.

Until our generation is replaced by our graduates who are trained in methodology and committed to the unity of theory and practice, we can only proceed in small incremental steps in the areas outlined in this chapter. Institutional mechanisms may be powerful and may contribute a great deal but the lack of research expertise, for example, or the willingness to pursue it on the part of the teachers is a serious obstacle.

In order to retain our legitimate place among university departments and disciplines, we must be capable of meeting the basic requirement – to produce and reproduce knowledge – and this involves more than just doing it.

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Chapter 9

Conduits, Mediators, Spokespersons: Investigating Translator/Interpreter Behaviour

IAN MASON

Following Daniel Gile's plea for an investigation of the similarities between interpreting research and translation research, a legitimate area of enquiry would be the similarities in interpreter and translator moves, seen within the interactional frameworks which give rise to them. The available dichotomies for describing translators' orientations – overt and covert (House, A Model for Translation Quality Assessment [Tubingen: Narr, 1981] ; direct and indirect (Gutt, Translation and Relevance [Manchester: St Jerome, 2000]); or documentary and instrumental (Nord, Einführung in das funktionale Übersetzen [Tübingen: Francke, 1993]) – are all viable in their own terms but have to be unduly stretched if they are to cover the full range of oral and written translating events. A proposal to describe such events – written translating, simultaneous and consecutive interpreting, and so on – in terms of the full participation framework, including production and reception formats, audience design and the footings of all participants, would seem more promising in that the model would be better equipped to cover all cases. In this chapter I argue that descriptive studies should take account of the full participation framework of such events. They should include socio-pragmatic studies of the interpreter/translator* **in situ** *and pragma-linguistic studies of whole texts and discourses. Only thus can the deep-level similarities between the various modes of translating be properly examined.

Introduction

Emphasis has been placed for far too long on the situational constraints which separate the activities of translators from those of interpreters or, for that matter, of film subtitlers from those of legal translators or sign language interpreters from those of conference interpreters. That these distinctions exist and that they correspond to real differences in working conditions, working practices and experience is undeniable. That professionals in all of these settings routinely encounter problems of a similar nature and adopt comparable behaviours in addressing them is equally undeniable but far less apparent because of the divergent directions that research in each of these fields has typically followed. Research into conference interpreting has tended to focus on just those features – working memory, time lag, cognitive skills – which distinguish it from written translating while the predominant trend in written translation research remains the study of literary texts, a field of marginal concern to the interpreter.

It is time to redress the balance and Daniel Gile's call (Chapter 1) for the investigation of TR (Translation Research) and IR (Interpreting Research) synergy opens up perspectives which, if not new, are at least under-exploited. Gile's proposition is that 'besides the autonomous investigation of [the] respective features [of TR and IR], each step in the investigation of one can contribute valuable input towards investigation of the other'. Specifically, IR offers the opportunity to 'observe steps in the act of communication to which translators do not have access'. In what follows, I wish to pursue this idea and illustrate it with instances of both written translating and face-to-face dialogue interpreting. In so doing, I hope to show how the interactional pragmatic variables of footing, politeness and relevance are central to the concerns of translator and interpreter alike.

Interactional Variables

The interactive nature of written texts is the subject of a growing volume of research carried out in discourse linguistics. Myers (1989) explores politeness phenomena in scientific journal articles while Thompson and Thetela (1995) offer an account of the 'enacted role' of the writer and 'projected role' of the reader in (written) advertising. Nystrand (1986, 1989), Myers (1999) and Hoey (2001) pursue the problematics of investigating interactivity in texts while Hatim (1998) explores the implications for the translator of the politeness of whole texts. McLaren (2001) studies the intra-textual evolution of writer/reader negotiation of face in promotional literature produced by companies.

In the same way, the translator can be seen as an interactant in any exchange which seeks to ensure communication between a source-text (ST) producer and a target-text (TT) reader. There are, of course, translation tasks which do not involve ST/TT interactivity of this kind: wherever a ST producer is involved in addressing a source-language (SL) receiver group only, translations are often intended as allowing the TT reader *observer* status (Pym, 1992) towards a SL-only communication. Such is also the case, for example, of many voice-over translations of televised speech aimed at an SL audience. But many other texts are either aimed at an international receiver group (e.g. key texts issued by international organisations) or specifically aimed at a target-language (TL) group (e.g. explanatory social security leaflets translated into languages of immigrant communities). In such cases, the translator's role is one of true interactivity and not dissimilar to that of the dialogue interpreter, who seeks to ensure communication between two other parties. Indeed, there is a case for saying, as Daniel Gile suggests, that dialogue interpreting is the earliest form of translating, born of the necessity for contacts at the interface between languages and cultures. In these encounters, interpreters are highly visible and active participants in three-way exchanges. Their moves are available for scrutiny by other participants in a way that is rare in the case of written translation exchanges. But it is not fanciful to suggest that the written translator – both as a social being and a text receiver and producer – will be involved in similar moves and guided by similar motivations. A legitimate area of enquiry, therefore, will be the similarities of interpreter and translator moves, seen within the interactional frameworks which give rise to them.

Footing

A key figure in work on the participation framework of communicative events is Goffman (e.g. 1981). Specifically, the notion of *footing* has proven useful to sociolinguists and conversation analysts. Footing is defined by Goffman (1981: 227) as 'the alignment of an individual to a particular utterance, whether involving a production format, as in the case of the speaker, or solely a participation status, as in the case of the hearer'. Speakers, he observes, may behave as the *principal*, showing commitment to and ownership of what is expressed; as the *author*, responsible for the thoughts expressed and the words uttered; or merely as the *animator*, a sounding-box or talking machine, reiterating the speech of another. Within a single discourse event, speakers will naturally shift their footing, adopting a different alignment towards each other participant.

The applicability of these ideas to the work of the interpreter is apparent and Wadensjö (e.g. 1998) has admirably demonstrated how all parties to the triadic exchange involved in face-to-face interpreting are involved in constant realignment towards each other. For the purposes of this discussion, let us take the notion of the speaker's responsibility for his/her own output, inherent in the principal/author/animator distinction outlined earlier. To what extent do translators/interpreters claim ownership of the words they utter? To what extent do other participants take this translated/interpreted output as emanating directly from the person interpreted/translated? Wadensjö (1992: 74) provides an example of potential miscommunication arising from an incident in which a client picks up a lexical choice made by the interpreter and, attributing it directly to the other speaker, challenges it. A Swedish-speaking doctor has suggested to a Russian-speaking patient that a thyroid problem has been 'worrying' the patient. The interpreter selects a Russian verb which offers the meanings 'disturbing' and 'worrying'. The patient then denies that the thyroid has been 'worrying/disturbing' her: it has simply got bigger. The interpreter is thus faced with the awkward task of relaying back to the doctor an objection which relates to her own lexical choice, rather than that actually uttered by the doctor.

Such situations are commonplace in interpreted encounters.[1] They point specifically to the production format attributed by one participant to another – and, more generally, to the perception of the interpreter's role by users of interpreting services. The assumption that the words received by one of the primary parties to the exchange are those uttered (in a different language) by the other primary party positions the interpreter in the role of animator – a mere sounding-box or translating machine. In cases such as the incident just cited, the interpreter has the option of challenging this assumption by explicitly adopting the footing of principal and saying to the patient something like: 'No, those were my words, not those of the doctor'. In practice, professional interpreters are more likely to handle the problem by making the patient's response relevant to the doctor's actual utterance and thus upholding communication without the need for further intervention. The Russian/Swedish interpreter's representation to the doctor of the patient's objection, as translated into English by Wadensjö (1992: 74), was: 'No, it is not that I feel worried or it hurts but it seems to have grown bigger'. The effect of such a version is, of course, that

communication proceeds and neither patient nor doctor need be aware that a translation problem had arisen. The patient will remain ignorant of the fact that her objection was to the interpreter's, not the doctor's, choice of words and the doctor will continue to assume that the patient had objected to his own lexical choice.

Likewise, in many cases of the reception of written translations, users will attribute responsibility for the translator's selections to the ST producer – and the attribution will go unchallenged, in the sense that communication will continue unhindered until such time as someone (usually a non-participant in the communicative act) analyses what has actually happened. The phenomenon is none other than that of the translator's supposed invisibility (Venuti, 1995). The well-known case of James Strachey's translation of Freud (Bettelheim, 1983) is a conspicuous example. The quintessentially Freudian vocabulary, accepted world-wide, of the Ego, the Id, the Super-Ego, cathexis, parapraxis and so on does not comprise lexical choices made by Sigmund Freud. He never used these terms. Yet the perceived meanings of these translators' coinages are universally attributed to him.

Now, commentators on this case from within translation studies – and there have been many of us[2] – have not really envisaged the issue from the perspective of Goffman's participation framework, footing and production and reception formats, despite the obvious applicability of these notions. Why not? One suspects that the continuing separation of spoken and written translating into distinct areas of academic enquiry has something to do with it. In TR, a major distinction, enjoying wide currency, is that originally made by House (1981) between *overt* and *covert* translation. This seems to relate to the translator's strategy in approaching the task of translating but is defined as a function of the nature of the ST:

> An overt translation is required whenever the source text is heavily dependent on the source culture and has independent status within it; a covert translation is required when neither condition holds, i.e. when the source text is not source culture specific. (House, in Baker, 1998: 199).

Without denying the value of this distinction as an empirically justified reflection of translator practice, we can note (1) its general inapplicability (as defined) to the strategic options of the interpreter; and (2) that the dichotomy could be enhanced by reference to the participation framework of the translation event and, in particular, to the translator's footing – as principal, as author or as animator. In other words, an interactional dimension seems essential to any account of the translator's strategic options. To be fair, this interactional element is present in House's definition of overt translation:

> An overt translation is one in which the TT addressees are quite 'overtly' not being addressed. (House, 1981: 192)

That is, the translation does not present itself as a second original. It is, by extension, an attempt to represent to TT receivers an act of communication between an ST producer and SL receivers within an SL-bound culture. This definition would seem to preclude all acts of face-to-face interpreting from the category of overt translation: the interpreter specifically does address a TL

addressee. Yet they are not properly covert translation either since, for House (1981: 194) the latter 'is not marked pragmatically as a TT of an ST but may, conceivably, have been created in its own right'. After all, for the dialogue interpreter, what is covert (in the sense of concealed)? Still, in that they work on STs which are not SL culture-bound but are explicitly intended for the consumption of a TL addressee, dialogue interpreters' translations are close to covert translations in important respects.

The waters are further muddied, however, when Gutt, working from a relevance-theoretic perspective, claims that

> in a very real sense, translation cannot be covert: since one of its defining characteristics is that it comes with the intention of informing the target audience that the original author has said or written such-and-such, it cannot achieve its objective without that intention being recognized by the audience. (Gutt, 2000: 215)

The logic of this statement is undeniable. But it is closely linked to Gutt's (2000: 213) contention that translation is an act of communication 'between translator and target audience only'. In other words, TT receivers recognise the translation as something which purports interpretively to resemble an original text but (unless they are bilingual) they engage only with the translation and not with the ST. Interestingly for our purposes here, Gutt claims that this is also true of simultaneous interpreting: even though the ST producer may be physically present, TT receivers are confronted only with the interpreter's output. But even in the case of simultaneous conference interpreting, where the TT receivers' use of headphones may shut out (most of) the ST, this statement may appear contentious. It is even less acceptable in the case of face-to-face interpreting, where participants routinely shift footing. For example, TT receivers often react spontaneously to ST speakers, without waiting for the interpreter to take his/her turn; interpreters comment to TT receivers on aspects of the ST; or, conversely, interpreters adopt an 'invisible' or 'translating machine' stance (footing as animator) in an attempt to ensure direct communication between the monolingual participants. In all such cases, communication cannot be said to be limited to translator and target audience only.

The available dichotomies – overt and covert (House, 1981); direct and indirect (Gutt); or documentary and instrumental (Nord, 1993) – are viable in their own terms but have to be unduly stretched if they are to cover the full range of oral and written translating events. A proposal to define such events – written translating, simultaneous and consecutive interpreting, and so on – in terms of the full participation framework, the footings of all participants, would seem more promising in that the model would be better equipped to cover all eventualities. Thus, in addition to the orientation of the translator/interpreter as animator (verbatim reproducer of others' text), author (responsibility for the composition of the output) or principal (commitment to one's own text), there will be the orientation of each other participant: ST producer and TT receivers (as addressees, auditors or overhearers). A relevant question will then be: for what categories of audience is the ST designed?

- SL receivers only (e.g. film dialogue, to be subtitled in another language),

- TL receivers only (e.g. a monolingual witness, speaking in court proceedings held in another language),
- all receivers (e.g. a speech to the EU Parliament, to be interpreted and translated into other EU languages) or
- the translator only (e.g. a police officer addressing an interpreter: 'Could you ask him to spell his name, please?)'.

Then, and only then, can we understand the translator's/interpreter's footing and ask the crucial questions: For what categories of audience is the TT designed (cf. Bell, 1984)?

- For addressees (ratified participants, directly addressed),
- For auditors (ratified participants, not directly addressed) or
- For overhearers (non-ratified participants, not directly addressed)?

And how does the TT position its audience (cf. Pym, 1992)?

- As participants?
- As observers?
- As excluded?

In this way, the participation framework includes all parties to translating events: commissioners of translations, translators, interpreters, conference organisers, clients, end-users, etc. Further, entailed questions will be: How is the TT received? Is there feedback from receivers to the translator or to the ST producer, thus influencing[3] subsequent translating events or parts of the same event? A descriptor of this kind may go further towards accounting for all translating events, written or oral, than some of the familiar dichotomies. It may also serve to promote the TR/IR synergies that Daniel Gile calls for.

Politeness

Another area of interactivity in the work of translators and interpreters is politeness, understood in the Gricean pragmatics sense intended by Brown and Levinson (1987). Of this, very much could be said but, for present purposes, a single pair of attested examples will suffice. The interpreter's mitigation of perceived threats to face is well documented (Harris & Sherwood, 1978; Knapp-Potthof & Knapp 1986; Berk-Seligson, 1990; Cambridge, 1999; Brennan, 1999, Mason & Stewart, 2001), whether the face redress is done for the sake of the speaker, the hearer or the interpreter herself. Tebble (1999: 193) refers to the case of a medical consultation in which a doctor informs a patient that she has raised blood pressure. The personal nature of this information, together with the fact that it is bad news, constitutes a threat to face. In the interpreted version, the diagnosis is hedged to 'a little raised', with, it is argued, potentially serious consequences. Elsewhere, Meyer (2001) provides an example of 'claiming common ground' (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 103), as a means of effecting positive politeness. In this medical consultation, a doctor's technical reference to 'bile' is glossed by the interpreter in Portuguese as 'the rabbit's poison', alluding to shared culinary knowledge of the interpreter and the patient that the bile duct of a rabbit must be removed before cooking. There can be little doubt that pragmatic awareness of this kind routinely informs

interpreters' moves. The same, however, can be said of written translators.

Within the context of the tourist brochure genre, any speech act of prohibition constitutes an unwelcome face-threat within an overall text act of seeking to welcome and encourage. ST producers are instinctively aware of this and directives are routinely hedged or done 'off-record' (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 17–21). Such is the case in the following French ST fragment, where the prohibition is presented impersonally as if it were a custom rather than a regulation:

> Le logis, à droite en entrant a été bâti en 1872 sur les fondations du palais épiscopal dont il ne reste que la tour ronde; ce bâtiment ne se visite pas.
> [*The dwelling, on the right upon entering, was built in 1872 on the foundations of the bishop's palace, of which remains only the round tower; the building is not visited*.]

The accompanying English TT goes further off-record by simply giving 'association clues' (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 215): a mere mention that the residence is 'private' carries out the face-threatening act of prohibition as indirectly as possible:

> On the right of the Main Entrance is the owner's 19th c. private residence built on the site of the Bishop's palace. The tower formed part of the original structure.

To account for the shifts in each of these examples from IR and TR, a single face-work theory is thus sufficient and the similarities are apparent as soon as translating is seen as just as interactional an event as interpreting.

Relevance

Likewise, the cost/benefit formula of relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986) – maximum contextual effect in exchange for minimum processing effort – operates equally in both modes of translating. This much is admirably demonstrated in the case of written translating by Gutt (2000), who also alludes briefly to the applicability of the theory to the work of the interpreter. Again, a comparison of two examples of actual performance will serve to illustrate the similarity of translators' and interpreters' moves.

In an immigration interview, a Polish man, who had been arrested at a hotel where he had been working without a permit, was asked about his working hours. His reply in Polish may be literally glossed in English as

[That is I had eight hours mop, and two hours Hyde Park.]

The interpreter, in Polish, seeks further clarification:

[But from ten till six here at the hotel?]

and, when this is confirmed, translates into English for the benefit of the immigration officer:

> Right, I worked nights at the hotel from 10–6 in the morning, and then from six to eight I was picking up rubbish in Hyde Park.

Explicitation of this kind is, of course, common in dialogue interpreting. From a relevance theoretic point of view, the Polish man's utterance may be seen as requiring considerable processing effort (for coherence to be retrieved)

in exchange for a low informative gain (or contextual effect). The interpreter's move ensures ease of processing and a contextual effect consistent with what the immigration officer is seeking – or, in Gutt's and Sperber and Wilson's terms, increased relevance.

The same may be said of the translator's move in the following ST/TT pair, taken from an article in the UNESCO Courier (December 1998):

ST: Environmental costs … may sometimes even be lower when environmental standards are higher (for example, where lower environmental standards lead to higher costs of treating industrial water supplies).

TT: (les coûts environnementaux) … peuvent même diminuer lorsque les normes 'vertes' sont contraignantes. Prenons l'exemple d'un industriel qui a besoin d'utiliser de l'eau 'propre'. Si les normes du pays où il investit sont strictes, elle lui sera fournie. Sinon, il devra traiter l'eau à ses frais avant de l'utiliser.

[(environmental costs) … may even diminish when 'green' norms are restrictive. Let us take the example of an industrialist who needs to use 'clean' water. If the norms of the country where he is investing are strict, it will be provided for him. If not, he will have to treat the water at his own expense before using it.]

Here too, a judgement about relative ease of processing seems to have been made, the translation offering maximal informativeness in exchange for low processing effort.

Conclusion

All of the examples of translator/interpreter shifts cited here are local moves within texts, no doubt motivated by local concerns for upholding communication. They may be analysed for their own sake – as they have been here – and, thus, provide a certain amount of evidence of translators'/interpreters' procedures and footing. But there is a danger of fragmentation in this approach and it is important to see all local moves within the context of whole encounters: as social transactions with their own inherent dynamics, including threats to face, assumptions of mutual manifestness and so on. The fragmentary approach to the illustrative examples cited here is simply a matter of expedience. In this article we have, following Daniel Gile, made a plea for further research into the communicative similarities of interpreter and translator behaviour. We have argued that descriptive studies should take account of the full participation framework of such events. They should include socio-pragmatic studies of the interpreter/translator *in situ* and pragma-linguistic studies of whole texts and discourses. Only thus can the deep-level similarities between the various modes of translating be properly examined.

Notes

1. They are, moreover, not limited to face-to-face interpreting. In the case of simultaneously relayed conference presentations, a questioner from the floor may, in formulating a question, rely on the simultaneous interpreter's lexical choices, imputing to the presenter responsibility for those choices. The resulting perplexity of the

presenter in seeking to respond to the question is a familiar experience for those frequently involved in such communicative events.
2. See, for example, Mason (1994), Venuti (1998), Hatim (2001) for a variety of perspectives on this case.
3. This is Bell's (1984) category of *responsive* audience design.

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Chapter 10

The Clue to Common Research in Translation and Interpreting: Methodology

MARIANA OROZCO

Taking as a point of departure the differences stated by Gile between translation research and interpreting research, this chapter focuses on the methodological aspects they share – or could share. This chapter claims that the clue to bringing research into translation and interpreting closer lies in the acceptance – and the use – of a common research methodology by scholars in both fields. Thus, a methodological model is proposed that can be applied to any field or objective within Translation Research and Interpreting Research. The advantages of using the same methodology are obvious and would make it possible, for instance, that any scholar could benefit from the efforts of colleagues who have been interested in the same object of study or that researchers could take as the point of departure of their work the studies of others in the field, building on research that has already been carried out, as well as undertaking research together with colleagues from other specialties/languages/disciplines in an interdisciplinary holistic approach to interrelated topics.

Introduction

Research in the fields of translation and interpreting has hitherto been clearly differentiated by Daniel Gile, with both a different 'history, foci, academic environment and tradition' (see Gile, Chapter 1). However, as he also points out, they also share some methodological issues. It is this common interest which is the point of departure of this chapter, which aims to provide a framework within which scholars from both fields might join forces to work towards a mutually satisfying objective.

It is true that the differences between Translation Research (TR) and Interpreting Research (IR) make it difficult to contemplate areas of research in common but, in my opinion, the clue to bringing research into translation and interpreting closer lies in the acceptance – and the use – of a common research methodology by scholars in both fields.

Research Methodology

When referring to 'research methodology', many different aspects of research methodology come to mind: the way in which research is carried out, the theoretical approach adopted by researchers, the way in which research is organised or planned, the method used by the researcher to gather and analyse data, etc.

It may, therefore, be helpful to begin this chapter by defining what I mean by 'research methodology'. In my opinion, research methodology may be defined in terms of the 'process of research', i.e. the planning and carrying out of each stage of a scientific study. Rigour in the research process is what makes a study valuable from the scientific point of view. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1982: 22):

> Scientific knowledge is knowledge provable by both reason and experience (observation). Logical validity and empirical verification are the criteria employed by scientists to evaluate claims for knowledge. These two criteria are translated into the research activities of scientists through the *research process.*

Many scholars in the fields of translation and interpreting do not agree with this idea of 'scientific' and even less 'science' when referring to their field of study but this may be because their definition of 'scientific' differs from that of Nachmias and Nachmias.

Figure 1 may help shed some light on what may be termed 'scientific research methodology' and the steps it involves:

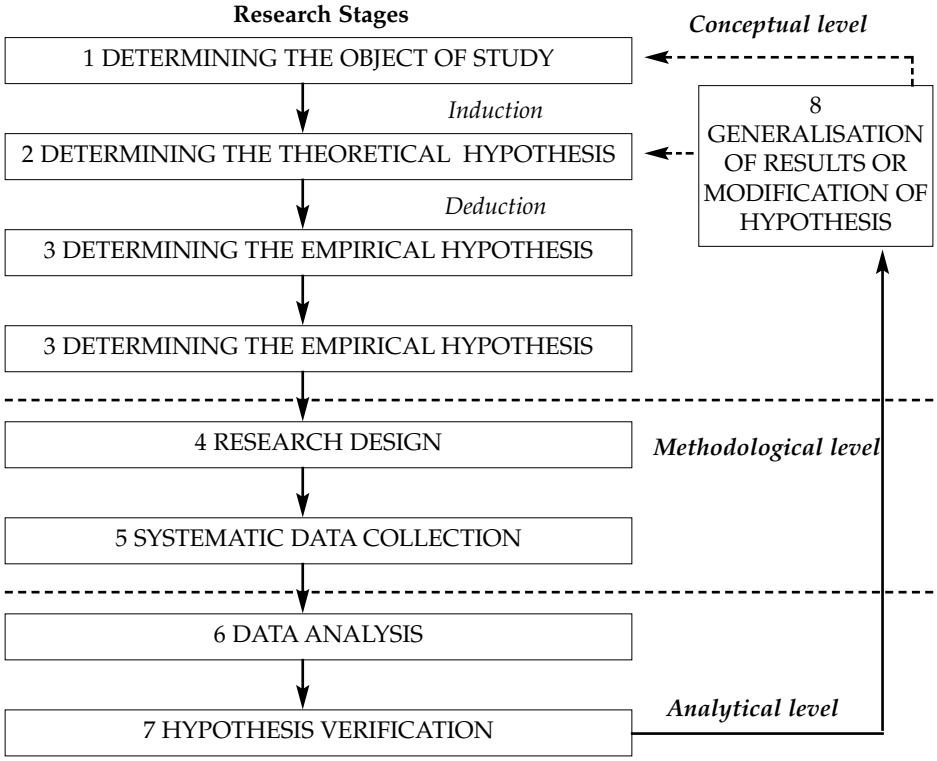

Figure 1: Research stages (adapted from Domènech *et al*., 1998)

Figure 1 shows the main stages of the cycle through which the research process develops. This process develops through eight stages corresponding to the conceptual, methodological and analytical levels of research.

The process starts at the *conceptual* level: the researcher works with abstract ideas that become specific (still at the theoretical level) at a second stage, before finally becoming tangible/observable at the third stage. Stage 1 always starts with a problem or question which the researcher wishes to solve or to answer, and the tentative solution or answer becomes the hypothesis at stages 2 and 3.

A second level, the *methodological*, is the level at which research is actually designed on the basis of the hypothesis elaborated at the conceptual level. Stage 4 of the research process includes all the necessary details concerning the study to be carried out, and is followed by the data collection stage, which must be systematic, i.e. using the techniques or measuring instruments proposed at stage four (see also Orozco, 2000). These techniques or measuring instruments may be very sophisticated (like the neurological instruments used in some interpreting studies) or very simple (as, for instance, an observation chart where the researcher simply takes note of the times the interpreter coughs or closes his/her eyes during an interpreting task; or a table showing the frequency with which certain word combinations appear in a translated text). What is important, however, is that a technique or measuring instrument should be available to systematise the data collection.

In TR and IR, multiple types of data may be obtained from multiple sources (translated or original texts, a corpus, questionnaires, interviews, specific tasks carried out in original or artificial contexts by subjects, etc.), nevertheless, even if a 'natural' process is being observed or described, this observation/description must be rigorous and systematic if the research is to be deemed 'scientific', because otherwise the advantages of this methodology cannot be exploited (see 'advantages' later).

The third level through which the research process develops is the *analytical* level, where data are collected and analysed in an objective and systematic manner. This systematic analysis will eventually lead to a conclusion and possible generalisation that must lead back into the theoretical framework at the point at which the research started, i.e. the conceptual level. This, in turn, may pose a further problem, which will require another hypothesis, and so on.

By following this cycle, replicability and the possibility of extrapolating results for their application to other (similar) situations is ensured.

Advantages of Using this Method in Translation and Interpreting Research

We are aware that the given definition of the research process as the means to acquiring scientific knowledge involves a lot of work and thought previous to any study a researcher wishes to undertake, especially before the actual methodological level of the research is attained.

However, if this were to become the methodology of choice when carrying out research in the fields of translation and interpreting, the advantages would be great indeed. To name but a few:

(1) It would be possible for any scholar to replicate (and confirm) the results of any study. For a study to be replicated there has to be, in the first place, a detailed account of the different stages of the research process, something which can only be found in a few of the studies carried out to date in the fields of translation and interpreting (in this respect, see Orozco, 2001). The importance of replicating research is greater than may seem at first sight, since in our disciplines there have not been, to our knowledge, any replication of studies. This means that the results of all the studies carried out to date could well be refuted by a new study replicating the existing ones and yielding different results.

(2) It would be possible to carry out multi-centre research projects with a common research protocol, i.e. it would be possible to compare (and add) the results of different studies, carried out in different places or at different times. If two studies have a common design, common measuring instruments, i.e. if the research process is the same, one study carried out with subjects, for example, in Finland, could perfectly well substantiate – or even add to – the results obtained in a similar study carried out with subjects of the same characteristics in Spain. Equally well, results obtained using different languages or language combinations may be added to the data analysed and this affords the possibility of undertaking similar projects in different countries and/or institutions. Another possibility is that of sharing corpus studies, which could benefit from widening a corpus or from more than one analysis of the same corpus. It is obviously very important that every step be the same within the research process, e.g. the sampling techniques used, the measuring instruments, data analysis, etc.

(3) It would allow researchers in the fields of translation and interpreting to work more closely together. In the first place, studies would be much more accessible for scholars devoted to other issues, because studies in other fields within the same discipline would be more readily accessible. For instance, a translator carrying out descriptive studies in literature translated from English into French would find it easier to identify with the research carried out by a colleague measuring the consequences of time-pressure in interpreting, because this would include a report detailing each stage of his/her research process, from the theoretical level through to the analytical level and the conclusions reached. Furthermore, there could be common research in translation and interpreting; for instance, scholars from both fields could decide to compare some steps of the process that the translator and the interpreter share (e.g. the comprehension phase of the original text).

(4) Scholars with little time to spend on research could participate in studies which they would not be able to do without a clear and common methodology. For instance, academics or postgraduate students who usually have little time to dedicate to research (especially interpreters), could participate in networks in which each of the colleagues interested in the same study develops one of the levels of the study (conceptual, methodological or analytical). This would increase the range of the results obtained, as well as the public that could benefit from them.

Problems of Applying the Methodology Proposed

There are, as Gile points out (Chapter 1), some problems involved in applying the methodology proposed.

In the first place, the lack of tradition and specific training in research in both the translation and interpreting disciplines make it difficult for academics to be able to follow the whole of the explained research process, particularly at the stage of research design (designing data collecting techniques and measuring instruments or thinking about which data could be extracted and how) and data analysis (using statistics to deal with the data collected).

This problem could be tackled if research methodology was included in the curriculum of the postgraduate/Master and PhD programmes in translation and/or interpreting, including translator/interpreter teacher training courses or seminars. This would be very useful for future researchers in our fields, and would ensure that the next generation of scholars are able to make the most of their studies. At the same time, it would make it easier for current scholars and academics – that see methodological issues as being very far from their interests right now – to be more open-minded towards the idea of research methodology as something useful and profitable in our fields.

Second, it is true, as Gile points out, that translation and interpreting research has an 'uncertain academic status' and that practitioners tend to think of it as being of limited use. The only response to this attitude lies, in my opinion, in carrying out as much rigorous research as possible, in order to find results that can be applied to the academic world (mainly in the didactics field) and to the profession. Such results could lead, for example, to the development of better programmes that train better practitioners, or to the development of tools that can help those same practitioners.

Conclusion

The methodological model proposed can be applied to *any* field or objective within TR and IR, from the comparison of written translations (including of course descriptive studies and corpus studies) or the statement of theoretical models (that would start and end at the conceptual level of the research process) to the experimentation with human subjects (translation didactics, interpreting process, study of any step of the interpreting/translation process, etc.). Therefore, any scholar could benefit from the efforts of colleagues who have been interested by the same object of study.

Finally, I agree with Daniel Gile when he refers in his conclusions to the fact that we should all be open-minded with regard to applying ideas and methods described in IR literature to TR. I would go still further and say that this open-mindedness should be extended to research in general, so that we can take as our point of departure the work of others in our field and build on research that has already been carried out, and to undertake research together with colleagues from other specialities/languages/disciplines in an interdisciplinary holistic approach to interrelated topics.

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Chapter 11

I in TS: On Partnership in Translation Studies

FRANZ PÖCHHACKER

In response to the comprehensive review by Daniel Gile of the partnership between the fields of translation and interpreting research, a disciplinary vision is developed which is anchored in the shared theoretical ground within the wider field of translation studies. Since a close reading reveals Gile's text to reflect an empiricist bias, this chapter attempts to give the analysis better balance by reaffirming the general theoretical core that unites translation and interpreting studies. With reference to Kade's classic definition and the 'map' of the discipline by Holmes, theories of translational activity founded on communication-oriented notions such as 'sens' and 'skopos' are identified as the 'missing link' in Gile's account of kinship, and the value of focusing (also) on theories ('ideas') is demonstrated by an analysis of guiding ideas about interpreting, inspired by Chesterman's analysis of memes in translation studies. Rather than transpose the dichotomous view of interpreting studies as split between a theorising liberal arts group and a quantification-oriented natural science group to translation studies as a whole, the case is made for an increased awareness of multiple paradigms in either subdiscipline and, hence, of multiple types of intra-interdisciplinary partnership in a field which can draw synergies from combining humanities-inspired and scientific approaches.

Introduction

In as variegated a field as the study of translational phenomena, efforts to identify and reaffirm 'shared ground' are of vital importance. The commendable initiative of translation scholars Andrew Chesterman and Rosemary Arrojo (2000), seconded by Daniel Gile (2001) in the 'Forum' provided by the journal *Target*, has clarified some fundamental positions of theory and epistemology of the field. The comprehensive analysis of Translation Research (TR) and Interpreting Research (IR) offered by Daniel Gile (Chapter 1) takes this process further and I am happy to contribute to the discussion it seeks to launch. As one of relatively few interpreting researchers who have long insisted on the linkage and synergies between what Gile essentially views as 'two disciplines', I will focus on the theoretical foundations (rather than the socio-academic constraints) of the research domains we want to bring closer together, particularly from an interpreting perspective. As requested by Gile in his chapter, which contains a wealth of analytic insights and observations, I will focus my contribution on input which may serve to 'fill gaps, correct misperceptions and give … better balance.' I will try to stay close to the 'discourse data' as such and subject Gile's paper to a critical reading, thus

continuing the productively adversarial relationship which I have enjoyed with Daniel for some ten years.

IR or IS?

Following a basic precept of good scholarship, Gile begins his chapter with a section on definitions and introduces a number of relevant terminological distinctions. What he leaves unstated and unclear, though, is the conceptual status of the labels he uses for what he presents as 'the two disciplines' under study. Gile speaks of 'Translation Research (TR)' and 'Interpretation Research (IR)' and, however tentatively, positions these within the wider field of 'Translation Studies' (TS). As one would expect, the latter expression is used dozens of times throughout the chapter and appears in various forms, both in the generic sense (T+I) and in the narrower sense limited to (written) translation. The analogous term 'Interpreting Studies' ('IS'), however, is not used in the text at all and only occurs exceptionally as the new name of the journal published by the Japan Association of Interpretation Studies. *The Interpreting Studies Reader* (Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002), which first became available in January 2002, is referred to in the text three times but the disciplinary vision developed in that volume is not (yet) reflected in Gile's account. Ample reason, then, to begin by discussing 'the name and nature' of the discipline(s) before moving on to the topic of mutual and interdisciplinary relations.

Unless Gile's avoidance of 'Interpreting Studies' is coincidental, we might ask what is wrong with that disciplinary label. Could it be that the analogy of IS to the 'name and nature' of TS envisaged by James S Holmes (1972/2000) gives it a humanities flavour that is at odds with Gile's empiricist leanings? Since the term 'Translation Studies' remains unquestioned, however, there would be little ground for such an assumption. On the contrary, Gile is credited as the author who, on the occasion of the Vienna Translation Studies Congress in September 1992, first used 'interpretation studies' as a distinct disciplinary label (see Gile, 1994). So, if the problem is not with the label, it might lie with the claim to disciplinary status symbolised by 'IS', i.e. the assertion by a small community of scholars of a sense of academic identity that goes beyond the fact that research is being done on interpreting (see Pöchhacker in Tommola, 1997: 83–7). While several pessimistic statements by Gile about low levels of scholarship point in that direction, the view that there is research – IR– but not an academic field of study – IS – would seem utterly self-defeating, considering all that Gile himself has done (e.g. by playing a leading part in conferences and publishing projects as well as through his invaluable *IR(TI)N Bulletin*) to turn what Holmes (1972/2000: 172) called a 'disciplinary utopia' into reality. To the extent, then, that there is indeed a conceptual or terminological gap in Gile's account of the field, I suggest that it could easily be filled with available proposals (e.g. Salevsky, 1993, Pöchhacker in Tommola, 1997, Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002).

Theory

Gile clearly frames his topic in terms of 'research' and uses that expression more than a hundred times in his chapter. 'Theory', in contrast, is mentioned exactly three times, whereas in the original version of his text 'reflection' is used ten times, in collocations like 'early', 'prescriptive', 'tradition of', 'history

of' or 'centuries of'. On the face of it, there appears to be another gap in Gile's disciplinary vision. Bearing in mind, however, that Gile's (1988) original acronym 'IRT' (Interpretation Research and Theory) was changed to 'IR' on the grounds that 'Theory is *part* of research, and talking about Research *and* Theory does not make sense' (Gile, 1996: 1; emphasis in original), we know that 'theory' is there alright, if not very explicitly. Elsewhere, Gile (1998: 70) reminds us of the 'fundamental distinction' between 'theoretical research' as the 'intellectual processing of ideas' and 'empirical research, which centers around the collection and processing of data', so the conceptual relations are quite clear. Not so, though, in the historical and sociological account drawn up in Gile's chapter, where 'reflection', or even 'speculation', seems to be used in contradistinction to 'research'. The latter is collocated most often with the adjective 'empirical', and not once in combination with 'theoretical'. Thus, phrases like 'much speculation and some research' or 'more genuine theoretical analysis, more empirical research' introduce an unhelpful divisiveness into the history of ideas about interpreting (and translation) and leave us wondering where to draw the line between 'mere reflection' and 'genuine theorising' as part of research – and who should draw it.

My answer is that we should not be all that concerned with such a distinction and instead appreciate the full variety of ideas ('theories') within an overall evolution toward a better understanding and explanation of translational phenomena. Such an evolutionary approach, which traces the development of and inter-relations between influential ideas in TS, has of course been put forward by Chesterman (1997), and even though his *Memes of Translation* reflect little concern with interpreting, this kind of account of the way in which ideas have been formed in a particular environment, transmitted and adapted or set aside, is very much needed also in IS. In this respect, then, Gile's endeavour to explore the kinship and differences between TS and IS without much explicit regard for the realm of theory suffers from another significant gap.

Apart from the obvious benefit to an academic discipline of having as complete and rich a history of ideas on its object as possible, the need for an accepting attitude toward theoretical contributions, whether labeled as speculation, reflection, introspection, modeling, hypothesising or theorising, arises especially for IS as a young field rooted in and growing out of professional practice. Practitioners' reflections half a century ago (e.g. Herbert, 1952, Seleskovitch, 1962) could thus be viewed as no less seminal to the development of IS than, say, the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, written two-and-a-half thousand years ago and used as a textbook until the 19th century, have been to the evolution of medicine. As will be emphasised later, professionalisation and academisation have been driving forces in IS, hence the valuable role of professional writings in shaping the field of study. This can be seen also for subdomains on an even shorter time scale, and it seems fair to say that the writings of US sign language interpreters in the 1980s and those of the *Critical Link* community at the time of its emergence in the mid-1990s (see Carr *et al*., 1997) provided vital input to the disciplinary evolution, both theoretical and empirical, of IS. Gile is certainly right to say that 'IR' does not have as long a theoretical heritage as 'TR'. Far from being a liability, however, this is actually an asset in the attempt to trace its theoretical development, enabling us to zoom

in, as it were, on developments during a half century rather than survey two millennia.

And yet, our understanding of the field of IS may well benefit from taking a somewhat longer shot than the previous analysis suggests. Gile asserts, for instance, that 'no trace of reflection on interpreting in past centuries seems to have influenced the development of IR'. I would submit that, at least for German-speaking scholars, the dichotomy between 'genuine translation' and 'mere interpreting' set up in the early 19th century by Friedrich Schleiermacher has had a considerable – adverse – impact on the academic study of interpreting. As reported by Heidemarie Salevsky in a personal communication, academics at the so-called Leipzig School in what was then the German Democratic Republic generally felt that interpreting was not as worthy a subject of scientific study as (written) translation – which may in part explain why Otto Kade, a self-taught conference interpreter and pioneering translation scholar, took a rather different path from, say, Danica Seleskovitch at the University of Paris. Indeed, Schleiermacher's (1813/1997: 227) description of interpreting as 'a merely mechanical task that can be performed by anyone with a modest proficiency in both languages, and where, so long as obvious errors are avoided, there is little difference between better and worse renditions' will ring painfully familiar even now to interpreters and interpreting researchers working – and working against this misconception – in community-based settings.

The Missing Link

Having mentioned Kade and Seleskovitch, I would like to make the case for theory at an even more fundamental level and one that is crucial to the topic of the present volume. My argument up till now has emphasised the value of describing and discussing TS and IS (also) with regard to theories ('ideas'), for instance in terms of memes of translation *versus* interpreting. An even more important focus – and a more serious gap in Gile's disciplinary vision – is the domain of 'general theories' within the wider field of TS as structured by Holmes (1972/2000) three decades ago and mapped more elaborately by Gideon Toury (1995). (One ought to note that, elsewhere, Gile has found Holmes' map 'no longer sufficient as a basis for further development of the field' (Gile, 2001: 149). He does not say, though, which part(s) he considers invalid, so I will assume that, whatever the more specific branchings, there is still room – as well as a need – for general theories.)

Though it is not often mentioned, Holmes (1972/2000: 178) explicitly included interpreting in his 'disciplinary utopia' and thus put it 'on the map' of TS several years before the more autonomous development of IS in academia. This means that general theories were envisaged in Holmes' map as covering all and any translational phenomena, including interpreting. And it is this component of the discipline that, to me (e.g. Pöchhacker, 1994: 28), seems like the logical candidate for the 'missing link' sought to reaffirm the kinship between TS and IS. Contributions in this realm are, by definition, of a rather abstract and general nature and may start – and sometimes even stop – at the level of explanatory metaphors, definitions and conceptual models. This does not reduce their value nor the need for the disciplinary analyst to give serious

consideration to general theories as cornerstones of TS (and IS), as I will show with regard to a few examples.

As regards definitions, the general theoretical approach developed by Kade in the early 1960s has lost nothing of its validity and acuity for distinguishing between 'T' and 'I'. On the contrary, his visionary choice of definitional criteria – the temporal characteristics of source-text presentation (once only *versus* available for reviewing or replaying) and the availability of the target text for subsequent correction and revision – easily accommodates such forms of translational activity as 'sight translation', signed-language interpreting, 'projected interpretation', 'live subtitling' or the online rendition of multilingual Internet chats. While some of these manifestations may seem marginal from a practical point of view, the beauty of Kade's definition is precisely that it accounts for the impressive diversity of '*Translation*'. A blemish of sorts is the fact that Kade (1968) developed his conceptual design in German and exploited some unique terminological options offered by that language (e.g. *Sprachmittlung, Translation, Übersetzen*). In particular, his coinage of the German hyperonym 'Translation' to cover both 'T' and 'I' is difficult to recreate in English, and the failure of anglophone ('English-writing') TS scholars always to indicate whether they use 'translation' in the wider sense or with reference to 'translation only' creates considerable ambiguity and often confuses the very issue addressed in this volume. Gile, for one, in some of his prior publications (e.g. Gile, 1991) has set a laudable example by suggesting the use of 'Translation' with an upper-case T to denote both translation and interpreting. It would have been useful to apply this convention also to the chapter under discussion. More critically, though, it would have been useful in a study of this kind to refer to Kade's definition as one of the few theoretical cornerstones in the kinship between TS and IS. Gile's decision to ignore a longstanding conceptual achievement seems difficult to justify, especially since his own definition of interpreting as 'a non-written re-expression of a non-written source text' is hardly an improvement on the definitional state of the art.

Faulting Gile for using one definition rather than another would seem a bit cantankerous were it not for the fact that he himself faults TS scholars for their all too subjective engagement with previous theoretical advances, presumably as an indication of 'the lack of rigorous thinking among TS scholars' as reflected in their frequent 'abuse' of the literature. Leaving aside Gile's doubting view of Chesterman's (1997) Popperian stance, one finds the *théorie du sens* and the skopos theory targeted with the criticism that 'it is difficult to find how they were adopted as offering an alternative filling the gaps identified through tests of previous theories'. The put-down of Seleskovitch might have been expected, but Hans Vermeer, of all people? Whoever has read the first part of Reiss and Vermeer (1984) and found no testing of previous theories could not have been looking very hard. Nor could the influence of the functionalist approach be attributed to 'sociological factors' relating to his 'prominent position', but this is a topic to be discussed in socio-academic terms later.

Bearing in mind that the goal of our collective analysis is to highlight the potential for partnership between TS and IS within the wider field of translation studies, it seems strangely unhelpful to disqualify, in so many words, two (out of not so many) general theoretical approaches which have foregrounded the disciplinary linkage between T and I since the 1970s and reaffirmed the

identity of the broader academic field under such terms as *traductologie* (or *science et technique de l'interprétation et de la traduction*) and *Translationswissenschaft*. As Robin Setton (2002: 117) has pointedly stated in his critical appraisal of Seleskovitch's (1975) research: 'To dismiss Seleskovitch and the *école du sens* (or interpretive theory) is like airbrushing William James out of psychology'. I am sure that something similar could be said about Vermeer, if his target-oriented, action-theoretical and culture-sensitive approach needed vindicating at all. As pointed out by Toury (1995: 25), the target-textual and target-cultural orientation of the 'functionalist school' and of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) showed healthy signs of convergence in the early 1990s, and they have since been widely acknowledged as major pillars in post-modern thought on translation.

There is yet another reason why it seems unfortunate that Gile would want to work around rather than with the theoretical accomplishments of Seleskovitch and Vermeer in his effort to bring research on translation and interpreting closer together. Gile's sceptical view of the two general theorists from the perspective of the scientific researcher bears a striking resemblance to the divisive account of the conference interpreting research community by Barbara Moser-Mercer (1994). In a text first published in 1991, Moser-Mercer contrasted what she called the 'natural science paradigm', where research requires 'precision of logical processes', with a 'liberal arts community' that 'prefers explorations which involve the intellect in a less logically rigorous manner' (Moser-Mercer, 1994: 17). An interest in 'quantification' in the former is contrasted with an interest in 'general theorising' in the latter, for which Seleskovitch (1975) and (Reiss and) Vermeer (1984) are cited as representatives. However one assesses Moser-Mercer's vision of two incompatible paradigms within IS, transplanting its basic thrust to translation studies is liable to reinforce differences rather than narrow the gap, perceived by Gile, between theoretical and empirical research on translation. When Gile asserts that 'a large part of translation research still revolves around ideas in a humanities-inspired paradigm, i.e. around discussions about translation theories', the impression is that his ultimate vision for the discipline of translation studies is modelled on the 'natural science paradigm' well established in IS and that he, as one of its representatives (in the eyes of Moser-Mercer), will be happy to give the 'humanities-inspired paradigm' a good push to make way for more logically rigorous research on T as well as I. As much as I agree with and fully support Gile's aspiration to high levels of scholarship in our discipline, I do not believe that holding an empiricist mirror to the face of translation scholars can achieve what Gile expects from 'wise orientation in research policy by leaders of the community'. In my humble opinion, rather than stressing uniform standards for state-of-the-art (empirical) research, those providing guidance to the translation studies community ought to view their mission as 'diversity management' in the face of multiple paradigms and disciplinary partnerships.

Paradigms and Partnerships

The notion of 'paradigm' as introduced by Thomas Kuhn (1962) to analyse major change processes in scientific disciplines is central to Gile's comprehensive description of research traditions. Even so, the concept is left undefined

and used (some 30 times) in a variety of different contexts. At the broadest level, Gile's conception of 'paradigm' echoes the binary view in Moser-Mercer's account, as when he speaks of a 'humanities-inspired paradigm' and wonders whether 'the upward trend in the production of empirical research may be … an actual paradigm shift'. In a more specific sense, Gile mentions 'Descriptive Translation Studies-related paradigms' and the 'TAP paradigm' as well as the value of Seleskovitch's 'interpretive approach' as a 'training paradigm'. When Gile, moreover, suggests an equation of sorts between 'paradigm' and 'meme', it is evident that the term's range of application is so wide that it has lost much of its value as an analytical tool. Part of the blame lies of course with Kuhn (1962) himself, who first used 'paradigm' to refer to 'the basic assumptions, models, values and standard methods shared by all members of a given scientific community' and then, in a postscript written seven years after his original essay, acknowledged his use of 'paradigm' as over-extended. The alternative he suggested never caught up with the widespread adoption of his original proposal, whose popularity is evidently undiminished.

My suggestion here is that the notion of 'paradigm' could be highly instrumental as an analytical tool in our discussion of disciplinary visions, provided that it is not blunted by indiscriminate use. Subsuming both the community of researchers socialised into a given disciplinary affiliation and shared prototypical examples of research under the same label is difficult enough; equating, in addition, the notions of 'paradigm' and 'meme' only exacerbates the need for conceptual clarification. As indicated earlier, I consider it a vital part of our disciplinary vision to share an awareness of the prevailing memes as well as paradigms in our field of study. Rather than speak for the discipline of translation studies as a whole, I can only illustrate what I have in mind with reference to IS. I am aware that the attempt to present my view of 'memes of interpreting' and 'paradigms of IS' (Pöchhacker, 2004) more extensively elsewhere, in a nutshell makes it prone to misunderstanding, but I hope that this risk may be outweighed by its value for the present discussion.

Using Chesterman's (1997) *Memes of Translation* as my point of departure, a survey of the literature on interpreting suggests that there are at least two overriding ideas that could claim the status of 'supermemes' in the field of IS: process(ing) and communicative activity. The former subsumes the many attempts at viewing interpreting as the transformation of a linguistic 'input' (words, structures, texts, utterances) into a corresponding 'output', whereas the latter stands for various views of interpreting as interaction in a social context. Beyond this broad conceptual orientation, I would propose that the following more specific memes can be identified in the history of ideas about interpreting: 'verbal transfer', 'making sense', 'cognitive information-processing skills', 'text/discourse production' and 'mediation'. The prominence of these influential ideas has varied over time, and the verbal-transfer meme, in particular, is associated with early approaches to the subject (such as Schleiermacher's view of the 'merely mechanical task'). On the whole, though, the various ideas can be said to coexist in the 'meme pool' and can enter into different relations and alignments. Depending on environmental factors which can favour the expression and transmission of a particular meme or combination of memes, the dominant idea(s) about interpreting may be formulated as theoretical models or theories. A case in point is the 'interpretive theory' by

Seleskovitch, which centres on the meme of making sense. Theories may, subject to various sociological factors, combine with particular methodological approaches and give rise to research models in the broader sense of 'paradigms', shared by the members of the research community in question.

The very first paradigm in this sense in IS is what Gile calls the 'interpretive approach', which was developed by Seleskovitch at the University of Paris around her 'interpretive theory of translation' (IT). A compact combination of a particular theory, methodological approach and community of scholars with a professional rather than academic background, this IT paradigm opened the door to academia for interpreting in the 1970s and could be characterised as the 'bootstrap paradigm' of IS. In the course of the 1980s, a rival paradigm, also focusing on the domain of conference interpreting and centred on the meme of cognitive information-processing skills, came to the fore. Rooted in the pioneering work of psychologist David Gerver (e.g. 1969/2002), this approach focuses on cognitive processing (CP) in (mostly simultaneous) interpreting as studied with the experimental methods of cognitive psychology. Championed among others by Barbara Moser-Mercer and Daniel Gile, the CP paradigm has become the broadly prevailing research approach in the area of conference interpreting. It is also closely related to a highly specialised research model which is essentially informed by neuropsychology and neurolinguistics (NL). This NL paradigm was promoted at the University of Trieste in the late 1980s and early 1990s and has recently been advanced by Jorma Tommola at the University of Turku. In stark contrast to this neuroscientific experimental approach focused on brain activation patterns is fieldwork on authentic interpreter-mediated encounters with a focus on discourse in interaction (DI). The DI paradigm, more or less corresponding to research on dialogue interpreting in community-based settings, gained ground in the course of the 1990s and is represented by the work of scholars like Cecilia Wadensjö (1998). Finally, a rather diverse body of work on interpreting has been carried out since the late 1980s in the conceptual framework of target-oriented theories of translation (TT). Toury's norm-based descriptive approach was discussed with regard to interpreting by Miriam Shlesinger (1989) and, more explicitly, by Anne Schjoldager (1995/2002), who also took account of the skopos-theoretical approach applied to fieldwork on conference interpreting in Pöchhacker (1994).

The TT paradigm is particularly relevant to the present discussion, if not as a widely embraced research model in IS. It exemplifies what was said previously under the heading of 'the missing link', i.e. that the most natural basis for research synergy between TS and IS are the general theoretical foundations of translation studies. The potential for partnership in this regard seems far from exhausted. A case in point is the approach to the issue of source–target correspondence in TS and IS. Whereas the former boasts a large body of writings on such notions as 'equivalence', the latter operates with standards like 'fidelity' and 'complete and faithful reproduction'. Gile, for one, mentions that he 'developed a systematic approach towards fidelity' based on insights from professional interpreting, without indicating how this related to the state of the art in TS, where many scholars have grappled with that issue for a long time. Conversely, translation researchers have shown little interest in or need for propositional accuracy scores as developed by cognitive psychologists and

applied by interpreting researchers for quite some time. Cooperation between translation researchers and interpreting researchers on this subject would certainly be highly desirable, but I would suggest that they should take as their shared interest not only a specific topic like 'translation quality *versus* interpreting quality' but also the fundamental theoretical issue(s) underlying the more concrete research problem. Both the IT paradigm and the TT paradigm in IS have a general translation theoretical core which can inform research on both translation and interpreting. Ideas like 'making sense to the audience' and 'producing functional texts in the target culture' would, for instance, suggest studies on the cognitive effect of the target text in either translational modality. This line of research, which I emphasised for IS at the Turku Conference in 1994, would, in fact, be highly congenial also with work in the CP paradigm as pioneered by Gerver and pursued rather independently in the field of signed-language interpreting.

Indeed, while our focus here is on research partnership across translational modalities, we should not lose sight of the great and largely untapped potential for inter-paradigm cooperation within IS – or TS, for that matter. As far as interpreting research paradigms are concerned, the highly sophisticated work of Setton (1999) can be viewed as a felicitous marriage between the IT and the CP approach which offers substantial theoretical and methodological interfaces also with the DI paradigm. As for TS, which Toury (1995: 23) characterised as 'a remarkably heterogeneous series of loosely connected paradigms', a comparable review of paradigms with regard to potential interactions can be based on existing textbooks and would be of great benefit both for strengthening intradisciplinary coherence and sharpening the focus for engaging in interdisciplinary cooperation. Thus, what this thumbnail sketch of paradigms in IS and memes of interpreting is designed to show is that a keen awareness of research approaches and their theoretical, methodological, and socio-academic implications in terms of paradigms can provide valuable guidance to our efforts at forging closer partnerships between IS and TS as well as other disciplines, as discussed further in the following section.

Interdisciplinarity

As one of the most prolific authors on interdisciplinarity in IS, Gile has undoubtedly given more thought to this issue than is apparent from his chapter in this volume. His assertion that 'in translation' interdisciplinarity has been around for some time since 'comparative linguistics, literature and philosophy were always part of the reflection on translation' begs the question of how interdisciplinary relations are to be defined and to what extent they require a disciplinary identity in the first place. Judging from Gile's past views on (conference) interpreting research policy, a sense of disciplinary identity and autonomy is not necessarily a prerequisite for interdisciplinary alignment. In his keynote lecture to the 1992 Translation Studies Congress in Vienna, he addressed his appeal for 'Opening up in Interpretation Studies' (Gile, 1994) to a community of 'practisearchers' (professional interpreters also doing research) in need of 'cooperation with cognitive and other scientists'. Expressing his belief that 'cognitive scientists are working with more precision, logic and depth than practisearchers', Gile (1994: 156) ended his paper on the rather striking metaphor that 'the mouse may well invite the elephant for a

stroll in the desert'. Ten years ago, then, Gile, as a leading proponent of the CP paradigm of interpreting research, saw the cognitive sciences as a powerful partner for 'IR'. The fact that his chapter now makes a comparable appeal for partnership between 'TR' and 'IR' raises a few interesting questions.

The obvious issue is whether IS can or should strive for both types of interdisciplinary alignment at the same time. Gile is much more explicit now than in the early 1990s about acknowledging 'IR' as a discipline, suggesting that it may now be more of a fully fledged partner than ten years ago. But a partner for whom? Gile's case for a close partnership between TS and IS – which I fully endorse – is perfectly clear, and little linkage with the cognitive sciences is reflected in the bibliography of his chapter. In his text, Gile takes note of interdisciplinarity as a major trend in TS but points out that 'such interdisciplinarity is rather different in translation from what it is in interpreting', citing the research designs required for cognitive-psychological and neurophysiological studies on the interpreter's mental processes as a case in point. To me at least, this suggests that IS might well be two-timing; but who, again, is the legitimate partner?

In another section on interdisciplinarity, Gile's chapter reflects the increasingly tempered and somewhat sceptical attitude pervading his more recent publications on the topic. Whereas he had praised the theme of the 1992 Translation Studies Congress – 'Translation Studies, an Interdiscipline' – as 'an ideal choice' (Gile, 1994: 155), he now characterises it as 'a misnomer for the acceptance of much input from neighbouring disciplines'. As a co-organiser of that conference and co-editor of the proceedings volume, I may be permitted to express my agreement with his latter assessment. (We had discussed the use of a question mark after the congress title but then decided to do without.) Gile's observation is indeed, as so often, right on the mark: Much of the interdisciplinarity claimed for translation studies has been limited to what Klaus Kaindl (2002), in his recent analysis of the topic, labels 'importing interdisciplinarity' and characterises by the fact that 'the knowledge gained from such research is useful only to one of the disciplines, while the role of the other(s) is limited to supplying the necessary tools'. On Kaindl's account, then, we can both agree with Gile's observation regarding limited interdisciplinarity and still retain the notion, using the appropriate qualifier. And falling short of 'genuine' or, in Kaindl's (2002) terms, 'mutual interdisciplinarity' need not be viewed as negative. Indeed, with reference to Gile's disciplinary vision, it would seem much safer and healthier for the mouse to try and get some food (for thought) from the elephant rather than to 'hold hands'.

But what about IS holding hands with TS? I would, again, concur with Gile's view that the two are 'natural partners' and should focus on theirs as the principal relationship. In such a strong disciplinary union, TS and IS scholars need not be ashamed of finding other paradigms attractive and engaging in a variety of 'flirts', which may well prove enriching, both to either (sub)discipline and to Translation Studies as a whole. A case in point is corpus linguistics, which was initially explored by translation scholars and subsequently applied to conference interpreting corpora (e.g. Jörg, 2001). Indeed, the ingenuity with which translation and interpreting researchers have adopted and adapted conceptual and methodological tools from other disciplines for their purposes has been a vital factor in the growth and increasing sophistication of

Translation Studies. In short, our disciplinary vision for the discipline and the kinship between its subdisciplines could be described as follows: At the most comprehensive level, the field of Translation Studies draws its sense of identity and unity from its general theoretical core which underlies research in its major subdisciplinary branches. Between the latter, mutual interdisciplinarity ('inter-subdisciplinarity'?) is desirable and feasible for a number of topics and methodological approaches. Individual paradigms within TS and IS may draw great benefit from research paradigms in other disciplines and rely on 'importing interdisciplinarity' to strengthen the given research model as such and the (sub)discipline as a whole.

Conclusion: 'Ladder' or 'Tree'?

Having made my point about inter-subdisciplinary partnership and its theoretical underpinnings at great length, I will try to summarise my view in yet another metaphor: in Gile's account of 'effective and potential interactions in the wider field of TS', 'TR' and 'IR' appear as parallel structures, much like the sidepieces of a ladder which are or need to be connected by a number of crosspieces. If enough rungs are in place, we may scale ever greater heights and collect the fruits of our labour. My alternative, and more 'organic' view is that of a tree, with a strong common trunk rooted in various types of soil (or 'shared ground'), and with a number of boughs which support larger and smaller branches and many little twigs. To get to the apples, one can either use a ladder or climb the tree, but only the tree can stand alone and bear fruit.

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Chapter 12

Doorstep Inter-subdisciplinarity and Beyond

MIRIAM SHLESINGER

The ongoing plea for greater interdisciplinary collaboration runs through the Interpreting Studies (IS) literature, with cognitive psychology standing out as the most sought-after partner. Progress along these lines has been uneven but has been boosted by rapid developments in the study of community interpreting. Like Gile's own chapter, this response too will focus on the commonalities and desired symbiosis not between IS and its 'neighbours' (psychology, sociology, neurolinguistics etc.) but between IS and its older sibling – TS in its narrower sense (the study of written translation), the other subdiscipline of TS in its generic sense. In keeping with Gile's emphasis on the role of institutional factors and the (often one-off) contributions of graduate students, this chapter recommends avoiding the compartmentalisation that seems to follow from the graduate school structure. Towards this end, it suggests encouraging researchers (including graduate students) to examine the subdiscipline (IS) in the context of its parent discipline, so as to see the broader inter-subdisciplinary picture. This includes making recourse to some of the latest developments in TS – the current process-oriented paradigms, corpus-based studies etc. – and seeking terminological common ground as well. The paper concludes that a study of each of these two subdisciplines in relation to the other may shed light on the basic questions underlying both.

> [...] if students start to receive at least some training in all the modes, that will vastly expand the range of data against which theoretical proposals can be checked. (Mossop, 2001: 159)

Introduction

The more diverse the field of Translation Studies (TS) becomes, the more we seem to read about the desire to share, to find common ground, to reach out, to synergise. Take 'Shared Ground in Translation Studies', the outgrowth of a dialogue between co-authors Andrew Chesterman and Rosemary Arrojo (2000) about the essentialist *versus* non-essentialist approaches and the flurry of responses it has generated. Such exchanges are typical of the current search for clearer understanding, fuller reciprocity and genuine collaboration. This also seems to be the point of departure of Daniel Gile's extensive discussion of 'kinship, differences and prospects for partnership', in which we are treated to an overview of the history of research into translation and interpreting, their commonalities and the kinds of symbiosis – both actual and potential – that could benefit the two areas of research.

The present response is an attempt to join the collaborative bandwagon. Like Gile, I too will tackle the subject from an Interpreting Studies (IS) perspective, focusing on three of the predominant types of collaboration.

Collaboration Revisited

At present, the cooperation/synergy motif is being discussed, and promoted, both 'paradigmatically' –

(1) in terms of alternative approaches – as in the case of the Chesterman-Arrojo debate;

and 'syntagmatically'

(2) between theoreticians and practitioners;
(3) between IS as a subdiscipline of TS (in its generic sense) and neighbouring disciplines;[1] and
(4) between IS as a subdiscipline of TS in its generic sense and TS in its narrower sense.

Collaboration between theoreticians and practitioners, i.e. between TS/IS and T/I

In his *Experiences in Translation* (2000), a writer-translator's musings on translation theory, Umberto Eco maintains:

> Only continuous daily observation yields sufficient data on the development of a double linguistic competence. Now some linguists have said that such observation is possible only if one (i) is a linguist, (ii) working with bilingual children, and (iii) prepared to follow their linguistic behaviour on a day-to-day basis from the earliest stages. This means that a reliable study on bilingualism could be made only by a parent who is a linguist married to a foreigner (preferably one interested in linguistic matters). I think a theory of translation should meet similar requirements … translation scholars should have had, at least once in their life, both the experience of translating and that of being translated (obviously into a language they know, so they can work in close cooperation with their translator) … Active or passive experience in translation is not irrelevant for the formulation of theoretical reflections on the subject. (Eco, 2000: 7)

In an earlier paper, 'Doorstep Interdisciplinarity in Conference Interpreting Research', Gile (1999) too advocates – and rightly so, I believe – greater reliance on the work of practising interpreters with dual training, citing the work of Ingrid Kurz, 'who has a PhD in psychology and a long history of empirical research behind her', as a case in point. While never claiming that only practitioners can engage in a meaningful empirical study of interpreting, he points to the role of this brand of researcher in providing the much-needed impetus. Practitioners, after all, are heavily invested in the task and are likelier to have both the intuitions and the motivation to study it. Accordingly, the profile of the interpreting scholar most likely to make a significant contribution to IS would be that of an (unusual!) individual who combines (1) a practising interpreter's insights; (2) an interpreting researcher's experience in IS; and (3) a

solid background in the paradigms and methodologies of adjacent fields – with cognitive psychology as the discipline of choice to date.

Many, perhaps most, of these IS specialists – many of us – eventually add another title to our professional credentials, by becoming teachers in translation departments, where we are expected to teach not only the skill but also the theory behind it. It is here that we wield the greatest influence, particularly if our role includes the supervision of graduate theses. When students insist, as they often do, on being shown a demonstrable link between the theory they are taught and their future careers as practitioners, it is we who should provide it. After all, they are echoing an insistence that runs through much of the TS and IS literature.[2]

Collaboration between IS and neighbouring disciplines

In the aforementioned chapter, Gile (1999) emphasised the importance of expanding the common ground between IS and empirical work being done in other disciplines (especially neurophysiology, cognitive psychology and linguistics). Unfortunately, this interdisciplinarity, even in its weaker form,[3] has yet to live up to its promise. Despite their early enthusiasm (e.g. Flores d'Arcais, 1978; Massaro, 1978) and their increasingly active participation in conferences devoted to the would-be interface between their discipline and our own, cognitive psychologists – specialists in the field once regarded as holding the greatest potential for establishing a common ground – still seem to be put off by the 'messiness' of interpreting. Thus, for example, at each of two conferences devoted to 'Complex Cognitive Processes: Simultaneous Interpreting as Research Paradigm' (convened in Ascona in 1997 and 2000 under the auspices of the Ecole de Traduction et Interprétation, Geneva), most of the cognitive-psychologist presenters expounded on psychology, with remarkably few attempts to explore the relevance of their work to interpreting or *vice versa*. Nor have they shown much interest in conducting research on interpreting themselves or in using interpreting as an experimental task. The surge of empirical studies personified by Barik, Gerver, Goldman-Eisler and a handful of other cognitive psychologists in the 1960s and 1970s has yet to be repeated, notwithstanding sporadic acknowledgements of its relevance, e.g. in the contributions to Danks *et al*. (1997).

The situation is more encouraging when it comes to collaboration with less cognitively oriented disciplines, among them discourse analysis, pragmatics, anthropology, sociology, communications studies and legal studies. Interest in interpreting and joint research projects with specialists in these fields have been increasing in recent years, particularly as these relate to the rapidly developing area of community interpreting. This interest is also more balanced, with the neighbouring disciplines sometimes taking a proactive stance. (A case in point is the burgeoning field of medical interpreting, where discourse analysts and intercultural communications specialists have been focusing on the interpreter's role in the interaction).

Collaboration between TS and IS

When it comes to their paradigms, questions, hypotheses, methodologies and variables, IS is often seen as distinct from TS (at least in its narrower, written-translation-focused sense).[4] This perspective is reinforced by the

frequent choice of *discipline* – as opposed to *subdiscipline* – to describe IS. With its implications of a discrete and self-contained entity, *discipline* may be counter-productive. To my mind, the study of interpreting would be better served by being regarded consistently as a subdiscipline of (generic) TS, on a par with the study of written translation – both of them drawing upon the parent discipline and feeding into it. This brings us, then, to the theme of Gile's chapter, and to his conclusion that 'the two disciplines [sic] are not so distant from each other', advocating 'TR and IR synergy' and calling for closer ties between those who study the written and the oral modalities of translation.

The contribution of graduate students

Two trends seem to predominate IS dynamics at present: professionalisation and academisation. The latter implies a growing demand for *bona fide* academic credentials, which often entail a research requirement. Indeed, many (perhaps most) of the students to whom Gile refers are enrolled in specialised programmes, in which those wishing to study interpreting do research (only) on interpreting, and those wishing to study (written) translation do research (only) on translating. It is a dichotomy which prevails in four of the curricula currently offered (Renfer, 1992): specialised postgraduate interpreting programmes; the two-tiered curriculum; the Y-shaped curriculum; and the parallel (separate) curriculum.

As in many of his other writings (e.g. Gile, 2001), here too Gile emphasises the role of institutional settings in the advancement of research and the disproportionate contribution of one-off projects by postgraduate students to the gradual development of both TS and IS. If Gile is correct in positing that much of the significant research now being conducted is that of graduate students, then the potential for change seems to lie with students whose research training will create an interface between TS and IS; i.e. students who are given the knowledge and opportunity to venture beyond doorstep inter-subdisciplinarity – by drawing the analogies and reinforcing the links between TS and IS.

Towards this end, we may require the flexible *modular system* suggested by Snell-Hornby (1992). Specialisation has its advantages and it is necessary at times – e.g., when domain-specific (or language-specific, mode-specific etc.) questions are at the core of the study – but it is not conducive to the discovery of unsuspected interrelations, in which written and oral translation are considered, at least for a while, as mere variants, as 'allotasks'. When each subdiscipline is pursued separately, the shared ground is sometimes obscured by slight (or not so slight) differences in terminology or in the formulation of the issues to be explored.

In other words, promotion of the synergy advocated by Gile may best be achieved by encouraging translation scholars and interpreting scholars – including graduate students – to examine their chosen subdiscipline in the context of the parent discipline. Where practicable, co-supervision by specialists in TS and IS should be encouraged. After all, it is precisely at the formative stage of their training that researchers-in-the-making will still be resilient enough to transcend some of the traditional divides and to see the broader inter-subdisciplinary picture.

Terminological and conceptual alignment

Separate vantage points have yielded separate terminologies, separate methodologies and separate paradigms. By extending the scope of research beyond each other's doorstep, the two modality-specific subdisciplines may reduce the confusion and promote a better understanding of conceptual overlaps and differences between such seemingly unrelated notions as

equivalence – a concept rarely encountered in IS (but see Jekat, 1997) but one which persists in TS;

and

error typologies – which figure prominently in IS but play only a minor role in TS;

or between

visibility – a keyword of the 1990s in TS (Bassnett, 1996: 22) or other sociocultural parameters which have been discussed extensively with regard to the appropriation of written texts but only rarely in relation to spoken ones;

and

role definitions – a key issue of the 1990s in IS, in general, and in community interpreting, in particular (see Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002: Section 7);

or between

self-editing and revision strategies in written translation;

and

monitoring and self-corrections in interpreting;

or between

time pressure in translation (Wilss, 1989; Lörscher, 1991; Jensen, 1999);

and

ear-voice span and *patterns of anticipation* in interpreting.

Whatever the lingering scepticism about the advisability of inferring from translation to interpreting, and *vice versa* – as if the modality in which the translation is performed is the overriding factor, predetermining not only the nature of the exercise but also the terms in which it may be described – the need to coordinate our efforts is self-evident.

What Lies Ahead?

Where then does the potential for collaboration lie? It seems that while continuing to tap the potential for interdisciplinarity, we would do well to continue exploring the role of inter-*sub*disciplinarity as well. This would encourage IS scholars to make recourse to some of the latest developments in TS *and vice versa.* Some examples are as follows:

(1) As technological advances allow for less labour-intensive methods of creating corpora based on oral output, corpus-based interpreting studies can help shed light on the commonalities (and perhaps universals) of translation, regardless of modality, and on modality-specific patterns as well (Shlesinger, 1998).
(2) At a time when TAP-based research is being re-evaluated (Bernardini, 2001) and new ways of uncovering the translator's and interpreter's mental processes are being explored, retrospective data and other input provided by interpreters may complement that of translators (Hansen, 1999; Ivanova, 2000).
(3) The triangulation of quantitative computer-logged data and qualitative think-aloud data (Jakobsen, 1998), which provides new information concerning the mental processes of written translation, is of interest to IS too. The triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data, based on the study of input–output synchrony in interpreting, holds potential for extending our understanding of the ear–voice span, anticipation and other temporal aspects of the task.
(4) The elusive notion of *difficulty* as a textual and a psycholinguistic parameter may be understood more fully if studied from the twofold perspective of written and oral text production. In a study of source-text difficulty for written translation, it was found that 'very much translation is done "on-line" … the translator works on a document or part of a document at more or less a single pass …' (Campbell, 1999), pointing to an inter-subdisciplinary commonality that is often overlooked.
(5) Research on modality-specific 'strategy sets' may feed into the multifaceted, complex notion of 'the translation process' in its non-modality-specific sense as well.

Conclusion

When all is said and done, many of the basic questions that drive much of the research on written translation have their counterparts in IS: What are the characteristic features of problem-solving? What are the criteria by which TS (and IS) can judge whether a translator has reached the professional standard necessary to survive in a world that is becoming more and more demanding in terms of intellectual and technical competence? How are translation/interpreting affected by sociocultural factors and how do they in turn shape the textual and extra-textual world in which both practitioners and theoreticians ply their trade? In the interest of fostering the insights that come from constructive intersubdisciplinary collaboration, let the concerted effort to highlight 'kinship, differences and prospects for partnership' continue!

Notes

1. TS in its generic sense (*Translationswissenschaft*) subsumes IS, just as T (Translation) in its generic sense subsumes I (Interpreting). Yet, IS may also be discussed *in relation to* or even *in contrast to* TS, in which case the latter term is sometimes used in its narrower sense, as a subdiscipline devoted to the study of translation in the *written* modality, while IS is a subdiscipline devoted to the study of *oral* translation. For a detailed discussion of the history of IS and its evolving relationship with TS, see Pöchhacker (1993), as well as Pöchhacker and Shlesinger (2002: 3–5). I find Gile's use of TR/IR strangely anachronistic. It seems to be taking us backwards instead of

forwards, particularly since Gile (1994) himself was among the first to use the term Interpreting Studies and to explain its usefulness. The IR label pre-dates the contemporary view of IS as a full-fledged discipline – or, better, as a subdiscipline of TS – with its own theories, paradigms, methodologies etc.

2. Examples are legion. To cite one of the better-known, Neubert and Shreve (1992: 35) set out to 'make an implicit argument for a translation studies which is based on the first-order phenomena of translation. The first-order facts of translation are centered on the text. They are actual source texts, actual textual situations, real first-order accounts of translation processes, and real reactions of readers to target texts'.
3. 'A situation where individual projects are conducted by teams from different disciplines working together on a common topic with a common research objective but the disciplines stay apart' (Gile, 1999: 41).
4. 'Inclusion of interpreting as a sub-category of human translation would also be disputed by some scholars. In view of the very different requirements and activities associated with interpreting, it would probably be best to consider interpreting as a parallel field …' (Munday, 2000: 13f.).

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Chapter 13

Response to the Invited Papers

DANIEL GILE

The invited papers in this volume offer input from different vantage points and reflect their authors' specific knowledge, know-how and approaches. As such, they are valuable contributions to the initial debate. Having read them with much interest, I do not claim to have anything to add to the experts' reflections, but should like to make one general observation and then offer some clarification and further analysis of an important inter-paradigm issue which was missing from the initial debate but has surfaced thanks to Pöchhacker's critical chapter.

My general observation is that most authors in this volume have given much weight to the sociological dimension of TS. I believe this is important, because in the absence of a solid institutional infrastructure (but see the description of considerable institutional efforts made in Prague in Jettmarová's chapter), if we want to *act* towards more interdisciplinarity, be it between translation and interpretation research or between TS and other disciplines, understanding human factors, both individual and collective, is essential. I also note in passing that the sociological dimension of interpreting has become one active interface between translation scholars and interpreting scholars, as illustrated by the numerous references to community interpreting and associated issues in several contributed chapters in this collection.

Moving on to clarification and further analysis of fundamental issues, I should like to follow a roundabout way, starting with direct evidence from one chapter in this volume, discussing it and then generalising and possibly contributing an idea relevant to the central topic of this volume.

I should like to start with Pöchhacker's alleged reference to my 'criticism' of Vermeer and ask where he finds evidence of such criticism. In what way is speculation on the sociological dimension of this important TS personality's influence in German-speaking circles indicative of criticism? Similarly, Pöchhacker refers to my 'doubting view' of Chesterman's Popperian stance and to *my* notion that testing is 'exclusively' empirical. In my chapter, I say that conceptual testing is too subjective to be included in the Popperian model, but make no judgment on its value. Actually, to me, conceptual testing is an *essential* part of the so-called 'scientific approach', as should be clear to anyone who has read my reviews of books, theses, dissertations and papers, as well as my papers on research training and critical reading, where much weight is given to logical consistency and other conceptual tests of compliance with the norms of 'science'. I also happen to be a supporter of Chesterman's approach, with the single reservation that I would not call it 'Popperian', because in his model, Popper essentially refers to *empirical* testing (albeit conceptual testing is part of his approach – see, for example Miller,

[1985]). If Chesterman referred to his own approach as 'Popper-inspired', I would be conceptually (!) happy.

On a related point, in his chapter, Chesterman refers to my background in mathematics and statistics, which, he rightly suggests, may have something to do with my approach to TS (and his humanities background with his own approach). Mathematicians often name entities they investigate in an arbitrary way, for the exclusive purpose of *naming* them, not defining or analysing them. This may be the source of another divergence between my use of names and the importance given to them by Pöchhacker and Shlesinger. To me, the term 'Interpretation Studies' was useful as a name for an emerging *disciplinary* entity in a paper which discussed it. The term 'Interpretation Research', which, by the way, I have been using consistently since 1990 in the semesterly *IR(TI)N Bulletin* without any protest from Pöchhacker or Shlesinger, was chosen by me to refer to the scholarly activity itself, not to the disciplinary entity. Unless the name 'Interpreting Studies' has mantra powers of which I am unaware, I fail to see why not using it in this context is 'self-defeating'. As to the word 'paradigm', I use it as a convenient name for *different* conceptual entities, but in Chapter 1, it is not an analytical tool. I agree with Pöchhacker that if it were, it should be used differently.

However, some words have specific meanings from which it is more risky to deviate. The word 'definition' encompasses the idea that it characterises an entity to a sufficient extent to distinguish it from any similar but not identical entity. When I refer to interpreting 'for the purposes of this text…' as 'a non-written re-expression of a non-written source-text', this is not a definition, but a minimum characterisation to help readers understand what I mean in a specific context. Comparing it to Kade's *definition*, as Pöchhacker does, makes little sense to me, because he is comparing elements from different conceptual categories.

Speaking of Kade, I have no objection to the idea that his theories could be usefully highlighted for the purpose of analysing and/or promoting interdisciplinarity but would have liked some rationale and/or evidence to back the assertion. As to Seleskovitch, my numerous written references to her, including, besides criticism (often mentioned by commentators), explicit acknowledgements of her leadership during the early part of the development of IS (overlooked by commentators), should be evidence enough of the fact that I do not 'airbrush' her out of its history. However, I also believe I have presented enough evidence in my writings (on her explicit rejection of linguistics, of psychology, of experiments, of quantitative research, on the almost total absence of references in her numerous writings to those of other translation and interpretation scholars outside ESIT) to make it clear why I do not consider her a promoter of interdisciplinarity. If Pöchhacker thinks otherwise, his own evidence would be welcome for an exercise in conceptual testing of our two views, but an assertion is not sufficient.

All these examples, as well as other examples from Pöchhacker's earlier writings (see my review of his doctoral dissertation in *Targe*t [Gile, 1995]), are puzzling. What makes such a serious and thorough scholar (see, for example, his excellent empirical investigation of the situation and needs in multilingual communication in the public health sector in Vienna in Pöchhacker [2000] and his and Shlesinger's excellent *Interpreting Studies Reader* published in 2002)

philosophy, literature and cultural studies have been trained and operate within a humanities-based approach and because I believe there are potential advantages to interaction between the two approaches: followers of a humanities-based approach may come up with ideas that attract the attention of followers of the 'natural science paradigm' and generate systematic exploration (one example is the idea that the trend to domesticate or foreignise is linked to the 'strength' of the translating culture – taken up by Furuno [2002] in her analysis of recent translation trends in Japan), and followers of the 'natural science paradigm' may offer colleagues from the other paradigm input to support or improve their theories. In particular, I disagree with Orozco's idea that a common research methodology is called for in TS.

However, I should argue that in TS courses in translating and interpreting schools, the principles of the 'natural science paradigm' should be introduced, so that students can be better informed about its nature. This may have the effect of strengthening it at the expense of the humanities-based approach but should not threaten the existence of the latter, as there should be constant renewal of TS scholars from the humanities trained in their own fields.

How does this important issue of inter-paradigm relationships relate to interdisciplinarity between translation and interpreting? Ironically, this internal paradigmatic division within the TR (sub-)community and within the interpreting research (sub-)community may result in more contacts and joint projects across the translation/interpreting divide, as both communities are rather small and scholars adhering to one paradigm or the other may be encouraged to seek support from others with the same 'religion' on the other side of the written/oral divide.

The issue is complex and, in the context of the TS community, it raises problems of power, status, disciplinary identity, interpersonal and intergroup relations. Trying to settle it with an ideology, however attractive (Pöchhacker's organic view of a tree with a strong common trunk), may not be the right solution, if the mixture of soil types and environmental input cause the tree to die. Actually, I do not have a solution, and can only suggest very humbly, as Shlesinger and other colleagues do, to hold TS seminars for students on both translation and interpreting so that they get acquainted with the work in each part of the TS community instead of pointedly separating the two, to monitor the situation and discuss the issue further when more experience and evidence are available.

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