Translation Research Projects 4

Edited by
Anthony Pym and David Orrego-Carmona

Intercultural Studies Group
Universitat Rovira i Virgili

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Front cover: Seminar with Gayatri Spivak, Tarragona, May 9, 2011. Photo by Carlos Teixeira.

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Presentation

This volume reproduces selected presentations from the graduate conference "New Research in Translation and Interpreting Studies" held in Tarragona in May 2011, together with Professor Chakravorty Spivak's speech made on the occasion of her being invested as Doctor *Honoris Causa* of our university, also in May 2011. These two events coincided, allowing the conference participants to attend the seminar with Professor Spivak that can be seen on the front cover of this book.

As in previous years, the papers included here indicate the enormous range of Translation Studies, in this case running from the politics of the Quran to the cognitive processes of simultaneous interpreters. It is all translation, and all worthy of our interest.

I would like to express my personal thanks to David Orrego Carmona for doing a lot of the editorial spadework, without which this publication would not have been possible.

Anthony Pym
Tarragona, March 2012

Gender in the global utopia

GAYATRI CHAKRAVORTY SPIVAK

Columbia University, New York

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak was made Professor Honoris Causa of the Rovira i Virgil University on May 10, 2011. The following is her acceptance speech made on that occasion.

I am deeply honored that the trustees of the Rovira i Virgili University have decided to make me a member of their alumni. I am especially grateful to Elizabeth Russell and Anthony Pym for proposing me as a recipient of this honor.

Today is the 8th anniversary of the death of my mother, Sivani Chakravorty, who was an intellectual in her own right, receiving an M.A. in Bengali Literature from the University of Calcutta in 1937, at the age of twenty four. My father, Dr. Pares Chandra Chakravorty, a village boy, worked with Rutherford at Cambridge on Radiology in the late 1920s, was created a Civil Surgeon by the British, but destroyed his brilliant career with no hesitation at all when asked to give false evidence in a rape trial. I have no doubt at all that it is my parents who nurtured in me the qualities that you have decided to acknowledge today.

Unlike Professor Russell, I am not a specialist in contemporary Utopian Studies. My sense of utopia comes from the root meaning of the word— that it is a no-place, a good place that we try to approximate, not achieve. The utopia proposed by globalization is "a level playing field." I think it is generally understood that this is a false promise, especially since the impossibility inherent in all utopian thought is ignored by it. The world is run on the aim to achieve it, more or less disingenuously. In order to make this false promise, the sponsors of globalization emphasize that access to capital brings in and creates social productivity. They do not emphasize the fact that such productivity must be humanely mediated by decision-makers who are deeply trained in unconditional ethics and, with the decline and fall in education in the humanities, this group is extinct. To the wise heads of this university I repeat what I said to the president of the university that was kind enough to offer me my first honorary doctorate: "Think of [education in

the humanities] as epistemological and ethical health care for the society at large." In the absence of philosopher-kings directing the global utopia, what is also and necessarily ignored is that for capital to work in a capitalist way, there must be what used to be called "proletarianization" and today has been revised to "subalternization." I will "define" the subaltern to close my remarks. To open my remarks I want to touch on two other issues close to our hearts and minds today: gender and translation, for they are routinely used to "achieve utopia," and to close off access to subalternization.

In order to establish the same system of exchange all over the world—the bottom line of globalization—the barriers between individual national economies and international capital have to be removed. When this happens, states lose their individual and idiosyncratic constitutional particularities in history, and become recoded as agents for managing the interests of global capital. In such a situation, when demand and supply begin to become the organizing principles of running a state, we come to realize that items such as clean water, or HIV-AIDS research, let us say, do not necessarily come up in terms of the demands of the global economy. These kinds of needs then begin to be supervised by a global collection of agencies that are separate from nation states. This group is often called the international civil society, a more palliative description of what is also still called non-governmental organizations—supported by the United Nations. Thus we can say that the structuring of the utopianism of globalization brings forth restructured states aided by an international civil society and other instruments of world governance. In order to be realistic about this, we should also speak of geo-political interests, geo-military interests, international criminal courts and so on, but that would take us away from gender and translation.

It is well known that the management of gender provides alibis for all kinds of activities—from military intervention to various kinds of platforms of action, where experience deeply embedded in cultural difference is translated into general equivalence. Often this happens because women are perceived to be a more malleable and fungible sector of society—especially women below a certain income line. If in a global utopia, it is also imagined that sexual preference would be translated into the language of general affective equivalence, this exists on a separate plane.

Already we can see that in order to establish the same system of exchange all over the globe, we are also obliged to establish the same system of gendering globally. How does translation enter here?

To gather singularities into a system of equivalence is also called "abstraction." I have often argued that gender, or what many of us have been calling gender for the last 40 years or so, is humankind's, or perhaps the most intelligent primates' first instrument of abstraction: as follows.

Gender is our first instrument of abstraction.

Let us think of culture as a package of largely unacknowledged assumptions, loosely held by a loosely outlined group of people, mapping

negotiations between the sacred and the profane, and the relationship between the sexes. To theorize in the abstract, we need a difference. However we philosophize sensible and intelligible, abstract and concrete etc., the first difference we perceive materially is sexual difference. It becomes our tool for abstraction, in many forms and shapes. On the level of the loosely held assumptions and presuppositions that English-speaking peoples have been calling "culture" for two hundred years, change is incessant. But, as they change, these unwitting *pre*-suppositions become belief systems, organized suppositions. Rituals coalesce to match, support, and advance beliefs and suppositions. But these presuppositions also give us the wherewithal to change our world, to innovate and create. Most people believe, even (or perhaps particularly) when they are being cultural relativists, that creation and innovation is their own cultural secret, whereas "others" are only determined by their cultures. This habit is unavoidable and computed with the help of sexual difference sustained into something feminists who are speakers of English started calling "gender" in the last forty years. But if we aspire to a global utopia, we must not only fight the habit of thinking creation and innovation is our own cultural secret, we must also shake the habit of thinking that our version of computing gender is the world's and in fact even ignore our own sense of gender unless we are specifically speaking of women and queers.

Thought as an instrument of abstraction, gender is in fact a position without identity—an insight coming to us via Queer Studies from David Halperin (1995: 62)—sexualized in cultural practice. We can therefore never think the abstracting instrumentality of gender fully.

This broad discussion of gender in the general sense invites us to realize that gender is not just another word for women and that the (non-)place of the queer in the social division of labor is also contained within it. And yet, because gender, through the apparent immediacy to sexuality, is also thought to be the concrete as such (with commonly shared problems by women), the international civil society finds it easiest to enter the supplementing of globalization through gender. This is where translating becomes a word that loses its sense of transferring meanings or significations. A certain human-to-human unmediated affect-transfer is assumed.

Yet it is possible that gender(ing)-in-the-concrete is inaccessible to agential probing, mediated or unmediated.

The human infant grabs on to some one thing and then things. This grabbing of an outside indistinguishable from an inside constitutes an inside, going back and forth and coding everything into a sign-system by the thing(s) grasped. One can certainly call this crude coding a "translation," but it is taking place (if there is a place for such virtuality) in infancy, between world and self (those two great Kantian "as if"-s), as part of the formation of a "self." In this never-ending weaving, violence translates into conscience and vice versa. From birth to death this "natural" machine, programming the

mind perhaps as genetic instructions program the body (where does body stop and mind begin?) is partly metapsychological and therefore outside the grasp of the mind. In other words, where parental sexual difference helps the infant constitute a world to self the self in, the work that we are calling "translating" is not even accessible to the infant's mind. So it is not much use for the kind of cultural interference that NGO gender work engages in. For all of us, "nature" passes and repasses into "culture," in this work or shuttling site of violence: the violent production of the precarious subject of reparation and responsibility. To plot this weave, the worker, translating the incessant translating shuttle into that which is read, must have the most intimate knowledge of the rules of representation and permissible narratives that make up the substance of a culture, and must also become responsible and accountable to the writing/translating presupposed original. That is the space of language-learning, not the space of speedy gender-training in the interest of achieving utopia in globalization. This is why books such as *Why Translation Studies Matters* (2010), published through the European Society for Translation Studies, are of interest to me, and I hope my words resonate with their sense of mission. In preparation for this occasion, I have also looked carefully at the activities of the Intercultural Studies Group at your university. I hope some members of those groups will attend to my remarks as describing what is necessarily excluded at the limits of the merely achievable.

I have given above an account of how the "self" is formed, through sexual difference. Let us move just a bit further in the infant's chronology and look at the infant acquiring language.

There is a language we learn first, mixed with the pre-phenomenal, which stamps the metapsychological circuits of "lingual memory" (Becker 1995: 12). The child invents a language, beginning by bestowing signification upon gendered parts of the parental bodies. The parents "learn" this language. Because they speak a named language, the child's language gets inserted into the named language with a history before the child's birth, which will continue after its death. As the child begins to navigate this language it is beginning to access the entire interior network of the language, all its possibility of articulations, for which the best metaphor that can be found is—especially in the age of computers— "memory." By comparison, "cultural memory" is a crude concept of narrative re-memorization that attempts to privatize the historical record.

Translation Studies must imagine that each language may be activated in this special way and make an effort to produce a simulacrum through the reflexivity of language as habit. Here we translate, not the content, but the very moves of languaging. We can provisionally locate this peculiar form of originary translation before translation on the way, finally, to institutionally recognizable translation, which often takes refuge in the reduction to equivalence of a quantifiable sort.

This is not to make an opposition between the natural spontaneity of the emergence of "my languaged place" and the artificial effortfulness of learning foreign languages. Rather is it to emphasize the metapsychological and telecommunicative nature of the subject's being-encountered by the languaging of place. If we entertain the spontaneous/artificial opposition, we will possibly value our own place over all others and thus defeat the ethical impulse so often ignored in competitive translation studies. Embracing another place as my creolized space may be a legitimation by reversal. We know now that the hybrid is not an issue here. If, on the other hand, we recall the helplessness before history—our own and of the languaged place—in our acquisition of our first dwelling in language, we just may sense the challenge of producing a simulacrum, always recalling that this language too, depending on the subject's history, can inscribe lingual memory. In other words, a sense of metapsychological equivalence among languages, at the other end from quantification, rather than a comparison of historico-civilizational content. Étienne Balibar has suggested that equivalence blurs differences, whereas equality requires them. Precisely because civil war may be the allegoric name for an extreme form of untranslatability, it is that "blurring" that we need.

There are two theories of literary translation: you add yourself to the original, or you efface yourself and let the text shine. I subscribe to the second. But I have said again and again that translation is also the most intimate act of reading. And to read is to pray to be haunted. A translator may be a ventriloquist, performing the contradiction, the counter-resistance, which is at the heart of love. Does this promote cultural exchange? This for me is the site of a double bind, contradictory instructions coming at the same time: love the original/share the original; culture cannot/must be exchanged.

How intimate is this "intimate act of reading?" Long ago in Taiwan, my dear friend Ackbar Abbas had said that my take on reading was a "critical intimacy" rather than a "critical distance." And now, another perceptive reader, Professor Deborah Madsen (2011), has found in my idea of "suture (as translation)" a way into Derrida's sense that translation is an intimate embrace, an embrace that is also something like a physical combat.

We pray to be haunted because "I cannot be in the other's place, in the head of the the other." In all reading, but most so in translation, we are dealing with ghosts, because "to translate is to lose the body. The most faithful translation is violent: one loses the body of the poem, which exists only in [the 'original' language and once only]... translation is desired by the poet... but...," and here we enter the place of violence in love "love and violence." And the language of the "original," is itself "a bloody struggle with [that very] language, which [it] it's deforms, transforms, which [it]

assaults, and which [it] incises." We have to inhabit the "original" language against its own grain in order to translate.[1]

Following these thinkers, then, I come to the conclusion that the double bind of translation can best be welcomed in the world by teaching translation as an activism rather than merely a convenience. In other words, while the translated work will of course make material somewhat imperfectly accessible to the general reading public, we ourselves, in the academy, primarily produce translators rather than translations. We can expand this analogy to the necessarily imperfect translations of the images of Utopia. The translations, in a classroom, at the Center—are lovely byproducts. We produce critically annotated and introduced translations, fighting the publishers some. In other words, we have to have the courage of our convictions as we enter and continue in the translation trade. I remember a time in Spain, when I first came in 1963, having read George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, and spent the summer as a penniless graduate student in a fishing village not far from here, when Catalan was forbidden. It is the energy of the struggle that is inherent in the history of Catalan that has permitted me to make this plea here, in this space, at this time.

At the end of Benjamin's famous essay on "The Task of the Translator," there is the mention of a meaning-less speech, "pure speech," which makes translation possible.[2] There is a famous scandal about the accepted English translation translating this as "makes translation impossible." In closing, I would like to invoke this intuition, which in Benjamin, to me unfortunately, takes on the guise of the sacred. But this idea, that the possibility of the production of meaning is a system without meaning but with values that can be filled with meaning, is in today's informatics—which is rather far from the language of the Scripture.[3]

In this understanding, signification means to turn something into a sign—rather than to produce meaning—and make it possible for there to be meaning within established conventions. This originary condition of possibility is what makes translation possible—that there can be meaning and not necessarily tied to singular systems. About 60 years ago, Jacques Lacan suggested that the unconscious is constituted like a conveyor belt,

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[1] All Derrida quotes are taken from Jacques Derrida, "The Truth that Wounds: From An Interview" (2005: 164-169).

[2] Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," tr. Harry Zohn, in *Selected Writings*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1996), p. 253–63.

[3] In this connection, Derrida also invokes the intuition of the transcendental but distances himself in the end: "every poem says, 'this is my body,'... and you know what comes next: passions, crucifixions, executions. Others would also say" -- mark these words -- "resurrections..."

rolling out objects susceptible to meaningfulness—for use in building the history of a subject, with imperfect reference to whatever one could call the real world (Lacan 2007). In these mysterious thickets, the possibility of translation emerges, but only if, institutionally, the so-called foreign languages are taught with such care that, when the student is producing in it, s/he has forgotten the language that was rooted in the soul—roots which, Saussure, Lacan, information theory, and in his own way Benjamin, see as themselves produced, dare I say, as rhizomes without specific ground?[4] It gives me pleasure to recall that Saussure was a student of Sanskrit and something of this sort of intuition he might have come to from a reading of the 5th century BCE Indian grammarian Bhartrihari's notion of *sphota*.[5]

I have often said that globalization is like an island of signs in a sea of traces. A trace is not . . . a sign. A sign-system promises meaning, a trace promises nothing, simply seems to suggest that there was something here. In this connection one inevitably thinks of the established patriarchal convention, still honored by most legal systems, that I, especially if I am recognizable as a man, am my father's sign and my mother's trace. What is important for us within my argument is that, rather than theorize globalization as a general field of translation which, in spite of all the empiricization of apparently impersonal mechanical translation, in fact privileges host or target, ceaselessly and indefinitely, we should learn to think that the human subject in globalization is an island of languaging—unevenly understanding some languages and idioms with the "first" language as monitor—within an entire field of traces, where "understanding" follows no guarantee, there is just a feeling that these words are meaningful, not just noise; an undoing of the *barbaros*. A new call for a different "non-expressional" art, a different "simultaneous translation."

Global translating in the achievable Utopia, on the other hand, ceaselessly transforms trace to sign, sign to data, undoing the placelessness of utopias. This arrogance is checked and situated if we learn, with humility, to celebrate the possibility of meaning in a grounding medium that is meaning-less.

In the interview from which I have already quoted, given a few months before his death, Derrida puts it in a lovely empirical way: "there may be an allusion to a referent from [the author's] life that is hidden or encrypted through numerous layers of hidden literary references. [...] in a word, there will always be an excess that is not of the order of meaning, that is not just another meaning."

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[4] The exhortation to learn the foreign language with such care as to forget the mother tongue comes from Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (1852/1973: 147, translation modified).

[5] For a learned introduction to Bhartrihari, see Bimal Krishna Matilal (1990).

In that spirit, accepting the exhilarating limits of translation I accept also your honor, I thank you and I come back to where I started. If we claim a successful translation, a successful recoding into a general system of equivalence, we forget the ghostliness of utopias, we betray gendering, our first instrument of translation.

A postscript on proletarian and subaltern. The distinction was first made by Antonio Gramsci. As Frank Rosengarten, Gramsci's translator, pointed out in conversation, in the army, the definition of subaltern is "those who take orders." As soon as we look at this category, rather than those who are trashed within and by the logic of capital, we think gender, we think the paperless, we think of those outside the system of equivalences, we think of those with no social mobility who don't know that the welfare structures of the state are for the use of the citizen. I should tell you in closing that this final definition of the subaltern I wrote recently for a second cousin, deeply involved in global capitalism, who happened to see a video where women workers gently and with affection mocked me for my fixation on the subaltern. My cousin didn't know what the word meant. It gives me pleasure to bring the family into these ceremonies—since my sister, Professor Maitreyi Chandra, who, as an educator herself, certainly knows of the predicament of the subaltern, has traveled all the way from New Delhi to be present on this happy occasion, when you welcome me into the university family.

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The socio-political implications of translating the Quran

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This paper investigates the socio-political implications of Quranic translations in the formation of a new public discourse in post-revolution Iran. The case study is of Quranic verse 4:34, which deals with the social and familial status of men and women. By juxtaposing three translations (by a hardline conservative Islamist, a Muslim feminist and a modern Islamist), the paper provides a hermeneutical analysis of the assumptions each translator brings into play when trying to reconcile the question of modern women's rights with the scripture. The study suggests that reformist translations of the Quran might be seen as part of the more general religious reform movement, translating the requirements of modern civil society into a religious discourse.

Keywords: hermeneutics, Quran, theocracy, religious reform, women's rights.

Introduction

With the rise of interdisciplinary research in the humanities since the early 1960s, translation is no longer perceived as an innocent transfer of semantic meaning across linguistic borders. The ideological and political implications of representing, or rather, constructing an image of the Other, i.e. texts, actions, rituals, works of art, etc., within the receiving culture have allowed disciplines such as anthropology, postcolonial and gender studies to make use of translation as an analytical and descriptive tool. The consequences of these applications have bounced back to the field of Translation Studies and contributed to its evolution, as can be seen in the cultural and sociological turns the discipline has taken since the 1990s.

In this paper I will study the political and ideological implications of Quranic translations for the development of a reformist discourse in the context of post-revolutionary Iran. This is done by analyzing the way in which conservative Islamists, modern Islamists and Muslim feminists have

tried to resolve the contradiction between (modern) women's rights with religious canonical texts through, partly, new translations and interpretations of the Quran. The Quran, as Dabashi observes, "has always been at the center of religious and political discourses of authority in Iran" (1993: 304). The political system in the Islamic republic has extended this centrality into the formation of political and legal institutions. With their call for reform in religion, religious intellectuals[1] have availed themselves of hermeneutics, among other theoretical apparatuses, to undermine the traditional methodology of Islamic jurisprudence and challenge the sole legitimacy of the clergy in interpreting the Quran as sacred scripture. New translations of the Quran are among those areas where religious reform might be embodied.

Method

The fourth Surah of the Quran is called An-Nisã' (the women) because it discusses many issues related to women. Three sections of verse 4:34 (Alrrijalu qawwamoona 'ala alnnisai / bima faddala Allahu ba'dahum 'ala ba'din / wabima anfaqoo min amwalihim; my italics) discuss issues related to conjugal relationships. They are chosen here to demonstrate three main points. First, translations are inscribed forms of interpretation. As such, hermeneutics serves as a key analytical tool to legitimize or critique certain translation products. Philological and hermeneutic text analyses provide linguistic and philosophical foundations upon which the legitimacy of diverging meaning potentials of the original text in different historical contexts can be put to the test. Second, the development of these meaning potentials has social and political ramifications. This is most visible in the Quran, which is understood as a guiding source of orientation for the individual and social lives of Muslims. Since the linguistic turn in humanities, the formation of textual meaning through translation is less an innocent act of textual transfer than an ideological attempt to construct meaning to serve particular purposes. Certain exegeses or translations of the Quranic passage mentioned above have been crucial to the formation of the

[1] "Religious intellectual" in Iran's post-revolutionary context is a designation for critical thinking that relies on modernity and modern tools of critical thinking to take a new look at the Quran and Islamic tradition, and then look back at modernity to underscore its defects and failures. "Religious intellectuals", says Soroush, "are committed to religion and look at it as a respected and accepted category of tradition. They try to investigate the relationship between religion and reason or new sciences–which belong to modernity. They then build a bridge between the two by critiquing the tradition and introducing their own theoretical innovations" (2007: 51; my translation).

Islamic Republic's official discourse on gender. Dissemination of this discourse has contributed to the formation of legal and political organizations, which systematically reproduce the theocracy's particular communication in society. And third, translation is a site to undermine the legitimacy not only of a religiously constrained discourse on gender, but also of the political and legal institutions that institutionalize such a discourse on women.

I will be looking at three translators with different ideological and Islamic backgrounds. The first translation is in Persian and was done by the hardline conservative cleric Ayatollah Ali Meshkini, a prolific author in traditional Islamic jurisprudence. Until his death in 2007, he held key political and religious positions in post-revolution Iran. The second translation is in English and was done by Laleh Bakhtiari, an Iranian-American Muslim author whose feminist translation of the Quran created considerable controversy within and without Iran. I will finally look at the Persian translation by Abdolali Bazargan, a modern Islamist known for his attempts to show how modern values such as democracy, science, civil society and human rights are fully compatible with Islam and the Quran. I will precede these translations by referring to Allameh Seyed Hossein Tabataba'i's 20-volume Quranic commentary known as *tafsir al-mizaan* or Balance in the Exegesis of the Quran, which is a canonical Quranic commentary widely available to translators. Tabataba'i was the most renowned Shiite philosopher of the twentieth century. He was also the first cleric to address the question of gender and women's rights from the perspective of Islamic philosophy. His writings on women in Islam had a lasting influence on the Islamic republic's discourse on gender.

Case study

In addressing the question of women, Tabataba'i underscores the categorical equality of women and men. However, he does not conceive of equality on a par with sameness. Although men and women must enjoy equal rights and meet equal obligations in an Islamic society, they are not subject to the same rights and obligations. It is true, according to Tabataba'i, that both sexes in general are endowed with emotional and intellectual faculties. However, the proportion of these traits is not equally distributed among them.

This is the assumption against the backdrop of which Tabataba'i founds his exegesis. "*Qawwam*" is the highly emphasized form of the term "al qayyem", i.e. one who looks after somebody else's affairs. His exegesis declares men the maintainers, i.e. "*qawwamoon*" (the plural form of "qawwam"), of women for two reasons, as the following sections of the verse shows: because men in general excel women in general in certain

natural characteristics, and because men provide women with financial means prior and during marriage (cf. Tabataba'i 1972: vol. 4, 543).

The verse does not indicate in what natural characteristics men excel women. Tabataba'i elicits them from other resources (cf. Shabestari 2000: 124ff.), although he claims that his exegesis relies solely on the text of the Quran. The unequal distribution of potentials in men and women accounts for the difference between the two sexes (cf. Tabataba'i 1972: vol. 18). While men are more intellectually inclined, women are more emotionally oriented. In discussing whether the audience of the verse is the small circle of conjugal life or the larger scope of community and society, he categorically opts for the second alternative:

> The generality of this principle, i.e. men are maintainers of women, shows that it is a principle based on its causes. This means that men's being 'qawwam' over women is a general principle and not one confined to husbands and wives. This is of course valid in those common areas that affect the lives of both sexes on the whole. (1972: vol. 4, 543, my translation)

This assumption leads to another assumption, namely that the performance of duties that guarantee the continuance of society such as governance, judiciary and defense of the society against enemies are preserved for men, because they rely on "psychical strength" and "rationale which is clearly stronger and more in men than in women" (ibid).

In exegeting the Quran, Tabataba'i claims to be indifferent to the pressing issues and questions of the time. Since the text constitutes a harmonious whole, the accuracy of each exegesis should be tested by reference to other Quranic passages. Tabataba'i denies any reliance on theoretical or philosophical discussions, scientific theories, or mystic revelation, i.e. importing non-textual elements into the process of interpretation. This very claim proves controversial with religious intellectuals who point to hermeneutics as an ideal lens for looking at canonical texts in contemporary times. Shabestari (2000) questions Tabataba'i's assumption that he is interpreting the text of the Quran using the Quran itself. Without intending to judge the content of his exegesis, Shabestari lists a number of assumptions about the Quran that are not derived from the text *per se* but from the theological and philosophical background of Tabataba'i's education: "Allameh Tabataba'i has approached the interpretation of the Quran with a particular view of philosophy, the human being, society, history, ethics, etc. Without these assumptions, his method of interpretation relying on the text of the Quran itself would not be feasible" (2000: 130, my translation).

The premises of Tabataba'i's commentary have permeated the formal discourse of the Islamic Republic. They have helped form legal and political programs that facilitate theocratic communication and its acceptability

across society. In addition to religious intellectuals like Shabestari and Soroush, who have challenged the legitimacy of Tabataba'i's methodology and its exegetical results from a hermeneutic perspective, certain reformist translations of the Quran go hand in hand with the thinking of religious intellectuals in contributing to the formation of a new religious discourse in Iran's public sphere. These translations stand in contrast to those by conservative Islamists such as Ayatollah Ali Meshkini, who translates the text as follows:

> Men are guardians of women because Allah has favored some over others (men over women in their intellectual, psychological and physical potentials) (and because the guardianship of the society at the level of prophethood, Imamah and an appointed guardianship on behalf of the infallible Imams are all assigned to men by God). And men are also the maintainers of their wives because of what they spend from their wealth (on women). (My English translation of the Persian translation, italics added to indicate the non-textual added interpretations inserted by Ayatollah Ali Meshkini in parentheses).

Visually speaking, the extent of the interpretations imposed on the original text, albeit demarcated by parentheses, is striking, particularly when the length of this translation is compared with those by Laleh Bakhtiari and Abdolali Bazargan, respectively:

> Men are supporters of wives because God has given some of them an advantage over others and because they spend of their wealth.

> Men stand over (physically) (protect and guard) women because Allah has preferred some (in the general average) over others, and because of what they spend from their wealth. (My English translation of the Persian translation)

In analyzing the translations from a hermeneutic perspective, I will be employing the theoretical framework of Shabestari in criticizing the traditional jurisprudence. By doing so, I will also be drawing an analogy between the work of religion intellectuals and religious reformists in challenging theocratic discourse.

Theoretical framework and discussion of translations

The different interpretations seen in the translations are first due to the ambiguity of certain terms in the original text. This is most visible in the polysemous term "qawwamoon", translated as "to have authority", "to maintain", "to be responsible", "to be in charge", "to guard", "to be superior", "to manage" etc. (cf. Dib 2009, Syed 2004). The adoption of one

meaning by a translator entails strong ideological attitudes towards the question of gender. The disambiguation of terms in this verse thus heavily marks the trace of the translator's interpretation and hence their visibility in the translation.

To resolve the polysemy and opt for one meaning that fits into the context of reading is the translator's first step toward interpretation (cf. Ricœur 1973: 113). Once disambiguated in translation, the text becomes "at once clearer and flatter than the original" (Gadamer 2006: 388). However, the text does not disambiguate itself unless the translator opens up a horizon for approaching the text and the text opens itself up accordingly. Understanding, as Ricœur holds, consists of interpretation as much as an explanation. It "is the culmination of the interpretation that the translator has made of the words given him" (Gadamer 2006: 386). It is where the translator's subjectivity comes into play to complement the explanation and account for the moment in which the text discloses its subject matter.

There are many different ways of disambiguating words by referring to other Quranic passages and hence creating isotopies (Greimas), i.e. semantic cohesion of the text. All three translators justify their exegesis by referring to the text of the Quran, yet they use different passages. How these connections are made is a matter of interpretation. Interpretation is guided by the translator's structure of expectations, previously built and evolved in a particular educational and socio-cultural context. The constant process of linguistic disambiguation through the internal textual web (explanation) requires an incessant interpretive attempt (interpretation) on the part of the translator. Meshkini's translation, where the interpretations are inserted and marked in the translation, clearly reveals that explanation and interpretation do not exclude but complement each other. The other two translators show their explanations in the commentaries on the verse. Different interpretations might lead to different textual explanations, and vice versa. The continual interplay between explanation and interpretation results in textual meaning. This view situates textual meaning "not behind the text, but in front of it. It [textual meaning] is not something hidden, but something disclosed" (Ricœur 1976: 87).

To take Schleiermacher's hermeneutic circle, the problematic of polysemy is resolved in constant circular movements between parts and the whole. This circular movement has both an objective and a subjective side. The former is palpable at the textual or rather linguistic level. A word acquires its unique meaning in the context of the sentence in which it is used. The sentence is meaningful with respect to the text, and the text, in turn, belongs to the total context of the author's works, on the one hand, and the entire intellectual trend of the time, on the other. The subjective aspect is the fact that a written work is the creative manifestation of the author's inner life. The dialectic between parts and the whole in both its objective and subjective aspects, according to Schleiermacher and later on adopted by

Dilthey, can account for understanding. Tabataba'i's interpretation seems to follow this same trend. Although this dialectic lays down the foundation of hermeneutics, its task does not, for either Gadamer or Ricœur, stop there. The main objection is the exclusion of the reading subject reading as a crucial aspect of meaning-construction. The objective aspect of Schleiermacher's hermeneutic circle resembles Ricœur's textual explanation, with reference to the structural constellation of the text as a whole. This is also the objective method used by Allameh Tabataba'i in interpreting the Quran. However, interpretation, as the subjective side of understanding, departs from its Romantic ideal in reconstructing the inner experiences of the author, and places the reading subject at the center of the re-construction of textual meaning.

If Tabataba'i's exegesis goes through textual explanation to prove the intellectual as well as physical superiority of men as the natural order of things, the religious modernist Bazargan narrows down the realm of men's dominance to a merely biological verity to serve a particular function within the family. His interpretation stands in sharp contrast to those of Tabataba'i and Meshkini, who evoke a biological, psychological and intellectual authority or superiority of men over women. If there is any superiority, as Bazargan's translation reads, it is a biological one that gives men more physical strength. This is a matter of fact and not a divine decree. This very physical strength makes men the more appropriate candidate for maintaining the family and caring for women. So the translation not only abolishes any divine, intellectual or psychological superiority of men over women, but also replaces it with a sense of responsibility that falls onto the man's shoulders to carry out within the framework of conjugal life. The same argument is continued in a more radical way, compared to Meshkini's translation, in Bakhtiari's rendering of "qawwamoon" as supporters, and as such takes away any trace of patriarchy.

This interpretation is due to the way the term *qawwamoon* is disambiguated by Bazargan. He adds that the word *qawwam* means "advocate, defender, guardian, protector, attendant, one who is there for the benefit of and at the service of women, not one who is against them". Hence the question of being *qawwam* is far from evoking any divinely ordained superiority, for he refers to dozens of Quranic verses that "recognize superiority and excellence to be attributes of self-control and do not recognize inherent or sexual superiority" (Bazargan 2001).

The translation of this short Quranic clause clearly demonstrates how the combination of isotopies and textual elements produce meanings that can go in contradictory directions. This is what religious intellectuals with hermeneutic-oriented minds point out. The disambiguation of the Quranic passage is not possible unless Meshkini, like any other translator, brings his own particular context and horizon of meaning expectations with him. This horizon is shaped by the social context surrounding him, part and parcel of

which is his seminary education in Qom. This city is a powerful center in both the political and religious arenas for delimiting Islam's stance on gender. It is the burden of this powerful and heavily dominant traditionalist view of gender that reveals an indelible patriarchal trace in Meshkini's translation of the second section of the verse.

The delimitation of men's guardianship over women in the first clause of the verse is partly resolved and partly increased in '*bima faddala Allâh ba'dahum 'ala ba'din*' –because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other—. This is also a source of ambiguity, since it does not say whether it is a vertical preference of men over women, in which case there would arise a contradiction with other verses that deny any divinely ordained preference among humans based on their sexual and racial characteristics, or it is a particular kind of preference of some over others, irrespective of their gender. This ambiguity is due to the plural pronoun *'hum'* being applied to both men and women. In Arabic, pronouns are masculine if they refer to both men and women. This ambiguity is reflected in Bakhtiari's translation. The translation takes a sexual preference from the verse and turns it into a general statement. This stands in sharp contrast to Meshkini's disambiguation, which posits that men's excellence over women is on the basis of a disproportionate distribution of certain abilities. His translation of the passage is delineated as a sexual priority of "men over women in their intellectual, psychological and physical potentials". He even goes so far as to introduce more reasons for this superiority: "and because the guardianship of the society at the levels of prophethood, Imāmah (Imamate [2]) and the appointed guardianship on behalf of the infallible *Imām* are all assigned to men by God".

The third section of the verse brings a particular instance, which might be interpreted as either a case of the first general law (as in Tabataba'i's exegesis and as reflected in Meshkini's translation), or the delimitation or clarification of the first two sections (Bazargan and Bakhtiari's translations). In other words, particular advantages of men over women, whatever these advantages could be, if there are any, might be either extended to the whole society and individuals, or narrowed down to the very intimate system of the family. The relevance of this difference lies in the way these inequalities are translated into texts with normative, legislative and legal powers such as the Constitution and the criminal, penal and civil codes. Meshkini makes his interpretation of men's inherent superiority over women markedly visible:

[2] "Imamate" designates, in the Shiite doctrine, the qualified religious authorities to whom the rightful rulership of the Muslim community is held to belong. In this doctrine, the Imām must be a direct descendent of the prophet Mohammad and Ali, the first Imam.

"and men are *also* the maintainers of their wives because of what they spend (on women) from their properties" (emphasis added).

Although the other two translations render the final clause rather literally, the repercussions seem significant. Bakhtiari uses the second section to create a distance between the first and third sections, i.e. the second clause being a general statement irrespective of sexes and an explanation of the first clause. Bazargan conceives of the first and second clauses to be introductions to the third clause, i.e. the reason why men and not women should be financing the family. It is not, contrary to Tabataba'i and Meshkini, a general law that goes beyond husbands and wives to encompass men and women as two distinct groups. It is rather a statement that is confined to the very intimate system of family. In addition, for Bazargan this section is more a Quranic recommendation than a normative statement for the structure of family and the distribution of responsibilities. Their physical strength makes men in general and husbands in particular the better candidates to be of service to women and family. The second explanation denies the verse an a-historical prescription of the way the family should function. The subject of the verse is, as Bazargan holds,

> indicative of the way of life of the human societies at the time of the Quranic revelations. Clearly, as the societal roles of men and women change, i.e., women in the West nowadays partake in the army, police force, and other hard labors, the basis of the laws governing the role of women in the society will also change and the reasons once valid for such roles will become obsolete. (Bazargan 2008)

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, the conservative exegesis of the Quranic sections discussed above is visible in the theocratic discourse on gender. This discourse has, since the revolution, been disseminated through primary and secondary schools, pre-university and university curricula, and reinforced by state-run television and radio. The reproduction of this discourse is crucial for the continuance of the theocracy as a whole. If it is true to say with Luhmann that "[w]hatever we know about our society, or indeed about the world we live, we know through the mass media" (2000: 1), then it is equally true to say that mass media and communication possibilities they give rise to play a crucial role in determining the way our subjectivities are shaped.

The theocratic discourse on gender has also been reinforced by its institutionalization in the Constitution and the political and legal organizations constituted thereupon. A case in point is Article 163 of the Constitution, which clearly states that the characteristics of judges, the head of the judiciary, the public prosecutor and the head of the Supreme Court are

to be in line with Sharia law. Since the principles of Sharia law are derived by Islamic jurisprudence, and the majority of conservative jurisprudents – legal experts— such as Meshkini himself reserve such positions for men due to their supposedly higher proportion of rationality and lower proportion of emotionality, the particular exegesis and translation of this verse is used as an Islamic justification to disqualify women from such positions. Meshkini's conservative translation of the verse and its normative tone makes it easy to track the way the Civil Code is formulated within the context of Iran's theocracy. When translated into the legal system, the verse prescribes mutual rights and obligations. Article 1105 of the Civil Code states in the case of a conjugal relationship that "the position of the head of the family is the exclusive right of the husband". The following article states that "the cost of maintenance of the wife is at the charge of the husband in permanent marriages", as is indicated in the verse. However, this obligation on the part of husbands creates obligations on the part of women; thus if a woman neglects these obligations "without legitimate excuse, [she] will not be entitled to the cost of maintenance" (Article 1108). A wife is also obliged to "stay in the dwelling that the husband allots for her unless such a right is reserved to the wife" (Article 1114). A man is also given the right to "prevent his wife from occupations or technical work which is incompatible with the family interests or the dignity of himself or his wife" (Article 1117).

The brief analysis of these translations clearly demonstrates how the exponents of conservative theology and reformist theology introduce two contradictory images of the Quranic attitude towards an aspect of the gender issue. Whereas Bakhtiari's translation takes away any patriarchal readings from the verse, Bazargan's translation shifts the focus away from the predefined authority or superiority of men to promote a sense of responsibility. As more women become aware of their existence as independent beings and fight for their rights by breaking down the patriarchal structures of society, their concerns automatically determine a part of the historical horizons for the translators who aim to transfer and revive the textual meaning. This historical horizon is crucial in determining the textual meaning. On the one hand, the translator's non-textual knowledge is used to expose the textual meaning, and this is a method used by religious intellectuals to promote an unavoidable plurality of understandings of religion and hence to deny its monolithic institutionalization within the context of theocracy. On the other hand, the crucial role played by the current status of individuals' knowledge in the formation of textual meaning emphasizes the legitimacy of new understandings and re-translations of canonical texts.

Reformist translations of canonical religious texts contribute to the formation of a new public discourse as a narrative of resistance against the dominant theocratic discourse. The latter is a monopolized and politically ideologized narrative of a mainly jurisprudential Islam that circulates

through omnipotent state-run *dissemination media* (Luhmann) such as writing, print and electronic media to reach as many individuals as possible, and through *symbolically generalized media* such as power, law and truth to increase the acceptance of this discourse by the masses. Reformist translations of the Quran should be seen in line with religious intellectuals' attempts to reform the theocracy's public discourse, which will leave its traces in the way individuals define themselves as citizens of a civil society with rights. This reform is not possible unless opinions in the private sphere are translated into themes in the public sphere and become able to irritate the political system to undergo change. The contribution of translation is modest, yet crucial.

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Agents and their network in a publishing house in Iran

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This case study presents the fieldwork carried out in a publishing house in Iran. It is a micro-ethnographic analysis that uses three sets of data (interviews, written materials, and participant observation) to investigate the multiple agents involved in the production of translations, the constraints they face, the way translations and non-translations are handled, and the ways the agents build and maintain their network. The approach combines Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and publishing field, and two principles of Latour's actor-network theory, i.e. following the actors and examining inscriptions. In addition to translator-led and publisher-led networks, the case study shows the existence of an under-studied network of academics and publishers working hand in hand.

Keywords: agency, translation agents, sociological approaches to translation, Iran

Introduction

The publisher chosen for this case study, Behnashr Publishing Company ("Behnashr" hereafter), was established in 1986 in Mashhad, Iran, and produces on average 100 titles every year, with a considerable number of translations. I selected this publisher for three reasons. First, I had already published some of my early translations from English with them and knew some people working there. Second, I was curious to understand better the nature of interactions between various agents coming between the translator and the final production, including the arguments offered for the acceptance or rejection of translation projects. Third, access to publishing houses in Tehran proved challenging and close to impossible.

The publisher is affiliated with Astane Quds Razavi ("Astane" hereafter), a powerful religious and financial organization in Iran. Astane is responsible for the custodianship of the holy shrine of Imam Reza. Because

of the publisher's partial financial dependence on Astane, it has published books in line with latter's general purpose of spreading "Islamic doctrine" and the general cultural values of post-Revolution Iran (see Astane 2011). For example, the publisher sells around 50,000 copies of the prayer books to Astane each year (personal contact with the manager of the Production Department, October 2009).

My role as a researcher was mainly as an observer-as-participant (Gold 1958, cited in Bryman 2008: 410). I noted some degree of initial reservation and curiosity by those who were not among my informants for the research. The situation became easier when they realized that I was there for academic purposes and only for a short time.

The theoretical framework in this case study draws on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and publishing field (for an overview, see Wolf 2010, and Bourdieu 1993, 1999) and on two principles of Latour's actor-network theory, i.e. following the actors and examining inscriptions, which can be "texts, but also images of many sorts, databases, and the like" (Van House 2000: unpaginated). My interest in a combined theoretical approach is to find out more about the selection of texts, the arguments of the agents, and their interaction in the network (see Buzelin 2005).

Participant observations and interviews

The purpose of my first meeting with the acquisition editorial assistant was to get a general feeling for the publishing house. Translations form a large part of Behnashr's annual publications: the assistant believed that "more than 50% of the publication list is translations" and that many of the translations are done by university professors to "enhance their promotion in the university".

There are a number of ways in which the acquisition editors acquire manuscripts for publication (see Greco 2005: 150-157). The assistant had been in contact with university professors across the country to "encourage them to submit their manuscripts for possible publication", but he added that "the call has not been well received." Some professors may avoid Behnashr because of its strong ties with a major religious organization. Historically, the assistant regarded Behnashr as one of the top five publishers in Iran and highlighted that "Behnashr has the highest number of exclusive bookshops across the country". A look at Behnashr's catalog shows that very few popular or well-known contemporary Iranian thinkers or authors have been published by them. The assistant refers to Astane's cultural policies as "red-line", prohibiting the publishing of novels and certain historical and geographical works that specifically highlight the ancient history of pre-Revolution Iran.

To what extent does the assistant have the power to exert agency with respect to the manuscripts the publisher receives? After the author or translator fills out the Reception of Manuscript Form, the assistant attaches another form called the Evaluation Form. This is then sent to a "book evaluator", whose views on the submitted work lead to the final decision. There are two different forms: one for original works and another for translations. These evaluators are usually experts in their own field or published authors. Behnashr makes use of the one set of evaluators. The assistant told me of many cases where "Behnashr has returned submitted manuscripts to authors and translators without having them evaluated by any evaluator". When I asked the assistant how he could be certain about whether a work was worth publishing or not, he told me "[…] the work per se attests this to us. Behnashr's publishing policies inform all our decisions. We live in an Islamic society with certain regularities that must be considered" (Interview, April 2009).

The Preparation Department is where the technical steps for the production of manuscripts are carried out. The manager of the department determines the visual appearance of the work. According to him, "the manuscripts come in bulk and are passed to the Production Department without any creative ideas behind them. In the absence of any policy, Behnashr is publishing many low-quality works." This view is in line with what the senior copy editor said about Behnashr in general.

The senior copy editor argued that Behnashr had published many books "just for the sake of publishing", and this had increased the total number of books yearly, "but the quality has decreased compared to the past". He also saw inconsistency in the total number of titles: "The total number of titles has been on the rise, but the real number of titles is different." For example, a book called *Mafatih al jenan* (the doors to heaven), a very popular prayer book in Iran, has been published in different formats.

Does the publisher handle translation projects differently from non-translation projects when it comes to editing? For the senior copy editor, the difference lay in the way they approach the text: "Scientific and content editing are done on non-translations to remove major flaws and inconsistencies, whereas in translation projects, the translation editor enjoys far less leeway in changing the content of the works" (Interview, April 2009).

To what extent does the editing department influence the decision-making process? The senior copy editor stated that "the managing director has the final say in the process". He referred to cases in which a work submitted with positive reviews had ended up being rejected by the board of directors due to "the way the managing director approached it based on certain interests of either the manager or Astane".

The manager of the publishing department maintained that "in principle, Behnashr favors non-translations, but there is no option but to resort to

translation in the fields of science, psychology, management, the arts, and sometimes physical education". This supports another finding, namely that Behnashr favors the translation of scientific works for children and young adults rather than the translation of novels. In a follow-up telephone conversation in August 2009, the manager of the publishing department said there was no "underlying logic" regarding this preference. This absence of policy is reflected in the publisher's catalogs, thereby influencing the overall presentation of Behnashr in the publishing field in Iran.

The manager of the publishing department shared the view of the senior copy editor that the managing director "has the highest degree of power in the decision-making process regarding projects under consideration". Prior to this stage, however, the translator's recognition and prestige and the views of the evaluators are important in "directing the process in certain directions". The manager of the publishing department acknowledged the influence of Astane on Behnashr and viewed it as "a great advantage in that the fixed capital of Behnashr belongs to Astane in helping the publisher to enlarge on the one hand, and to create a set of limitations in the production process of certain works on the other".

The managing director of Behnashr admitted that "Behnashr favors non-translations over translations, but the latter are necessary as there is a serious shortage of knowledge and expertise in certain scientific fields, and that requires translation to be done". He subscribed to the idea that "the readership shapes Behnashr's overall publishing policy". For him, "the sale of books in the bookshops is a major indicator of such demand". When asked about the final publication decision, he highlighted the role of the evaluators. However, he saw the overall policies of Astane as being of greater weight: "Our publications should not be inconsistent with the Islamic and cultural policies of Astane, which is itself a reflection of the larger cultural policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran" (Interview, April 2009). Nonetheless, other sources indicated that the managing director exercises power over projects in contradictory ways.

Analysis of written materials

The written materials here are of two types: the publisher's catalogs of books, and two translation projects that were under production at Behnashr. First I examine the publisher's catalogs to see how they reflect the publisher's view of translations and how translators are presented in them. Then, in the analysis of two translation projects, I aim to trace the ways translators and other agents interact in the network.

Analysis of Behnashr's catalogs

A publisher's catalog of books is an important item for the publisher's marketing (see Chapter 7 in Greco 2005). Here I have chosen two catalogs: the catalog of books for general readers (Catalog 1), and the catalog of books for children (Catalog 2).

Catalog 1 (16 pages) can be divided roughly into ten subcategories according to the Dewey Decimal Classification (see DLC 2011). The pages are in black and white print, and the catalog uses no images of book covers to promote the books. No distinction is made between non-translations and translations. A Persian speaker may differentiate between translations and non-translations by looking at each entry, which consists of the title of the book, its author, its edition and the cover price. The name of the translator, with no reference to the word translator, follows the name of the original author. If the book has two translators, the second translator is not mentioned, possibly to save space. Except for the Dewey system, there appears to be no other logic in listing the books.

Catalog 2 (24 pages) is divided into three categories: pre-school children, children, and the young adults. Behnashr's books for children and young adults are called *ketabhayeh parvaneh* (butterfly books). Each category is then subdivided into four genres: story, poetry, scientific, and educational books. In contrast to Catalog 1, here each entry has a cover picture, its edition, the cover price, and its ISBN number. In the case of translations, the name of the translator is mentioned after the original author, without using the word "translator". The catalog indicates whether a title has received an award or has been shortlisted for any Iranian book prizes, the list of which appears on one page, with no translations in the list. On the page preceding the list, a promotional poster with the cover pages of the prize-winning titles is shown. The names of the book illustrators are also not mentioned.

This analysis shows that Behnashr gives priority to its books for children and young adults. Indeed, the number of such books has increased from 99 titles in 2005 and 77 in 2006 to 120 in 2007 (*Karnameh nashr* 1386/2007: 11). The importance of translation for Behnashr can be seen in the number of titles published under the category of scientific and educational books for young adults: of the 86 titles, 42 are translations. However, the number of translations in the category of stories for young adults is just three titles versus 78 non-translations in total. This confirms what the informants suggested about the importance of translation for the publisher in certain fields. While translations make up a great part of the publisher's yearly output, the publisher does not show any interest in promoting them visually in its catalogs.

Analysis of translation projects

The aim here is to see how all the agents leave their mark on the documents and how they show their place in the network. The first project is a co-translation of *The Emotional Intelligence Activity Book* (Lynn 2001). The second is a translation of *Last Straw Strategies. 99 Tips to Bring You back from the End of Your Rope: Sleeping* (Kennedy 2003).

The documents available for the first project include a copy of the translator's contract, a copy of the contract proposal, a copy of the review form, copies of the contacts between the translator, the editors and the publisher, and sample pages from both the original work and their corresponding translation into Persian, with the editing applying to the translation. The translator's submission letter, which here replaces Behnashr's submission form, is an official paper with the university letterhead. At the very top of the translator's letter, a quotation from the present leader of the Islamic Revolution reads: "The important issue is the presence of people in the election." The letter is addressed to the head of the publishing department, beginning with the salutation "My esteemed and dear brother". The translator states that the manuscript is a co-translation, without naming the other translators, who are only introduced as "colleagues". The translator has signed the letter using his academic affiliation. The use of such official forms is perhaps an attempt to increase the translator's non-economic capital in the eyes of the publisher. It is not clear whether the use of the quotation is a gesture of faithfulness to the regime.

The evaluator, who was external, confirmed that the translation is "an exact translation of the original work" and that there was no previous Persian translation, adding that "there are no additions or editing in the form of footnotes" and that he does not know if the translation is from the latest edition. He considers it "fairly good" and argues that the translation requires some degree of scientific and content editing, and an "average" degree of "literary editing". He names two similar titles available in Persian and sums up his overall opinion: "a practical and valuable work in general". The evaluator is a professor of psychology working at the same university as the translator.

In the contract proposal, the acquisition editor suggests that "10% of the cover price is suitable [as payment for the translator], given the novelty of the subject of the book". The manager of the publishing department agrees. However, the managing director opts for "10% to 9%", i.e. 10% for the first edition and 9% for subsequent editions. Two months later, the contract was signed by the translator and the managing director, and two months after that, the acquisition editor sent the translation for "scientific and comparative editing" by a university professor working at the translator's university. The editor emphasized that he had done his job "carefully in two steps". He views the translation as a "free translation, generally useful for the readers".

Upon receiving the manuscript from the "scientific and comparative" editor, the acquisition editor sent it to another editor for "literary and orthographical" editing. From the two available pages of the translation manuscript and the original, I can only see the work of the literary editor, in which certain words have been changed or some punctuation marks have been added in order to make the reading easier. At the technical level, the editor is concerned with Behnashr's style sheet: correcting the spacing between the lines, the indention of the paragraphs and using bold face, etc.

The documents of the second project include a copy of the evaluation form, a form called "the publication form" with blank spaces to be filled out by the editorial department, the typesetting section and the proofreading, and the graphic section of Behnashr. I also had access to a copy of the translator's contract with the publisher and sample pages from both the original and the corresponding translation in Persian with the editors' comments on the translation document.

The project was initiated by the translator. After a phone conversation with the manager of publishing department, the translator sent Behnashr the sample translation of one chapter of the book. The first evaluator considered the translation "suitable for general readers". In terms of "fluency and eloquence", he calls the translation "good" and recommends "an average degree" of scientific and content editing and "a low" degree of literary editing. The documents show that the publisher sent the translation to a second evaluator, who happened to be the evaluator of the previous project. He says he had a "positive" view of the translation, but I did not find any document supporting his claim.

In the contract proposal, the financial department was consulted by the publishing department. The former consulted its own bookshops, reporting that there were nine positive and two negative opinions about the publication of the translation. In his report, the manager of the publishing department favors the proposal, leaving the final agreement to the managing director of Behnashr. The contract was signed on the basis of 8% of the cover price for the first edition and 10% for subsequent editions.

Like the co-translation project, the literary editing of the manuscript was at the level of words, but as the manuscript is in the translator's handwriting, there is no mark of "technical" editing on the available sample, apparently because there is no problem with the translator's draft. The literary editor was the same senior copy editor as in the first project above, who only suggested that "the technical format of the original title should be observed in the design, headings, and typesetting of the translation".

What do these documents tell us about the different agents, their relationships, and the networks they belong to? The first project is a co-translation project in which the names of the co-translators are not stated in the contract. The translator has initiated the translation project by providing the original text for the co-translators (most likely each has done part of the

translation), or he has translated some part of the text and recruited the other two translators (most probably his students). Whatever the case, he appears to be the initiator of the network. The same pattern can be observed in the second project, although in that case the translator made an initial contact with the manager of the publishing department to make sure she could approach Behnashr.

In the co-translation project, the evaluator and the editor were familiar with the translators and the translation project, and this might have influenced their views both for and against the project. The evaluator appears to have been in favor of the project, as suggested by the textual documents. Such a relationship cannot be inferred from the documents available for the second project.

The agents in the first project are all external to the company. In the second project, I did not observe a similar relationship between the translator and other agents. Here the translator had no opportunity to introduce other agents into the network who might have conferred their power on the project. The only interaction between the translator and the scientific and literary editors appears to have been at a textual level, with no apparent personal interaction.

Discussion

Multiple agents and their constraints

In addition to the translator, agents of translation (Milton and Bandia 2009) can also be those who come after the translator, including evaluators, certain mediators such as comparative, scientific, or literary editors, copy editors, proofreaders who modify the text, and the publisher.

The cultural policies of the post-Revolution era have directed the policies of certain publishers towards strategies such as selective response to readers' needs (see Haddadian Moghaddam 2012). Behnashr's refusal to publish novels can be seen as one of the ways in which a general tendency with unwritten rules has become a publisher's policy. The manager of the publishing department declared that "nowhere in the cultural policies of Astane or in our policy are novels prohibited. They have chosen not to publish novels, lest they face problems that may damage Astane's prestige." This unwritten policy constrains the agency of translators, and it also affects them in terms of censorship in related issues.

The analysis of the two translation projects shows that the translators acted as the first agent in the translation process, choosing texts for translation based on certain criteria. These "criteria" can be seen as "preliminary norms", i.e. the translation policy adopted by the translators in their selection of texts (see Toury 1995). In Iran, this translation policy

pertains to both the selection of the books and the possibility of publication and censorship. For instance, in addition to those who perceive a high cultural mission for themselves and their translations (something that does not appear among Bourdieu's capitals), there are those who aim for both economic capital (full-time translators) and non-economic capital. University professors are among Behnashr's translators, as translations can enhance their rank in the university. For them, economic capital is not as important as the non-economic capital they can obtain by translating books.

The acquisition editor is the second agent immediately after the translator. In my case study, the acquisition editor is a mediator between the translator and the evaluator. The acquisition editor chooses the evaluator, and this may affect the translation. The acquisition editor must be aware of possible conflicts between different translators. It can be assumed that the confidential way manuscripts are sent to evaluators is one of the strategies Behnashr has chosen in order to reduce such risks. However, as I found in the first project above, sometimes the links in a network are very close to each other. In that project, the translators, the evaluator, and even the comparative editor were affiliated with the same university, which may have increased the chances of the translation being accepted by the publisher.

The book evaluator is the third important agent involved in the publication of translations at Behnashr. These agents are either internal or mostly external, and are paid to review the manuscripts. In this study, the evaluators were mostly external and experts in their respective fields. At Behnashr certain translations require two evaluations when one is not seen as "satisfactory". Sometimes Behnashr shows interest in the publication of a translation provided that the second evaluator justifies the choice. In the first project above, the documents show that the translation was reviewed by two evaluators, and the second evaluator's opinion was generally in favor of the translation. If the evaluators have negative views about certain translations, they are required to provide an explanation for this. The evaluators sometimes inhibit the publication of translations. I learned of situations in which evaluators have expressed negative views about some translators or authors based on "non-scientific reasons". These evaluators belong to networks with long-established positions in certain universities and would not allow new translators (lecturers or professors) to challenge them through new publications.

Technical editors have no power over the evaluator and the contract because they are recruited after the contract is finalized. Their role is limited to the text and the quality of translation in making sure that all the linguistic and semantic errors are removed. The proofreaders can be viewed in the same way, with less power than the technical editors.

The agency of other agents is limited by the managing director. Once the contract is finalized, the power is redistributed among the agents. The above examples reveal that the agents face both textual and extra-textual

constraints. In the first example, the agents made sure the manuscript met the requirements of the publisher's policy and preferences. This may include the translator's strategy, the way the book evaluator views the manuscript, etc. In the second example, the agents were constrained by the cultural policies of post-Revolution Iran more than by the publisher's policies.

Networks and their features

I can differentiate three networks in the publishing house under study: the translator-led network (to borrow an expression from Kung 2009), the publisher-led network, and the academic-publisher network. In the first network, the translator translates the book, forms the network, and becomes one of the nodes, not necessarily the central one—and here I borrow from Castells, who argues that "a network has no center, just nodes" (2004: 3). As my other research indicates, the tendency in Iran has been for translators to choose the books for translation (see Haddadian Moghaddam 2012). However, some publishers have been also able to offer translation projects to translators. These publishers have high levels of economic and non-economic capital. The translators in the translator-led network take part in the negotiations over the contracts, and their relative room for maneuver is a reflection of how much total capital they have accumulated.

Once the translation has been received by the publishers, the publisher-led network is activated. These networks are activated differently for each project, but they share a similar framework when compared to other kinds of networks. In the publisher-led network, the acquisitions editor usually recruits other agents into the network. In the first project, the power of the translator-led network has been conferred on the project by connecting the two co-translators directly, and the evaluator and the "scientific and comparative" editor indirectly. Once the contract is finalized and signed by the two parties, the translator-led network has transferred its power to the publisher-led network, but its mark was retained at the textual level.

In both the projects I observed, the publisher-led network could enhance its stability and functionality by the successful publication of the project. The translator-led network is capable of employing the new project in its subsequent approaches to the same or other publishers. The publisher-led network determines almost all the decisions concerning the editorial and textual (stylistic) features of the translations. The translator may be consulted at each step to make sure there is no major problem in the translation. The publisher-led network in this study is itself part of a larger religious and financial network that not only shapes its overall function, but can also direct its activities toward certain routes. I noted above that Astane is the larger network and one of the main sources of income for the publisher.

The academic-publisher network can be located in the space between the translator-led network and the publisher-led network. This network can be

activated by either the publisher or a member of academia. In the former case, the publisher needs academic input to support the project. In the latter, the academic may approach the publisher in order to enhance their rank in university system, among other motives. My observation and documents of the first project discussed above show that the "consecrated" members of the network can resist the "newcomers", who may also be avant-garde academics (Bourdieu 1993: 58). One strategy for the "newcomers" to enter the network is some degree of self-effacement (e.g. names of the co-translators were not mentioned in the translator's proposal). These newcomers either cooperate with professors in the latters' translation projects or opt for low royalty fees. Once they are in (with no economic capital gained), they have the possibility to take a position in the network, and thus enter the field of publishing.

Translations vs. non-translations

According to data on translation flows from Khaneh ketab (Iran Book House), on average 20% to 25% of annual publications in Iran are translations from foreign languages into Persian (see Haddadian Moghaddam 2012). The absence of copyright in Iran has contributed to the increasing importance of translations (Emami 1993). If Iran becomes a signatory to one of the copyright conventions, the balance of translations vs. non-translations might be quite different. For Behnashr, translations are a safe financial investment, similar to the situation of the large French publishers analyzed by Bourdieu (1999). However, translations have to compete with non-translation projects to secure recognition.

Behnashr does not treat translations the same way as non-translations, except in the editorial processes governing the textual features. The preparation department may also consider minor or major adaptations to the graphics of the original work, based on the publisher's norms. In sum, the agents at Behnashr, like their counterparts elsewhere, "treat as routine what authors [and translators] regard as their crowning achievements" (Powell 1985: xxiv).

A combination of Bourdieu and Latour

Theoretically, the combined approach of Bourdieusian analysis and actor-network theory is useful in two respects. First, it shows the possibility of tracing the processes that lead to a product called translation, producing data on the multiple agents involved in the production of translations. Second, it shows aspects of how the agents select a text for translation, what arguments they put forward for or against it, and how they recruit more agents into the network and negotiate room for maneuver. In our case study, we were able

to work from the inscriptions of the agents and the traces they left on the documents that moved through the network.

However, the tracing of agents becomes difficult and often impossible when data are kept secret or informants avoid giving information. This can happen when the network is part of a larger network with a highly hierarchal structure. There were some signs of this in our case study, although there may also be a rather dominant tendency among publishers to keep their data and practices confidential. Buzelin's approach (2005) to the study of multiple agents in the publishing houses should allow a wider level of determinants to address such methodological problems.

In terms of Bourdieu's study of the publishing field, it is not easy to locate Behnashr on either the literary or commercial side of the publishing field (Bourdieu 1993: 97). Behnashr is neither a literary publisher per se nor a purely commercial one, as the latter is incongruent with its professed image as the promoter of "Islamic doctrine". In the restricted field of production, Behnashr publishes books for children, general science, and certain university textbooks, all of which pose no or little threat to its objectives. However, in its large-scale production, it produces religious books that have a secured sale and readership on the one hand, and a safe economic return on the other. Behnashr is exemplary of those publishers that call for a new model of publishing. The model should be capable of encompassing the role of patrons and religious and governmental cultural policies in its structure. It should also be methodologically powerful enough to help the researcher describe complex networks that do not easily open themselves to academic scrutiny.

Conclusion

This case study examined agents and their networks in an Iranian publishing house, which was by no means a full account of the complexities of the publishing industry in Iran. This was done through participant observation, the examination of written materials, and interviews. The findings have shown that in the two translation projects under study, the translators were the title selectors. The book evaluators also exercised their agency in recommending or rejecting the translators' suggestions for possible publication. I have also distinguished between three kinds of networks at work in the publishing house: the translator-led network, the publisher-led network, and an under-studied academic-publisher network. In the academic-publisher network, some degree of self-effacement by newcomers was observable. The case study also revealed how a non-private, religious-oriented publisher has refused to publish novels but has nevertheless met the religious and educational needs of its readership. The publication of non-religious books by the publisher (excluding Western philosophical books and

books of critical theory) could hardly be interpreted as paradoxical cooperation between secular academics and a religious publisher. Rather it is more plausible to view it as a coping strategy of survival, used by academics in post-Revolution Iran.

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The internationalization of institutional websites: The case of universities in the European Union

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This study focuses on the translation of the corporate websites of universities in the European Union. The main goal is to gain a comprehensive picture of institutional websites in higher education and try to shed some light on certain questions that have not been addressed so far in Translation Studies: Do all university websites have to be translated into English? Into which languages are online contents mostly translated? Are European language policies on multilingualism being effectively applied in the case of the Web? Are institutional websites localized for a particular market or rather globalized for the international audience? And finally, are university websites being adapted by professional translators? This paper reports on 800 corporate websites from universities of the 27 state members of the European Union. [1]

Keywords: localization, internationalization, web translation, institutional websites, multilingualism

Introduction

Website localization is a thrilling research line where the nuts and bolts of the localization process are combined with the relevance and the global scope of the most powerful communication and promotional tool of the modern age: the Internet. The Web has effectively changed the way people

[1] This research is supported by the grant from the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation FFI2009-08027, Subtitling for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing and Audio Description: Objective Tests and Future Plans, and also by the Catalan Government funds 2009SGR700 for the Transmedia Catalonia research group (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona).

communicate by providing millions of users with immediate and (usually) free access to information from any part of the world (Cronin 2003: 43, Schäffner 2000: 1). At the same time, in the framework of the global era, translation has become a key element, for cultural, social, economic and political reasons.

Internationalization and localization have been already analyzed in several papers and research projects, and the number of international conferences devoted to the topic has mushroomed in the last years. The very controversial question of the status of localization within Translation Studies has been widely discussed in the literature (Esselink 2000: 2, Fernández Costales 2008, Mangiron amd O'Hagan 2006, Pym 2006) but that question lies beyond the scope of this paper, which focuses on the particular case of institutional websites.

The overwhelming power of the Internet and the spread of globalization mean that corporate websites can have a tremendous impact on the international level. Even though there are quite a few studies on website localization (Corte 2000, Jiménez Crespo 2008, Nauert 2007, Pym 2011) and some authors have analyzed the internationalization of websites of multinational companies (Singh and Pereira 2005, Yunker 2002), the case of institutional websites has not attracted the attention of scholars to the same extent.

In the context of a multilingual and multicultural Europe, and taking into account the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), it is interesting to explore the case of university websites and assess if the guidelines and best practices promoted by the European Commission in the field of multilingualism are being applied successfully. The translation of university websites can be considered to be economically efficient if we assess the possible revenues and benefits in terms of international promotion and visibility, capacity to attract foreign students, talent acquisition (including young researchers, senior lecturers, etc.), or the possible impact on the international rankings of universities. In short, beyond social, cultural and political reasons, the return on investment could justify and support the translation of an institutional website into a particular language.

There are several areas that could be addressed in the field of university website translation. However, this paper concentrates on three main issues: the translation strategies (and policies) manifested in university websites, the existence of multilingual websites in higher education, and the obscure question of "who does what" in the adaptation of this kind of website. Accordingly, the three hypotheses to be tested are the following:

1. In the case of institutional webs, it cannot be concluded that the sites are being *localized*, as they are mainly adapted from the local language into English; moreover, it can be argued that there is a clear tendency to standardization, as websites tend to be more and more similar.

2. The number of multilingual websites (with contents provided in at least three different languages) is still very low and universities are not following the line established by the European Commission with goals such as the Barcelona Objective (which envisages that all European citizens should speak two languages besides their mother tongue[2]).

3. Online contents in university websites are mostly adapted by non-professional translators (mainly university staff).

In order to conduct this research, a database was extracted from 800 university websites that were analyzed over a two-year period (2008-2010).

Case study: European university websites

The corpus for this research is composed of the corporate university websites from the European Union that meet three different criteria: only *corporate* websites have been studied (websites representing a whole institution and not those ones belonging to faculties, schools or associated centers); only universities providing undergraduate and graduate education have been considered (those institutions that do not offer PhD programs, or graduate centers that do not offer undergraduate education were excluded); finally, only institutions of the 27 state members of the EU were eligible for the analysis.

After gathering a corpus of 800 websites complying with these requirements, a subsequent selection process was carried out in order to choose a final set of 215 sites to be analyzed in depth. The criteria applied in this second stage were the following: the foundation year of the institution, the total number of students, the percentage of international students, and the private or public status of institution (see Figure 1). A cross-analysis was carried out to find out the position of all these universities in three international rankings: the Top 500 Shanghai of the Jiaotong University, the World University Ranking published by *The Times*, and Webometrics, developed by the Cybermetrics Laboratory of the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (CSIC). Institutions reporting exceptional values (very high or very low) in these criteria were given preference: for instance,

[2] Information on the Barcelona Objective and the language policy of the European Commission can be accessed at the official website of the European Commission for Multilingualism: http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/eu-language-policy/index_en.htm. Visited August 2011.

universities with a long tradition (e.g. the University of Bologna) and also institutions that have been recently created (e.g. the University of Strasbourg), institutions receiving a very large or a very small percentage of foreign students, etc. The aim was to observe any possible tendency among certain types of institutions.

Figure 1: Screenshot of the database showing the record corresponding to the institutional information of the University of Heidelberg

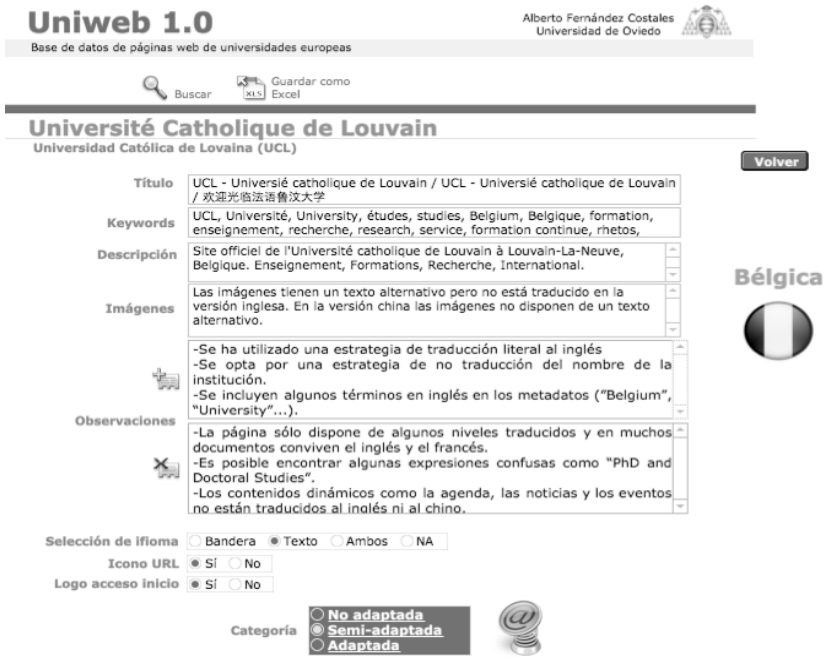
Besides institutional details, the database also included relevant information on the translation of the websites such as the source and the target languages, the translation strategies observed, usability and accessibility issues, meta-tags (i.e. keywords and description), and the level of adaptation (see Figure 2).

The primary objective of this database was to collect an extensive corpus that provided a truly representative spectrum of the European institutions of higher education and allowed quantitative and qualitative analyses. This database was also supported by a questionnaire sent to all universities studied enquiring about the translation process of each website (authorship, language selection, use of CAT tools, future plans, etc.).

The corpus was analyzed by country in order to find out possible differences or similarities among the 27 state members of the European Union. In addition, a final cross study was carried out focusing on the

selection criteria used in the database and comparing countries according to their number of official and co-official languages.

Figure 2: Screenshot of the database showing observations and commentaries on the translation of the website of the Catholic University of Louvain



Main results

The corpus analysis rendered rather interesting results in various areas and directions. For the purpose of this paper we will briefly comment on the three initial hypothesis mentioned in the introduction.

There is a clear tendency toward the standardization of university websites in the EU. This homogenization can be observed not only in the kind of textual contents and the information provided to the users but also in the type of language used and in semiotic and non-verbal elements such as colors, images, website organization and distribution, etc. Regarding translation strategies, literal translation seems to be the standard approach used in the adaptation of university websites. However, since in most cases the sites have been adapted by amateur translators, it cannot be concluded that this is a fully conscious and deliberate translation *strategy*.

On the other hand, it cannot be stated that university websites are *localized*, since there are almost no examples of sites specifically adapted to a particular locale or market. It is possible to find some Spanish universities translated into Chinese or some British institutions addressing specific groups of international students, but this is not a general rule and the adaptation level does not allow us to consider these as examples of localization. On the contrary, the common trend is toward an internationalized version of the website in which contents and information are provided to a global audience. In this regard, the role of English as the international lingua franca can be easily confirmed in the case of European university websites.

This brings us to the second issue to be considered: the question of multilingualism in institutional websites. The degree of multilingualism in university websites is still very low, as very few websites contain information in more than two languages. Luxembourg is at the top of the list, since the only university in its territory provides information in English, French and German. With the exception of Romania, where 32% of the analyzed universities have multilingual websites, the remaining 25 state members show percentages below 25% regarding the number of websites with information in several languages. Whether or not we agree on the importance of providing information in different languages in institutional websites, it can be concluded that institutions of higher education are not acting accordingly with the policies promoted by the European Commission, which states that European citizens must be guaranteed their right to read digital information in their own language (European Communities 2008). Taking into account that only 56% of Europeans are able to communicate in a foreign language (European Commission 2006), it seems that multilingualism should at least be on the radar of educational institutions.

Obviously, it is not possible for universities to reproduce the complex pattern of a website like that of the European Union, and probably that is not needed. However, the commitment of institutions of higher education to provide information in at least two languages on their sites should be reinforced, since it is also their duty to represent the variety and diversity of Europe. In other words, for the construction of a multilingual and multicultural society, English may not be enough. It is also noteworthy to mention the apparent contradiction between the current role of English as the global language and the growing amount of content being translated or written in other languages, especially on the Web (Pym 2001).

As for possible differences between multilingual and monolingual territories, it cannot be stated that there is a direct link between the number of official languages and the translation of the sites. On the contrary, university websites seem to be a reliable representation of the political and linguistic situation in certain countries: while almost all the Spanish universities based in regions with co-official languages (Catalonia, Galicia

and the Basque Country) have versions in Spanish, English and the corresponding language (Catalan, Galician and Basque), providing an example of the linguistic pluralism of this country, other European states like Belgium show a clear segregation strategy when avoiding two of the three official languages in university websites: all the institutions in Flanders avoid using French, and the universities in the francophone area forget about including contents in Dutch (translations into German cannot be found in any website).

The analysis of our corpus produced interesting results to support the idea that English is also the global language in higher education. Table 1 shows the target languages into which the 215 websites have been translated. All the websites included in the corpus were (partly or totally) translated into English.[3] This supports the idea that English is still regarded as the lingua franca for institutions of higher education.

Table 1: Target languages in the translation of EU university websites

Target language	Number of websites
English	197
German	16
Spanish	16
Chinese	14
Russian	12
French	11
Italian	7
Bulgarian	2
Czech	2
Hungarian	2
Japanese	2
Portuguese	2
Slovak	2
Slovene	2
Swedish	2

As can be observed in Table 1, the preferred target languages for the translation of university websites are German (with 16 websites), Spanish (16 websites), Chinese (14) and Russian (12). Note how Chinese now ranks higher than important European languages like French and Italian. This may be explained by the increasing interest of European universities, especially in the United Kingdom, to attract graduate students from Asia.

[3] In order to elaborate this graph, only target languages are being taken into account (languages in which the websites have been *translated*): for example, websites originally developed in English (10 from the United Kingdom, 7 from Ireland and 1 from Malta) were not included in the statistics for English. The result is that out of the 215 websites being studied 197 were translated into English.

One of the most striking issues is the fact that, in 70% of the cases no translators were hired to adapt the websites from the source into the target language. Only 20% of the universities reported having outsourced some part of the translation to an external agency or freelance translator, while 10% worked with their own translation service or unit. As for the rest of universities, the online contents were translated by lecturers, researchers, staff or students. Also, in a good number of cases it is not possible to trace back the authorship of the translation due to the tremendous complexity of many universities and the changes in their governing bodies. The evidence that most websites are usually translated by university staff (with "a firm command of English") poses some questions that are in tune with the emerging phenomenon of crowdsourcing: is this practice harmful for the translation profession? What about quality issues (the output in the English version of many websites seems to be rather poor)? Are universities fully aware of the relevance and the impact translation may have in their websites? Why are professional translators being ignored by institutions of higher education?

Conclusions

This paper presents some of the results of a research project conducted in the field of web translation. Although the study focuses on the particular case of university websites, some of the ideas and hypotheses can be can be applied to institutional sites in general, since they share many common features.

The study leads to the conclusion that university websites go through a process of globalization or standardization, instead of localization for particular locales. Within this homogenization, the use of English as the main vehicle of communication not only helps define a common framework but also highlights its monopoly as the international lingua franca. According to the results presented, the translation of university websites into English seems to be the main priority for universities and the adaptation into other languages is not being considered in many cases. In this sense, the low number of multilingual websites does not match with the efforts being made at the European level to promote the command of several languages by the citizens living in the EU.

Finally, the translation process followed in most cases by European institutions of higher education suggests that the relevance of professional translators as cultural mediators and communication and linguistic experts is being ignored or underestimated. In the particular case of Spain, the 2009 call of the Campus of International Excellence launched by the Ministry of Science and Education encouraged many universities to contract professional translators to work on the internationalization of their corporate websites. However, in general terms, these are still exceptional situations.

The translation of institutional websites is an interesting research line where the tension between the global and the local can be clearly observed. Surprisingly, in spite of the number of papers written on localization and internationalization in the last years, the field of institutional websites has not been addressed by researchers working in Translation Studies. In view of the results of this research, this is an area where there is still a long way to go.

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The effect of the subtitling task on vocabulary learning

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This paper reports on a quasi-experimental study carried out at the National University of Ireland to investigate the development of subtitling in the foreign-language class. The study uses both qualitative and quantitative methods and focuses on the effects of the subtitling task on incidental vocabulary acquisition. The sixteen students (Level A2 of CEFR) of Italian as a foreign language were assigned either subtitling practice (Experimental Group) or oral comprehension tasks and writing tasks (Control Group). Both groups worked for a total of four hours (1 hour per week). All participants sat a pre-test to ensure the target words were unknown; immediate and delayed post-tests were administered after the experiment. The results are presented and discussed.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, second language acquisition, vocabulary acquisition

Introduction

In recent years, there has been an increasing research interest in the field of Audiovisual Translation (AVT) and its many applications: audio description, dubbing, subtitling, and live-subtitling. From theory to practice, subtitling is definitely one of the most studied AVT modes, not only for the professional practice and training but also for literacy and language learning.

In Europe, the first studies on the use of subtitles with hearing-impaired children date back to the 1980s. However, their potential for foreign language (FL) learning soon became apparent and many scholars have investigated the beneficial effects of intralingual subtitles (i.e. within the same language) and interlingual subtitles (i.e. from one language to another) in second language acquisition with regards to reading comprehension (Gant Guillory 1998; Bravo 2008), listening comprehension (Danan 2004; Caimi 2006), oral production (Borrás & Lafayette 1994), and vocabulary recall (Bird & Williams 2002; Talaván 2007).

Research on the creation of subtitles by FL learners and its use as a teaching tool is still limited but recent studies report encouraging results on the use of intralingual and interlingual subtitling practice and its pedagogical benefits (Williams and Thorne 2000; Sokoli 2006; Bravo 2008; Talaván 2010). A theoretical framework for using film subtitling in the FL class and suggestions for its integration in the syllabus has been proposed, together with a relative practical subtitling activity (Incalcaterra McLoughlin and Lertola 2011). Recently, the European Commission Lifelong Learning Programme has funded projects aimed at promoting the subtitling practice as a pedagogical tool: the LeViS (Socrates) and eCoLoMedia (Leonardo da Vinci). The benefits of the subtitling practice have been also recognized to be effective in translator training (Neves 2004; Incalcaterra McLoughlin 2009).

This paper reports on a quasi-experimental study carried out at the National University of Ireland, Galway during academic year 2010-11. The study uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate the effects of the subtitling tasks on incidental vocabulary acquisition in the foreign language class.

The theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this study is inspired by Cognitive Theory and its integration with Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Within this framework, two significant assumptions are taken into account: first, learners must be regarded as active participants in the learning process; second, methods of information processing and, in particular, factors such as intelligence, cognitive styles and memory all play a role in successful acquisition of a second language. The humanistic approach to teaching and learning, which focuses on developing students' self-awareness and motivation for learning, is also taken into consideration; students enjoy watching films and this enhances their motivation. Because the language used in films is realistic language in a medium that is not specifically prepared for L2 students, it has much to offer to them. According to Krashen's input hypothesis, people can acquire a second language "only if they obtain comprehensible input" (Krashen 1985: 4). The language is spoken at a normal conversational speed and varieties of language from various ages, genders, and socio-cultural backgrounds are encountered. Indeed, "[a]uthentic videos can be challenging for the average student, but the language can be understood with the help of subtitles, either by having them already visible on the screen or by creating them" (Talaván 2010: 295).

The basic principles for designing learning environments within Mayer's cognitive theory of multimedia learning also underpin this project: consideration was given to the two different channels used for managing

audio and visual information; the limited amount of information that the human mind can process at one time; and the active processing in which humans are engaged in learning acquisition (Fletcher and Tobias 2005). The simultaneous involvement of the acoustic and the visual channel enhances learning and helps memory retention. It has been suggested that human beings are able to remember 10% of what they hear, 20% of what they visually perceive, and 80% of what they visually perceive and interact with. In other words, as far as the subtitling practice is concerned, students are not only watching and listening to the audiovisual material, but also interacting with it as students translate the source text into the target language.

The benefit of translation as a language learning strategy has been the subject of numerous debates over the years (Cook 2001) but now it is considered a valuable resource. Translation phases theorized by Malakoff and Hakuta (1991) are considered regarding the subtitling practice; and the present study is designed accordingly. The two researchers argue that natural translation goes through four phases: understanding the vocabulary in the original text, understanding the message in the original language, reformulating the message in the target language, and evaluating the adequacy of the produced text. Specifically, in subtitling many further implications have to be considered: time and space constraints; subtitling strategies; and finally, in our case, subtitling is both an interlingual and intersemiotic translation because it transfers an Italian oral source text into English written language.

Translation could also help students notice the language. According to the *noticing hypothesis*, proposed by Schmidt (2001), L2 learners should notice the input in order to transform the input into intake for learning; and "[o]ne way to make a foreign language feature noticeable or salient in the input is to enhance it by providing contrastive association with the corresponding L1 item" (Laufer and Girsai 2008: 697). In this study the focus is on incidental vocabulary acquisition, and previous research, independently of the type of tasks, shows that incidental vocabulary acquisition depends highly on the depth of processing involved. The Involvement Load Hypothesis states that unfamiliar words are retained accordingly to the level of processing involved, so "[t]he greater the involvement load, the better the retention" (Hulstijn and Laufer 2001: 545).

Indeed, translation could be considered a task-induced involvement, as it implies the three factors that constitute the involvement construct: *need*, *search* and *evaluation*. *Need* refers to the motivational dimension of the involvement. During the translation/subtitling activity, students are required to fully understand the foreign-language text in order to convey its meaning in their L1, and if "an unknown word is absolutely necessary for comprehension, s/he will experience the need to understand it" (Laufer and Hulstijn 2001: 14). At the same time, *search* and *evaluation* represent the cognitive dimension of involvement: *search* takes place when learners are

looking for the meaning of the unknown L2 word or for the L2 form i.e. L2 translation of an L1 word; *evaluation* happens when learners are required to choose the appropriate meaning of a word in its context, for instance, when an unknown word in the dialogue, looked up on the dictionary, has more than one meaning and the students need to choose the one that best applies to the context.

Background of this study

Two courses on subtitling were conducted by the researcher as part of the Italian language module for second-year students of the Bachelor Degree of Arts and the Bachelor Degree of Commerce at NUI Galway starting in 2008. The pilot course for five second-year students of the Bachelor Degree of Commerce International with Italian was awarded the European Award for Languages-The Language Label 2009. In light of the positive outcomes of the course, and in order to continue the research on the topic, another course on subtitling was offered during academic year 2009/10 with a total of twenty students from the Bachelor Degrees of Commerce and Arts. The second subtitling course differed from the first in that it was specifically designed to investigate whether the creation of subtitles could facilitate language acquisition, and in particular vocabulary retention. While only class observations were used in the pilot course, the second course was planned to collect useful data for the research. Questionnaires and Vocabulary Recall Post-tests were thus administered. A mixed-method research approach was applied as both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. Unfortunately, it was not possible to have an experimental and a control group, so the second course could be considered as having a non-experimental design.

The current study investigates the effects of the subtitling practice on incidental vocabulary acquisition in the Italian foreign language class. This study applies a mixed-method research and it can be defined as quasi-experimental, due to the presence of both experimental and control groups. Thanks to the results and observation of the previous courses, the following research question and hypotheses were formulated.

Research question

Will exposure to new words through authentic video material and its translation for subtitling affect incidental foreign language vocabulary retention? This question gives rise to two hypotheses:

H1: Both conditions will result in retention of new L2 vocabulary compared to the pre-task performance.

H2: The *subtitling condition* will lead to a more significant L2 incidental vocabulary acquisition compared to the *non-subtitling condition*.

Experiment design

In order to answer the research question and test the two hypotheses, the following experiment design was applied.

Participants and instruction

The subjects (n=16) were enrolled in the second-year Bachelor Degree of Arts at NUI Galway. Students signed up for the two groups according to their class schedule; this resulted in six students in the Experimental group (Eg) and ten in the Control Group (Cg). At the beginning of the year in September 2010, students sat a Level Test from Università per Stranieri di Siena, Italy, which showed that they were at CEFR Level A2. An initial questionnaire was also given to find out the students' background as well as television-viewing habits, in terms of subtitled or dubbed material and their previous learning experiences; the questionnaire contained six closed-ended questions, and two open-ended questions. The questionnaire shows that 87% of the participants studied a third language; 87% of the students watched FL movies, 56% of those frequently watched subtitled movies and 28% frequently watched both dubbed and subtitled movies. Moreover, 56% of the participants had previous translation experience and 88% of them believed that translation helps language learning. Finally, 56% had experienced audiovisual material in the FL class and all of them (100%) believed that audiovisual material helps language learning.

The Eg performed a subtitling task from Italian (L2) into English (L1) of a short video clip from a contemporary Italian movie, while the Cg did task-based activities (oral comprehension and L2 writing) on the same video clip using NUI Galway Blackboard Virtual Learning Environment (VLE). The experiment was conducted over four weeks, 1 hour per week (see Table 1 for the experimental design). The pre-viewing activity was common for both groups; during the first hour, in order to have a brief conversation, the video clip was presented to the students using images and the movie title. This pre-activity discussion proved to be well-accepted by students as a creative exercise in which they could practice the L2. Then students perceived situations as a whole or totality. The video clip was watched three times: after the first showing of the video clip with no audio, students were asked to create hypotheses about what was happening in the video, and this

effectively led to a better understanding of the scene. They paid attention to extra-linguistic elements, thus activating their Expectancy Grammar, which allowed them to predict what could happen next in terms of language used and plot development; that was followed by the second watching of the video clip with audio, and group discussion was encouraged in order to test the previous hypotheses.

In the second hour, the Eg watched the movie scene again with the dialogue list (transcription), and concentrated on understanding the message in the original language. Then, in the third and fourth hour, the Eg students translated the dialogue transcript from Italian into English. Finally, the translated text was imported in a subtitling software along with the video clip, and students synchronized their individual subtitles to match with the video.

During their second hour, the Cg watched the scene of the movie again without the transcription, then performed task-based activities on Blackboard VLE aimed at oral comprehension. In the last two hours, students carried out task-based activities focusing on oral comprehension and writing. All the task-based activities required students to watch the video clip.

Table 1: Experiment design

	Experimental group	Control Group
1st hour	Pre-viewing activity; Watch the video the first time with no audio, hypothesis; Watch the video the second time with audio, confirmation of hypothesis.	
2nd hour	Watch the video a third time with dialogue transcript; Comprehension.	Watch the video again; Task based activities (Oral comprehension).
3rd hour	Translation/Subtitling.	Task based activities (Oral comprehension & Writing).
4th hour	Subtitling	Task based activities (Writing)

Testing Procedure

All participants sat a pre-test two weeks before the experiment, in order to ensure the target words (TWs) were unknown; of course, students did not know they were going to be tested again on the target items. Immediate and delayed post-tests were administered after the treatment; the immediate post-test was given to both groups at the end of the activity i.e. in the fourth hour, and the delayed post-test was given two weeks after the immediate post-test. Pre-test and post-test were modeled on the Vocabulary Scale Knowledge Test (Wesche and Paribakht, 1996); the pre-test contained 15 TWs and 15

distracters; the immediate and delayed post-tests were identical and only the 15 TWs were included.

The Vocabulary Scale Knowledge Test (VKS) combines a self-report interview and written performance of lexical items that assess learners' vocabulary development over short periods. Each word has a five-scale rating that ranges from total unfamiliarity to the ability to use the given word correctly both grammatically and semantically in a sentence. VKS is reported as a type of depth measure as it shows a progressive degree of word knowledge; moreover, it requires both receptive and productive knowledge. For the adapted VKS see Figure 1.

Figure 1: VKS self-report categories, adapted from Wesche and Paribakht (1996)

Vocabulary Knowledge Scale

Name_____

Please indicate the sentence that best describes what you know about each word. Check off the appropriate box to the left of the options and follow the instructions for each option.

1. SCELTA

☐ **(a)** I don't remember having seen this word before.

☐ **(b)** I have seen this word before, but I don't know what it means.

☐ **(c)** I have seen this word before, and I think it means _____(synonym or translation)

☐ **(d)** I know this word. It means _____(synonym or translation)

☐ **(e)** I can use this word in a sentence:

_____

_____

(Make a sentence in Italian. If you do this section, please also do Section **d**.)

Analysis and findings

The group statistics are presented in Table 2, with the mean scores of the 15 values or TWs according to the group (Eg and Cg) and time point (pre-test, post-immediate and post-delayed). The medians reveal that there is an improvement over time for both groups, which is higher for the Eg than for the Cg. However, looking at the standard deviation (the average distance of the scores from the mean) it could be noticed that the scores are higher for the Eg (SD=1.11) at pre-test time point, showing that the sample was heterogeneous and contained extreme scores compared to the Cg (SD=0.39), where the scores are lower and thus represent a more homogeneous sample. But at post-immediate and post-delayed point, the scores were more similar, proving that the effects of the activity were more homogeneous in both

groups. Therefore, the results of the analysis confirm the first hypothesis: both conditions i.e. subtitling and non-subtitling will result in retention of new L2 vocabulary compared to the pre-task performance.

Table 2: Statistical parameters for mean scores at each time point per group

Group / Test	N	Mean (Std)	Median	Range (Min, Max)
Experimental				
Pre-test	6	2.8 (1.11)	2.43	(2.07, 5.0)
Post-immediate	6	3.73 (0.73)	3.87	(2.86, 4.87)
Post-delayed	6	4.0 (0.73)	4.20	(3.07, 4.87)
Control group				
Pre-test	10	2.06 (0.39)	2.07	(1.53, 2.6)
Post-immediate	10	2.88 (0.79)	3.27	(1.87, 3.92)
Post-delayed	10	2.91 (0.66)	2.83	(1.93, 3.8)

In Table 3 the previous values for the two groups are compared. The only statistically significant difference between the groups is at the post-delayed time point, where the p-value of 0.0340 is lower than 0.05, that is, the standard significance level that is being used (alpha=0.05). The non-parametric Wilcoxon Rank-Sum Test was used due to the small sample size (n=16), and also because the sample was not always normally distributed. However, a student t-test confirms similar results. Hence, the second hypothesis has been confirmed: the *subtitling condition* leads to a more significant L2 incidental vocabulary acquisition compared to the *non-subtitling condition.*

Table 3: Wilcoxon Rank-Sum Test for Experimental Group vs. Control Group

Experimental Group vs. Control Group	p-value (Wilcoxon Rank-Sum Test)
Pretest	0.1127
Post-immediate	0.1090
Post-delayed	0.0340

Conclusions

In sum, the results of this small study indicate that both conditions (i.e. subtitling and non-subtitling) result in a clear improvement in learners' incidental vocabulary acquisition from pre-test to immediate and delayed post-tests, which confirms the first hypothesis. Regarding the second hypothesis, statistically significant results emerge only at the post-delayed point. Due to the limited number of participants in this study it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions. Nevertheless, this research supports

the positive results obtained in recent studies on the use of the subtitling practice as an effective pedagogical tool in the FL class, and it greatly encourages further research on the topic.

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Tracking translation process: The impact of experience and training

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The translation process can be described through eye tracking. Rather than focusing on the translated text as the final product, this gives insight into what goes on in the mind of the individual during the translation process. This study compares the translation processes of a translation graduate who had no experience of translation, an experienced translator, and an individual with specific field knowledge. The participants were expected to differ in the process of dealing with the problematic points in particular and the whole text in general. Within the framework of this study, the disparities identified are questioned with respect to the translator training programs and professional experience. The results of the study reveal considerable variation in the translation processes and shed light on the possible factors leading to this variation.

Keywords: Eye-tracking, translation process, translator training, professional experience, field knowledge

Introduction

The translated text as product is the focus of most research in Translation Studies today. However, the process leading to the translated text has recently become a subject of interest as well. The aim of the present research is to provide insight to the process of the translation act, specifically with respect to possible differences between the translation processes of trained translators, experienced translators, and speakers of English as a foreign language with specific field knowledge. The main variable involved in this study thus compares the relative effects of translator training, experience, and field knowledge. These values were selected with reference to market needs, since they are assumed to be the three leading qualities required by translation companies when assigning a job to a "translator". We assume that a degree in translation, professional experience and/or field knowledge are

the most frequently sought qualities, but we do not know how these different backgrounds affect the actual translation process.

This is a preliminary study to test whether eye-tracking is a useful methodology for carrying out a comparative study of this kind. An eye-tracker is a device used to observe the subject's eye-movements when in front of a computer screen. The camera on the screen records all the eye-movements, including the fixation durations, number of fixations, and pupil dilation. Eye-tracking is particularly used in psychological studies, webpage and software usability research, online marketing research, pre-testing of online advertisements, human-computer interaction research, and linguistic studies on human language development, language skills, and reading behavior. In language processing, eye movements are presumed to be closely linked to the current focus of attention, and thus provides valuable input. The subject's linguistic abilities are assessed by tracking and recording eye movements in response to predetermined verbal and visual stimuli.

The experiment was done with a Tobii T60 eye-tracker. Eye-tracking through Tobii T60 allows a considerable degree of head movement and minimizes distraction throughout testing. It was of utmost importance to ensure a translation environment that was similar to the subjects' natural environment, and the Tobii T60 eye-tracker ensured the most natural behavior possible. The tracking technology's high level of reliability is believed to yield more accurate and valid results.

Using eye-tracking provides us with observable and measurable data regarding the cognitive process during translation (Jensen & Pavlović, 2009:94). The assumption that eye-tracking is an efficient way of learning about the cognitive process is based particularly on previous research. Eye-tracking is also believed to reflect moment-to-moment cognitive processes in the various tasks examined (Rayner, 1998:372). Every moment of the translation process was examined. However, certain time periods that are expected to provide distinguishing feedback were analyzed in more detail. The information gained by means of eye-tracking is discussed with respect to the characteristics of eye movements, the perceptual span, integration of information across saccades**,** eye movement control and individual differences (Rayner, 1998:372).

Despite the advantages of working with an eye-tracker, it also bears shortcomings and difficulties. It is worth mentioning the high cost of the device and its lack of availability. The subject's unfamiliarity with the environment or computer is also likely to be a limitation. In order to overcome this, the subjects were selected among the ones who could use a desktop computer as comfortably as a laptop. In order to provide better fixations on the screen, the subjects were expected to look at the screen rather than the keyboard. Therefore, prior to the study all subjects were asked if they could type comfortably without looking at the screen. They did

not undergo any kind of pretesting, yet proved well on typing during the translation process.

Research Design and Methodology

The three subjects were asked to translate the same text. The eye-tracker used in this study was placed in a room free of noise or any other kind of distraction. During the translation process, there was only one person in the room in addition to the subject. This person had no specific knowledge of Translation Studies and was only responsible for giving technical support in case of any emergency. Each subject was taken to the testing room separately and did not witness the others' translation process. The subjects did the translations using the Microsoft Office Word. To follow the translation process of the translators with respect to the cognitive effort shown, their translation process was followed with an eye tracker.

The hypotheses tested in this study are as follows:

- Experienced translators and the translators with relevant field knowledge spend less time and show less cognitive effort completing the whole translation task than do trained translators.
- Experienced translators spend less cognitive effort translating complex sentences than do trained translators or the translators with relevant field knowledge.
- English speakers with specific field knowledge come up with more accurate translations for problematic terminology and with less cognitive effort than do experienced or trained translators.
- Repetition of the terminology in the same text requires all translators to invest less cognitive effort, regardless of individual profiles.

To test the hypotheses, the total duration of the translation, number of fixations and total fixation durations are analyzed for each subject and then compared.

Subjects

There are three subjects involved in the study. They were chosen deliberately to suit the research design. In the translation process, all three subjects were expected to deal with different kinds of source-text complexity.

The subjects have similar language competence. They all work as English Language teachers at the School of Foreign Languages at the same

university in Turkey. Subject 1 and Subject 2 have two-year teaching experience while Subject 3 has only one. They are 25, 24 and 23 years old, respectively. They are all female. They all studied English at university. They were instructed to translate from their second language to their native language. All three subjects performed the translation task at the same time of the day.

Apart from the similarities, the three subjects differ in their experience in translation, their education background and their field knowledge. Subject 1 has professional experience as a translator. She has been working as a freelance translator for three years and does approximately 10,000 words of translation work each month. She did not major in Translation and Interpretation and does not have specific field knowledge. Subject 2 does not have any professional experience as a translator; she is not trained in Translation and Interpretation, either. However, she has specific field knowledge, since she works in the Testing and Evaluation department at the university and is thus familiar with the topic of the source text. Besides, she studied English Language Teaching and took educational courses at university. Subject 3 does not work as a professional translator. However, she has a degree in Translation Studies. She graduated from a Department of Translation and Interpretation and is thus expected to be familiar with the certain translation techniques. She does not have any specific field knowledge.

This background information means that each of the three subjects fits into only one of the parameters mentioned above.

The Text

The subjects were asked to translate a text from English into Turkish. The text chosen comprises four sentences, with a total of 109 words. It has certain features of complexity. Since this study is preliminary in nature and has certain diagnostic aims, the text is relatively short and was chosen specifically to test the parameters under study.

The text is from the book *Language Testing in Practice* published by Oxford University Press in 2000:

> Progress and Grading
>
> In most instructional programs, both students and teachers are interested in receiving feedback on students' progress. Information from language tests can be useful for the purpose of formative evaluation, to help students guide their own subsequent learning, or for helping teachers modify their teaching methods and materials so as to make them more appropriate for their students' needs, interests and capabilities. Language tests can also provide useful information for summative evaluation of students' achievement or progress at the end of a course of study.

> Summative evaluation is typically reported in the form of grades, and these are frequently arrived at on the basis of test scores. (Bachman and Palmer, 2000:98)

The text is about testing and evaluation, a topic that one of the subjects is especially familiar with. The performances of the subjects were assessed in terms of the translation of the whole text, the translation of complex sentences versus relatively less complex ones, and the translation of terminology. Of the four sentences in the text, one is significantly longer than the others and should thus test the subjects' performance in translating complex sentences. Three sentences in the text involve two terms specific to testing and evaluation: "formative evaluation" and "summative evaluation". One of these terms, "summative evaluation", is repeated in text and should thus test how the subjects deal with unfamiliar terminology the first and the second time they face the term.

Data Analysis

Within the context of this study, the cognitive efforts of the translators are determined by their fixation duration during the translation process. Fixation duration measures the duration of each individual fixation within an area of interest. The longer the fixation duration, the greater the cognitive effort is assumed to be. If the participant returns to the same specific element during the recording, the new fixations on that element are included in the calculations. The N value represents the number of fixations for the area of interest.

According to the first hypothesis, experienced translators tend to invest relatively less cognitive effort in completing the whole translation task than do trained translators and the translators with relevant field knowledge**.** This first hypothesis concerns the translation process of the whole text.

The figures indicate that Subject 3 completed the translation in 10 minutes 23 seconds (623 sec. in total) while Subject 1 completed it in 9 minutes 9 seconds (549 sec. in total), 74 seconds earlier, which means that Subject 1 was 13.5% faster. However, the fastest performance was by Subject 2: Subject 2 completed the whole translation in 8 minutes 37 seconds (517 sec. in total), 32 seconds earlier (6.2% faster) than Subject 1 and 106 seconds earlier (20.3% faster) than Subject 3.

A similar conclusion is also obtained for the total fixation durations (Table 1). The total fixation duration of the experienced translator is shorter than both the trained subject and the subject with field knowledge. The Subject with field knowledge did not have the least number of fixations. However, it is still less than the trained one. This is likely to indicate that Subject 2 invested less cognitive effort than the trained one. It is very likely

that unfamiliarity with the subject required the translators to make more cognitive effort regardless of their training.

Table 1: Number of Fixations and Fixation Duration of the subjects when translating the whole text

	Number of Fixations	*Total Fixation Duration*
Subject 1 (experience)	*306*	*549 sec.*
Subject 2 (field knowledge)	*464*	*517 sec.*
Subject 3 (training)	*581*	*623 sec.*

While the time spent on translating the whole text is likely to be accepted as an indicator of the cognitive effort made by the translator, the question triggered at that point is whether this whole time indicated in the screen recording is spent on translation activity. A closer look at the completion duration of the task reveals that the translation process of the individuals shows discrepancy as well. Each subject involved in the task started the translation activity at different times, which was indicated by the time they started typing. While there is no significant difference between the exact time Subject 1 and Subject 2 started typing, Subject 3 started significantly later. This delay is likely to be the result of prior reading of Subject 3. When asked during the post-translation interview, Subject 3 stated that as a trained translator she read the whole text before she translated it.

The data thus support the hypothesis, since it took less time for the translator with field knowledge to complete the translation task than the trained translator. Besides, considering the number of fixations, the experienced translator is assumed to show less cognitive effort in completing the task than the trained translator.

The second hypothesis posits that experienced translators tend to spend less cognitive effort translating complex sentences than do trained translators and translators with relevant field knowledge. Complexity here is represented by the length of the sentences and the field terminology they involve. This hypothesis is tested on the first and second sentences of the text.

Table 2: Number of fixations and fixation duration of the subjects on specific sentences

	Sentence 1		*Sentence 2*	
	Number of Fixations	*Total Fix Duration*	*Number of Fixations*	*Total Fix Duration*
Subject 1 (experience)	*38*	*12.42*	*122*	*36.07*
Subject 2 (field knowledge)	*43*	*10.71*	*188*	*43.32*
Subject 3 (training)	*58*	*14.27*	*290*	*73.78*

The figures given in Table 2 indicate the difference in the cognitive effort spent on the translation of the first and the second sentences. The total fixation duration on the second sentence is significantly greater than on the first one for all three subjects. Experience once again seems to decrease the cognitive effort made. Training, on its own, seems not to make the translation process easier. Field knowledge does contribute to the translation process, however, although not as much as experience. Familiarity with the topic is likely to help the translators comprehend the text better. That said, considering the fixation durations, at the production level it still seems problematic for the translator with relevant field knowledge to render complex sentences.

The third hypothesis posits that English speakers with specific field knowledge come up with more accurate correspondences for the problematic terminology, and do so with less cognitive effort than both trained and experienced translators. Although the main focus of this study is the translation process rather than the translation product, the accuracy of the terminology which the subjects come up with is worthy of consideration.

The commonly used equivalents for "formative evaluation" in Turkish are "biçimlendirici değerlendirme" (Demirel, 1993:130), while for "summative evaluation" we have "nihai değerlendirme" or "düzey belirleme değerlendirmesi" (Demirel, 1993:163). The translations are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Translation of the terminology

Source-text term	1st Subject (experience)	2nd Subject (field knowledge)	3rd Subject (training)
formative evaluation	biçemsel değerlendirme	resmi ölçümü	biçimlendirici değerlendirme
summative evaluation	summative değerlendirme	nihayi sonucu	OMISSION
summative evaluation	summative değerlendirme	nihayi sonucu	özet değerlendirme

Looking at the translations, it can be seen that the subjects all came up with different translations for the same term. This is highly possible since most of the time there is not just one correct term. However, in some cases the translations above do not make the same sense in Turkish. The subjects are expected to produce translations that are accepted by the field specialists. In the field of English Language Teaching in Turkey the common usage for "formative evaluation" is "biçimlendirici değerlendirme" and for "summative evaluation", it is "nihai değerlendirme" or "düzey belirleme değerlendirmesi". "Biçemsel degerlendirme" means something different ("biçemsel" in Turkish means "stylistics"). Thus, the experienced translator probably misunderstood the first term and gave an unacceptable translation. Subject 2's "resmi ölçüm", does not clearly mean the same thing. "Resmi

ölçüm" means "formal measurement" in English. The translation given by Subject 3 makes a similar sense in Turkish, though it is not the common equivalent. It indicates that the concept has been understood by the translator, but rather than a common equivalent, it was translated in different words. For the term "summative evaluation", Subject 1 preferred a transliteration, Subject 2 gave a common equivalent (albeit with a spelling mistake -it should be "nihai" without "-y"), and the third subject's translation is also acceptable in Turkish. However, it is worth mentioning that Subject 3 omitted the term in the first time it is given, but translated it when it is repeated.

Considering the main focus of the study, it is more significant to note the number of the fixations and the sum of the fixation durations when translating these terms. When the area of interest is determined as these terms, the figures show that for "formative evaluation" the translator with field knowledge invested the greatest amount of cognitive amount, while the experienced translator made the least effort (Table 4). For the term "summative evaluation", it is again the translator with experience that made the least cognitive effort whereas this time the translator with field knowledge exerted the greatest cognitive effort (Table 5).

Table 4: Number of fixations and the sum of fixation duration for the term "formative evaluation"

	Number of Fixations	Total Fixation Duration
Subject 1 (experience)	4	1.23
Subject 2 (field knowledge)	10	2.95
Subject 3 (training)	10	1.98

Table 5: Number of fixations and sum of fixation durations for the term "summative evaluation"

	1st occurrence		2nd occurrence	
	Number of Fixations	Total Fixation Duration	Number of Fixations	Total Fixation Duration
Subject 1 (experience)	24	7.03	21	6.39
Subject 2 (field knowledge)	11	2.68	16	3.38
Subject 3 (training)	18	4.35	18	4.55

The fourth hypothesis posits that repetition of the terminology in the same text requires translators to invest less cognitive effort. The term "summative evaluation" is used twice in the text. The second time the translators confront this term, they are expected to invest less cognitive effort than the first time. However, the data in Table 5 indicate that the fixation durations for the first and the second occurrence is almost the same.

Translators exert the same or more cognitive effort in the translation of the same word even on its second appearance, so repetition of the terminology seems not to be a guarantee of less cognitive effort.

Conclusion

When the values of translation training, experience and field knowledge are considered, it seems that experience contributes to the whole translation process positively by decreasing the amount of cognitive effort. This hypothesis is supported with respect to the translation of complex sentences. Further, it can be concluded that complex sentences require the translators to invest more cognitive effort regardless of specific qualifications such as experience, training or familiarity with the topic. Contrary to expectations, while repetition of the terminology provides the translator with more accurate equivalents, it does not enhance the productivity of the whole translation process directly.

Since this is only a pilot study, it should be further developed by increasing the number of subjects, working with subjects with different qualifications, or triangulating with TAPs (Think aloud Protocols) or screen recordings to obtain more sound results, conducting interviews with the subjects or applying surveys after the translation process to gain a more detailed view of the translation process.

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The reader as translator: cognitive processes in the reception of postcolonial literatures

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Heterolingual literatures use a colonial language (matrix) and indigenous languages (embedded). They may be read by bilingual or monolingual readers, the latter being those who can only understand the matrix language (e.g. English) and therefore have to negotiate the gap offered by the embedded language. This is also applicable to the translation of heterolingual postcolonial works into a third language (e.g. Spanish), as long as the source text's "rhetoricity" is kept in the target text. Despite the indigenous authors' use of several strategies to convey the meaning of the segments in an embedded language (in-text translation, paraphrasing, glossaries) the focus here is on texts that do not offer such overt solutions, so that monolingual readers engage in cognitive activities similar to those of translators. To support this hypothesis, I propose a cognitive model influenced by structural semantics and the use of short-term memory and metalinguistic knowledge. This is framed by Homi Bhabha's third space and Turner and Fauconnier's blended space, following the cognitive reformulation of them proposed by Hernández.

Keywords: blended space, cognitive translation operations, heterolingual literatures, third space, reception of postcolonial literatures

Introduction

> She spent most of her time at the faifeau's house serving matai on Sundays. Laulau le sua. (Figiel 2008: 1)

This is an excerpt from the very first page of Sia Figiel's novel *Where We Once Belonged*. It illustrates the phenomenon of heterolingualism in indigenous literatures, that is, the combination of at least two languages in the same work. In the example above the reader finds a combination of English and Samoan words. This is a common feature of postcolonial

literatures in which indigenous authors write mainly in the colonial language (e.g. English) but include their indigenous language (e.g. Samoan) in different ways and to different degrees.

According to Anthony Pym, "*generating* possible translations" and "*selecting* a definitive translation" can be complex operations, "yet translators are doing precisely that all the time, in split seconds" (2010: 1). It may be that "monolingual" readers of postcolonial heterolingual literatures operate in a similar way. By "monolingual readers" I mean those readers who can only understand one of the languages involved in the heterolingual work. Therefore, on the one hand, they *generate* possible meanings for the segments in the unknown indigenous language and, on the other hand, they *select* plausible meanings on a temporary basis (using their short-time memory). These meanings may later be stored in their long-time memory. This will depend on factors such as the translation devices found in the text or paratexts, the contextualization of the embedded segment, or the number of occurrences of the same word/segment in different contexts (the "drilling effect").

If you do not known Samoan, you are a monolingual reader of the above fragment. How do you deal with the meaning gap that the Samoan segments are offering? This is a challenge, and the primary way to negotiate meaning must be by guessing. Consider this sentence:

(1) I went to Sina's fale to visit her.

You may have several ideas of what *fale* means in this particular context. If you find a second context for this word, your guesses might be perceived as correct or wrong, using the trial and error method:

(2) I lived in the smallest fale of the village.

In the first example you could have considered the words *house*, *shop*, or *school* as an equivalent for *fale* (and pick up *house* as the most likely to be "fale" in the language you can understand). In the second context, you have the verbs *visit* and *live*, which makes it easier to choose *house* and disregard the other options. In a word, and *a priori*, the more contexts you have for a word in the embedded language, the more opportunities you have to confirm, discard or refine your guess.

Eventually, with further reading, monolingual readers can fill out the picture of the referent. In the case of a *fale*, it is in fact a house, particularly a traditional Samoan house that is made of wood pillars and has no walls.

Readers might thus engage in a process like the one sketched out in Table 1.

Memory plays an important role in the monolingual reader's process of vocabulary building in the embedded language. In fact, contextual items

such as paratexts, co-texts and images (e.g. on book covers) as well as metalinguistic knowledge can help build up their short-term memory repertoire. Eventually, finding different contexts for the same segment, a long-term memory range of words and concepts in the indigenous language and from the indigenous culture can be established in the monolingual reader's inventory.

Table 1: Process of monolingual readers building meaning from segments in embedded language

'Fale' found in different contexts	
Context #	*Cognitive activity*
1.	*Generating* multiple options: Place (workplace, house…)
2.	*Selecting* provisional plausible meaning(s): House.
3.	*Refining* meaning: Samoan house, without walls…

However, the lack of scaffolding or paced progression in the introduction of segments in the indigenous language might result in the monolingual reader's failure to bridge the gap. There is a threshold motivation/frustration related to the reader's success in the negotiation of meaning. It is a matter of overall perception rather than the actual nailing of the meaning each time: if readers feel they can manage with the presence of Samoan segments they will carry on reading; if they feel they cannot, they will stop reading, losing track of the novel or interest in the culture. Perceiving these segments as challenges rather than obstacles will keep readers motivated; otherwise they risk terminating the reading. I try to quantify this motivation/frustration threshold in the experiment survey you can find in the annex. Let us first, though, define the concepts with which we are dealing.

Frameworks and Heterolingualism in Postcolonial Literatures

Several theories can assist the study of heterolingual literatures and their reception. In this case I take the background of Translation Studies, Postcolonial Studies, Cognitive Linguistics, and partly of Foreign Language Acquisition to explain the way readers cope with heterolingual texts.

Translation Studies provides a framework able to account for processes involving the coexistence of two (or more) languages in a single text, the devices that authors or editors provide in the originals such as glossaries or notes to convey meaning of the passages in the embedded language, and the way readers seek equivalents in the matrix language. The issue becomes more interesting when the heterolingual work is translated into a third language (e.g. Spanish), in which case translators often face the task of

translating fragments from an unknown language. Their decisions tend to define their ideological position, or the position of their publishing house.

In the case of Postcolonial Studies, concepts such as hybridity and the third space proposed by authors like Homi Bhabha are central to the understanding of the hybridity of codes in indigenous postcolonial literatures. Many indigenous authors chose to write in colonial languages such as English, French or Portuguese after the independence processes of their territories. Nevertheless, the inclusion of their indigenous languages for the sake of mimicking street conversations, representing their people, or respecting their cultures is very common and opens a third space of communication between the two poles (colonizer/colonized). In fact many authors are or feel themselves to be in-betweens, and can be seen as mediators (actually as translators) between two conceptualizations or cultures.

Cognitive Linguistics must also inform our study. The way we process what we read and turn it into content, image, thought or referent is what is at stake. What happens when the signifiers, the words we read, do not open any drawer in our vocabulary chest because they are in a language we do not understand? What is the author's creative activity when mixing different languages? Here we refer to the "blended space" proposed by Turner and Fauconnier (1995) and linked by Rodríguez to Bhabha's "third space".

A further frame is provided by foreign-language acquisition. While they might operate like translators in generating and selecting meanings, readers are also acting as learners of a foreign language, using strategies such as trial-and-error . For this reason, I find scaffolding theory useful to define the reader's threshold of motivation or frustration. Readers need a cumulative progression of knowledge to build up their awareness of the new culture or language: a text that is too dense in foreign expressions might result in a blockage of the learning process. The right scaffolding gives monolingual readers a context or motivation from which they can understand the new information in the embedded language.

In summary, a small set of concepts can help frame our research:

- *Heterolingual literatures*: those literatures that combine at least two different languages in the same text consistently. Example: English and Samoan in Sia Figiel's oeuvre.
- *Matrix vs. embedded languages*: the former is the main language used by the author in the heterolingual work, while the latter is the one that irrupts.
- Bilingual vs. Monolingual Readers: When reading heterolingual literatures, bilingual readers are those who can understand both languages (e.g. English and Samoan), monolingual readers are those who can only decode from one of them (e.g. English).

- *Density of embedding*: I propose a density formula to quantify the percentage of the embedded language within the matrix language in a particular text:

$$X = \frac{\text{tokens indigenous lg x 100}}{\text{total tokens (matrix + embedded)}}$$

Total tokens: the total number of running words in a certain corpus; if there are 1000 words in the first chapter, there are 1000 tokens.
Total types: the total number of different words in a certain corpus; in a corpus many words are used more than once, so there will be fewer types than tokens.

There will be different degrees and levels of language comprehension, e.g. a reader who is learning Samoan would pick up some words or an English native speaker might not know the meaning of a word or a particular saying, or dialectal variation in their own language. I insist on the operational nature of these labels, since readers might be perfect polyglots in other languages as well.

Cognitive and Postcolonial Studies: Blended Space in the Third Space

Middle spaces are important in both Postcolonial Studies and Cognitive Science as sites of mediation and negotiation of meaning and perspectives. In Postcolonial Studies, Homi Bhabha has formulated the idea of a third space to explain the hybridity found in postcolonial contexts, where both colonizer and colonized define and construct their identities mutually. We must not forget, though, that there are imbalanced power relationships involved. Here is where the so-called Subaltern Group deconstructs the central/periphery (subaltern) binarism. The third space, then, is an in-between space of exchange, as well as the site of resistance and artistic creation (for more information on subaltern theories see Niranjana, Spivak, and Bhabha).

Cognitive linguistics, on the other hand, considers metaphor to be a mode of human conceptualization and part of the field of thought and reasoning. According to Lakoff (1993: 208), metaphor is not just a matter of language, but also of thought and reason: the language is secondary and the mapping is primary. Fauconnier and Turner work on this to propose a conceptual "blended space", and Rebeca Hernández makes the connection between the postcolonial third space and the cognitive blended space to propose a combined framework to explain heterolingual literatures, providing examples from postcolonial Lusophone literature. Hernández

introduces Fauconnier and Turner's blended space, supported by Lakoff's previous research, as a matter of conceptual projection and middle spaces. The third space created in the middle of the other two is labeled a blended space, where each previous space projects part of their features:

> To blend two spaces is to project them onto a third space, also partially structured, in such a way that the first two partial structures map coherently onto the third. […] A blend in this sense is neither a union nor a blur. It is a space structured in its own right, onto which two initial spaces are projected. (Turner and Fauconnier 1994: 12)

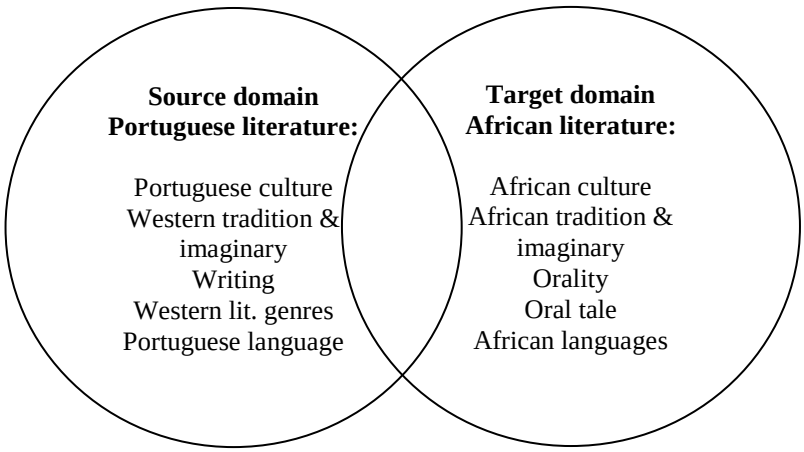
In her research, Hernández highlights the way Fauconnier and Turner take metaphor beyond the limits of the literary device: the metaphor normally takes an abstract concept in terms of a specific object. This is, in fact, what happens in our cognitive system. Metaphor is thus a cognitive operation that allows us to refer to an abstract object, an event or a phenomenon, with a specific one. In this way, it is not the signifiers (the words) but the mental image that is at stake.

Before developing her own blending of the postcolonial and cognitive perspectives to explain the production of heterolingual literatures, Hernández supports her theory by mentioning "domain" (from Lakoff) and "mental space" (from Fauconnier and Turner). The former defines semantic memory with metaphors that are perceived as universal (in the methodology they are expressed in capital letters); the latter revisits the term "domain" and inscribes it within a bigger picture, where processes are more dynamic and memory is not semantic but episodic:

- *Domain* (Lakoff): permanent and systematic metaphorical projections, stable metaphors, universal, central, basic. E.g. LIFE AS A BURDEN; JOURNEY; DAY. Source and Target domains. Semantic memory.
- *Mental space*: "We suggest that direct, one way and positive projection from source to target is only a special aspect of a more robust, dynamic, variable and wide-ranging assortment of processes" known as "episodic memory" (Turner and Fauconnier 1994: 4).

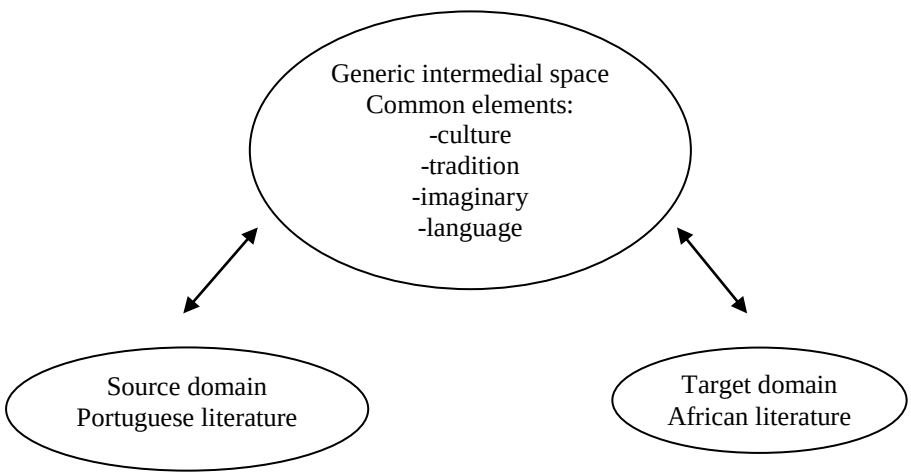
Rebeca Hernández's reformulation of the third space is illustrated with case studies in which Portuguese (the matrix and colonial language) is combined with indigenous (embedded) languages. As we are used to in Translation Studies, she uses two spheres to represent the source and the target domains of both Portuguese and African literatures (Figure 1):

Figure 1: Portuguese and African literary domains (adapted from Hernández 2007: 87)



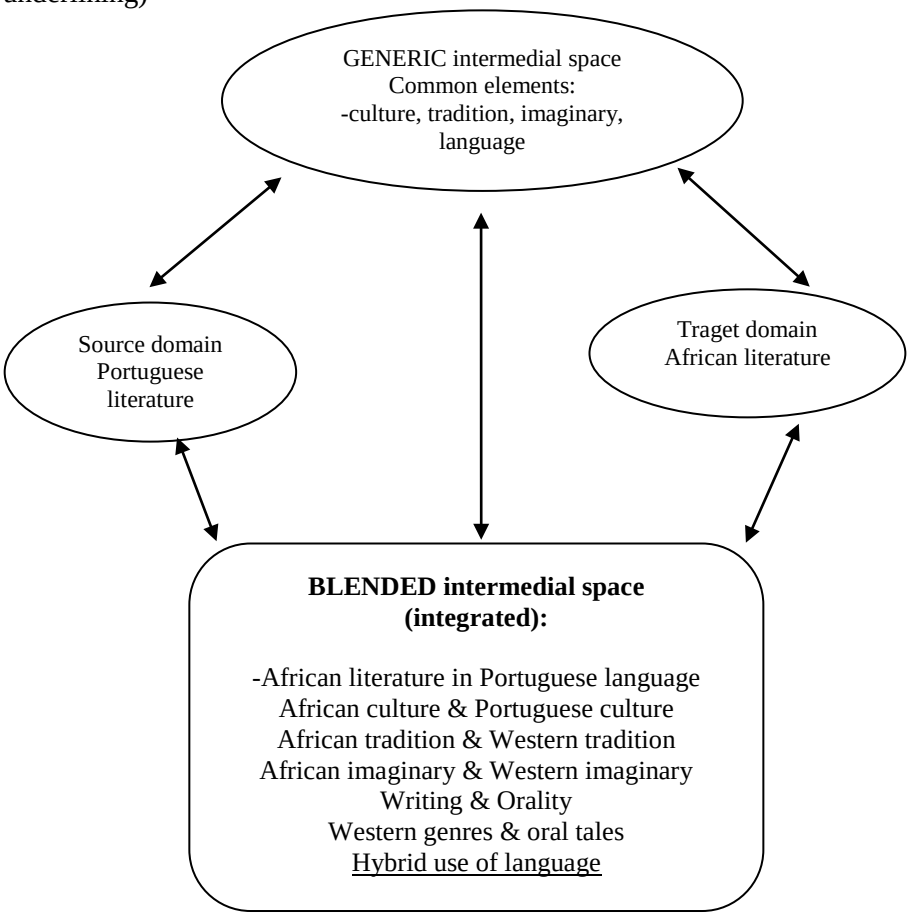
Both domains have a range of common elements (culture, tradition, imaginary... without the geographical actualization) that are projected to a middle space, a third space: it is like the carcass of shared characteristics between them. It is what Hernández labels "generic intermedial space" (Figure 2):

Figure 2: Generic intermedial space (adapted from Hernández 1997: 87)



From this intermedial third space we jump to the blended intermedial space, where the content features of both source and target domains are projected and blended, creating the hybridation of domains (Figure 3):

Figure 3: Blended intermedial space (adapted from Hernández 87, my underlining)



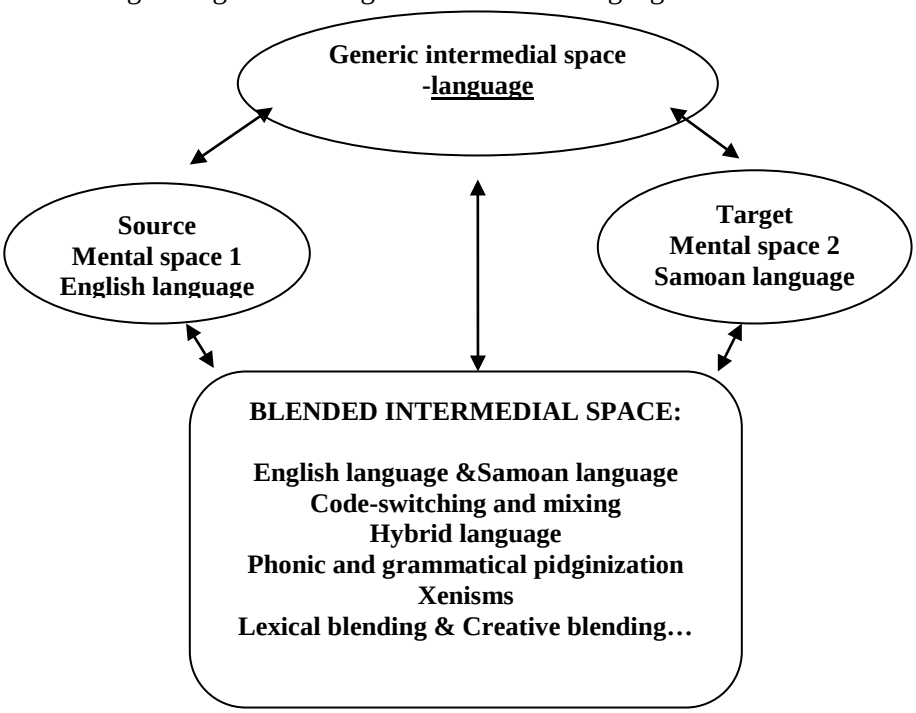
The concept of blended intermedial space explains the phenomenon of language hybridation in postcolonial African literatures that use Portuguese as their matrix language (in Figs. 2 and 3 language appears in the generic intermedial space as one of the common generic features). In Figure 4, I have adapted her model (which used Portuguese and African languages) to the case of Pacific literatures that use English as the matrix language and indigenous languages such as Maori or Samoan as the embedded ones.

Hernández's reformulation proves useful to explain heterolingual phenomena in postcolonial literatures. In our case study, Sia Figiel works with two mental spaces, one operating with the English language and the other with the Samoan language.

We take one of the common elements in both frames, language (generic third space) that projects onto the blended space, the creative site where the author combines both languages. This is performed through a whole range of

devices. Hernández (2007) highlights the following in her research: code-switching and code-mixing, hybrid language, phonic and grammatical pidginization, xenisms, and lexical and creative blending (cf. Bandia, Burcet, Suchet and Zabus).

Figure 4: Hybrid use of language, adapted model from Hernández 2007 and substituting Portuguese for English and African languages for Samoan



I will now move on to illustrate how some of these translation devices operate in the work of four Polynesian authors.

Means of translation used in heterolingual source and target texts

Given the presence of at least two languages in heterolingual literatures, translation devices can sometimes be found in the original works. Indeed, there are cases where different editions of the same novel use different translation devices.

When these heterolingual works are translated into another language, we have a situation in which a Source Text (ST) contains two languages (matrix and embedded languages) and a third code, the target language, comes into play in the Target Text (TT). The translator, as mediator, has to decide what to do with the segments in the embedded language, for which, perhaps, he or she is not able to translate from directly. In this respect, Gayatri Spivak (in

this volume) insists that translators should be able to at least know somehow part of the indigenous languages they are dealing with in their translation work.

In this section I will summarize the main translation solutions (concept as understood by Pym 2011) that we can find in both STs and TTs of Polynesian works that combine English (as the matrix language) and Maori or Samoan (as embedded languages), and which have sometimes been translated into Spanish or Catalan. This is part of my ongoing research on Pacific heterolingual literatures. These strategies can be categorized as follows:

1. Paratexts: (i) glossaries, (ii) notes, (iii) prefaces (among others)
2. In-text translation
3. Contextual translation
4. Zero translation

My research focuses on four Polynesian authors: Witi Ihimaera and Patricia Grace, from Aotearoa/New Zealand, who write in English and Maori; and Albert Wendt and Sia Figiel from the Samoan archipelago, who combine English and Samoan in their work. Even though they might use all of the devices stated above, their predominant use of one or another characterizes their production, at least during certain periods of their oeuvre.

Paratexts

Paratexts are texts that can be found attached to the body of the literary text in a literary work. We can find notes by the author, editor or translator, prefaces and postscripts, and glossaries in this category.

Albert Wendt is the most prolific author as far as *glossaries* are concerned in the STs: most of his early works include a Samoan glossary (sometimes including words from other Polynesian languages). Paloma Fresno's translation of his short story "Declaration of Independence" (2011) includes explanations of some Samoan concepts in her introduction and provides *footnotes* that clarify the meaning of the word that, at the same time, is formatted in italics and flagged by a superscript number. This practice has declined over the last decade or so but as we see, some translators still find it useful in their translation of heterolingual works of this kind. For instance the footnote in example 3 (no footnote of this kind was used in the source text):

(3) El señor Paovale Iosua […] se estaba afeitando relajadamente una mañana en la ducha que había detrás de su fale[1]

> [1] El término fale hace referencia a las viviendas tradicionales de Samoa. […] [a description of these houses follows]

In-text translation

In-text translation refers to those translations that are explicitly present within the body of a literary work. The word or expression in the indigenous language may be marked (e.g. in italics) or unmarked. The equivalent expression in the matrix language may precede or follow the embedded segment, and either one or the other can be written in parentheses or without them.

Witi Ihimaera is the author who is most fond of this kind of solution. As we mentioned above, different editions of the same ST sometimes have modifications in the presentation of the segments in indigenous language, and this is the case of Ihimaera's *The Whale Rider*. If we compare the 1980s original edition (published in New Zealand) and the 2003 American version published after a successful film version, we notice the following changes: *omissions* (Maori words have been erased), *substitutions* (Maori words have been replaced by English equivalents), *additions* (Maori words are kept and English equivalents have been supplied next to them) and *format changes* (Maori words have been italicized) (see Burcet, 2010).

Contextual translation

In the case of contextual translations there is no explicit equivalent in the matrix language of the segment written in the embedded language, but the author provides a *supporting co-text* that helps the reader understand the meaning of the expression in the indigenous language. Patricia Grace masters this technique in her short stories and novels. Michelle Keown (2005: 151) has also highlighted Grace's skill in introducing *grammatical incursions* of Maori morphology and syntax into English linguistic structures in the direct speech of her characters, as in *Potiki* (1986) or *Baby No-Eyes* (1998).

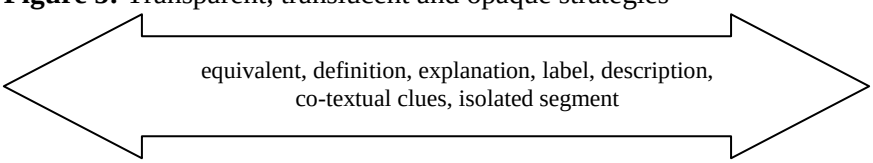
Zero translation

When there is no explicit or implicit equivalent, explanation or description of the segment in the embedded language, neither *in* nor *off* the textual body of the literary text, the monolingual reader confronts the segment in the indigenous language without any clue. The same applies to the translator who is not able to (fully) mediate from the embedded language/culture into the target one. Sia Figiel, the author of the excerpt that opens this chapter, provides many Samoan expressions with this kind of zero translation.

In the preface to the Catalan version of Figiel's *Where We Once Belonged* (*L'indret d'on venim*, 1999), the author gives three reasons for the presence of the Samoan language in her work: 1) her inability to translate her thoughts or dreams into English, 2) her wish to keep the mystery of the other language and awareness of a different culture from that of the reader, and 3) her acknowledgement of the Samoan and Pacific readers, who will see their language respected and prioritized in another context (Figiel 1999b: 5-6). She assumes that "the very context explains the Samoan words and sentences if the readers read the narration carefully" ("el mateix context explica les paraules i les frases samoanes si els lectors llegeixen amb atenció la narració" (1999b: 5). The experiment in the following section tries to test whether the Samoan author's assumptions are accurate or need enhancement.

To sum up this section, we can place the different translation solutions on a continuum that runs from more explicit to less explicit translation procedures, and from more invasive paratexts to less invasive paratexts. Figure 5 shows a gradation from transparent to opaque devices found in heterolongual works and their translations:

Figure 5: Transparent, translucent and opaque strategies



Explicit translation Glossary/footnote (off text) In-text translation (in-text)

Contextual translation (Clear to blurry co-text)

Zero translation (Opaque context)

The right end of Figure 5 can be interpreted as two sides of the same coin: contextual translation can be a kind of zero translation with a clarifying co-text/context; zero translation can be an extreme blurry case of contextual translation. In any case, at the right end of this continuum the monolingual reader has to negotiate the meaning, overcome the gap, act as a translator: considering possibilities and selecting plausible options for the meaning. Of course, however, the reader is not obliged to choose just one solution, while the translator has to make a single decision.

Readers and their Cognitive Processes: Examples from Samoan Literature

The actual processing of these solutions can be tested experimentally to a certain extent. Our experiment here (still ongoing, results at present are

approximate) is based on a questionnaire in which readers from different backgrounds read the first paragraphs of Sia Gigiel's novel *Where We Once Belonged*, which has English as its matrix language and Samoan as its embedded language. The survey has been also carried out with speakers of Spanish and Catalan, who read translations of the novel into those languages.

The provisional results suggest some interesting findings. We have stated that Sia Figiel expects readers to grasp the meaning from the context. However, this might be difficult when readers have no clue onto which they can resort. Consider an example from the beginning of the novel:

(4) She spent most of her time at the faifeau's house serving matai on Sundays. Laulau le sua. She knew the fa'alupega o Malaefou backwards, plus all the polite forms of chicken, pig, and other food. (1996: 2)

What is *faifeau*? What does *matai* mean? Monolingual readers are not helped here. What is clear is that the density of the embedded language within the matrix language is quite high: 8 Samoan tokens out of 36 total tokens. Here we can apply a density formula to quantify the proportion of indigenous language, which results in 22.2% Samoan in the passage. Readers thus face a reading threshold that may challenge their motivation and ability to decode the Samoan segments, or accommodate them in any kind of fluent reading.

Compare this passage in the English, Spanish and Catalan versions (my underlining; italics as in the originals):

(5) a. She spent most of her time at the faifeau's house serving matai on Sundays. Laulau le sua. (1996: 2)
b. Se pasaba casi todo el domingo en casa del faifeau, sirviendo a los matai. Laulau le sua. (1999a: 10)
c. Ella passava gairebé tot el diumenge servint *matai* a ca la Faifeau. *Laulau* le *sua*. (1999b: 10)

How do monolingual readers interpret the Samoan segments? What cognitive processes are they activating to negotiate the meaning gap that the segments *faifeau*, *matai*, and *laulau le sua* are offering? In the case of translators, proactive readers of the source text, these questions are particularly important. They do not need to translate the Samoan segment but they do need to provide a suitable co-text that will condition reception by the target readership.

The first word *faifeau*, for example, is not kept in the same format in all versions. In the Catalan version the word is capitalized, indicating a proper name. The use of *ca la* preceding *Faifeau* denotes the "the house of somebody" (like in French "chez Pierre"), in this case the house of a woman

called Faifeau. The Catalan version here actually fails to transpose the original meaning: the *faifeau* is not a woman. In the three versions, however, it is clear that *faifeau* refers to a person. The English version retains the ambiguity about the genre of this person, but the Spanish one explicitates that the *faifeau*, in fact, is a man, thanks to the contraction 'del', and that the term is not the name of a person (the word is not capitalized):

(6)	a.	…en	casa	del	faifeau…
		…in	house	of + the (MASC)	faifeau…
		'…at the faifeau's house…'			

Most readers show their guesses at words such as *faifeau* (the religious pastor) with some reasonable approximations. It is more or less clear that it is referring to a person who is the owner of a house. Componential analysis can help readers grasp its meaning (a process that might last split seconds in the cognitive system). The use of the s-genitive shows [+ human]; analyzing the co-text of the word, readers can find a clue in *Sunday* (with its subtle presence a network of meanings might be activated for some readers). The word *Sunday* then can trigger the [+ religious] component of *faifeau.* Of course, this is as subjective as the readers' background and their previous knowledge, if any, of Samoan culture.

The case of the second Samoan word *matai* is also relevant. In the reception experiment, readers were asked to write the translation or explain what they understood of the twelve first Samoan words, expressions or cultural referents found at the beginning of the novel. English-speaking readers and Catalan readers interpreted *matai* as a direct object, as something to eat or to drink (like serving tea or pastries). The Spanish version, though, makes it clear that *matai* is an indirect object, with the direct object being elided:

(6)	b.	…sirviendo	[algo]	a	los	matai	los domingos.
		…serving	[something]	to	the	matai	the Sundays.
		'…serving matai on Sundays'					

Most Spanish-speaking readers thus get the meaning of *matai* (i.e. leader of the community) in an easier way than will the Catalan-speaking reader, even though the Catalan keeps the ambiguity found in the original.

The third expression, *Laulau le sua*, is less clear for the monolingual reader. The non-Samoan speaker's resorts are less visible, making the context more opaque. I consider this an extreme situation since *laulau le sua* is an isolated phrase in the middle of an already complex heterolingual paragraph. This case would be placed towards the end of the zero translation continuum (Fig. 2), opposite to the in-text translation found in Witi Ihimaera

or the glossaries provided by Wendt, and further away from the contextual translation we have found in Patricia Grace.

If we return now to the word *matai*, we find a build-in meaning process in the monolingual reader's experience (again, in this context, "monolingual" in the sense that the reader cannot understand the embedded language). As we have seen, readers may misinterpret *matai* in the context above as a direct object meaning a kind of food or drink. Nevertheless, when they find the word *matai* in a second context, their first perception should change:

(7) When Elia, a matai, was playing volleyball. And jumped up to spike the ball. And his lavalava fell. (1996: 5)

This second context makes it clear that a *matai* is a person. Therefore, the *matai* in the first context needs to be updated with information from the second. The indefinite article, in addition, indicates that *matai* is a count noun. Compare contexts 1 and 2 for *matai*:

(8) She spent most of her time at the faifeau's house serving matai on Sundays […]
(9) When Elia, a matai, was playing volleyball. And jumped up to spike the ball. And his lavalava fell.

The possibilities for matai in the first context could provisionally accommodate both human and object features for the non-Samoan speaker: [+human] or [+object]; [singular/plural]; [count/non-count]. However, the second context is more constrictive: the object feature drops and only the human fits: [+human][-object] and [count].

This updating of knowledge in the encounter of new contexts is at the core of our research. Non-Samoan speakers can make sense of the first encounter with the word, updating their short-term memory, e.g.: "matai were served [something] on Sundays". Readers build up on the meaning of the words using their memory and their logic and making sense from the different contexts.

In doing this, the monolingual reader is actually processing the indigenous segments as a translator does: formulating options and choosing among them. Table 1 showed the progression of cognitive activities: 1. generation of possibilities, 2. selection and 3. refining of meaning (completion). We can also add a fourth stage: 4. connection of knowledge (see Table 2).

In this fourth stage, the reader connects previous knowledge to new segments, thus learning about the grammar of the embedded language. For example, number is not shown in the Samoan noun: *matai* lacks any

determiner in segment 1, where it is plural, while it is clearly a singular noun in segment 2.

Table 2: Adding connection to the cognitive activity

'Fale' found in different contexts	
Context #	*Cognitive activity*
1.	*Generating* multiple options: Place (workplace, house…)
2.	*Selecting* provisional plausible meaning(s): House.
3.	*Refining* meaning: Samoan house, without walls…
4.	*Connecting* knowledge: falesa (church), fale kai (kitchen), falenui (meeting house)

This knowledge might be conscious or unconscious, even unnoticed for some, but if it is retained in the reader's memory it might help when they come across further Samoan segments in the novel.

My experimental work on actual readers is still on-going, but the results look promising for the reception analysis of heterolingual literatures and also for the cognitive sciences. Bearing in mind the ground set in the semantic theory by Lakoff's considerations or Fillmore's scenes-and-frames semantics to explain better the encounter with unknown signifiers in a foreign language, I find it useful to use the metaphor of a window to access meaning (Tuggy): utterances (phonemes or graphemes) are handles that open windows to networks of meanings. *Dog* will open my whole knowledge of dogs, from the core meanings to the most vague associations. In the same way, each culture shares a common set of relationships in the networks of meaning, but each person's network differs. Communication only occurs if these networks of meanings are close enough.

Table 3: Cognitive process circuit: generating, selecting, refining, connecting.

CONTEXT 1: "…*serving matai*"

Generating possibilities:

- metalinguistic categories that fit: [something/someone] [singular/plural]
- semantic possibilities that fit: *drink, food…*
- connotations derived from co-text: *important person (who is served)*

Preliminary selection of more plausible meaning (intuition, guess)

CONTEXT 2: "…*Elia, a matai (…) his lavalava fell"*

Selecting/discarding previous possibilities

- [~~something~~/someone]
- [+singular] [+plural]

Refining knowledge: coexistence of hypothesis

- Metalinguistic knowledge acquisition: there is no number for *matai* ('serving matai' [pl]; 'a matai' [sg.])

Connecting knowledge:

- No number mark: Can be extrapolated to other words? Check further contexts and further segments (e.g. one fale; all the fale).

If we come across a word that we cannot identify, like *matai*, this handle does not open the window to any knowledge. Nevertheless, contextual information might help readers build up their knowledge and start their network of information in the embedded language from scratch. This will develop a scaffolding process using the short-term memory and the metalinguistic knowledge acquired from the different contexts encountered, as shown in Table 3.

Conclusions

We have introduced the concepts of heterolingual literatures in postcolonial contexts and have linked the third space with the cognitive blended space to explain this particular hybrid phenomenon both in the source and the target cultures. After looking at examples from Pacific Anglophone literatures we can reach several conclusions.

Monolingual readers of postcolonial heterolingual literatures *generate* possible meanings for the segments in the indigenous language and *select* plausible meanings on a temporary basis (short-time memory) in order to work out the meaning of the particular segment.

In addition, their guesses can be confirmed, refined or discarded eventually with the encounter of further contexts to that segment.

Furthermore, contextual items (paratexts, co-text and images) and metalinguistic knowledge can help monolingual readers build up this short term memory.

Eventually, through drilling of different contexts for the same segment, a long-term memory in the indigenous language/culture can be established.

However, a lack of scaffolding or progression might result in the reader's failure to overcome the gap. Each reader will have a particular threshold of reading motivation at a particular moment that will promote the continuation or termination of the reading.

This satisfaction level in each reader's comprehension, together with the preferences of translation devices are measured in the questionnaire included in the annex and is part of my ongoing research.

There are some limitations in the study. For example, "monolingual readers" might have different levels of knowledge of the indigenous culture/language, so "monolingual" is a dynamic operational concept. Attention must also be paid to the way we quantify the density of indigenous segments, since my formula only takes into account different tokens, but qualitatively speaking a cluster of three tokens can form a single expression (e.g. *laulau le sua*). I would also like to make it clear that in no way do we want to associate "embedded language" with "indigenous language" as something inferior or less valued. On the contrary, we have seen how

indigenous authors can use their creative skills to take an explicit stand for their culture and people.

In conclusion, readers act as translators in their storing of different possible meanings for unknown passages in a language they do not know, but we have to take into account the different conditions of a standard (monolingual) reader and the translator as a reader: the former is under no pressure to select a single option while the latter, by the nature of their activity, must choose just one solution from among several. Readers confronting a language they cannot decode also react as foreign language learners in the sense that they try to make sense of the passages they read, even in an unknown language. There is a need to create an image, with the difference that the conscious deliberate goal is not to learn the language but to follow the story being told. My provisional claim is that there is a threshold of tolerance in the monolingual reader that moves from frustration to motivation in the encounter with an unknown embedded, and this threshold can be influenced by the reader's primary motivation to read the text (pleasure, compulsory reading for university, and so on).

My actual analysis has combined a very structuralist approach with a blurrier shared/third spaces concept, where cognitive processes are not so rationally structured. The componential analyses model the researcher's attempts to explain the possible and probable activity in the reader's cognitive system. However, there is an obvious need to allow more space for the reader's uncertainty. I believe that the application of Hernández's blended intermedial space can open a way to do so and foster further discussion in the fields involved.

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Appendix: English questionnaire of Samoan heterolingual reading.

Sia Figiel
Where We Once Belonged

Buzzing … everywhere

When I saw the insides of a woman's vagina for the first time I was not alone. I was with Lili and Moa. Lili's name was Ma'alili, but everyone called her Lili. Moa's name was Moamoalulu, but everyone called her Moa. Lili was seventeen and Moa was sixteen. They were older than me. They were already menstruating. (…)
I had lost the bet.
I was the last in our circle to catch the moon sickness.

*

To all Malaefou teenagers, girls and boys, we were Charlie's Angels. Everyone who knew us called us by our TV names – Kelly, Sabrina and Jill. As is the custom in Malaefou, girls went around in groups. Some were glued to their own cousins. Others, like Lili, Moa and me, came from different households. Sometimes a girl would be a loner. Like Maka'oleafi–eye of fire–who not only was the goodest girl in the whole Malaefou, but also the meanest and the strongest.

She spent most of her time at the faifeau's house serving matai on Sundays. Laulau le sua. She knew the fa'alupega o Malaefou backwards, plus all the polite forms of chicken, pig, and other food. She proudly said them out loud enough for those of us who didn't know and struggled always to remember.

She never tried a cigarette–that is, no adult had ever seen or heard of her smoking. Didn't own a pair of pants–that is, she never wore one in Malaefou. And no stories ever lead to her–that is to say, she was not a faikakala. (…)

I suppose we, too, wanted to be good girls. (…) We were in-betweens … that is to say we were not completely good and we were not completely bad. (…) We were in-between because we loved laughing, and laughed and laughed at the slightest things.

When Elia, a matai, was playing volleyball. And jumped up to spike the ball. And his lavalava fell. And he was not wearing underwears. We laughed.

We laughed when Mu's father wanted to borrow money from his palagi boss and told the palagi he needed it for Mu's funeral … even though Mu was the healthiest of all his children.

We laughed whenever Sugar Shirley, the fa'afafige, walked around Malaefou with nothing but Tausi's panties and bra stuffed with coconuts. (…)

We jokingly referred to Mr Brown as Charlie.

Mr Brown was a palagi and worked for the Bank of Western Samoa.

ENG ST

Name: Age:
Nationality: Email:
Native language(s):
Foreign language(s) (level & years):
Studies/Profession:
Postcolonial cultures/literatures knowledge:

Indigenous segments (or references to the indigenous language). *Matai* and *Palagi* appear twice, register all meanings you thought (both the first time you read it and the second one)

1. Moon sickness

2. Malaefou

3. Maka'oleafi*

*Maka'oleafi (parse: identify what is 'eye' 'fire'…)

4. Faifeau

5. Matai

6. Laulau le sua.

7. Fa'alupega o Malaefou

8. Polite forms of chicken…

9. Faikakala

10. Lavalava

11. Palagi

12. Fa'afafige

Questions (you can use another page to write your answers):

a. Would you continue reading the book (choose a number)? Why?

Definitely not 1 2 3 4 5 Definitely yes

b. What do you think of the use of Samoan (number)? What are the author's reasons?

Frustrating 1 2 3 4 5 Motivating

c. How do you bridge the gap of the segments you can't understand?

Order these translation strategies according to your preferences when you read a novel like this (number these five items from 1 to 5: 1 Best option; 5 Worst option). Mention the advantages of your best option and the disadvantages of the worst; e.g. X is more disrupting/challenging.

-	Nothing	1.	Advantages?
-	Contextual translation	2.	
-	Direct translation in text	3.	
-	Footnote	4.	
-	Glossary	5.	Disadvantages?

If you have any other comment, feel free to include it. If you would like to receive feedback from this research, please tick the box. ☐

Thank you very much for your help. Humberto Burcet

Omission in simultaneous interpreting as a deliberate act

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Omission in interpreting, understood as an incomplete rendition of the information present in the source language, has long been a contentious issue. Altman (1994), Barik (1994), Gile (1995; 1999) as well as Setton (1999) have perceived omission in simultaneous interpreting either as a mistake or as a technique that interpreters may use only in extremely difficult conditions, when experiencing cognitive overload. Nevertheless, Viaggio (2002), Visson (2005) and Pym (2008) draw attention to the pragmatic approach to omission, treating it as a conscious decision made by the interpreter rather than a mistake resulting from miscomprehension. The main purpose of the study is to check whether both interpreting trainees and professional interpreters are sensitive to the pragmatic aspect of omissions. We ask whether they tend to use deliberate omission in a real interpreting task in order to eliminate message redundancy or whether they stick to the original, despite repetitions, digressions and unnecessary information contained in the text. The results of the study may shed new light on the issue of omission in simultaneous interpreting.[1]

Key words: omission, pragmatics of interpreting, interpreting quality.

The contentious character of omission in interpreting: literature review

A great many articles in the field of Interpreting Studies have been devoted to the thorny issue of quality. The classification of errors differs from one researcher to another and hence appears to result from subjective observation

[1] The paper was presented to the conference in Tarragona in 2011. The author is grateful to Agnieszka Chmiel for her critical comments and valuable help in all stages of writing the present article.

rather than objective dogma. Nevertheless, when judging the quality of a rendition, omissions have often been perceived as a mistake resulting from non-comprehension. Altman (1994: 28f.) enumerates the instances of omission, all of them leading either to loss information or at least a slight change of meaning. According to Barik (1994: 124), the only accepted instances of omission are those of connectives, empty fillers and hedges (such as *well*, *you see*) as well as articles; any other types of omission are perceived as being a mistake and are never to be used when interpreting. A similar perception of omission as a mistake may be observed in Setton (1999), who defines omissions as "uncorrected speech errors" that "reveal a lapse in self-monitoring due to a distraction from centered attention" (Setton 1999: 246).

Omission has also been treated by some researchers as a technique that an interpreter may resort to only when forced by some external difficulty. Gile (1995: 173) discusses "high rate of delivery", "high density of the information content" as well as "strong accents" and "incorrect grammar and lexical usage" as examples of situations that may jeopardize the interpreter's ability to give a complete rendition. If interpreters cannot decipher what has been said by the speaker, they will be forced to condense the speech and omit certain information. This is, however, not considered to be a deliberate act by the interpreter, who might have judged some parts of speech as redundant, but as a necessity resulting from the incomprehensibility of the speech and the overwhelming mental overload that the interpreter thus experiences.

The multitasking of simultaneous interpreting and the complexity of mental operations involved have been represented in Gile's Effort Models, which, apart from describing the process itself, aim to account for "errors and omissions observed in the performance of simultaneous and consecutive interpreters which could not be easily attributed to deficient linguistic abilities, insufficient extra-linguistic knowledge or poor conditions in the delivery of the source text" (Gile 1999: 154). Hence Gile focuses on those errors and omissions that stem from the complex character of the interpreting task, which forces the interpreter to work near or just below the saturation level. The "tightrope hypothesis" (Gile 1999: 159) metaphorically presents the mental overload to which an interpreter is exposed. Similar to tightrope walkers who have to control their bodies, the interpreter needs to coordinate all the efforts in order to give a successful rendition. Gile claims that if the interpreter works well below saturation level, the only reason for the occurrence of errors and omissions will be the complexity of the source speech itself. When, however, no such objective difficulties of the speech exist, this would imply that the errors and omissions stem from the complex character of the mental operations involved in the interpreting task. What appears to be questionable, however, is that these two are the only reasons for the interpreter to omit some segments during the interpreting task. The

question arises: Is it possible for an interpreter to omit certain information deliberately due to the fact that some segments have been assessed as redundant or dispensable because they are implicitly present in the discourse? Do omissions necessarily indicate lesser quality?

The question of pragmatics of simultaneous interpreting and the implicitness of certain information in the discourse has been addressed by Pym (2008). He makes a distinction between low-risk and high-risk omissions, claiming that the former are "part of a general economy of time management" (Pym 2008: 95). In this way, Pym questions the notion that non-omission is always desirable and maintains that some omissions "can be made without jeopardizing the fundamental aims of the communication act" (Pym 2008: 93). Hence, it is possible (and sometimes even advisable) for an interpreter to deliberately omit certain elements of the source speech for pragmatic reasons: in order to make the rendition more concise and coherent, devoid of superfluous digressions and message redundancy, as well as to dispose of information that is implicitly present in the speech and, thus, irrelevant for the delegates. Viaggio (2002: 239) also states that everything that is redundant, irrelevant, parasitic or incomprehensible should not be interpreted. Visson (2005) has also discussed omission as a condensation technique that makes the interpretation more coherent.

The discrepancy between the cognitive and pragmatic approaches to omission presents didactic problems, since it does not answer the question whether the use of omission and condensation techniques is desirable in order to reduce superfluous information in a source speech, or whether interpreters should always stick to the original. The pragmatic approach appears to shed new light on the issue of quality. It purports that the interpreter's decision not to include certain elements does not necessarily stem from the mental overload depicted in the tightrope hypothesis. The theory, nevertheless, is one thing and the actual behaviour of interpreters is another. We have thus sought to set up an experiment to test the performance of both interpreting trainees and professional interpreters in this respect.

The purpose of the study

The aim of the experiment was to investigate the participants' actual behaviour concerning the use of omissions in a real interpreting task. The experiment made it possible to examine the behaviour of both the interpreting trainees as well as professional interpreters.

Participants

The participants in the study were eleven conference-interpreting trainees at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland, and six university graduates who work as professional conference interpreters (with a minimum of one year's experience). All the trainees had completed at least eight months of the conference interpreting course with English as a B language. Their performance was later compared to the renditions given by the group of professional interpreters, many of them supervising the interpreting course at Adam Mickiewicz University. All the participants were of Polish origin.

Materials

The materials used in the study consisted of the recordings of two speeches in English found on the Internet, similar in terms of their topic as well as syntactic complexity (Automated Readability Index - Text 1: ARI=5.89; Text 2: ARI=5.20), both of them prepared by the author and recorded by a native speaker of English (General American). The preparation of the texts comprised the addition of many digressions, hedges, discourse markers, cultural allusions and message redundancy. Both speeches were prepared in two delivery speeds using Audacity software in order to investigate if delivery rate is a factor contributing to the number of instances of omissions made. The length of both versions is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Delivery-speed versions of the texts

	Fast	*Slow*
Text 1	2 min 48 sec (177 words/min)	3 min 48 sec (130 words/min)
Text 2	2 min 51 sec (180 words/min)	3 min 56 sec (130 words/min)

Procedure and hypotheses

Each participant was asked to interpret simultaneously two speeches, different in delivery rate, from their B language (English) into their A language (Polish). In order to avoid any confounding variables in the analysis, the order of presentation of the texts, as well as whether the first text constituted the slow or the fast version of the original text, were counterbalanced across the participants. The experiment was carried out in the professional simultaneous interpreting booths at the School of English at Adam Mickiewicz University. To guarantee the ecological validity of the experiment, before the task each participant was presented with the context

for the original English speeches. The participants were asked to imagine they were interpreting for an audience at an international conference. The interpretations were recorded. After each rendition the participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire, which was then coded by the author.

In order to evaluate the performance of the participants, 19 areas of interest were selected. These constituted parts of the texts that were, in our opinion, likely to be omitted by the interpreters in order to make the text more comprehensible. The areas of interest were further divided into five groups (examples given in italics):

(1) Repetitions of exactly the same words (7 out of 19):
- *Anyway, he persuaded me to write this book. […] Yeah, so he persuaded me to write this book.*
- *I've received hundreds and hundreds of e-mails, phone calls. […] Hundreds of e-mails.*
- *I was thirty-five. […] I was thirty-five then.*

(2) Redundancies (4 out of 19):
- *Ok, I forgot what I was talking about.*
- *In the book it's about eight pages in the whole book out of –* ***give me 5 seconds to check it*** *– 321 pages.*

(3) Cultural allusions (2 out of 19):
- *A typical political book, such as one of the Andrew Young's political books.*
- *I feel like on Jerry Springer's!*

(4) Empty fillers/discourse markers (5 out of 19):
- *How shall I put it…*
- *Let's concentrate on that for a moment.*
- *I know I'm repeating myself now.*

(5) Speaker's subjective assessment (1 out of 19):
- *The book is really exciting!*

Both texts contained the identical number of the areas of interest, representing the groups mentioned above. Having enumerated these elements, we could analyze the interpreters' performance quantitatively, which then gave a chance to implement statistical analysis. The results were collected by means of the zero-one method, which means that we coded whether a certain part of the original speech was omitted by a particular interpreter or not.

After each performance the participants were asked to fill in the questionnaire. This concerned possible reasons for omissions. The

questionnaire comprised 17 questions, the first seven of which related to the participants' general opinion of omission in simultaneous interpreting. The remaining ten questions concerned the participants' subjective impressions of the interpreting task they had performed.

Our hypotheses are as follows:

1. There exists a positive correlation between the delivery rate and the number of omissions made. In the case of slow delivery, when interpreters do not work close to saturation level, the omission of redundant information stems from pragmatic reasons. The fast delivery rate would encourage the participants to omit even more redundancies, so as to save their mental energy.

2. Both experiment groups differ significantly in terms of the use of omission and they do not share the same view regarding this technique. With the slow delivery rate, students will have a tendency to stick to the original, whereas professionals, being more experienced, will omit redundant information from the source speech.

The impact of delivery rate: the results of intra-group comparisons

In order to investigate the influence of the delivery rate on the number of omissions made by the interpreters, we made two intra-group comparisons: one for the group of students and another for the group of professionals.

In the group of interpreting trainees we found a positive correlation between delivery speed and number of omissions. The results of the paired samples t-test show that there was a statistically significant difference in the scores for the number of omissions in a slow delivery rate condition (M = 8.09; SD = 3.21) and a high delivery rate condition (M = 10.36; SD = 2.91); t (10) = -3.125, p = .01). Out of the total number of elements in the 19 areas of interest, students omitted on average 8.09 elements when interpreting the slower speech, whereas in the fast delivery rate condition they omitted on average 10.36 elements. What is worth mentioning is the number of high standard deviations. Some students were prone to omit a great deal of redundant information, whereas the other tended to interpret them.

In the group of professional conference interpreters, on the other hand, there was no statistically significant difference in the scores for the number of omissions in a slow delivery rate condition (M = 7.00; SD = 3.27) and a high delivery rate condition (M = 9.00; SD = 4.10); t (5) = -1.615, p = .17 (paired samples t-test). The standard deviations with both slow and fast delivery speeds are even higher than in the case of the interpreting trainees.

While the comparison of the means suggests that there exists a correlation between the delivery rate and the number of omissions made by the professionals, the small number of participants and the very high standard deviation make this difference statistically non-significant.

The result of inter-group comparison

We asked whether there was a significant difference between the two groups with regard to the use of omission, irrespective of the speaker's delivery rate. The results of the independent samples t-test show that there was no statistically significant difference in the scores for the number of omissions between interpreting trainees (M = 18.45; SD = 5.63) and professionals (M = 16.00; SD = 6.78); t (15) = .801, p = .44.

These results appear to be surprising, since one could expect a discrepancy between the students who lack experience in simultaneous interpretation and professionals whose experience has shaped their behaviour in the booth. It was hypothesized that for the slow delivery rate, when the interpreters do not have to work close to saturation level, students would tend to stick to the original and they would lack the ability to select the information that is indispensable for the listeners. This hypothesis, nevertheless, was not corroborated in the study, and the inter-group difference turned out to be statistically non-significant not only in the fast delivery rate condition (p = .44) but also in the slow delivery rate condition (p = .51).

The results of the questionnaire

The questionnaire used a seven-point Likert scale with 1 meaning strong disagreement and 7 indicating strong agreement with a particular statement. The answers to the first seven questions showed whether participants generally accepted omitting elements for pragmatic reasons. Both groups turned out to accept omission in SI as a deliberate act. The comparison of the results in the group of trainees (M = 5.34; SD = .41) and professionals (M = 5.00; SD = .55); t (15) = 1.446, p = .17 (independent samples t-test) does not give any statistically significant difference. Interestingly enough, despite the experience gap, both groups share the same view and are aware that there exist situations in which interpreters are allowed to, or even should, omit certain information from the original speech.

The remaining part of the questionnaire consisted of two sets of five questions, each devoted to one of the texts interpreted. We investigated the participants why they omitted certain elements. A score of 7 meant they were using omission purely for pragmatic reasons; a score of 1, on the other

hand, would suggest that the instances of omissions stemmed mainly from the complexity of a task that took all of the participant's mental energy. Again, the results of the independent samples t-test show that there was no statistically significant difference in the scores between interpreting trainees (M = 4.05; SD = .75) and professionals (M = 4.31; SD = .62); t (15) = -.723, p = .48. After the interpreting task, many participants from both experimental groups claimed that the speeches were so disorderly that they felt they needed to make them more organized. A great many professionals and interpreting trainees said that they had the impression that they should have omitted some information to make the speeches more communicative. Some of them reported that, while interpreting the fast speaker, failure to omit redundancies would have made it impossible for them to interpret the more crucial elements.

Discussion and further research

Consistent with our predictions (hypothesis 1), we found a positive correlation between delivery rate and number of omissions in the case of the interpreting trainees. Comparison of the means makes it clear that the professionals also omitted more information with the fast delivery rate, although to deem the result statistically significant more participants are needed. As for the interpretation of the results in the group of trainees, they tend to feel the need to omit redundancies in the case of the slow delivery rate. When confronted with the faster delivery rate, they omitted even more information, since the speed of delivery encouraged them to interpret only information that was indispensable for the listeners. Nevertheless, their renditions of the faster text lacked certain informative elements, as the task took up much of their mental energy. Similar to the students, professionals are in general sensitive to the pragmatic aspect of omissions. The fact that they omitted less informative information while interpreting the fast speaker indicates that their experience made them more skilful and they had fewer problems when working with the fast delivery.

However, if we disregard the delivery rate variable, it turns out that there is no statistically significant difference in the number of omissions made by the experiment groups. Furthermore, the evaluation of the questionnaire shows that the opinions on the use of omission do not vary greatly between the groups either. Hence, our second hypothesis failed to be corroborated. This seems surprising, as one could think that the experience gap would mirror the difference in the subjective views of the groups.

Interesting as these results could be, we are fully aware that, due to small number of participants, the analysis offers only tentative insight in the issue of omissions. A larger number of participants would give the study more external validity, which could change the results of the experiment.

Nevertheless, despite these limitations, our surprising results may shed new light on the issue.

As for our further research, the study could be extended to include consecutive interpreting. In this case, the tendency to omit even more redundant information is expected. The comparison of the two interpreting modes with respect to omission would make it possible to formulate some general conclusions about the nature of the two modes. Furthermore, we could see if there exists any correlation between our particular areas of interest and the likelihood that elements are omitted. The issue of omission in interpreting has so far been dealt with only sufficiently; there is still much to investigate.

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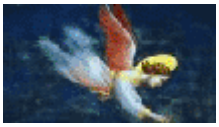
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