Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines

edited by
João Ferreira Duarte,
Alexandra Assis Rosa
and Teresa Seruya

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Introduction

> Il s'agit bien d'habiter chez l'autre, afin de conduire chez soi à titre d'hôte invité. (Ricoeur 1992: 109)

From the very start and long before it was established as an independent field of studies, Translation Studies has been defined in terms of spatial metaphors. In his pioneer essay "Modes of Translation," James McFarlane stresses the interface with Medicine, Philosophy, Aesthetics, Psychology, Ethnography, and explicitly advocates the use of "instruments of modern semantic theory" to perform a descriptive study of translation as procedure and "complex act of communication." This essay concludes with a well-known and often quoted territorial metaphor:

> [T]ranslation borders on too many provinces for the linguist to remain secure within his own proper territory or to survey the ground from one vantage point alone; a thorough exploration will compel him to make repeated approaches through the territories of his neighbours, and he will rely on their guidance and advice. (McFarlane 1953: 93)

This need for territorial border crossing in search of different approaches, guidance and advice from several disciplinary fields enabling a thorough exploration of one's province has since been stressed by a number of scholars. To name but a few illustrative examples, James Holmes in his seminal paper "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" starts by mentioning "the influx of researchers from adjacent areas, bringing with them the paradigms and models that have proved fruitful in their own fields," who have contributed to the progress of knowledge by means of, in Michael Mulkay's quoted words, the "discovery of new areas of ignorance." In a process not entirely devoid of tensions, Holmes finds one difficulty that deserved being mentioned: taking the territory for the map when it came to finding a name for the discipline (Holmes [1976] 1994). Instead of "bordering provinces" or "adjacent fields," by 1988 Mary Snell-Hornby was referring to the need to bridge what was by then perceived as a gap between the fields of Linguistics, Translation Studies and Literary Translation by means of an integrated approach (Snell-Hornby 1988),

which would resurface in a later definition of the area as an interdiscipline, overlapping with several others (Snell-Hornby, Pöchhacker, Kaindl 1994). In turn, Gideon Toury's 1995 book, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, brings to the fore his intention of moving beyond the mere accumulation of descriptive studies in the direction of theoretical ones. More recently, and perhaps adapting José Lambert's metaphor of the need for literary world maps and a panoramic post-Columbian translational cartography (Lambert 1991), Jenny Williams and Andrew Chesterman have produced a work intended to provide initial guidance for "*doing research* in an area which, because of its interdisciplinary nature, can present the inexperienced researcher with a bewildering array of topics and methodologies;" they add significantly: "we have called it The Map because it is designed to help you find your way through a relatively new uncharted territory" (Williams & Chesterman 2002: 1).

The multidisciplinary nature of this venture arises from the multiplicity of different terrains involved: literary translation, technical and scientific or special language translation, multimedia translation, interpretation, localization, but also from the theoretically motivated definition of its object, under the influence of polysystem studies since the 1970s. To study translations as facts of target cultures means to investigate translation in its correlation with the situational and sociocultural context, as communication in context, an enterprise which necessarily requires the collaboration of other disciplines, such as Linguistics, Text Linguistics, Discourse and Conversation Analysis, Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, Literary Theory, Anthropology, Sociology, Cultural Studies, Semiotics, History, Philosophy, Cognitive Psychology, among others.

There have been several "turns" or transitions in terms of the varying relevance attributed over time to the importation of theoretical models, concepts and research methods from disciplines that had long claimed sovereignty over a section of scholarly or scientific territory. However, we want to argue that interdisciplinarity is insufficient to explain the endeavours of Translation Studies. More has been done besides just a conventional attempt by researchers with different disciplinary backgrounds to work together without changing their disciplinary approaches or merging their contributions in a new conceptual and methodological framework in order to tackle a new object. As illustrated by the concepts of translation universals or translational norms, Translation Studies has done more than merely draw on other disciplines; it has assimilated and dynamically adapted conceptual and methodological frameworks to employ them in the theory, practice and analysis of translation as product, process and function. Rather than becoming by mere importation a subfield of such disciplines as Linguistics or Comparative Literature, Translation Studies

has managed to establish itself as a new independent – and in some views over-arching – (inter)discipline (see Bassnett 1993: 160–161). As Alexis Nouss puts it, translation as interactive multiplicity is expressive of the current ethos and requires a particular epistemology:

> After "consciousness" in the nineteenth century and "language" in the twentieth, "translation" can be considered to define the contemporary ethos. As an area of knowledge, it calls for an innovative, transversal, métis epistemology. The multiplicity revealed through the act of translation is doubled by the multiplicity of meanings attributable to the act itself, making interdisciplinary approaches necessary. (Nouss 2005: 228)

Métissage, interweaving: this is indeed the epistemological scenario that has presided over and fuelled the extraordinary, global expansion of the study of translation since the 1970s. It has not happened, however, without some occasional anxieties, as testified, for instance, by the "shared ground" (again the spatial metaphor!) controversy that sprang up on the pages of the journal *Target* in 2000 and 2001 (see Martín Ruano's paper in the present volume). While such recurring concerns as to disciplinary identity, like the unity vs. diversity dilemma (see Bowker et al. 1998), can be partly traced to Translation Studies' uneasy institutional placing, another, more important factor is certainly at work here, namely the misleading nature of the concept of interdisciplinarity itself.

In his 1945 essay "Structural Analysis in Linguistics and Anthropology," Claude Lévi-Strauss set out what seem to us the basic principles and goals of interdisciplinarity: neighbouring disciplines, inspired by each other's example and aiming at renovation, have a special duty to collaborate (1963: 32–34). But it is not hard to see that such a procedure, as Hillis Miller acknowledged, "still presupposes the separate integrity of the disciplines" (1998: 62). This is to some extent still the case of Roland Barthes' concept of interdisciplinarity: while admitting that it involves more than a "simple confrontation of specialist branches of knowledge," namely the violent disruption of the "solidarity of the old disciplines," it nevertheless presumes the final engendering of "a new object and a new language" (1977: 155), that is, in the last instance a return to disciplinarity.

Yet, from our point of view, Translation Studies, like other fields that partake of the "contemporary ethos" such as Cultural Studies and Visual Studies (see Elkins 2003: 25–30), has demanded a "quantum leap" beyond any conception of a unitary object or a unified language. Some years ago, Cary Nelson described Cultural Studies as "a *ghostly discipline* with shifting borders

and unstable content" (1997:7, emphasis added); to what extent, we wonder, can this type of statement function as a mirror-like definition for Translation Studies? In order to probe the full implications of this notion, let us turn to the much-quoted essay by Arjun Appadurai "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy."

As is widely known, the author deploys a set of five categories that help him to account for the "global cultural flows" making up the distinct *landscape* of contemporary societies: ethnoscape, or the constant shifting of persons across borders such as tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, etc.; technoscape, or the transfer of technology of all types "across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries;" financescape, or the transnational flow of capital and money speculation; mediascape, or the dissemination of images and information, as well as the electronic means to circulate them; ideoscape, or the distribution of ideologies and the discourses conveying them, such as freedom, human rights, democracy, etc. (Appadurai 1990:296–300).

The context of this discussion, however, suggests the need for a further category in addition to Appadurai's basically geocultural devices, one that would take us into the terrain of epistemology, the ground where knowledges are produced and transmitted and hence into the heart of "ghostly" disciplinarity. We propose therefore that we call – to stick to terminological coherence – *knowledgescape* the migration of ideas, concepts and methods across disciplinary bounds that increasingly characterize the field where research in the humanities is staked out today. In this light, Translation Studies could very well be seen as product of the contemporary knowledgescape, not a discipline, not even an interdiscipline, but rather a principle of flux, of unceasing intersections and realignments, an interfacing domain where thought becomes nomadic, where a multiplicity of language-games can coexist, clash, intermingle and cross-fertilize: in short, a ghost-like presence to haunt us out of enclosures and rigidities.

Two consequences follow up from the knowledgescape hypothesis. Firstly, whatever the vocabulary may be that we use in describing Translation Studies – discipline, interdiscipline or even transdiscipline –, its primary function has been to chart social spaces, to draw cultural maps. Much of its most productive conceptual apparatus, as we are well aware of, is made up of spatial metaphors like "centre," "periphery," "transfers," and "shifts;" the notions of "interculture," "domestication," and "foreignization," for example, rely entirely on a logic of distance and proximity, of contacts and connections between home and abroad; other familiar images for translated texts, such as "exiles" and "migrants," convey the idea of displacement across territories. Against

this backdrop, there are no signs leading us to believe that in the near future Translation Studies will cease to be for the most part a cartographic enterprise. Secondly, operating as it does "in-between," amidst flux and movement, Translation Studies is bound to ceaselessly interrogate its own "ghostly" ground, thereby a fortiori constituting itself as object of critical examination.

The present volume hopes to contribute to this ongoing and perhaps never-ending process of *self-reflexivity*. It grew out of the conference "Translation (Studies): A Crossroads of Disciplines", held at the Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon, in November 2002, which gathered participants from different national and scholarly contexts, both well-known experts and younger researchers in the field. *Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines* collects a selection of papers from this conference, focusing on three main clusters of problems: (1) discussion of the crossdisciplinarity of Translation Studies in order to offer new perspectives on the current space of translation; (2) reflection upon the importation, adoption, adaptation and redefinition of theories, methodologies and concepts (such as heteroglossia, dialogue or the reader), in view of their applicability and operativeness to the study of translation and/or as required by data made available by Translation Studies research, thereby setting theoretical models in motion and opening up new possibilities of reflux exportation; and (3) analysis of the complex interplay of text and context in translation, which requires establishing dynamic interfaces with Sociology, Literary Theory, Cultural Studies, Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, or Cultural History, in order to propose first-hand innovative descriptions of translation of various genres, discourses and media, in different settings and involving several languages, such as Portuguese, English, Chinese, French or Dutch.

The editors wish to thank all the institutions and individuals who in diverse ways sponsored, encouraged and inspired the organization of the Lisbon conference, not least the European Society for Translation Studies, whose 10th anniversary was happily and aptly commemorated on the occasion. A final word of gratitude goes to the authors themselves for their prompt cooperation in the various and lengthy stages of preparing this manuscript for publication.

The editors

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PART I

New perspectives on the disciplinary space of translation

Questions in the sociology of translation

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A broad distinction is proposed between cultural and sociological research into translation. Cultural research focuses on the level of ideas (or memes) while sociological research focuses on people and their observable behaviour. Some theoretical frameworks have been proposed for the analysis of some of the relevant sociological issues. However, their application has remained limited, and many areas are relatively neglected or undertheorized. These include research on team translation and teamwork revision processes, co-editing, institutional multilingual document production, translator-client relations, translation policy, translator networks, translators' use of technical and other resources, translator status and mobility, the discourse of translation, and accreditation systems. The central notion linking these areas is that of translation as a social practice.

1. The sociocultural context

In his critical review of the selected proceedings of the 1998 Granada EST conference (Chesterman et al. 2000), Albrecht Neubert (2001) makes a valid point. Although we entitled the volume in question "Translation in Context," neither the book as a whole nor any of the contributions as such really offers an adequate analysis of the key notion of context itself. It is a truism to point out that in the past few decades Translation Studies has hugely expanded its focus, from the narrowly linguistic to contexts of all kinds. But we lack a shared understanding of precisely how this total context is best delineated. This paper is, in part, an attempt to respond to Neubert's criticism.

Let us start with the opposition, current especially in the 1990's, between the linguistic context and the cultural context. Scholars began proclaiming the

"cultural turn" that would soon replace the purely linguistic analysis of texts (see e.g. Bassnett & Lefevere 1996). Early cultural studies of translation made much use of polysystem theory, which was indeed originally developed as a theory of culture and cultural transfer. (For some critical views on this division, see e.g. Baker 1996; Pym 1999; Tymoczko 2002.)

However, this oversimplified dichotomy not only overlooked the fact that linguistics itself had at that time already expanded far beyond mere syntactic analysis, into textlinguistics and discourse analysis, pragmatics, and cognitive grammar. It also neglected the growing interest among some translation scholars in cognitive processes (for a recent survey, see *Across Languages and Cultures* 3.1).

Furthermore, much of the work grouped under the cultural turn actually seems closer to sociology than to culture studies. We have, for instance, seen an increasing interest in historical studies: witness the series of publications from the Göttingen project, and Anthony Pym's work on the methodology of historical research on translation (1998). This kind of research has included an interest in the physical movement of people and texts across cultural borders, the influence of publishers and patrons, and economic as well as textual factors. Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (2002) speak of "the power turn" in referring to a whole range of research on ideological aspects of translation: this covers themes such as postcolonial issues, gender issues, the manipulation of national identities and their perception, and the illusion of the translator's total neutrality. Here too, the subjects covered are at least as sociological as they are cultural. Hence perhaps the tendency of many scholars, including myself, to resort to the compound concept of the "sociocultural."

This is a bit lazy, though. It ought to be possible to draw a rough line down the middle of this concept, with (mainly) sociological issues on one side and (mainly) cultural ones on the other. One reason for doing this, for attempting to clarify the concept in this way, is the view we might then have of apparent research gaps – as I will try to show in what follows.

There has long been disagreement about precisely how culture is best defined, but recent decades have seen something of a growing consensus (for a useful summary of these developments, see Katan 1999). A good starting place is the proposed definition by Kroeber and Kluckholm (1952: 181), given as their conclusion to a list of 164 previous definitions. (I cite it from Katan 1999: 16.)

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive element of

> human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of
> culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and
> especially their attached values. Culture systems may, on the one hand, be con-
> sidered as products of action, on the other hand, as conditioning elements of
> future action.

This definition sees culture partly as something external (visible as behaviour
and as artifacts), and partly as internal (ideas and values). Of these two
aspects, the internal ones are seen as more central ("core"). This centrality
is represented to various extents in several well-known models of culture,
such as that of Geert Hofstede (1991). Hofstede's model is an "onion model"
of different layers. At the core we have values, and around this, practices.
Practices include rituals, heroes and symbols. So the further out we move
from the cultural core, the more we move into the realm of sociology: into
the realm of social behaviour and social relations, of institutions, of the
production and distribution of artifacts, etc. As the above quotation suggests,
cultural systems are both produced by action – including, and especially, social
action – and serve to influence future action. Put simply, we have a constant
interplay between actions and ideas, with the causality working both ways.
The sociologists focus more on the actions, and the cultural studies people on
the ideas.

   With respect to translation, this means that we can now map out the
main regions of our "spatial" context as follows (in addition to the immediate
textual context):

– *Cultural context*: focus on values, ideas, ideologies, traditions etc.
– *Sociological context*: focus on people (especially translators), their observ-
  able group behaviour, their institutions etc.
– *Cognitive context*: focus on mental processes, decision-making etc.

Some of the concepts we use in Translation Studies fall on borderline areas, and
this has perhaps contributed to the way these borders have become blurred.
One such Janus-concept is that of the norm, which is both cultural and social;
another is the fuzzy notion of discourse, which seems at least to straddle the
border between the texts and their social context, and perhaps other borders as
well, depending on your definition of it.

2.   Current models and frameworks

In the sociological context, we find quite a variety of approaches, all competing for space and prestige. We also find gaps: clusters of interesting sociological questions that do not seem to have benefited from adequate theoretical frameworks at all.

I think we can usefully divide "the sociology of translation" into three sub-areas. They are:

– The sociology of translations as products.
– The sociology of translators.
– The sociology of translating, i.e. the translation process.

The third sub-area is the one that has received the least attention, as far as I am aware, and it is the one to which I want to give the most space. Before doing so, however, I need to sketch in the background, and so what follows is first a brief survey of what I see as the main theoretical models and approaches currently used in sociological studies of translation, in the light of these three sub-areas. We will then focus specifically on the translation process itself.

2.1   Polysystems

One of the most influential models has been polysystem theory. I suggested above that polysystem theory is a cultural rather than a sociological one, and it is true that its major applications have had to do with the cultural position and status of translations – particularly literary translations – in the textual or literary polysystem of the target culture. Relations have been explored between translations and other kinds of "rewritten" texts, such as anthologies. Issues studied include such themes as the canonization of texts, the shifting status of texts, the reshuffling of relations in the target system as a result of the entrance of translations of certain kinds. However, some polysystem scholars have extended their focus to more sociological questions, such as Lefevere's interest in the institution of patronage (1992): the influence of publishers and other sponsors in selecting texts to be translated and in setting or confirming translation norms. In its sociological applications, polysystem theory is primarily a model of the sociology of translations, my first group above; to a lesser extent it also touches on the status and role of translators themselves.

2.2 Bourdieu

A model that give more focus to the sociology of translators is that of Bourdieu. (See the special issue of *The Translator*, 11, 2, 2005.) Recall that one of his central concepts is that of the field, within which agents (i.e. for us, translators) compete for positions of status and power (see the discussion in Hermans 1999:131f.). Jean-Marc Gouanvic (1999, 2002) has used Bourdieu's model in his study of the emergence of science fiction as a new genre in France after World War II, under the influence of translation. Gouanvic looks at the roles played in this emergence by economic factors, key translators and publishers, marketing practices and book clubs. The focus is on the factors that gave rise to a new literary genre in France, not on the actual translating process itself. Heilbron (2000) also makes use of Bourdieu's general approach in analysing the international flows of translated books between core and peripheral cultures, as part of a broader globalization process. He calls for more research on the social organization of different segments of the international translation market, including segments where translations are particularly rare, such as school books, where national authorities exert a decisive influence.

Another of Bourdieu's central concepts is the habitus. This is the basic psychological-emotional disposition of agents (in a field), including notions of role model, self-image and group identity. Simeoni (1998) has drawn attention to the typical habitus of translators as one of "voluntary servitude," an expression that recalls Douglas Robinson's view (1991) of the somatics of translation. (See also Kalinowski 2002.) This kind of approach is thus directed more at the sociology (or sociopsychology) of translators themselves, rather than at translations as products or at the observable process of translating.

2.3 Luhmann

Niklas Luhmann's theory of social systems has also been applied in Translation Studies (see Hermans 1999:137f.; Poltermann 1992). Luhmann sees society as being constructed of differentiated systems (the law, the church, politics...), each being constituted of acts of communication (e.g. Luhmann 1990). These communications are the elements out of which society is built. A translation event is precisely such a communication, an element of the translation system. A translation event can be defined temporally as the duration of a translation task, from initial request to delivery and payment. Following Toury (1995:249), we can distinguish such events from translation acts: acts take place in the translator's head, at the level of cognition, and are not observable directly.

Social systems of different kinds use different organizing codes. Like many systemic thinkers, Luhmann seems to like binary codes: thus the legal system organizes itself on the basis of the difference between legal and illegal; science works on true vs. false. Hermans suggests (1999: 143) that the translation system is structured on the difference between a valid and a non-valid representation of the source text – which raises interesting questions of interpretation and conceptual analysis that I will not go into here.

But a translation system contains more than just translation events. It also contains statements about these events: discourse on translation, including such texts as translation reviews, prefaces and other paratexts, and also scholarly research on translation: all these feed into the system, reflecting it and affecting it. These additional elements show something about people's perception of translation (at a given time and place). These perceptions are of course partly formed by translations themselves, but they also serve as expectations which affect the way translators think and work. In this sense, the translation system is self-reflective and self-developing.

Like Bourdieu's model, Luhmann's too seems more applicable to the study of factors influencing translation and translators, and to the distribution of different kinds of translations in society, than to the translating process itself. He offers a way of conceptualizing norms, for instance, as expectations within the translation system. And he also offers a way of looking at the relations between the translation system and other social systems, in terms of interference and influence.

2.4 Translation historiography

Recent research on translation (and interpreting) history has stressed the roles of individual translators, as real people living in specific circumstances. This view of history thus focuses less on the movement of ideas than on the movements of real people, and also of concrete texts and manuscripts. In terms of my tripartite division, the historical approach advocated e.g. by Pym (1998) and Delisle and Woodsworth (1995) concerns above all the sociology of translators.

Pym (1998: 5) divides translation historiography into three areas. Its "archaeology" has to do with who translated what, how, when, where, for whom, etc. These are the basic textual and sociological facts. Then there is "historical criticism," which looks at the consequences of translations in terms of their contribution (or otherwise) to "progress." This is the ideological dimension (including the scholar's own ideology). And finally there is "explanation,"

which explores the causality of translation, including social causes. Pym's aim is thus to place translators and translations in a broad sociohistorical context.

2.5 Critical discourse theory, pragmatics

These frameworks have also been used in translation research that could be called sociological in approach, in the sense that they allow us to explore the relations between textual features and, for instance, political aspects of power and ideology. Annie Brisset (1990) adapted critical discourse analysis in her examination of some drama translations in Québec. Such work draws attention to the potential political (and thus also social) effects of translation, and also to the intentions of translators, but sheds no light on the process itself.

Norman Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis (1992 and later publications) provides a rich framework for the analysis of what he calls the discursive practices of text production, distribution and consumption; a central notion is that of intertextuality. However, Fairclough's work aims to analyse social change in general, not translation as such. It has not yet been much applied in translation studies (but see Olk 2002), although it suggests a potentially useful model for the analysis of some aspects of translation practice.

Some scholars have adopted a pragmatic framework in their analysis of translation (see e.g. Hatim & Mason 1990; Hickey 1998). This work applies concepts such as Grice's conversational maxims, relevance theory, politeness and presupposition in the close textual analysis of translations. It takes account of the social consequences of translators' choices, and underlines the important fact that translators must be aware of their implied readers. As candidates for a general sociological theory of translation, however, these approaches are too restricted in focus. They are really extensions of textlinguistic analysis.

2.6 Sociolinguistic models

A glance at recent issues of *Translation Studies Abstracts* shows that there is quite a variety of translation research that is sociolinguistic in one way or another. At the "socio" end, we find research that examines particular aspects of the social conditions of translation, such as translation to and from creole languages (Lang 2000): such a situation obviously poses special problems for a translator. At the "linguistic" end, we find many studies of particular textual features that have social causes or correlations, such as dialects and other instances of linguistic variation. (See e.g. Berthele 2000 on the translation of Jim's vernacular in *Huckleberry Finn*, or Mayoral Asensio 2000 on the translation of

linguistic variation more generally.) Between these two ends, there are studies that could also be listed under my "pragmatics" heading, dealing e.g. with politeness and audience design. Mason (2000) uses the notion of audience design in his analysis of the causes of translation shifts.

An early attempt to draw together a number of sociolinguistic analyses is the work of Maurice Pergnier (1978/1993), which incorporates constraints of time, place and medium as well as more linguistic aspects. And we should not forget Eugene Nida's pioneering work in the 1960s and later, on communicative aspects of translation. His model borrows much from information theory (notions of message, noise, redundancy, recoding, channel, readability or accessibility). (See e.g. Nida 1964.)

These sociolinguistic models foreground correlations and causal connections between situational features and linguistic profile features. A much broader picture is offered by Jean Peeters (1999), who uses a sociolinguistic model based on Jean Gagnepain's theory of mediation. It is presented as an anthropological theory, in that it claims to capture what it is that makes human communication human. There are four key concepts, each corresponding to a whole theoretical level. They are the *Sign* – having to do with designation, meaning, cognition; the *Tool* – having to do with production, technology, ends and means; the *Person* – having to do with interactions, social relations; and the *Norm* – having to do with values. We can relate these quite easily to the general model I outlined above. The Sign relates to the cognitive level, and the Tool to the linguistic texts themselves; the Person is seen in social terms; and the Norm represents what I called the cultural level. Peeters' approach stresses that translation as a process is governed by the same influences that affect any exchange. Like other forms of interaction, translation is affected not only by one's own intrinsic manner of being but also by one's attitude towards and perception of others – a view that recalls Bourdieu's habitus.

2.7 Skopos theory

Skopos theory (Reiss & Vermeer 1984; Vermeer 1996; Nord 1997) could also be seen as having a sociological viewpoint, in that it gives prominence to the role of the client, to the negotiations between translator and client concerning appropriate translation strategies, and the reactions of the reader (accepting or protesting against the translation). Holz-Mänttäri's framework of action theory (1984) has a broader scope, but has been less applied outside the German-speaking world, perhaps partly because of its idiosyncratic terminology. Hanna Risku (1998) makes good use of it in her account of translatorial competence.

(See also Risku & Freihoff 2000.) Risku also includes other agents in her model, such as revisers.

2.8 Quality control, the translation market, language planning

Then there is the work on quality control procedures and multilingual documentation management, mainly in the field of technical and business translation (e.g. Sprung 2000), and the development of international quality standards for translation (for a discussion of the latter, see Chesterman & Wagner 2000: Ch. 6). This work is motivated by the practical requirements of business efficiency, and has not yet really become part of the mainstream of Translation Studies, which is unfortunate. Research on these procedures obviously applies many of the notions of action theory, albeit only implicitly. It is certainly focused on the concrete translating process – a feature that has been lacking or underplayed in many of the models I have mentioned.

A related area in the sociology of translations is the needs analysis of the translation market, particularly in the business world, and research on its functioning (e.g. Lambert 1996). Key concepts here include job satisfaction, conflict resolution (disagreements and clashing role perceptions between clients and translators), and translation policy. To what extent, for instance, are translation and language policies and practices integrated with the rest of a company's activities? What kind of feedback systems are available?

Finally, mention should be made of work in language planning, which is directed towards the application of research-based knowledge to particular social situations and problems. Typical issues concern language and/or translation policies in multilingual countries or institutions, or for minority languages. These issues have obvious relevance for language rights, democracy, and political development, all of which lie within the sphere of sociological interest.

Research that I have grouped under this heading covers all of my three sociological areas: translations, translators, and the translating process. It might thus offer a better foothold for future sociological research than models that have been originally developed to deal mainly with literary translation.

Each of these models or approaches allows us to ask different kinds of questions. Overall, the least attention seems to have been given to the actual process of translating, as a series of concrete tasks. With the exception of research on quality control, none of the above models seem to place the observable process of individual translation tasks at the centre of focus. There is a kind of gap here, at what might be thought of as the centre of sociological translation research: a gap between frameworks based on abstract sociocultural

systems on the one hand, and extensions of text-based frameworks on the other. It is to this gap that I now turn in more detail, with a consideration of the concept of a practice.

3.   Translation practices

I want to suggest that the notion of a practice fills this gap at the centre of the sociology of translation. It allows us a sociological perspective which enables us to focus on the process of translating, rather than the subsequent history of the translation product once it has been submitted to the client, or the influences that impinge on the translator before a given translation task is undertaken. I will first discuss the notion itself, and then show how it can be applied to Translation Studies.

We can start with the observation that a practice involves people (usually more than one): this in itself takes us one step up from a focus on a translator as a single agent. We have already met the term "practices" as part of Hofstede's onion model of culture. His use of the term, however, is more abstract than the sense I want to develop, as it includes symbols; besides "heroes," it also covers "rituals," but these are not appropriate for our purposes as they are defined as "technically superfluous" patterns of behaviour, such as the use of small talk in some cultures.

In his overview of sociological theory, Runciman (1998: 11–12) sees practices as units of reciprocal action. Being reciprocal, they therefore exist at the level of group or institutional behaviour. As units of action, they are socially, concretely real; not just semiotically real. They are obviously subject to constraints imposed by power relations of various kinds: norms are prime examples.

The philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (1981), in the course of his argument in favour of an ethics based on virtues rather than rights or values, proposes a more complex definition. He writes:

> By a "practice" I am going to mean any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity through which goods internal to that course of activity are realised in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence which are appropriate to, and partially definitive of, that form of activity, with the result that human powers to achieve excellence, and human conceptions of the ends and goods involved, are systematically extended.
>
> (1981: 175)

There are several aspects to this definition that are highly relevant to our concerns. (For further discussion, see Chesterman 2001.) Note first the emphasis on cooperative human activity: shared effort towards an agreed end. If we adopt this view, we note a difference between practices and Bourdieu's fields: the latter are more characterized by competition than by cooperation, because of Bourdieu's focus on the struggle for power. The key value in MacIntyre's definition is not power but excellence. On this view, practitioners – i.e. people working in a practice – seek first of all to be good at their work, and need therefore to cooperate. Power considerations cannot be overlooked, but they are not central; and they may apply at levels other than that of the practitioners themselves, e.g. at the level of those who use their services or products. Examples of practices given by MacIntyre are football, chess, architecture, farming, physics, medicine, painting, music, politics. We can easily add translation to this list.

An emphasis on the striving for excellence thus underlines the positive side of professional work, the personal concern with quality. Actions that are seen to be of high quality may of course eventually attract status and other attributes of symbolic power, but MacIntyre is keen to stress the "internal goods" rather than external benefits. Internal goods include the good feeling you get when you know you have done something well – the translator's "ahaa!" experience, the pleasure of solving a tricky passage, of finding the right term. There may be an interesting way here of bringing back issues of quality into descriptive research.

MacIntyre points out that entering into a practice means entering into a relationship with its history and tradition (its narrative, in fact) and its contemporary practitioners. It also means accepting the authority of prevailing standards of excellence (at least initially), and striving to achieve them, even to exceed them. Novice practitioners thus need to become socialized into the practice, which often involves some kind of accreditation, so that quality control (standards of excellence) can be maintained. Practices are "socially established," i.e. more or less institutionalized. They may coincide with professions (e.g. medicine), but they may not. Whether or not translation is actually a profession proper is a moot point: perhaps not, in that we have no monopoly over a particular social value (such as health, for the medical profession), nor are there (yet) compulsory accreditation procedures (anyone can set up as a translator…). But translation is certainly a practice in MacIntyre's sense.

Summing up so far, we have an idea of a practice as an institutionalized system of social conduct in which tasks are performed by actors fulfilling roles, under contextual conditions which include a striving for quality.

With respect to translation, then, we can say that the *practice of translation* (in a given context) is made up of *tasks* whose performance takes place via *translation events* (in that context).

If we study translation as a practice in this sense – as a set of translation events – we shall be interested in many questions that are not so easily posed within most of the frameworks I listed above. These, then, are potentially interesting research problems. Some examples:

- Whom do translators work with? Which other agents cooperate? How does co-drafting work?
- What roles do these other agents play? (For instance, how do quality control systems operate? Are there different processes for different aspects of revision? Revision on screen / on paper? Different revisions for different aspects of the text?)
- What kinds of relations prevail between the various agents? (These relations are both "vertical," with the client or project manager, and "horizontal," with other team members, revisers or consultants.)
- What kinds of technical resources are used in the performance of tasks, and how? How does this use vary?
- How do translators organize their own working conditions ergonomically?
- What are the distinct phases of the task process (i.e. the translation event), from the initial need to the delivery of the translation and payment of the fee? How are the phases distributed over time?
- How are multilingual documents drafted?
- How do working conditions and processes vary according to whether the client is "exporting" or "importing" the translation?
- What constraints exist, and how do they affect the task process?

Not just abstract power relations and norms, but more concrete things like policy decisions can also directly affect working conditions. For instance:

- What are the policy decisions about the provision of source texts and the right to edit them and/or correct errors?
- What are the policy decisions about the choice of translators: native or non-native, in-house or freelance, single or team?
- What are the policy decisions about the availability of consultation, arbitration procedures in cases of unsolved queries or disagreements?
- What are the policy decisions on procedures for producing multilingual documents, in different institutions?

Some of these questions are raised by Brian Mossop (2000) in a call for more research on translators' workplace procedures. He particularly underlines the need to study revision procedures, in order to find out more about how quality is improved in professional conditions. (See also Mossop 2001; Malmkjær 1994; Hansen 2002.) Other questions are touched on in some of the approaches I have outlined above. Päivi Vehviläinen (2000) has done interesting work (in Finnish) on inferring translators' internalized role models from their discourse in interviews. None of the frameworks so far mentioned seems capable of covering all the above questions.

Other questions that seem pertinent to research on translation practice concern the relations between translators and other agents, rather than their actual actions:

- What is the status of the various agents? How is this status manifested? How do translators perceive their own status? What kinds of role models do they have? (Cf. their habitus.)
- What is the public perception of people involved in translation practice? How is this manifested? (The discourse on translation, representation of translators in literature, customer satisfaction, feedback, rates of pay...) Answers to these questions could tell us something about what we could call translators' public image or their "perceived" habitus, as opposed to their actual "experienced" habitus.
- How do rates of pay vary, how are they calculated?
- How do professional translators try to develop their own skills?
- What kinds of accreditation systems exist in different countries? How well do they work? What do professional translators think of them?

4.   Actor-network theory

One sociological theory that, at first sight, might seem eminently applicable to research on translation practice is actor-network theory (developed especially by the French sociologists Bruno Latour and Michel Callon; a useful initial resource can be found at http://carbon.cudenver.edu/~mryder/itc_data/act_net. html). This has not yet, to my knowledge, been much applied in Translation Studies (but see Buzelin 2005). I will outline some of its main ideas here, and point out briefly how it might be adapted for our purposes.

Actor-network theory (ANT) was originally developed in the late 1980s and 1990s as a tool to study technological innovation and scientific progress, as part of the sociology of science. It has been influenced by postmodernist

ideas, and by the debates on the discourse of science. The central notion of an actor (or agent or actant) is understood to include both human and non-human agents: people interact with machines, computers, books etc., and all these form part of the socio-technical network in which science is done, or in which some new engineering project is undertaken. The network has no centre, all the elements are interdependent. Important roles are played by knowledge systems and by economic factors, as well as by people and by technical aids. Causality is not unidirectional: any node in the network can affect any other node. The theory distinguishes various kinds of relation between the nodes of a network, including one called "translation," which may be misleading for translation scholars as it has a somewhat different sense: it refers to the way in which each actor has to "translate" meanings into his/her/its own terms, in order to make sense of them. This then leads inevitably to compromises, without which the project cannot move forward: at some stage, debate stops after adequate consensus is reached, and issues are considered "closed" simply for the practical reason of making some progress. All actors have their own interests and values, too, which affect how they participate in the project and how they interpret their own roles. (For a critical collection of papers on ANT, see Law and Hassard 1998.)

While this theory is not applicable *in toto* to Translation Studies, largely because its main focus (as part of science and technology studies) is so different, it does offer ideas that we could develop in the study of translation practices. For instance, we might wish to establish what networks exist (in a given context): what the various nodes are, both human and non-human; what the range of the network is; what use is made of each of the nodes; the frequency of links in different directions; the flexibility of the network, the extent to which it remains stable or expands or contracts over time; even the ways in which compromises are born and become necessary. How do translators build and maintain their networks?

Translators too need to compromise and "satisfice" – i.e. accept solutions that are adequate even if not necessarily optimal, and shelve doubts. There comes a point at which further effort to find a better solution is simply not worth the time: the deadline looms, and other problems also need solutions. There is interesting research to be done on how the translating process reaches this satisficing point, and on how the point is recognized by the translator. This research would complement the notion of processing effort used in relevance theory (see Gutt 2000): there, the processing effort in the relevance equation is that invested by the receiver. The study of satisficing, however, would focus more on Levý's "minimax" strategy (1967), where the effort is the translator's.

However, in translation practice it is not the case that there is no central node: there is – the translator. The ANT notion of a project needs to be scaled down to refer to individual translation tasks. These tasks give rise to products that are innovations in a way, for they are new texts, but not in the wider social sense of technical or scientific inventions.

To conclude, here is a list of statements that would characterize such a sociology of the translating process. Each of the italicized terms indicates a complex concept that needs analysing in much more detail than I have had the space to do here.

- The sociology of translating focuses on translating as a social *practice*.
- The practice consists of the performance of translation *tasks* (observable as translation *events*).
- The practice is *institutionalized*, to a greater or lesser extent.
- The tasks are carried out by *translators*, as people with their own subjectivity, interests and values.
- Translators create and use *networks*, with the help of which the tasks are accomplished via cooperation.
- Networks consist of human and non-human *actors* (or *resources*).
- Each actor fulfils a *role* or function (division of labour…).
- Each role has a *status* (public perception…).
- Each task is completed under *constraints* (norms, policies, other networks…).
- Translation practice is governed by some notion of *quality*.

5. Applications

If we can build up a body of descriptive data on the sociology of translation practice under different conditions and in different cultures, its use will be twofold. In the first place, it will help us to understand more about translation causality, i.e. in explaining why translations look the way they do (see Brownlie 2003 for a good example).

In the second place, sociological research can influence our understanding of translation quality. All the research questions I posed above are descriptive ones, but they are all relevant to normative issues of quality. In fact, they are all relevant questions for research on *best* practice. If we can correlate these kinds of research results with measures of the quality of the translation, we might find interesting information about which working methods (including which revision systems) seem to lead to the best translations, under which conditions.

One might start by comparing the networks (and network use) of professionals vs. amateurs or trainees, for instance. There is already research on the differing use of some non-human resources by these two groups (e.g. Jääskeläinen 1999).

In this way, research on translation sociology could also serve the needs of institutions developing their own translation services, as well as translator training programmes.[1]

Note

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Third Riga Symposium on Pragmatic Aspects of Translation (November 1–2, 2002); see Chesterman 2003.

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Pour une socio-traduction

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Translation Studies (TS) has gained a certain recognition as a domain in its own right. Along with this recognition, come various forms of institutionalization, even though it is difficult to determine its exact nature and scope and different "turns" have been taken (linguistic, textual, psycholinguistic, cognitive, sociological, etc.). We deal first with TS easily borrowing from various other disciplines and we question the types of interdisciplinarity. Then we claim that, in the process of maturation, the time has come for a socio-analysis of the field. In the second part of the paper, we try to understand the possible relationships between translation, the translator and sociology. Finally, we suggest a socio-translation, with three main orientations.

1. La traductologie comme polydiscipline

1.1 Une discipline en devenir

L'interdisciplinarité est un mot en vogue, souvent appelée. C'est une revendication manifestée depuis 1980 (Toury), répétée depuis, peu ou rarement approfondie, justifiée, comme dans le titre d'un colloque tenu à Vienne en 1992 (Snell-Hornby et al. 1994). N'est-elle qu'incantation? Peut-elle être autre chose quand la notion même de discipline demeure ambiguë?

Une discipline peut être déterminée par son objet d'étude, par son cadre institutionnel, par ses acteurs qui s'autodéfinissent alors comme membres de la dite discipline et interagissent avec d'autres qui s'auto-définissent comme membres d'une autre discipline. Elle peut aussi émerger par sécession d'une autre discipline déjà bien établie.

La traductologie a toutes les apparences d'une discipline:

    – Elle s'est rapidement institutionnalisée ces dernières années, par la création d'associations idoines (European Society for Translation Studies/EST, Association canadienne de traductologie/ACT ou Canadian Association for TS /CATS, associations similaires au Brésil au Japon, en Corée, etc.), par la tenue régulière de séminaires de recherche doctorale comme CETRA, par le lancement de collections spécifiques dans plusieurs maisons d'édition, par la multiplication de revues savantes, par l'établissement sous les auspices de l'Union européenne de réseaux et groupes de travail portant sur traduction et formation ou traduction et industries de la langue, etc.

    – Elle a des acteurs, comme les participants à cette conférence de Lisbonne qui se proclament traductologues à temps plein ou partiel, de manière exclusive ou avec d'autres étiquettes en parallèle.

Cela n'empêche pas néanmoins que restent problématiques:

    – Son objet d'étude, surtout aujourd'hui où existe une diversité des dénominations pour traiter des pratiques de transfert multilingue (adaptation, localisation, editing, production de documentation multilingue, rédaction technique, médiation langagière, versionisation, etc.), comme si l'objet *traduction* était devenu fluide, négociable, suscitant représentations et attentes diversifiées (Gambier 1999–2000).

    – Son rapport à d'autres disciplines, comme par exemple les sciences du langage.

Mon propos ici n'est pas de repérer les croisements, les dettes, les filiations, les convergences (partielles ou momentanées) entre "écoles de pensée," la circulation des idées, des concepts, même si la traductologie n'échappe pas parfois aux effets de groupe et donc aux effets de mode qui tendent à figer, à dogmatiser la réflexion: ainsi ont pu y dominer un temps le modèle Vinay-Darbelnet (surtout au Canada), la théorie interprétative, la théorie du Skopos, la perspective à la Venuti, puis aujourd'hui l'approche par corpus (avec accent sur les universaux) et les perspectives dites cognitives. Plus modestement, je voudrais m'interroger sur les rapports de la traductologie avec d'autres disciplines, en particulier avec la sociologie.

1.2   Evolution de la traductologie par emprunts

Avec ses tournants successifs – textuel, pragmatique, puis culturel (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990), la traductologie est-elle toujours opportuniste? Quant aux études culturelles, à la pragmatique, ont-elles pris le tournant traductologique?

L'évolution de la traductologie semble poussée par des préoccupations, des thèmes, des méthodes issus d'ailleurs. Sans être exhaustif, on peut lister de tels contacts:

– Par l'anthropologie, certains chercheurs en traductologie ont compris que la saisie d'une culture est un processus qui inclut des formes "culturelles" et "linguistiques" de traduction, que l'Autre n'est pas verbalisé directement mais filtré, arrangé à travers la conscience, les représentations, la langue de l'ethnographe.

– Par les études bibliques, on a peu à peu appréhendé les manières de rendre accessibles et acceptables les textes sacrés, recontextualisés dans des cultures très différentes sans perdre leur message spirituel, théologique.

– Par la psycholinguistique, on a pu tenter d'en savoir plus sur ce qui se passe dans la tête du traducteur, au moment de décider d'une stratégie (opérations cognitives).

– Avec les études (inter)culturelles, on a saisi combien et comment la traduction et les discours tenus sur la traduction servent certaines priorités idéologiques de domination ou de résistance. Dans leur prolongement, les travaux orientés sur le post-colonialisme ont souligné les conditions dans lesquelles sont établis ou ont été négociés les rapports asymétriques entre sociétés, entre cultures, et comment les différences entre langues peuvent être utilisées pour soumettre à ces rapports ou s'en émanciper.

– Quelques outils ou concepts de sociologie ont permis de mettre en évidence les contraintes qui marquent les attitudes, les comportements et même les compétences du traducteur, sans parler des attentes des récepteurs (commanditaires, clients, lecteurs, téléspectateurs, etc.).

– La sémiotique, dans ses différentes tendances et spécialisations (littéraire, biblique, filmique, culturelle, etc.) a aidé à penser la complexité des messages significatifs (langagiers et autres), ainsi que l'importance des supports dans leur circulation et leur transfert.

– Les sciences du langage, dans la diversité de leurs approches et paradigmes, ne cessent d'apporter leur contribution, plus ou moins reconnue, admise, à la traductologie – depuis le structuralisme jusqu'à la linguistique fonctionnelle ou systémique, depuis les divers types d'analyse de discours et de linguistique textuelle jusqu'à la neurolinguistique, depuis la pragmatique jusqu'aux études basées sur corpus, depuis les sémantiques (lexicale, discursive, cognitive) jusqu'aux

résultats récents de la linguistique computationnelle et des industries de la langue.

– Grâce aux réflexions féministes, on a pu mettre à jour comment la pratique traductionnelle et le discours (notamment métaphorique) sur la traduction pouvaient être biaisés par certains préjugés ou a priori sexistes.

– Avec l'herméneutique, le traducteur a mieux compris comment son interprétation du document original détermine sa traduction et combien tout acte d'interprétation est une forme de traduction.

– Les études littéraires, aussi dans la diversité de leurs approches et perspectives (comparée, historique, théorique), contribuent toujours et encore à mieux cerner certains aspects et fonctions de la traduction et certains rôles du traducteur. Qu'on pense par exemple aux avancées du formalisme russe sur le polysystème, de la poétique pragoise, des théories de la réception, de la génétique des textes.

– D'autres disciplines, comme la rhétorique, l'histoire culturelle, la philosophie du langage, la psychanalyse (avec les notions de transfert, de condensation, de déplacement, de jeux verbaux, etc.), les études en communication (avec les fonctions du langage, les typologies de texte) et en médias, l'histoire… ont eu aussi et ont parfois encore leur mot à dire, à ajouter dans le développement de la traductologie dont bien des notions de base (langue, culture, communication, situation, contexte, action, cognition, interaction, stratégie, etc.) ont été approfondies en dehors d'elle.

Quel que soit l'angle ou niveau d'approche, la traductologie est en apparence une interdiscipline: que la traduction soit perçue comme produit (on recourt alors à des notions des études littéraires, de la linguistique contrastive, de la sociolinguistique, de l'analyse du discours critique), qu'elle soit perçue comme processus (on recourt à des notions de psycholinguistique, de psychologie cognitive, etc.) ou qu'elle soit perçue comme action d'agents (clients, récepteurs) (on recourt à des notions de pragmatique, d'analyse de discours…).

Comment comprendre cette constellation d'influences, d'emprunts, d'autant plus que les traductologues tendent non seulement à butiner mais aussi à s'hyperspécialiser, c'est-à-dire à rester enfermés dans leur problématique, sans lire forcément ce que produisent leurs collègues?

1.3 Trois types d'interdiscipline

L'interdisciplinarité suppose de reconnaître (quitte à les dépasser) des limites aux disciplines, entendues dans un sens scientifique ou universitaire (cf. Section 1.4). Elle exige ensuite une certaine identité pour aller se confronter à d'autres. Mais n'a-t-on alors qu'un surf-prétexte, un éclectisme à connotation irénique ou davantage?

Comment lier l'autonomie réclamée ou proclamée et la revendication d'interdisciplinarité? Parfois quand l'interdisciplinarité devient allégeance à une théorie, la traductologie perd de sa force, sinon même de sa raison d'être – ainsi Gutt (1991) plaçant sa réflexion sur la traduction entièrement sous la théorie de la pertinence, et Simeoni (dans divers écrits) développant sa réflexion avec des concepts de Bourdieu, en viennent à exprimer un fort scepticisme sur l'autonomie éventuelle de la traductologie.

Sur le continuum des paradigmes, entre philosophie et sciences exactes, comment la traductologie peut-elle se donner une place? Surtout de quelle théorie de la littérature, de quelle linguistique... parle-t-on?

Faute d'assises conceptuelles fermes et quand même dans un souci d'ouverture, certains voudraient occulter ces matières de référence et changer le nom des recherches en traductologie, comme si le problème n'était que de désignation, pour miser sur des études comparées de communication (Comparative Communication Studies) ou sur des études culturelles (Cultural Studies), comme si la culture était exclusive des professions langagières, comme si le concept de traduction et l'objet de la traductologie étaient d'un coup mieux cernés.

A quoi et à quelles traditions emprunte-t-on, en sachant que l'histoire, les acquis et les présupposés d'une autre discipline lui sont spécifiques? Quels concepts baladeurs, "nomades" (Stengers 1987) trouve-t-on en traductologie actuelle – comme hier en linguistique, on trouvait ceux de système, de structure, de code, d'information, etc.?

Quels glissements sémantiques connaissent par exemple les concepts de sens, de norme, de contextualisation, de transfert, de stratégie, d'acceptabilité?

On peut comprendre l'interdisciplinarité d'au moins trois façons.

a) Comme *mode de proximité* ou juxtaposition, jonction de disciplines: c'est la *pluridisciplinarité* qui fait de la traductologie une discipline-carrefour (Wilss 1999). On emprunte en sens unique à d'autres disciplines (modèles, notions, méthodes, argumentation, termes...) – par exemple, la traductologie à la linguistique textuelle, sans nécessairement que les procédures et effets de transferts soient pleinement reconnus. En ne

retenant ou n'extrayant que des concepts isolés, on risque de bricoler, d'instrumentaliser les théories empruntées, comme si les concepts avaient sens hors de leur réseau conceptuel. Ainsi pour Bourdieu, champ, habitus, capital culturel, capital symbolique sont interreliés. Peut-on croire que l'addition d'un concept de Fairclough, un autre de Bahktine, un troisième de Gadamer vont constituer une cohérence explicative? Quelles sont alors les limites de la convergence?

b) Comme *mode de regard extérieur*, c'est-à-dire ce que d'autres peuvent dire de votre discipline, ou *extradisciplinarité*. Par exemple ce que la philosophie, la psychanalyse s'efforcent de faire entendre à la traductologie, ce que la neurologie explique à l'interprétation. La traductologie est-elle alors à l'écoute ou fait-elle la sourde oreille sur ce qui peut lui paraître trivial ou éloigné de ses problématiques? Inversement, qu'est-ce que révèle la traductologie sur certains fonctionnements sémantiques, cognitifs, culturels, idéologiques et qui pourrait intéresser telle ou telle autre discipline?

c) Comme *mode de passage* ou synergie entre deux ou plusieurs disciplines qui peuvent aller jusqu'à fusionner, c'est-à-dire à modifier leurs frontières respectives, pour un bénéfice mutuel. C'est la *transdisciplinarité*. Par exemple la traductologie dans ses rapports d'homologie possible avec la sémiotique de la culture, les théories de la communication. A quelle nécessité conceptuelle, épistémologique, méthodologique répond cette fécondation réciproque? Comme exemple de cette fécondation, on citera le Prix Nobel d'économie pour 2002 attribué à un économiste fondateur de l'économie expérimentale et à un psychologue adepte de la psychologie expérimentale; le Prix a récompensé ce dialogue qui a contribué à mieux comprendre les processus cognitifs sous-tendant la prise de décision économique.

D'un côté donc, la tentation de l'éparpillement (pluridisciplinarité), de l'autre les défis de la confrontation, des concepts transversaux, transgressifs (extra- et trans-disciplinarité). La cartographie de la traductologie n'a certainement pas aujourd'hui une configuration stable parmi les autres disciplines.

1.4 Les conditions de la transdisciplinarité

La traductologie contemporaine apparaît diverse dans ses méthodes, ses concepts, ses tendances. Elle est *pluridisciplinarité* donc dans la mesure où elle tend à juxtaposer différentes disciplines ou morceaux de disciplines. Cette juxtaposition ou ces chevauchements et emprunts partiels sont instables (ou

flexibles?) et peuvent répondre à des effets de tendances dominantes, comme par exemple la vague actuelle des sciences cognitives, plus qu'à des nécessités épistémologiques. D'où aussi, concomitante avec cette pluridisciplinarité, le sentiment de fragmentation, de parcellisation. Ainsi est-on toujours sûr que les recherches en interprétation relèvent de la traductologie (cf. Pöchhacker 1997: 83–87; Gile 2002)? Est-on sûr d'utiliser le même concept de texte quand on traite de traduction littéraire ou de traduction multimédia?

Ici, il faut considérer le double statut de la traductologie:

- – Matière universitaire, elle résiste mal aux divisions académiques; elle est alors souvent mal reconnue, *sous-discipline* des langues, de la littérature comparée, de la linguistique, etc.
- – Domaine de connaissance, elle voudrait produire un savoir objectivant et dans ce cas, son interdisciplinarité est souvent perçue en dehors de toute contrainte idéologique, institutionnelle, sociologique – occultant le fait que les disciplines déjà constituées revendiquent aussi à leur manière, la traduction.

La traductologie, métadiscours sur la traduction comme dialogue, entre deux, est le contraire d'un savoir totalisant: sa *transdisciplinarité* ou "co-errance" de disciplines (Nouss 1995: 340) est sa cohérence:

- – A condition que pratique et observation de la pratique ne soient pas séparées (Gambier 2001), quand bien même la qualité et la rigueur théoriques ne dépendent pas de la pratique.
- – A condition que le chercheur ne masque pas ses expériences, ses tâtonnements et ses préférences théoriques, qu'il assume sa double position de sujet-praticien ayant incorporé, intériorisé normes et conventions, et d'acteur s'interrogeant par exemple sur ces normes et conventions. Dans les deux cas, il est appelé à choisir, à décider, à justifier ses approches. Enfin qu'il accepte de lier son objet d'étude et sa présence comme sujet épistémique.
- – A condition que la traductologie ne cesse jamais d'interroger les catégories et modèles qu'elle emprunte avec leurs postulats et présupposés, qu'elle circonscrive sans cesse son objet d'investigation (et on sait combien aujourd'hui est protéiforme la notion de traduction (cf. 1.1), qu'elle précise ses positions méthodologiques, notamment le rapport de l'observateur aux données et les valeurs implicites, sous-jacentes aux efforts de recherche (empirique, déconstructionniste, etc.).

Ces conditions présupposent également que la traductologie ait clarifié les problèmes qu'elle cherche à comprendre, à expliquer, qu'elle sache poser les questions auxquelles elle pense pouvoir apporter des réponses. Comme par exemple le rapport traduction/interculturalité, de la traduction comme une des possibilités de la communication multilingue, la traduction dans ses rapports à la localisation et autres formes d'adaptation, l'impact de la traduction dans la circulation des textes à l'ère de la mondialisation et des réseaux d'information, la traduction et les droits intellectuels et moraux, la traduction et l'éthique, la traduction comme activité sociale, la traduction et les politiques linguistiques, etc.

Il est temps pour la traductologie de passer à l'étape de la "socio-analyse" (Bourdieu 1987), analogue à l'ethno-analyse des Boas, Malinowski, Mead, Leach et autres, c'est-à-dire de penser contre ses propres conditionnements et habitudes, de développer sa réflexivité, ce qui incluerait:

–   Qu'elle reconnaisse ses sources antérieures, passées, plutôt que de verser dans l'amnésie.
–   Qu'elle discute les objections qu'on lui fait, plutôt que d'exclure.
–   Qu'elle explicite, mesure les enjeux qu'elle représente.

La traduction abordée par les outils de la linguistique pragmatique par exemple est tout aussi légitime que celle abordée par la psychologie cognitive, à condition que les chercheurs disent leur visée, leur objet, leur unité et niveau d'analyse.

La pluralité des emprunts disciplinaires, avec ses exigences et aux conditions énoncées ci-dessus, ferait donc de la traductologie non plus un corps mou pluridisciplinaire mais une *polydiscipline* (Morin 1986), décloisonnant les savoirs, reconnaissant la complexité (sans prétendre à une unité factice), autorisant le dialogue entre ses "écoles de pensée." Une telle polydisciplinarité aurait des implications pour la formation des chercheurs, la définition de l'expertise en traductologie, l'évaluation des thèses de doctorat, etc.

2.   Traduction et sociologie

Nous voudrions maintenant illustrer, succinctement, nos réflexions en interrogeant les rapports entre traductologie et sociologie.

2.1 Une traductologie sociologisante

La traductologie est aujourd'hui partagée entre l'affirmation du rôle de la situation, de la contextualisation, de l'historicisation de toute traduction (par ex. les approches dites descriptives) et l'accent mis sur les processus (psycholinguistique, cognitif, neurolinguistique) chez le traducteur, abstrait de ses conditions matérielles, culturelles, sociales de travail (par ex. les études sur corpus ou à partir de la verbalisation concourante ou think aloud protocols).

Bien des chercheurs se sont appuyés sur une certaine conception sociale pour décrire la traduction comme activité ou le traducteur comme agent (cf. par exemple Nida, Toury, Lefevere, Venuti, Holz-Mänttäri, Hermans) ou encore sur une certaine conception de la langue et de la communication pour approcher la traduction (cf. par exemple Pergnier, Reiss, Neubert, House, Hatim). Parmi ceux qui ont inspiré ces chercheurs, on peut mentionner Firth, Halliday, Coseriu, Jakobson, Even-Zohar.

On peut insister aussi sur les sociologues qui auraient influencé quelques traductologues – sociologues comme Norbert Elias, Pierre Bourdieu, avec leurs notions de champ, d'habitus, de reproduction, de constructivisme (ayant marqué par exemple J. M. Gouanvic (1999) dans sa description de l'introduction de la science fiction américaine en France, dans les années 1950), ou comme Niklas Luhmann avec ses notions de coopération, d'attente, de système, de système social comme communication (ayant marqué entre autres T. Hermans pour rendre compte de la traduction dans son hétéronomie). Mais de manière assez surprenante, les concepts les plus courants de l'approche descriptive en traductologie, comme norme, conventions, règle, loi, pouvoir, patronage, etc. ne sont guère ou à peine ressourcés à leurs disciplines d'origine (sociologie mais également droit, psychologie sociale). D'où sans doute les ambiguïtés des définitions proposées, des types de norme, la diversité des méthodes pour mettre en évidence ces éventuelles normes et lois. Ainsi par exemple, Toury s'appuie surtout sur Levý et Popovič, chercheurs tchèques portés sur la traduction littéraire et ancrés dans une tradition structuraliste, et sur Even-Zohar, héritier des formalistes russes. La traductologie dans ce cas est pluridisciplinaire du bout des lèvres, avec des emprunts de seconde main, alors que Durkheim, Bourdieu n'ont guère été branchés sur l'étude de l'interculturel; ici la traductologie aurait à dire à la sociologie.

D'autres concepts comme idéologie, genre, coopération, action, marché, commanditaire, etc., mériteraient aussi d'être mis en perspective, une fois transplantés en traductologie.

2.2 Une dialectique qui se cherche

Ce qui peut frapper aujourd'hui, c'est la multiplication non seulement des pratiques professionnelles mais aussi des rôles joués par le traducteur/interprète. Celui-ci peut par exemple, d'un côté, être au service des multinationales, de l'industrie de l'électronique, des productions de loisir de masse; de l'autre, il peut appuyer divers groupes qui revendiquent l'usage de leur langue (minorités linguistiques; migrants; institutions européennes, etc.). Un même langagier peut désormais interpréter des gitans prêts d'être refoulés d'un territoire, des réfugiés qui se battent pour faire reconnaître leurs droits et traduire des rapports annuels aux comptes falsifiés, des documents qui permettent la diffusion d'équipements informatiques, etc. Agents des pouvoirs établis comme des contre-pouvoirs, les traducteurs n'évitent pas tensions et contradictions sociopolitiques (Tymoczko et Gentzler 2002). On ne peut donc guère affirmer que la traduction est absolument une arme contre l'ethnocentrisme, le colonialisme, le racisme, le sexisme, etc.

D'où les questions suivantes:

– Entre la société et ses diverses instances (éditoriales, éducatives, associatives, etc.) et l'individu, subjugué par sa liberté, sa créativité, quels sont les relais?
– Entre la perception d'une vision déterministe de l'histoire et les illusions de l'individualisme, comment expliquer les régularités, les routines du comportement traductionnel? Pourquoi un bilingue n'est-il que rarement reconnu comme un traducteur ou interprète qualifié?
– Entre l'idée d'un pouvoir "d'en haut" et une identité subjective, comment le traducteur acquiert-il, incorpore-t-il les normes qui l'orientent dans ses décisions? Comment reproduit-il cette image de servilité, de servitude (le traducteur comme serviteur de deux maîtres: au départ/à l'arrivée) (Simeoni 1998: 7–14; Kalinowski 2002: 47–49)?

En d'autres mots, comment devient-on traducteur compétent, si on exclut la logique déterministe de la simple reproduction, la logique du behaviourisme? Il me semble qu'il y a aujourd'hui des structures de socialisation professionnelle, comme les agences de traduction et les stages, par exemple, qui vaudraient d'être étudiés dans cette perspective, en reprenant certains concepts de Bourdieu comme l'habitus et le capital symbolique. Le travail par équipes ou le travail délocalisé, le télétravail, favorisés par les technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC), pourraient aussi être un lieu d'observation ad hoc.

Entre une approche "culturelle" et une approche psychologique, il y a place pour une ***socio-traduction,*** déjà mentionnée par James Holmes en 1972 mais curieusement délaissée sur sa carte ou schéma des types de recherche pouvant composer la traductologie. L'objectif est de comprendre comment le pouvoir des normes est intégré et assumé, comment les traducteurs (littéraires ou pas) se conforment aux attentes qu'on a d'eux ou, pour le dire autrement, s'auto-censurent pour satisfaire ces attentes, jusqu'à se faire tâcherons efficaces, ponctuels, invisibles, flexibles. Comment acceptent-ils cette violence symbolique (Venuti 1996)? Et qu'en obtiennent-ils en retour?

2.3 Vers une socio-traduction

La socio-traduction projetée a deux orientations principales: portant sur les traducteurs (leur profil, leur carrière) et portant sur les traductions, comme une des modalités des communications interculturelles.

Dans le premier cas, sont possibles, à titre d'exemples:

– Les récits de vie.
– La sociographie des trajectoires de traducteurs professionnels, comme Gouanvic (2002:93–102) comparant les habitus de Maurice Edgar Coindreau et de Marcel Duhamel, tous les deux traducteurs de littérature américaine dans les années 1920–1940 en France.
– Le suivi des jeunes diplômés. Par exemple, comment certains obtiennent-ils leur première traduction d'un roman?
– L'analyse du travail en groupe: quelle est la division du travail en localisation, le type de coopération dans la cabine d'interprétation simultanée, les modes d'accord? Comment y parvient-on?

Dans le second cas ou étude de l'utilisation sociale des traductions, on peut envisager:

– L'analyse de la traduction comme stratégie dans les relations internationales (culturelles, diplomatiques, institutionnelles, politiques, scientifiques).
– L'analyse des besoins et demandes en traduction, dans un secteur d'activité donné ou une région (rapport entre politique linguistique et politique de la traduction). Par exemple quel est le volume des traductions dans la presse, l'audiovisuel, les revues (savantes ou pas), l'édition, les instituts de recherche, etc.?
– L'analyse des offres selon les formes de traduction, le statut des traducteurs, les moyens techniques mis en oeuvre. Les offres "compé-

tentes" n'accroissent-elles pas la demande? D'où la justification de la multiplication des centres de formation?

– L'analyse des fonctions assumées à l'échelon d'une société, d'une entreprise, d'un micro-contexte (par exemple quelle est la répartition entre interprétation, recours à une lingua franca et interactions non traduites, lors d'une conférence internationale?)

– L'analyse des aides financières à la traduction et leur impact sur la place des traductions dans les communications d'un secteur?

A cette socio-traduction, on peut adjoindre une ***socio-traductologie*** (Gambier, à par.) pour, par exemple, examiner, outre ce qu'on a déjà signalé à propos de la socio-analyse (voir 1.4):

– Le statut de la discipline (cf. 1.1) comme institution universitaire, avec ses éditions, ses revues, ses conférences, ses associations, avec ses sources de financement, avec ses réseaux, ses cercles et ses listes de diffusion, avec de plus en plus aussi une lingua franca (qui la place dans une position paradoxale pour traiter de la communication multilingue et multiculturelle).

– Les descriptifs de conférences, avec leurs titres, leurs objectifs déclarés, leurs questions-clés, leurs thèmes d'atelier, le sens et l'étendue de leur internationalité. Une telle lecture paradigmatique révèlerait sans doute les influences, les modes, le non-dit de nombre de rencontres. Pourquoi ainsi trois colloques en quelques semaines de 2002 consacrés en partie ou totalement à l'interdisciplinarité (Thessaloniki fin septembre, Istanbul fin octobre et Lisbonne mi-novembre)?

– Les motifs et effets des activités éditoriales récentes proposant synthèses, encyclopédies, anthologies de textes de traductologie. Est-ce une manière de faire un bilan, de créer une continuité dans un domaine plutôt éclaté, de reprendre souffle? D'affirmer sa place dans la communauté scientifique, de prouver sa propre légitimité?

– La circulation des idées et "écoles" en traductologie (cf. 1.1), par exemple via la traduction des théories elles-mêmes (la perspective étant à la fois sociologique et éditologique). Cet aspect ouvrirait à une histoire de ces théories (D'hulst 1995).

3.   Que conclure?

La traductologie a connu un boom de propositions, d'idées, dans les années 1980–1990. Aujourd'hui, elle semble connaître une certaine pause ou au moins un détour épistémologique, d'où ces interrogations sur l'interdisciplinarité.

L'appel pour une socio-traduction et une socio-traductologie est une demande d'effort pour dépasser certaines divisions traditionnelles et certaines perceptions essentialistes de quelques disciplines, afin de mieux intégrer et les traducteurs dans l'ensemble des producteurs langagiers, déjà légitimés (auteurs, écrivains, rédacteurs, journalistes, etc.), et les traductions dans la circulation des discours/textes (cf. Robyns 1992).

La traductologie n'est plus une discipline errante mais elle n'est pas encore une discipline toujours cohérente.

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Conciliation of disciplines and paradigms

A challenge and a barrier for future directions in translation studies

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After decades of persistent claims for the development of interdisciplinary and integrated approaches to translation, Translation Studies now benefit from the contribution of various branches of learning that have brought about the multiplication of theoretical trends, viewpoints and research models within the field. Undoubtedly, the search for comprehensive perspectives and interdisciplinary alliances has led to major achievements in the discipline in recent times. However, it has also been the source of theoretical contradictions. This paper problematizes the concepts of interdisciplinarity and theoretical integration and explores some of the problems posed by the uncritical fusion of concepts, methods and viewpoints from different areas of study.

Keywords: interdisciplinarity, integrated approaches, unity and diversity.

1. Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies?

In hardly any time at all, the frequent claims made in the 1980s and 90s for establishing an interdisciplinary discipline – or *interdiscipline* (cf. Snell-Hornby et al. 1992) – by incorporating a variety of models and contributions from other fields have come to be rare or even demodé in most of the recent specialized literature in Translation Studies. This has been brought about by the undeniable and explosive growth of borrowing from branches of learning as varied as Linguistics, Literary Criticism, Comparative Literature, History, Anthropology, Ethnography, Psychology, Cultural and Gender Studies, Philosophy, Computer Science or Law and Economics, to name just a few. The

discipline is in effect seen as "encompass[ing] a plurality of voices, approaches and perspectives" (Ulrych & Bollettieri 1999:219). Nevertheless, although this "proliferation of types and areas of research" (Hermans 2002:1) seen in recent decades makes it impossible to question the existence of interdisciplinary flows into our discipline, it does not prevent scholars from highlighting the perceived need, to use Susan Bassnett's words, to "ensure that translation studies remains *genuinely* inter-disciplinary in the twenty-first century" (1999:219; my italics).

The emphasis on a genuine, real interdisciplinarity (and thus the implicit assumption that the present one is not authentic or valid) is not gratuitous, nor is Susan Bassnett the only scholar who suggests, albeit tacitly, that the unexpected response to previous claims for expanding our influences and boundaries is in need of revision. In fact, in recent times, the discipline seems to have fallen prey to a general apprehension about multi-theoreticality or fear of theoretical profusion, to draw on Kirsten Malmkjær's diagnosis (1993:132). Underlying this fear, it may be argued, there is in the first place a profound and persistent reverence for the initial dream of finding a holistic, overall theory of translation like that articulated so clearly in the writings of James Holmes. Secondly, there might also be a suspicion that, in its development, Translation Studies is no longer pursuing this dream or searching for the evolved formula of "unity in diversity" (cf. Bowker et al. 1998), but yielding instead to the diversification of a previous unity, i.e., to the disintegration of a global project in which some authors see evident totalizing aspirations (cf. Duarte 2001:7; Neubert 2001:334; Hermans 2002). In some cases, accompanying this fear, or as a reaction to it, there is also the belief that the perceived balkanization in our discipline must be somehow reconducted to match again, or even foster, a cherished spirit of disciplinary togetherness. The key to progress is largely thought to lie in *consensus* rather than in disparity, in *integration* rather than in dispersion of theories or perspectives, in the affirmation of a *shared ground* (cf. the much commented upon essay by Arrojo & Chesterman [2000]) rather than in the scrutiny of discrepancies; in short, and to refer back to our title, in *conciliation* rather than in variety, let alone conflict, of viewpoints, disciplines and paradigms.

Of course, recent advances in Translation Studies undoubtedly owe much to methodological proposals and case studies which cross boundaries between distinctive disciplines and approaches, in some cases appeasing and super-seding historical inter- and intradisciplinary hostilities. On a theoretical level, Mona Baker's revision of the opposition between linguistics and cultural studies (cf. Baker 1996), Maria Tymoczko's advocacy of research methods combining both orientations (cf. Tymoczko 2002) or Edoardo Crisafulli's proposal

for an "eclectic methodology" reconciling descriptive-empirical and critical-interpretive approaches to translation (cf. Crisafulli 2002) are illustrative and exemplary in this regard. As far as the practical application of these proposals is concerned, the previous decade has yielded a very productive synthesis of seemingly competing approaches. Lawrence Venuti, in his review of research on translation carried out during the 90s, praises a series of "precise descriptions of translated text and translation processes [...] linked to cultural and political issues" (2000: 333); Daniel Simeoni, for his part, also highlights "[a] good many approaches to cultural diffusion and translation" which "are *at the same time* empirical, descriptive, and very much aware of the dynamics of culture and language" (2000: 336). In any event, it is our contention that, even although, as shown by these examples, it may prove to be productive, conciliation *per se* is no panacea. In this paper, we will look into the dangers and shortcomings of this model of theoretical integration which is currently being reclaimed and appraised. In our opinion, a series of paradoxes and contradictions lying behind this model currently run unquestioned into the accepted body of knowledge, tenets or targets of the discipline.

2. Movements towards a common ground

Recent claims for the conciliation of viewpoints or the establishment of a shared ground in Translation Studies seem to come as a response to the perceived need of affirming a clearly defined identity at a time when the initial concept of Translation Studies as designed by Holmes is felt to have become obsolete (Gile 2001). This search for a common ground or identity could be construed as a call for *constructive cooperation* among the immense multiplicity of approaches currently operating within the field. Nevertheless, it may also be seen as a project of *destructive exclusion*, an attempt to clarify – i.e. regulate – what is and is not legitimate research in the domain of Translation Studies at a time when its original disciplinary matrix is perceived as being not only enlarged but also questioned. In other words, the search for unity may well conceal an attempt at (imposing) unanimity. In fact, in Albrecht Neubert's opinion, "a search for shared ground for all scholars cannot but be an absolutist illusion" (Neubert 2001: 334).

The reasons for reclaiming a series of premises and targets as truly inherent to Translation Studies to the detriment of other approaches and agendas are varied, and not necessarily primarily academic. We must not forget that different orientations within Translation Studies *may perhaps be* complementary for

certain research purposes, but *are* competitors as regards institutional recognition and financial support. In view of the competition for tenure or project funding, claiming that one's research is in line with the identity, spirit and method of the discipline is undoubtedly advantageous. From this perspective, it strikes us as no surprise that a good number of the responses to the "shared ground" proposed by Chesterman and Arrojo, far from questioning the feasibility or convenience of finding such common ground, simply disagree with the "ground" selected as "common." The current debate for defining a global disciplinary identity may well conceal or at least disguise a struggle for an essential requirement for conducting research: power (that is to say, recognition) and resources.

This might arguably be the reason why some scholars have voiced the request to make a clear distinction, to use the skeptical words of Daniel Gile (2001), between what is *basic*, *intrinsic* to Translation Studies (research focused on translation) and what is merely *relevant* to it (research that may also be of interest to other disciplines, and thus "less of an endangered species" [Tirkkonen-Condit et al. 2001: 342]). There must be power(ful) reasons behind the call to restrict, rather than welcome, the expansion of research orientations in Translation Studies in the dubious belief that other disciplines might be willing to include in their priorities research related to translation which has, nevertheless, been discarded from our field. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why Translation Studies seems to be committing the same error of which it was once the victim: precisely the institutional underestimation of certain types of research was one of the problems which threatened and in fact curtailed to a considerable extent the emergence of studies now considered to be central to our field (cf. Gentzler 1999 for an account of the plight of trying to pursue research in translation in a Comparative Literature department some decades ago).

Obviously, when power or power distribution is at stake, the possibility of claiming the *centrality* of one's research plays in one's favour. *Centrality* rarely tolerates recognition of, or coexistence with, other perspectives. "One of the main characteristics of the centre is its actual will to act as *the* centre, and often claim universality or all-inclusiveness," says Susam-Sarajeva (2002: 195). In fact, in the frame of the debate on the "shared ground" but referring not exclusively to it, Neubert warns that "scholars and translators alike have tended to single out their favourite themes in the name of elucidating the whole" (2001: 335). The problem underlying the institutionalization of certain, necessarily partial, approaches as overall theories is that it dangerously threatens to

belittle or completely disqualify the achievements of investigations with other interests, motives or focuses as marginal or anecdotal.

This coincides with the opinion expressed by Gentzler (2001: 161), for whom the pursuit of consensus tends to act to the exclusion of voices at the periphery. More precisely, in the current state of affairs, there seem to be reasons for fearing that this renewed emphasis on a shared ground may entail a backlash against a series of orientations departing from the current academic orthodoxy in the field of Translation Studies, including first and foremost those centrifugal points of view (cf. Robinson 1997) which have evidenced the narrowness of even the basic categories of the discipline. For instance, Lefevere (1998), Vieira (1998), Brotherston (2002) and Susam-Sarajeva (2002) have criticized the ethnocentrism of the dominant definition of translation, too dependent or exclusively dependent upon Western conceptions and mostly derived from its operation in the field of literature; Lambert (1993 and 1995), Wolf (1997 and 2002), Sela-Sheffy (2000) have questioned text-centered definitions of translation.

3. From integrated approaches to disciplinary pluralism

In the long run, the current effort at finding a common theoretical basis may result not in strengthening the discipline but in hampering its progress, to the extent that the marginalization of dissenting voices might prevent it from engaging in self-critical reflection and from being aware of its limitations. All theories, however inclusive they are or may claim to be, have their limitations. Claiming absolute comprehensiveness implies denying the complexity of the phenomenon under study, a stance blatantly in contradiction with the trend towards "problematizing" objects of research in the current intellectual climate (Baker 2002: 50–53). To paraphrase what Douglas Robinson (1997: 37) says about systems, it may be argued that all theories are powerful lenses for seeing and experiencing the things that they recognize (or project) as real, but extremely ineffective lenses for seeing and experiencing things that lie beyond their purview. "Paradigms," says Theo Hermans (2002: 2), "have their blind spots, and conceal as much as they reveal."

Numerous translation scholars have expressed their distrust of theories with pretensions to *objectivity*. Within the debate on the "shared ground," Shlesinger (2001: 168) and Neubert (2001: 335) have highlighted the need to recognize one's position as researcher, to identify one's angle of vision; in a larger framework, the allegedly neutral and value-free stance of empirical

approaches in general and of the descriptive paradigm in particular has recently been called into question (Lambert 1993; D'Hulst 1995; Arrojo 1998; Hermans 1999: 36, 144–150; Tymoczko 2000). As Hermans (forthcoming) warns, "we need to translate in order to study translation" – and we know that "all translation implies a degree of manipulation" (Hermans 1985: 11).

By the same token, scholars have also expressed their distrust of theories with pretensions to *exclusivity*. Of course, the former belief that a single vision could make up a general, overall theory of translation has collapsed like a house of cards. Moreover, some scholars have gone even further and suggested that the future for theory does not lie in the synthesis of all existing theories into an integrated approach either. In other words, the formula of *conciliation* is also being invalidated. For Pilar Godayol (2000: 27), *integration* does not respond to the parameters of interdisciplinary openness that should characterize Translation Studies. Integrating means uniting in a whole, and thus, Godayol contends, it is neither synonymous with dialogue nor with negotiation. Power differentials, asymmetrical centre-periphery relations, *within* the discipline, Susam-Sarajeva (2002) suggests, cast doubt on the capacity, even the willingness, of so-called all-inclusive theories to represent and take into account the experience of the margin. Different ways of seeing, says Maria Tymoczko (2002: 12), are mutually enlightening and reinforcing. In this light, the goal of subsuming diversity under a coherent whole is being relinquished and giving way to different designs of our theoretical edifice(s) for the future.

In this regard, Edwin Gentzler (2001: 163) argues for "a multiple-model approach, not one that presents only the consensus of scholars, but one that includes the differences" – a construction clearly in opposition to the previously appraised "integrated approach." This proposal acknowledges the complexity of the phenomenon under study and the dual nature of all attempts at theorizing derived from their inescapable historicity, localness and contingency: after all, theories are enlightening for explaining or interrogating the phenomena they are aware of, but are unable to give an informed answer to questions they have not seen the need to ask. Moreover, it recognizes the impossibility of achieving an omniscient vision, and thus argues for tactically privileging partial focuses in tune with the characteristics of the different contexts. Daniel Simeoni (2000: 340) very cleverly articulates the formula of this *ethics of location* concerning translation theory: the key issue lies in "knowing *when* to apply legitimately differing scholarly points of view, and when not to." As can be seen, the unquestioned promotion of all-inclusive models is replaced with the advocacy of less ambitious but *strategic* alliances. For Simeoni, "[t]he worst thing would be to incorporate elements from each method, approach, or model

indiscriminately (which nobody has suggested doing of course)" (2000: 340). We agree with Simeoni, except for a minor reservation. Although this has not been advocated, it does not mean that an uncritical fusion of concepts and methods from different areas of study and paradigms is not taking place in our discipline, installing contradiction.

4.   Theoretical contradictions in Translation Studies

We have already mentioned the contradiction in the descriptive project, which combines a convinced post-structuralist understanding of the nature and effects of discourse at the object-level, denying the neutrality of intercultural (re)enunciation, while nevertheless advocating impartiality and complete detachment at the meta-level, in relation to the researchers' own discourse.

Another example is to be found in less canonical theoretical orientations which, on the contrary, assume the observer's unbiased, apolitical position but do not escape from essentialism or even authoritarianism. In particular, we are referring to certain translation approaches that have embraced quintessentially post-structuralist and supposedly fluid concepts like difference, minority or margin and glorified them monolithically and uncritically as supreme values of alternative ethics implicitly self-proclaimed as new orthodoxies. Arrojo (1994) and Vidal (1998: 117–118), for instance, have criticized the double standard of some feminist translation proponents on the grounds that they denigrate androcentric manipulation of discourse while applauding unreservedly similar manipulation in the name of their own agendas. Venuti's non-problematized earlier advocacies of visibility and his unfortunate wholesale claim that "[g]ood translation is minoritizing" (1998: 11) have also been seen as merely reversing accepted standards and perpetuating a Manichaean and prescriptive logic for translation assessment (Muñoz 1995; Pascua & Bravo 1999).

In general, contradiction is inherent to proposals that, as Cronin (1998) suggests, replace the pathology of universalism with the pathology of difference; paradox lies in the unreflecting conciliation of typically postmodern categories of resistance with excluding models of thought and procedure.

Likewise, contradiction rests in the co-optation of recent vindications by orientations based on traditional conceptions of translation. In "The Meek or the Mighty: Reappraising the Role of the Translator" (1996), Susan Bassnett declared "visibility" to be the keyword in the 90s. In effect, the discipline in its entirety seems to have adopted this catchword. Both historical-descriptive approaches within the systemic paradigm and corpora-based linguistics-oriented

research on translation have implicitly assumed the challenge of rescuing translation from its traditional invisibility too. In fact, scholars who identify with these paradigms have frequently linked their declared intention to shed light on its role in the construction of cultures and to unearth the very nature and procedure of translation, respectively, with the perceived need of doing justice to a prominent yet neglected phenomenon, i.e., ultimately to the goal of affirming translation and translation's visibility.

However well intentioned this adhesion to the commitment to visibility is, its result in the long run is at the very least contradictory. These approaches claim the recognition of translation dependent on the norms and regularities of behaviour they are devoted to discovering, overlooking the fact that these "universals of translation" have been largely developed under conditions of invisibility and are the result, even partly the cause, of its historical (and current) subordination. Uniting the detection of regular translation behaviour with the need for affirming translation may be problematic and perhaps counterproductive, as it may result in an implicit promotion, as "normal" or "normative" procedure, of conservative strategies attuned to social expectations which still require translation to be invisible, to the detriment of experimental or innovative practices. Ultimately, it is paradoxical that translation is being called to be celebrated, not taking into account what it may hope to be, but merely on the basis of how it has so far been forced to behave; it is contradictory that translation's visibility or deserved value is reclaimed upon a definition and a set of universals corresponding to the models with which it has historically been invisible and devalued.

5.   Conclusion

In any event, and to conclude, this should not be understood as invalidating the specific contributions of the approaches in question, but merely as indicating the convenience of rethinking the goal currently gaining currency in our discipline: that of conciliating orientations at any price. Once translation has been recognized as the complex, plural, multifaceted phenomenon it is, it seems incongruous, not to say short-sighted, to pretend that the progress of knowledge about it can or should only follow a unidirectional, cumulative pattern eliding rather than highlighting its diversity. If difference is constitutive of translation, differences of approach should not be seen as disrupting but as enriching its kaleidoscopic image; debate and dissent are not a hindrance but a necessary ingredient for advancing in the actual understanding of this convoluted phe-

nomenon. If translation is really, as Neubert and Shreve poetically imagine (cit. Godayol 2000: 40), "a house of many rooms," are we not failing to take advantage of its possibilities when we insist on staying all together packed in the common lounge?

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Conducting research
on a "Wish-to-Understand" basis

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When purporting to account for translational behavior and supply it with explanations concerning reasons and results, many scholars are still prone to take too many things for granted. Thus, we often purport to know "for a fact," even adopt as a framework for our very study, claims which should have been put to the test themselves. In so doing we put superfluous obstacles in our own scholarly way and our colleagues'. A more rewarding approach and a better research strategy would be a measure of assumed naivety: we should engage in research, especially of the empirical brand, with as few assumptions as possible that might be difficult to maintain, in the face of real-world evidence. To be sure, there is no real point in conducting research into translation to begin with, whether observational or experimental, unless it stems from a genuine "wish to understand," whereby all previously-"known" facts are reformulated as questions to be answered during research and on the basis of the available data.

Keywords: research in translation, empirical studies, text and textuality, translational behavior.

1.   A few words on scope and intention

This paper is offered as yet another exercise in methodology within the framework of Translation Studies. It is directed first and foremost towards those who have already shown some interest in studying translation the way it manifests itself in real-life situations, past or present; be it the behavior of human beings while they are acting as translators or the products of translational activities. My aspirations are fairly modest. Rather than try to win anybody over and turn non-empiricists into empiricists, I wish to raise the level of consciousness of the happy few of what they have been doing anyway,

while pointing to some inconsistencies inherent in the logic of their behavior. I will therefore be preaching to the converted, so to speak, or, at best, to those willing to suspend their disbelief, at least temporarily, and try to follow my presentation in its own terms.

These self-imposed restrictions notwithstanding, I do feel that the non-believers too stand to benefit from discussions of this kind, teachers of translation and their students included. However, it is up to them to decide what they can do with what I have to say – and how they would go about doing what they will have decided to do; as such, they lie outside of my target audience. This stance falls very well within my overall position with respect to our discipline (e.g. Toury 1995: Part One): I have always been a keen supporter of a measure of division of labour among different scholars and groups of scholars in Translation Studies, whereby not everyone will have the same goals and will be doing the exact same things:

- – Some will mainly theorize, or conceptualize (hopefully not ignoring the findings of descriptive-explanatory studies, which will mostly have been carried out by others).
- – Others will teach or train (hopefully taking into account the said findings or working in terms of a theory which will have done that).
- – While still others will focus on doing empirical research; whether observational or experimental.

Nor is it a mere coincidence that this division smacks so much of James Holmes' famous "map" of the discipline: I have always regarded his "On the Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (1972; reprinted in Holmes 1988: 67–80) as a true milestone in the development of our discipline. Nor am I in too bad a company here (see, e.g., the Proceedings of the First James S. Holmes Symposium [van Leuven-Zwart & Naaijkens 1991]; especially the articles by Mary Snell-Hornby: 13–23; José Lambert: 25–37 & Theo Hermans: 155–169).

True enough, the findings of studies into the behavior of flesh-and-blood people, who might be performing translation under a variety of very different conditions, may often antagonize the teacher and sometimes even the theoretician; a clear sign of the considerable element of prescriptivism they will have retained, which may be becoming to a teacher but much less so to a theoretician. However, such findings are there for members of the third group: those whose main interest lies in doing research, to account for rather than ban; and not only discover and describe the findings, but attempt to explain them and their occurrence as well; namely, in connection with the appropriate conditioning factors. These factors will have to be spelled out for

large and variegated numbers of properly-contextualized instances of behavior before any generalization can ever be attempted. Hence my insistence on the need to base empirical approaches to translation on a "wish-to-know" and a "wish-to-understand" rather than a "wish-to-control perspective."

Basic as it certainly is, this conviction should have been self-evident in the phase Translation Studies has reached by now and my insistence superfluous. However, a great portion of the studies actually carried out in the field does not conform to this expected pattern. In fact, the reason why I have decided to come back to such basics and dwell on them at some length is a growing uneasiness in face of the fact that, when we set out to account for translational phenomena as they are, or tend to be, so many problematic things are still taken for granted. Thus, even some of the most empirically-minded among us still purport to "know for a fact" and sometimes even adopt as premises for their attempted research, claims which would hardly have stood a test of verification, had they been put to one – which they normally haven't. (See, for example, the discussion of two recent studies – one by Werner Koller [1995], the other by Monika Doherty [1997] – in Toury [2003].) In so doing, often unknowingly, we ourselves are putting unnecessary obstacles in our progression as researchers, thereby hampering the evolution of Translation Studies as a discipline in its own right. Sometimes it is almost as if we were even reluctant to look at potentially embarrassing findings square in the face, preferring to trade intersubjective accounts for (more or less questionable) value judgments.

Thus, the truth of the matter is that, quite often, the "knowledge" translation scholars claim to already have, and regard as fit to be used as a point of departure for research or theorization, amounts to little more than a blend – often an unbalanced, grossly biased one – of mostly imported assumptions from other fields of knowledge and generally of a nature simpler than translation. Those assumptions are assigned axiomatic status reflecting a tendency to ignore the complexities of reality, both historical and contemporary, and are seasoned with more than a pinch of wishful thinking. They are presented as if they actually existed rather than comprising mere desiderata, things one would simply have loved to see come into being.

For instance, it has often been claimed that the entity which undergoes translation "is" a text, and that texts which go into translation acts and serve as input for them are invariably processed "as" textual entities, as if these were observed facts, and as if these facts constituted a necessary condition for the occurrence of translation.[1] In other words, it is as if translation could be applied to (well-formed) texts only. By the same token, many of those who have

purported to account for the act of translation claimed to know for a fact that what it boils down to is identifying "problems" in the input entity – "problems" which have an a-priori, almost objective status vis-à-vis the linguistic, textual and cultural traditions of the recipient system in question – and coming up with some "solutions" for them.

What an honest "wish-to-understand" approach would urge us to do instead is, show a little more prudence, and reformulate as many as possible of the unsustainable – or, at least, untested – claims **as questions**. The result would be a welcome change of balance between knowledge which is allegedly there – and knowledge still to be sought on the way to improved understanding of the phenomena at hand.

In what comes next, one non-trivial example of what I regard as faulty attitude will be taken up for closer inspection with an eye to that which is methodologically unsound about it. And since I have recently dealt with the two complementary notions of translation "problem" and "solution" under a similar perspective, in a paper entitled "What Is the Problem with Translation 'Problem'?" (Toury 2002), today's example will involve some of the problematic effects the massive adoption of the notions of "textuality" and "text" has had on our thinking about translation.

2.   Is translation necessarily "Textual"?

Let there be no mistake: I fully agree that, when it was first introduced into discourse on translation, especially in expert-to-expert communicative settings (to borrow a handy characterization from terminologists [e.g., Pearson 1998: 36–37]), not many years ago, the notion of "text" marked a substantial step forward; an important break from dated (and misleading) scholarly practices. Little by little it came to replace the mythical conviction that translation merely involved "languages," which has rendered the study of translation a little more than a sideshow of Contrastive and Applied Linguistics. In the coming decades, however – as it was rapidly making its way to the forefront of a rapidly-growing semi-independent discipline of Translation Studies – the notion of "text" itself came to assume almost mythical proportions.

As is well known, this notion was not born within Translation Studies itself. Not only was it imported from without, but it also underwent only partial adjustment to the specific realities of the new field. The obvious result – an inevitable one, I dare say – was that this notion now stands in the way of serious attempts to give unbiased accounts of real-life translation activities without

condemning considerable parts of them, at the same time. Thus, a tendency has developed to lean on what is allegedly "known for a fact" about both text and translation and get caught in a net of idealized assumptions which, on the face of it, seem to follow from each other in a highly logical way.

Consider the following series of assumptions. They were abstracted from many different sources, synthesized and formulated as one (necessarily simplified) unbroken line of reasoning:

– Textuality is the sum-total of features, whose presence in a sequence of linguistic items renders it a structured entity, i.e., a (well-formed) "text."
– It is therefore a known (or, at least, knowable) quantity, which can and should serve as a framework for accounting for every individual entity which may function as a message in a contextualized act of linguistic communication.
– This known quantity has a number of necessary features which work together to determine textuality. One of the most widely accepted models of textuality is the famous seven-feature list presented by de Beaugrande and Dressler in their *Introduction to Text Linguistics* (1981) and embraced by various translation scholars:[2] intentionality, acceptability, situationality, informativity, coherence, cohesion, and intertextuality.
– Even though these features, as well as textuality in general, are universal, and hence present in every single textual entity – by definition, so to speak – different cultures/traditions have different conventions of realizing them.
– The entity which is submitted to translation is invariably a text, or else what it undergoes cannot justifiably be called "translation."
– Not only is the input of every single act of translation a text, but it is also processed (and hence taken in) as one. That is to say, it is tackled on the basis of its textuality, and heed is taken of its different constituent features.
– Individual translators (or – more significantly – "the translator" as a role in the translation event) know what the realizations of textuality and its individual features are in the two traditions involved in the act. They are conscious especially of the differences between those realizations.
– Translators share that knowledge, as well as the need to apply it in text consumption, text production and text processing; and they share it not only with text-linguists, or text-oriented translation scholars, but, more importantly, with fellow-translators.
– Whenever one assumes the role of a translator, this "shared knowledge" is activated and comes into motion. In case it is not activated, let alone shared, the act performed would count, in the best of cases, as a "failure"

and its product – as a "failed translation." In extreme cases of such failure, whoever is involved in the act may not be regarded as doing translation at all even if s/he still uses translation strategies.[3]

– When doing translation, translators not only proceed from texts. They also produce them, or else the notion of failure raises its head again.

– And, finally, while never an exact replica of the source entity (text), the (textual) output is at least relatable to that which went into the act in terms of the underlying textualities, their individual characteristics and their conventional realizations in the two languages/cultures.[4]

I did my very best not to sound too sardonic in presenting this neatly-ordered procession of interdependent assumptions on the role of textuality and text in translation. I certainly hope my best was good enough. Because not for a second was my intention to undermine the two notions as such, or even deny their potential usefulness in accounting for translational phenomena. On the contrary. It is precisely because I do acknowledge their value that I wish to see them applied in a way which would be consistent with a wider range of real-life behavior.

As it turns out, translational behavior is much more flexible, much more variegated than any a-priori model, textual or non-textual, would suggest, depending as such models do on a variety of mutually determining factors other than "textuality" alone; be those added factors cognitive (e.g. the limitations of human memory, or the effects of stress), socio-cultural (e.g. the impact of norms and conventions, or the amount of money the translator stands to receive) or whatever.

Indeed, as soon as one goes out into the world, one is bound to encounter a host of instances where this neatly construed succession of assumed-knowledge-turned-basic-assumptions simply doesn't hold; and – as we know only too well – the refutation of even one link of such a chain of "knowledge" is sufficient to at least cast doubt on the entirety of the chain. Just watch translators as they are busy doing their job, analyze linguistic entities assumed to be translations, whether in themselves or in comparison to their assumed sources, or check think-aloud protocols, to name but three of the most popular ways of approaching translation empirically!

Thus, even in cases when a translator both proceeds from a text and ends up with one – the kind of act which Neubert and Shreve (1992) have labeled "text-induced text-production" – the so-called "source text" is not necessarily taken in full before the intercultural and interlinguistic border has been crossed for the first time. In fact, it is not even necessary that a source entity which is

indeed a text will always be processed as the text it is supposed to be, as many a well-meaning wishful-thinker would have us believe. Technically speaking, it is not even the case that the source text is always read (or heard) in full prior to its translation, and not in simultaneous interpreting alone, where this is the rule. Rather, the translator will normally be decomposing (on textual or non-textual principles) longer, higher-level segments (rather than "the" text!) into shorter, lower-level ones, and not always the same segments either. The kind of activity s/he will then be indulging in is a self-monitoring one, full of larger and smaller loops, moving to and fro between elements of the gradually decomposed input and the gradually emerging output (e.g. Toury 1995 : 184) and/or between activities of different kinds which constitute the overall process of translation, e.g., Reading ST, Formulating TT, Writing TT, Evaluating ST/TT, Evaluating TT/TT, Reading TT, and others (see Breedveld 2002). In fact, adopting *any* idealized set of assumptions as a basis and framework for descriptive-explanatory studies is bound to breed distorted accounts of the segment of reality we allegedly set out to study and block the road for gaining real, and especially new knowledge and understanding.

Consequently, with all its possible advantages as a didactic tool (as demonstrated, e.g., by Nord's Model for Translation-Oriented Text Analysis [1988/1991] or by Kirk's comparative study of English and Korean textualities under translation [2001]), a chain of assumptions like the one I have just sketched makes a rather poor framework for any attempt to empirically tackle instances of real-life behavior (to which it makes precious little commitment, to begin with). Unless, of course, what one is after is the expulsion of much of what goes on in reality from the realm of translation, as if that label were some honorific; drawing as it were from the biblical decree: "your camp must be clean, so that he [God] may not see anything indecent with you."[5] It is precisely this kind of purifying quest which underlies the methodological fallacy I have been referring to, which manifests itself very clearly as soon as we (re)state our objective as the accumulation of knowledge and understanding, be the knowledge thus obtained ever so "unclean" and "indecent."

3.   From untested "Knowledge" to research questions

It is not the notions of "text" and "textuality" as such that I wish to see eradicated, then, but rather the misleading assumptions made in their name with respect to translational behavior; and there are no necessary outcomes of the adoption of the notions as such. What I will do now is, make a first step

in a long process of getting to know – and understand – the factors which may be involved in determining the extent to, and the manner in which "textual" considerations will be at play in a translation event. As I see it, the way to go is to try and reformulate as many as possible of what I take to be ill-founded assumptions as true questions, that is, ones that do not beg particular answers, which are, more often than not, ideology-laden.

The following is a first tentative list of questions which seem to surround the notions of "text" and "textuality" in their application to translation:

- Under what circumstances would a would-be translator tend to first read the source text in its entirety (which is a precondition for the very ability to fully process it as a text, if that is what turns out to have been preferred)?
- In case translation proper starts prior to full reading (which seems to be common practice among translators of almost all kinds), how much, or what exactly does the would-be translator read first? And what is it that may determine initial reading as well as subsequent decomposition of the source text: Free time? Text type? Text prestige? Text complexity (or length)? Translator's previous experience in translation in general? Previous experience with texts of the same type (routine task) (etc. etc.)? And how do these factors interact to yield the actual behavior and its results?
- Would one's behavior be the same when one is required to hand in one's translation in instalments rather than in one piece? Or when different persons translate different parts of one source entity (for instance, in order to speed up production), which would then be joined into one target entity? And what might the implications be of using a computer for either reading the input entity or writing down the output one?
- And the portions one has read, how are they processed: (more) as sequences of lower-level linguistic items or (more) as structured "mini-texts," or part of a gradually unfolding text? (In other words, in what sense, and to what extent, could translational processing be justifiably regarded as "textual"? And is such processing likely to be [more] Top-Down or Bottom-Up in its general orientation?)
- How do limitations of memory bear on the implementation of textually-motivated processing, where there is a lot more to remember, to begin with, and where remembering might be more crucial than in serial processing? And are there no textual features which may increase rather than reduce one's ability to remember?
- How is one to interpret more or less immediate revisions in the emerging translational output? Is it all that certain that revisions made at this early

stage will inevitably result in an increased level of textuality and enhance the reproduction (or reconstruction) of the input entity by the emerging target entity in the latter's own conventional way of realizing textuality?

– As a translator goes on reading (and translating) and gradually accumulates knowledge about the different features of the entity s/he is processing, do his or her translational strategies undergo any change, or does s/he stick to the ones s/he started off with, maybe even those s/he has become used to utilizing? Is s/he becoming more or less "textual" throughout his/her translational behavior?

– Are there any revisions made now of decisions taken in previous stages? Do they have anything to do with textuality?

– When a translator who has had no previous acquaintance with the totality of the input text finishes translating it (alongside which s/he would have gone over the whole of the source entity at least once), does s/he go back and start reworking (i.e. editing) the output entity? And if s/he does, what part does change in his/her acquaintance with the source text and the way its "textuality" is realized take in the editing now performed?

– What is the proportion of "translating" vs. "editing" procedures in the overall event of producing a translation? Does editing done by the translator him/herself tend to be (more) source-oriented or (more) target-oriented? Is it more or less "textual" than translating proper, or are there, maybe, different phases within the editing task itself?

– Is the output of every assumed act of translation to be regarded as a "text" (by definition, as it were, and hence irrespective of the way the process goes on)? Would the two "textualities" involved necessarily be of the same basic type, allowing us to claim that the "invariant" retained in the process was of a true textual nature, or would the "textuality" of every single case have to be established ad hoc and the status of every pair of segments connected by an act of translation determined in and for itself (e.g., by mapping the target on the source entities)?

– In case the output entity is recognized as a text, according to criteria of the target culture itself where it is to be embedded, how would one go about relating that text to the one that went into the act that yields it? And would there be any variability, in that respect, maybe reflecting different strategies which may be applied during translation production?

I could no doubt go on and on listing questions of this kind. I could also elaborate a great deal on those already on the list. However, enough has been said to make at least my general point as to how dubious assumptions might

be turned into manageable questions which are capable of generating feasible answers. The real question now is, whether we can already boast to have any answers here, be they ever so tentative.

My response would be that there are quite a number of hypotheses in the field, but only few of them have been put to a rigid test, let alone truly verified, thus gaining the status of real "answers." This may well be a reflection of so many of the studies of translation practices having fallen into the traps of faulty methodology – especially the trap of taking too many things for granted – even though on the basis of very positive wishful thinking. Thus, the most common practice is still to associate any deviation from a hypothesized ideal(ized) model almost automatically with a lack of professionalism, if not total incompetence of the individual in question, in the worst cases, or with norms – that is, intersubjective, socio-culturally embedded factors – in the better ones. Either association can of course prove correct, on occasion. The point is, their correctness cannot be taken for granted. Rather, it would have to be tested for each case in itself according to the factors which are actually involved in it, nor will any of the suggestions ever represent a full explanation of the pertinent findings. There are so many different translation situations, and so many alternative ways of accounting for them!

4. A few slogans to conclude with

I would like to conclude with another list, this time – of some methodological catch-phrases that I would urge us all to bear in mind when setting out to perform an empirical, descriptive-explanatory study:

– Let us make our assumptions as clear as possible. While doing so, let us never forget that they are just assumptions, and hence prone to change and modification; and, on occasion, go so far as to be proved completely erroneous on the basis of our findings.
– Let us put that which cannot be taken for granted as questions and realize that finding answers requires honest research work. Most importantly, we should never pretend to have an answer before we have even put up the question.
– Let us formulate manageable questions and not try to achieve too much at one go, lest we should end up achieving nothing.

–　Let us not embark on a study before having devised research methods that would suit our theoretical framework (that is, the defendable assumptions) and before having formulated the questions we wish to ask.

–　Let us be careful in handling our findings, especially when it comes to generalizations (the making of which constitutes one of the major objectives of empirical studies). One shouldn't jump to a general conclusion just because one has found a number of instances which seem to concur with it. Other instances, maybe even in the majority, may well be found to be at odds with that same generalization, which would compel us to at least modify it.

–　Justifiable generalizations will probably be found to tie together modes of translational behavior and one (or more than one) determining factor and hence be probabilistic and conditioned (rather than deterministic) in nature. We should be prepared for a situation where there is very little which is universal and even less which is truly unique.[6]

Let us formulate clear questions, then, and start looking for answers in a controlled way!

Notes

1. For instance: "Translations are texts, and translation is a textual process in which linguistic form and process are incorporated. Texts are the building blocks of communication in general and of translation in particular. The text has to be considered the primary object of translation study" (Neubert & Shreve 1992:10).

2. See, e.g., Neubert and Shreve (1992:Ch. 3); Kirk (2001:Section 1.3); Thelen (2002).

3. Considering Mossop's (1998) notion of the "translating translator," in this context, is rather enlightening.

4. "In the context of translation studies, the principle of textuality can be used to define the conditions under which an L_1 text and its L_2 counterpart can be said to be textually equivalent" (Neubert & Shreve 1992:70).

5. Needless to say, the quotation I used represents an (assumed) *translation* (from the Hebrew), one of a number of existing English versions of the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 23: 14). It is hardly surprising that "alternative" versions would not necessarily show the same amount of suitability to back the claim I made; e.g., "therefore shall thy camp be holy: that he see no unclean thing in thee;" "then let your tents be holy, so that he may see no unclean thing among you;" "if he sees something disgusting in your camp, he may turn around and leave."

6. For this last point see my recent work on "laws" and "universals," mainly Toury (2004a; 2004b).

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Translation as dialogue

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This paper deals with the contributions of the work of the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin to the understanding of the nature of translation. It is suggested that recent attempts to "translate" Bakhtinian dialogism into a theory of language and communication offer the possibility of seeing language and culture as interwoven, interacting entities, hence demonstrating how translation is a truly "linguacultural" enterprise. The way in which linguistic items and cultural elements are put into dialogue with one another in source texts, and how this process and its results somehow have to be mirrored in the target text, is demonstrated by way of an example involving a case of failed translation, i.e. a machine translation.

Keywords: translation, Mikhail Bakhtin, dialogism, meaning potential, machine translation.

1. Introduction

Translation studies is a patchwork discipline, with theoretical contributions emerging from a wide range of different fields. From the point of view of this plurality, one can perceive two noticeable characteristics: firstly, the fields feeding into translation studies have done so mostly on a one-by-one basis (i.e. they have "taken turns" at providing perspectives on the phenomenon of translation). And secondly, individual fields feeding into translation studies have had their own periods of domination. For instance, during large portions of the previous century, translation studies was dominated by studies adopting a linguistic perspective, whereas recently, the field has seen a surge of approaches embracing a social and/or cultural perspective.

It is tempting to conclude, on the basis of such observations, that what we are dealing with is multidisciplinarity rather than interdisciplinarity. Furthermore, it would be tempting to make a statement to the effect that a first

move on the road to an even stronger identity and independence for transla-tion studies would be to take a step from this kind of multidisciplinarity to a more true form of interdisciplinarity. And as a beginning, it would probably be wise to discuss the possibility of a fusion between the two large, dominant trends in translation studies in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, namely the abovementioned linguistic vs. cultural perspectives. Because, on the one hand, despite certain shortcomings of linguistic theories of translation (cf., e.g., Venuti 1998:21), it must surely be wrong to leave language behind altogether: translation is, after all, in its prototypical and most common un-derstanding, a linguistic undertaking. At the same time, however, as (at least) a decade of debate seems to have convinced most people, translating texts also somehow means translating cultures.

In translation studies today, there are several examples of theories of trans-lation which *combine* a linguistic and a cultural approach. This is, however, not what I am talking about. Because within such theories what you often get is a combination of a "'**linguistic toolkit**' and a cultural studies approach" (Mun-day 2001:190), i.e. an approach which combines a traditional linguistic analysis with claims to the effect that the found categories express some cultural "truth." Whereas the linguistic theories used in the analysis often belong to a ratio-nalist, individualist paradigm which denies any intrinsic connection between language and culture.

This is obviously a problem. To mend it, we first and foremost need a lin-guistic theory which makes clear the essential connection between language and culture, as a point of departure for a theory of translation which would constitute, then, a "true" fusion of a linguistic and a cultural approach. And it is my claim that the so-called *dialogism* of the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin may help us fulfil both of these aims. In the following, I shall first give a brief outline of Bakhtinian dialogism in its capacity as a potential theory of linguistic-cultural meaning, then I shall provide a quick look at what kind of influence Bakhtin has already had in the field of translation studies, before sketching some further thoughts about what Bakhtinian dialogism could con-tribute in the way of a description and explanation of the translation process.

2. Bakhtinian dialogism: Language vs culture

As the name suggests, Bakhtinian dialogism centres around the notion of *dia-logue*, which is seen to operate on several different levels. First of all, cognition is seen as dually constituted (cf. Bråten 1992). This entails, among other things,

that when we think, we think in the form of a dialogue. This *internal dialogue* is sometimes reflected outwards, for instance in the phenomenon of "auto-dialogue," or talking to oneself. More commonly, however, the internal dialogue is replaced or supplemented by an *external dialogue*, in social interaction with other individuals. This dialogue can be non-verbal or verbal, or both. It can be amicable or conflictive, but in all cases the basic aim is to *negotiate* ways of viewing the world, to form a basis for determining ways of acting in the world.[1] In this process, new meanings are formed, and language is the most important vessel for catching and sustaining these meanings. Thus, when a child is born and is introduced into language, he or she has to negotiate their way into a ready-made web of meanings which has been negotiated forth by their predecessors. This web is, however, always developing, and the child soon becomes a co-actor in this development. Inserting language into new contexts over and over again, the words and expressions used pick up new shades of meaning and shed old shades of meaning, or change their meaning completely. An example of the latter, from English, is, for instance, the word *bad*, which at some point in its history, within Afro-American culture, changed its meaning completely, so that it now means, in a large and varied set of contexts, *good*. (As in the evaluative expression, *yo, man, that's bad*).[2]

In sum, language, from the perspective of dialogism, is not seen as a fixed code. Language, in dialogism, is seen as the living result of social, dialogic negotiative interaction going on in a cultural context. And if we can say – as I believe we can – that this negotiative interaction, or discourse, actually *constitutes* its own cultural context, then we also have the basis for saying that language, as the *result* of this negotiative interaction, is infused with culture. Furthermore, however, if we can also say that language is not only a *result* of negotiative interaction, but also the main *instrument* for such interaction, then we actually have the basis for an even stronger statement, namely that language *is* culture.

3.   Dialogism in Translation Theory: The notion of heteroglossia

A move from an individualist, objectivist theory of linguistic meaning to a Bakhtinian, intersubjectivist theory of linguistic meaning (cf. Linell 1998) obviously has enormous repercussions for a theory of translation. And the exploration of the potential repercussions of Bakhtinian theory for translation theory has indeed already started, with its main focus on the notion of *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin 1981: 259–422). Heteroglossia, or *multi-voicedness*, is a

concept which links up with the previously mentioned idea of social, meaning-creating activity as a *negotiative* activity: whenever we negotiate and hence (re-)create meaning, we always leave a trace of our influence, a trace of our *voice*, in the word, expression or text that we participate in developing. This means that texts and discourses become choirs of the voices we leave behind: they become heteroglossic, or *polyphonic*, which is another, related (but not completely identical) term which Bakhtin uses.

A view of texts as heteroglossic in this sense has, according to those who have preoccupied themselves with the problem, two major consequences for translation theory. The first is that we will need to rethink the notion of authorial ownership of the source text; the second is that we will need to rethink the relationship between the source and target texts in terms of the relative similarity or difference between them. I will deal with these in turn.

As regards the notion of authorial ownership of the source text (ST), Cecilia Wadensjö, in her book *Interpreting as Interaction* (1992) makes the point that since the word is always "half someone else's" (Bakhtin 1981:293), in the sense of containing others' voices, this means that we now have a means of escaping the age-old idea that "the sense of what is said or written is ... a property of someone" (Wadensjö 1992:24). The ST does *not*, under this view, "belong" to the author, because meaning belongs to everyone. Such a view of the ST completely changes the point of departure for the allotment of rights and responsibilities in the translation process, and also forces a redefinition of the status of the ST vis-à-vis the target text (TT) (cf. the inherited view of the secondary and derivative nature of the translated text [Chamberlain 2000]).

The notion of the word as half someone else's pertains not only, of course, to the *source* text, but also to the target text. Daniel J. Pinti (1995), in an article where he reconceptualizes translation from the point of view of the Bakhtinian concept of reported speech, shows, for instance, that there is dialogue between the author and the translator (which may be implicit or explicit), and explains how this means that "A translation is at once in the voice of the original and in the voice of the translator" (1995:113). Others, e.g. Derek Peterson (1999), who focuses on the heteroglossic – or, in his terminology, "hybrid" – nature of translations of the Bible in a colonial context, shows that there is also dialogue between the translator and the audience. What Peterson wants to stress is that such texts, rather than necessarily being instruments of colonial power and dominance, became results of active, external dialogue between missionaries and members of indigenous populations, which often ended up with extensive redefinitions of concepts in both source and target language (cf. 1999:32). In other words, these texts bear direct evidence of mutual influence and co-

ownership of the final product. To sum up, then, a TT is at once in the voice of the author, the translator and the audience. To complete the heteroglossic picture, however, we also have to add reference to the voices that are less directly involved in the translation process, namely the ones inherent in language itself. All of this adds up to a complex and nuanced picture of directly and indirectly relevant "voicework" which needs to be taken into account in any description of the translation process and product.

To move on now to the second issue raised by the notion of heteroglossia, I said before that it also forces a renewed view of the relationship of similarity and difference between source and target text.[3] Most, if not all, traditional translation theory rests on a view of a strict boundary between these entities. Bakhtinian philosophy, according to Bakhtin-translator Caryl Emerson (1983), casts such a view into doubt. Whether or not we share a mother tongue, we all, according to Bakhtin, somehow speak with a variety of different collections of voices, or different "languages," in the sense of different idiolects, sociolects, dialects, and so on. The fact that we also speak different national languages (also a particular collection of voices) is for Bakhtin only "one extreme on a continuum" (1983: 23). The consequence, according to Emerson, is that "There can be no single source and no single target, because translation occurs not only across the crude boundaries of national languages" (1983: 24).

4.   Dialogism in Translation Theory: The notion of dialogue

For all of the merits of the mentioned accounts, one problem that they all share is that they often merely focus on the *presence* of heteroglossia, of different voices; and although there is also talk of how these voices are "dialogized" (Bakhtin 1981: 272), this aspect does not receive as much attention as it deserves, attention which it indeed deserves by virtue of being a third important notion in the process of developing a dialogistic theory of the translation process. "Dialogization" is a notion which points to the fact that voices – in the sense of "meanings which belong to some source" – are in constant interaction with other voices or meanings stemming from other places, from other individuals, or groups of individuals. In fact, it has to be so, because, according to Bakhtin, nothing makes sense in isolation, only in relation to other elements. For instance, a thought only properly means something in relation to other thoughts; a word only properly means something in a context of other words. To put it differently, meaning is only a *potential* until it is *actualized* in context (Lähteenmäki 1999; Linell 1998). This meaning potential, associated with

a word or expression (or any unit of any size), when inserted into a context in an actualization process, starts a surge of reflexive – or dialogical – activity between focal elements and elements of the context. The perceived meaning is held suspended in the movement between and among these elements, but it can also change, if new elements are added which alter the relationship between the elements involved. In this way, the dialogical interpretation process is both stable and dynamic.

What is important to remember, however, is that as far as translation is concerned, it is this dialogized meaning-capturing movement which is the translator's point of departure at the outset of the translation process. This should be contrasted with the view inherent in traditional translation theory. Since traditional translation theory most often relies on traditional linguistic theory, which views language as a more or less rigidly coded system, it most often assumes a set of more or less fixed meanings over and beyond the actual complexity of the text, claiming, explicitly or implicitly, that it is on this level that translation takes or should take place. A dialogistically-based translation theory would postulate merely potentials on this level, and although reference to potentials is necessary in the process, this activity is useless if a keen eye is not kept on the fact that the motion that the translator needs to go through, is that from actualized ST-meaning (via target-language [TL] potential meanings) to actualized TT-meaning. The living tissue of the dialogical relations between focal and contextual elements in the source text needs to be readjusted so as to be capable of reaching an audience whose socio-cognitive interpretative resources diverge drastically from those of the immediate audience of the source text.

The idea that the starting point of the translation process is the translator's own, subjective interpretation of the source text must not, of course, be taken to mean that translation is an individualistic, isolated process. The physical voices of both the author and the prospective audience may, as we have seen, play along, as well as the physical voices of commissioners and other actors in the translation polysystem. In addition, the translator's hypothesized voices of these actors – often in the form of norms – are, together with the voices of language, important elements in the process. In fact, one important point as regards a dialogistic perspective on translation is that the voices that enter the scene are possibly even more numerous than usual, which would entail that translation is a more "hectic" process than other processes of linguistic interpretation and production.[4] Because rather than simply letting the text's pattern of dialogical relations between focal elements and elements of the context "do their work," as in non-translation processes, the translator needs

to start hypothesizing a set of alternative dialogical relations, relations between source language (SL) and TL elements and relations between TL elements and elements of the (translator's hypothesized) target culture contexts, which will finally end up in a pattern of dialogical relations (a TT) which somehow "matches" the pattern of dialogical relations in the ST.

5.   Translation *without* dialogue: The case of machine translation

Translation as a process made up of the transfer between sets of dialogical relations is best illustrated with examples of what happens when this process fails. It sometimes fails in "ordinary" translation performed by humans, because the said transfer can, quite simply, be very difficult to achieve. Nowhere, however, does it fail so miserably as when humans try to automatize the process. The reason for this could partly be because humans have conceptualized the process wrongly and therefore ask computers to do the wrong things. Although it could, of course, also be the case that even if we knew the right things to ask computers, they would not be able to do them.

Judging from their output, what computers are asked to do when they are asked to translate is very much in line with the basic assumption of traditional linguistic/semantic theory that word/expression meanings are "attached" to forms: what we can expect from a machine translation, is basically a word-for-word translation based on a conception of a simple relationship between coded meanings. Taking into consideration, however, the more recent, growing awareness within semantic theory of the importance of context in selecting "correct" interpretations (cf., e.g., Peregrin 2003), we ought perhaps to expect a certain measure of context sensitivity in the selection of TL items. Looking at actual machine translation (MT) output we soon discover that this expectation will be disappointed. Whether this is because this notion has not yet penetrated the world of engineering (which MT-system development is a part of), or because any form of real, functioning context sensitivity is simply too difficult to implement is hard to say. However, there is perhaps reason to believe that even if it *were* implemented, the envisaged context sensitivity might not necessarily be enough. The intuitive, intricate, "no-real-beginning-and-no-real-end" quality of dialogical relations in texts might not be so easily captured by mathematically based systems. In fact, it is not even easily captured in words: any attempt at analysis will tend to belie the complexity of the processes involved; the following is, nevertheless, an attempt.

The example chosen is a children's poem by the Norwegian poet André Bjerke translated into English via InterTran,[5] a free translation service on the web offered by Translation Experts Limited.[6] The poem is about three cats, Knoll, Tott and Tordenskjold, who tend not to abide by their (correct) names and hence cause their owners a lot of confusion regarding who is who:

> 1 Tre rare katter
>
> 2 Tre rare katter har vi fått.
> 3 Den ene heter Knoll.
> 4 Så må den andre hete Tott.
> 5 Den tredje har vi ganske flott
> 6 gitt navnet Tordenskjold.
>
> 7 Men disse tre er noen troll,
> 8 for når vi roper: "Tott!"
> 9 så kommer ikke Tott, men Knoll.
> 10 Og når vi syns vi like godt
> 11 kan rope både "Knoll!" og "Tott!"
> 12 da kommer Tordenskjold.
>
> 13 Så du forstår at vi er gått
> 14 helt surr i det med Tott og Knoll
> 15 og Tordenskjold. For hvem er Tott?
> 16 Og hvem av dem er Tordenskjold?
> 17 Og hvem er Skjott? Og hvem er Toll?
> 18 Og hvem er Tordenknott?

After having been fed through the system, the result came out as one solid block of text. For ease of comparison I have split it up into stanzas matching the ST:

> 1 Three rare cats
>
> 2 Three rare cats have we gotten.
> 3 It ene am heating Knoll.
> 4 Saw be bound to other one call by name Tott.
> 5 It third have we absolutely afloat
> 6 donated appellation Tordenskjold.
>
> 7 But these three am a few believable,
> 8 for as we shout : "Tott!"
> 9 saw am not arriving Tott, but Knoll.
> 10 And as we optical we equal be comfortable
> 11 able rope both "Knoll!" and "Tott!"
> 12 as comes Tordenskjold.

13 Saw you see that we're stepped
14 absolutely surrogate in facts along with Tott and Knoll
15 and Tordenskjold. For who's Tott?
16 And who at they are Tordenskjold?
17 And who's Skjott? And who's Toll?
18 And who's Tordenknott?

As predicted, this is simply a word-for-word translation of the original. It is, however, far from flawless even on this simple level: first of all, the system does not possess "equivalents" for many of the words in the ST, and therefore often resorts to direct transfer (e.g. *ene* in line 3, which, in conjunction with *Den* (*Den ene*), means "one of them"). A related problem is the direct transfer of false friends (e.g., *rare*, in lines 1 and 2, which in Norwegian means "strange/funny," and not "seldom found;" the result of this direct transfer is that the topic of the poem is established incorrectly in the translated version: the cats are supposed to be strange and/or funny, not uncommon). Finally, some equivalents merely seem wrong, incomprehensible or at least very strangely motivated (e.g., (*gå helt*) *surr* (*i*) in line 14 ("be totally confused about") becomes *surrogate* in the translated version, possibly because *surr* constitutes the first part of surrogate).

These problems have to do with the dialogical relations that hold – or rather, here, do not hold – between individual SL items and TL items. There are also, however, severe problems to do with the transfer of the dialogical relations that hold within the source *text* and between the ST and its context, in the sense that the patterns that these specific relations create have not been re-constituted in the TT. In order to demonstrate this, I shall be analysing some examples in terms of two rough categories: intra-textual and text-contextual dialogical relations. Note that most of the phenomena I discuss will already be known by various other terminologies. However, because these terminologies have tended to conceptually separate the phenomena I am talking about into fields, I have chosen to mostly abandon them here, since my aim is to show that what has previously been analysed as completely different phenomena are in fact united by the fact that they undergo the same type of processes.

I start with some examples of intra-textual dialogical relations. By intra-textual dialogical relations I mean the ways in which elements that constitute the "substance" of the text (e.g. punctuation, letters, words, grammatical elements) mutually influence one another, creating text-specific patterns.

One example of this concerns how moving certain elements in the text may cause the re-ordering of other elements in the text. An example can be found

in line 2 (ST): here, we have fronting of a direct object (**Tre rare katter** *har vi fått*). Although Norwegian – like English – is an SVO language, it also displays verb second behaviour, i.e. if an element is fronted, the subject and verb are typically inverted. Thus, in cases of non-fronting, the subject *vi* will precede the auxiliary *har*: **Vi har** *fått tre rare katter*, whereas fronting will cause the re-ordering of these elements: *Tre rare katter* **har vi** *fått*. The act of moving one element in the sentence having the recurring consequence that other, specific, elements in the sentence change places, is an example of a *dialogical relation* leading to a specific *dialogical pattern*.

The point here is that such dialogical relations and patterns (whether intra-textual or text-contextual, see below) are often source-specific. Thus, the transfer of these patterns will generally have to involve certain dialogical "shifts." In English, for instance, fronting of direct objects does not (in all cases) involve the re-ordering of subject and verb. This is a different dialogical pattern than that found in Norwegian. What we see in the example, however, is that the dialogical pattern in the ST has been transferred directly to the TT: *Three rare cats* **have we** *gotten*, whereas what we should ideally have seen is a shift towards the common dialogical pattern of the target, i.e. non-inversion.[7]

The next example is not (necessarily) a direct transfer of a dialogical pattern in the ST, but rather merely the lack of observance of an obligatory dialogical pattern in the TL. In line 7 of the ST we find *Men disse tre er noen troll* ("However, these three [cats] are very naughty"), which the system renders as *But these three am a few believable*. In the ST, the subject *disse tre* ("these three") and the verb *er* ("to be") are, as they should be, in "grammatical harmony;" in fact, the relationship between subjects and verbs in Norwegian is rather fixed; person and number are not reflected in the form of the verb; or in the present terminology, the dialogical pattern as regards subjects and verbs is fairly uniform. In English, on the other hand, subjects and verbs influence one another actively: verbs do inflect to reflect person and number, or: the dialogical pattern is more varied. InterTran does not, however, seem to be "aware" of the make-up of this pattern. *These three*, being plural, ought to have co-occurred with *are*, and not with *am*, as the system suggests. The system is not aware of this or any other relation between elements, and hence ends up, again, with a slightly less than satisfactory solution.

I now move on to some examples of text-contextual relations. By text-contextual dialogical relations I mean the patterns by which elements that inhabit the text (e.g. punctuation, letters, words, grammatical elements) and elements of the surrounding context mutually influence one another. For the

present purposes, I subdivide context into the following categories: style and genre, other texts and extra-textual context.

In the ST there are certain dialogical relations that hold between the word/expression level and the stylistic level. The words/expressions chosen define the style (here I focus on the categories informal, neutral, and formal), which in turn has consequences for subsequent choices on the word/expression level. The word choice in the present example (ST) shows that the poet has chosen a relatively neutral style, although there are also some elements signalling a certain formality (the poet is renowned for supporting conservative Norwegian).

In light of these facts, it is interesting to consider that the MT-system has rendered (*Den tredje har vi ganske flott*) *gitt navnet Tordenskjold* (lines 5 and 6) – which means something akin to "(The third cat we) have given the (smashing) name Tordenskjold" – as (*It third have we absolutely afloat*) **donated appellation** *Tordenskjold*. Quite apart from sounding very strange, unidiomatic and lacking a requisite definite article (i.e. lacking a correct intra-textual dialogical pattern), this translation indicates quite clearly that the system has not picked up on the consequences of word choice for style in the ST, going far too far into the depths of formality with the words *donate*, and *appellation*. Or, in other words, the dialogical relations between words/expressions and style in the source text have not been re-created successfully in the target text.

Similar examples occur in line 1, and lines 13, 15, 17 and 18 in the last stanza. As I said, although the poet has chosen a neutral style, there are also – if not formal, then at least conservative elements in his writing – something which is quite incompatible with, e.g., the use of *gotten* in English, and with the use of contractions such as *we're* and *who's*. So again, then, because there is no built-in awareness of the tightly-knit relationship between word choice and style, the dialogical pattern of the ST has not been rendered appropriately in the TT.

There is also a category of dialogical relationships between source texts, target texts and *other* texts. For instance, in the present ST, the names of *Knoll* and *Tott* (scattered throughout the text) refer to two of the main characters in a well-known printed cartoon series by the same name (Knoll & Tott). The dialogical relation between these two texts fills the reader's path from potential meaning to actual meanings with all kinds of associative content (Knoll and Tott are two terrible brats who constantly seek to challenge authority, something which more often than not results in them receiving a smacked bottom). Interestingly, Knoll & Tott is a translation of the American *Katzenjammer Kids* (where the brats' names are Hans and Fritz). Although

the poet was obviously aware of the link between Knoll & Tott and the topic of cats, this information is not generally available to the casual reader, which means that it will not normally be a part of the mentioned associative content. However, it is information which is easy to find for a student of poetry who wishes to dig a bit deeper.

The main point here, however, is that the names *Knoll* and *Tott* have been subject to direct transfer. InterTran does not contain a directory of equivalents for names, since, in the simplistic world of MT, a name is a name and should stay the way it is, whereas in the more complex world of human translation, we know that it is sometimes necessary to translate names. And the reason why this should be the case in the present example is, of course, that the dialogical link between these items and their source, a link which is obvious to (most) readers in the source culture, has been broken by the direct transfer: readers from the target culture experience no such link, and hence the items reverberate into nothingness.

The ST also establishes innumerable dialogical relations between elements in the text and extra-textual context (that constructed by the ongoing discourse or that surrounding the ongoing discourse – to the extent that these are distinguishable from each other). These relations contribute to the process of determining which aspects of the meaning potential of words and expression forms should be chosen, or emphasized, in the actualization process.

In lines 5 and 6 of the ST there are two relevant examples, one of a dialogical link between a textual item and the context constructed by the ongoing discourse, and another of a link between a textual item and the context surrounding the ongoing discourse. The sentence has been introduced before, but is repeated here for convenience: *Den tredje har vi ganske flott gitt navnet Tordenskjold* ("The third cat was exquisitely named Tordenskjold"). The first example concerns the adverb *flott*. The meaning potential of the word form *flott* encompasses a whole family of related notions to do with positive valuation: great, impressive, splendid, elegant, stylish, etc. It also contains a totally non-related potential, however, namely "being carried/held up by the surface of the water." In the ST, the absence of any referents that can be carried up by the surface of the water in the context constructed by the ongoing discourse, and the presence, in the self-same context, of the name of a potentially dashing personage (Tordenskjold [see below]), actualize the aspects of the meaning potential that are to do with positive valuation. In the TT, on the other hand, the relations between individual items and aspects of the context have not been re-created, which is reflected in the fact that the system chose the equivalent which demands a relation to a context containing an object which is capable of

being carried up by the surface of the water: *It third have we absolutely* **afloat** *donated appellation Tordenskjold*, a context which is simply not there. This item, like many other items in this translation, is not in dialogue with anything, and therefore does not make sense.

The final example is of a dialogical link between a textual item and the context surrounding the discourse. It concerns the name Tordenskjold, which, to the readers of the ST will be in a dialogical relation with a set of historical facts and myths about this great military hero (that he was adventurous, that he had a great, renegade personality, that he was bold and daring and achieved great feats, etc.). These associative links, which are responsible for a great amount of the humour in this poem, by contrasting the image of the impressive stature of a nobleman and hero with that of a bouncy kitten, are, of course, completely severed by virtue of the direct transfer of the name into the TT. Not knowing who Tordenskjold was means not possessing the context necessary to establish a relation between this name and something that could fill it with meaningful content, and the result is, again, a lack of meaning and effect.

Generalizing on the basis of the examples we have seen, a great part of the problem with InterTran's performance is that the system's point of departure is coded meaning – a notion which many dialogists would like to replace with that of meaning potentials – and not actualized meanings. Meaning potentials are entities which have not yet entered into dialogical patterns with other potential or actual meanings or contexts. It is only when they do that the elements in question acquire actual meanings. If the translation starts before these patterns have been formed, or without regard for emerging and/or consolidated patterns, the choice of equivalent will become haphazard, because it is not yet clear what the actual meanings of the items will be. And this is exactly what we see in machine translation: more or less haphazard choices being made.

Another challenge, for both human and machine translation is to correctly identify the dialogical patterns in the ST, patterns which – because they are rarely directly transferable – will have to be reconstructed in the TT. Both tasks are difficult, as these patterns are sometimes very complex, much more so than my analysis has revealed. For ease of presentation, I have introduced the textual items' relationships with other textual and non-textual elements one by one, as though each item only entertained relationships with only one other element or level, when it is clearly the case that textual items mostly enter into several such relationships, so that visualizing a text in terms of the individual relations that hold it together would be the visualization of a very tangled web indeed.

6.   Conclusion

I started out trying to show that dialogism offers a fruitful point of departure for a theory of linguistic meaning which explains how language and culture are interrelated, as a foundation for a theory of *translation* in which these elements are interrelated. I then presented some of the previous thinking in relation to dialogism and translation theory, and what I perceive to be the shortcomings of this thinking, sketching a possible way forward for dialogism in translation theory. This possible way forward needs, it was argued, to include a focus on the notion of meaning potentials and actualizations so as to be better able to assess the real and confusing complexity of the translator's beginning and end points, and a focus on the notion of dialogue itself, in order to capture the multitude of different meaning-creating relations which the translator has no choice but to enter into, in his or her work. This was illustrated by a look at how these meaning-creating relations in a ST, when passed through a computerized system without a dialogizing function, come out either completely distorted or quite simply missing, and how this results in absurdity and meaninglessness.

Notes

1. These mechanisms will of course often be corrupted in a non-democracy.

2. See Greenall (2002:235–237) for a further discussion of *bad* turning *good*.

3. By *text* I mean either written or spoken text; so far, I have seen no reason that there should be any principled difference, from a dialogical point of view, between the translation and interpreting processes; the difference is as far as I can see mainly temporal (cf. Wadensjö 1992).

4. Cf. also Douglas Robinson's notion of "clouds of possibility" (1991:107).

5. http://www.translation-guide.com/free_online_translators.php?from=Norwegian& to=English.

6. http://www.tranexp.com.

7. Not that non-inversion in itself would have been sufficient to salvage this translation; there are, of course, several other problems with the translation of this line, among other things to do with the dialogical relations between the SL and TL, i.e. with the choice of equivalents on the word/expression level (e.g. *rare*, see above).

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PART II

Theoretical models at work

Literary heteroglossia in translation

When the language of translation is the locus of ideological struggle

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The last decade, e.g. through post-colonial studies, research on cultural identity construction has been focusing on aspects as "multilingualism" or "language plurality." Heteroglossia or literary language plurality is the presence in the text of foreign idioms or social, regional, historical... varieties, considered in this paper not from an anecdotic or normative but from a functional, institutional viewpoint. Functional research on heteroglossia in "original" literary prose has developed a solid tradition in Canada, but it has remained virtually unknown in Descriptive Translation Studies. How heteroglossic can (or must) a translation be in a certain context? What are the modalities and identity functions of literary language plurality in literary translations? Until now, these questions have not got the attention they deserve. Because translation is a cross-cultural process between cultures maintaining unequal power relations (cf. Robyns 1994), its degree of language plurality can be loaded with the highest symbolic importance. Therefore, functional descriptive studies of heteroglossia in translated prose can offer a possible correction of a certain idealizing monolingualism of translation studies' models and enhance our understanding of literary identity construction and cultural dynamics. The present paper tries to put forward some hypotheses inspired by research on translations of Flemish novels into French during the 20s and 30s of the twentieth century in Belgium.

Keywords: heteroglossia, DTS, Belgian literature, multilingualism.

1.   Introduction: Literary heteroglossia in/and translation

In his recently published volume *Les langues de France*, B. Cerquiglini (2003) asserts that the identification between language and nation is particularly evident in France. However, the author also stresses that it would be an historical, ethnological and social mistake to present the country as linguistically and culturally homogeneous. This is quite an event: the nation-state, which for centuries had taken a line of strong monolingual policy, seems to have followed a new avenue over the last few years. Whatever the underlying reasons of this Copernican revolution, it makes us aware of the fact that monolingual cultures are an idealized construction (Lambert 1989, 1996). In the last decade, e.g. through post-colonial studies, research on cultural identity construction focused indeed on aspects such as "multilingualism" or "language plurality."[1] Heteroglossia or literary language plurality is the presence in the text of foreign idioms or social, regional, historical. . . varieties, considered here not from an anecdotal or normative but from a functional, institutional point of view.[2] Functional research on heteroglossia in "original" literary prose has developed a solid tradition in Canada (Grutman 1997; Gauvin 1999). It then comes as a surprise to observe that it has remained virtually unknown in Descriptive Translation Studies.[3]

　　How heteroglossic can or must a translation be in a certain context? What are the modalities and identity functions of literary language plurality in literary translations? Until now, these questions have not got the attention they deserve. Implicitly or explicitly, translation is still defined as the *full* transposition of *one* source code into *one* target code for the benefit of a *monolingual* target public. This definition does not take at least two aspects into account. First, discourses are by definition never completely monolingual. But rather than just reflecting social polyglossia, translated discourse, like any other discursive practice, selects certain (heteroglossic) elements, each with its specific function in the representation of social polyglossia. Second, the monolingualism of the authors, critics, audiences, etc. of source and target cultures is less absolute than can be expected. Because translation is a cross-cultural process between cultures maintaining unequal power relations (Robyns 1994), its degree of language plurality can be loaded with the highest symbolic importance. Therefore, functional descriptive studies of heteroglossia in translated prose can offer a possible correction of a certain idealizing monolingualism of translation studies' models and enhance our understanding of literary identity construction and cultural dynamics. The benefit of this approach is fruitful for the functional analysis of translations in both actual and

historical (multilingual, multicultural) contexts. Especially in territories where several languages function together and maintain by definition hierarchical – and sometimes even problematic – relationships, it is reasonable to expect that literary productions in one way or another echo this type of polyglossia. Thus, it is certainly interesting to investigate the modalities and identity functions of heteroglossia in translated literary prose in a multilingual environment.

2.   Translation and symbolic power relations in multilingual contexts

The answer to this question requires large-scale empirical research of which the present paper can only offer a first exploration. In what follows, I will put forward some hypotheses inspired by an apparently traditional, historical research object: translations of Flemish novels into French during the 20s and 30s of the twentieth century in Belgium. Four general contextual parameters define this specific research situation. (1) With regard to the geopolitical context, translations, as a process and as a product, functioned within one and the same nation-state:[4] interwar Belgium. This geopolitical entity, created in 1830, was multilingual and its language distribution followed a combined socio-geographical pattern. Lower and middle classes in the North spoke Flemish (dialects), those in the South used French (dialects); standard French was the language for the upper classes all over the country. Especially in the north then, territorial homogeneity in terms of population, language and sociocultural norms was relative. (2) From a socio-institutional viewpoint, translational contacts occurred from a dominated (Flemish) culture towards a dominating (French) culture. Until about one century after the foundation of the nation in 1830, French remained the vehicular language of the elites in power, the language of sociocultural distinction and social mobility. Moreover, it was the official language of the nation-state for state administration, justice and education. Knowledge of French conditioned access to prestigious secondary schools, to university and to higher-level prestigious jobs. In other words, the linguistic habitus[5] of the average adult citizen of the interwar period was formed by an almost monolingual French education system and by social structures that strongly confirmed the superiority of the French language and culture. For the adults of the 1920s and 30s, therefore French was synonymous with science, culture, education, universal prestige and social distinction and mobility. (3) As for the sociopolitical context, dominant groups within the minority (Flemish) culture formulated claims of linguistic emancipation towards the majority (French) culture. From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards,

Flemish middle classes[6] lobbied so that Flemish could become the official national language in the North for state administration, justice and education. Important linguistic laws were voted in these domains during the 1920s and 30s.[7] The francophone upper classes perceived them as a threat to their political and sociocultural hegemony. The first decades of the twentieth century can thus be seen as a time of upheaval and identity crisis during which linguistic and cultural identities and oppositions loosened themselves from their former apparent evidence and came under scrutiny. (4) With respect to the sociocultural context, translations functioned in a multilingual environment where a large number of cultural agents spoke the minor source language as well as the major target language. More precisely, the Flemish middle classes, some of whom were actively involved in the struggle against the monopoly of French, had themselves been educated by francophone (secondary and university) institutions. As a consequence, they were perfectly bilingual during the first decades of the twentieth century. In theory, middle-class Flemish cultural agents could thus choose to write in Flemish or in French. However, opting for Flemish as a literary language was usually perceived by the francophone upper classes as a political choice in favour of the sociolinguistic emancipation claims of the Flemish middle classes and as a rejection of existing, for the francophone favourable, sociolinguistic oppositions. On the other hand, writing in French was rejected as treachery by those middle-class Flemish groups that acted for the upgrading of Flemish as a national language. Consequently, (literary) "language" functioned as an ideologically loaded category.

For all these reasons, the boom of intra-Belgian translations in the 1920s and 30s was an act of high symbolic importance:[8] it accentuated the ideological and sociocultural faultlines of Belgian society and formed a statement about its cultural identity. The symbolic power relations between the (Flemish) minority language and the (French) majority language and literature were played out in the values represented at a certain moment in literary translations. Among the key questions for understanding literary identity and dynamics in a multicultural geopolitical space like Belgium in the interwar period, the following cannot be overlooked. How "Flemish" can or must a translated text be in this specific context? How is this question linked to modalities and functions of heteroglossia in "Flemish" (source) texts? How is it influenced by the fact that the translations function in a multilingual geopolitical space?

While *writing* in the minority language was perceived by the target majority culture as a questionable sociopolitical plea for the emancipation of the minority culture, it welcomed *translations* from the minority language into the majority language as a patriotic act, in service to the nation and its national,

francophone literature.[9] Translations had to overcome linguistic and sociopolitical tensions by bringing together the two cultures (cf. Meylaerts 2004a). In the eyes of the majority culture, translation into French was the *only* legitimate way to give existence to the minority language and literature and was thus submitted to particular selection criteria. Translations had to belong to the regionalist genre, naively painting the everyday life of lower and middle Flemish classes. Regionalist literature was the most successful Flemish genre of the interwar period, with real bestsellers which are still known today. Giving voice to the Northern lower and middle classes in their own language was considered as an emancipatory act. The translation of Flemish regionalist novels into French signified both a linguistic and sociocultural transfer. In the eyes of the new target public, the francophone upper classes, the plot confirmed all the clichés of an ideal world with reassuring social hierarchies where "Flemish" continued to be synonymous with popular life and backwardness, in short, with the lower (or middle) class. One derogatory expression summarized this ideal function: "simply Flemish" ("simplement flamand").[10] These characteristics conditioned the frontier between translation and non-translation: more modernist genres, in touch with international movements were only exceptionally translated and certainly not accepted by conservative upper-class francophone circles since they symbolized a more modern Flanders, the dangerous sociocultural emancipation of the dominated culture. Translation from Flemish into French functioned thus as a confirmation of French as the prestigious national literary language, as the only official national language.

For this same reason, translating into French was considered an act of treachery by emancipatory circles within the minority culture. Whereas the upper classes in the dominating target culture promoted (a very particular kind of) translation, for some circles in the dominated source culture, *non-translation* was the ideal. Indeed, in a multilingual sociocultural environment characterized by the contextual parameters discussed above, translated texts did not disappear from the source culture. The French translations also circulated within the source culture, and were received in a variety of ways. In interwar Belgium, the so-called translational openness of the francophones was criticized by the source culture as a very reductive selection, as a hidden assimilation in the service of the target culture. Since most Flemish intellectuals were bilingual, these critiques appeared both in the minority Flemish and in the majority francophone press.

3. The language(s) of Translation: Flemish but not too Flemish please!

Did these antagonistic perceptions on translation in a multilingual geopolitical context of linguistic quarrels between a source minority culture and a target majority culture also influence textual translation strategies? How "Flemish" could (had) a translation (to) be? As already mentioned, the representation of the "language of translation," the degree and function of literary language plurality is a capital level of analysis.

A lot of Flemish authors were appreciated at the time by source-culture readers for a type of literary heteroglossia, taking the form of code-switching between standard Flemish and dialects or regional variants and, sometimes, even French. This code-switching occurred mostly in dialogues, in function of the social origin of the characters who were speaking: dialects and regional variants for the lower classes, standard Flemish or French for the middle classes, and French for the upper classes or in specific situations of public life (dealing with the state administration, in secondary schools, in universities, in the army, etc.). Especially the use of dialects as a vernacular in dialogues was inspired by mimetic motifs: the lower classes had to be given voice in a literature partially produced for them and for their literary and cultural emancipation.

One of the striking characteristics of the French translations was the total absence of dialects and regional language variants. Flemish dialects, so prominently present in minority literature of the time, were never translated into Walloon or French dialects. The majority culture would have perceived the use of dialects as incompatible with the translations' patriotic function of constructing a single "Belgian" national literature glorifying the francophone nation-state. At the same time, Flemish authors, who often followed the French translations of their texts very closely, were also heavily opposed to the use of dialects because it would hinder an eventual breakthrough in France.[11] For these two reasons, respectively linked with target and source-cultures' impact on the translation process, a fundamental characteristic of heteroglossia in Flemish original texts disappeared in French translations. Instead, translations switched between standard French and familiar, popular levels respectively for narration and dialogues. The social and regional differentiation of the Flemish dialects was reduced to the social differentiation of sociolects. The characters of the translations were not the dialect-speaking lower classes of the South, but Flemish lower or middle classes, using the popular and familiar vocabulary present in every standard French dictionary. This type of heteroglossia on a micro-structural level realized the cherished formula of "simplement flamand," without affecting the status of the dominant language as the prestigious

national language. It was thus in perfect harmony with those sociolinguistic hierarchies the dominant culture identified itself with.

Does this then mean that the "language of translation" could not be "Flemish"? Not at all. An interplay of alternative options symbolized social polyglossia and the "Flemish" character of the translations, while respecting the sociocultural sensitivities of the francophone target culture, and symbolizing the prestige of French as the national language and the patriotic function of the translated texts. However, because the translations functioned in a multilingual space where "the language of literature and translation" were ideologically very loaded categories in the struggle for sociocultural legitimacy, all these options were narrowly controlled, and sometimes rejected, by the source minority culture. In what follows, I deal with two types of heteroglossia that can illustrate these observations.

A first strategy concerns maintaining Flemish toponyms and patronyms, sometimes even the nicknames of the characters.

> Quand *Dooven Dries* et *Do van Balders* allaient relever leurs nasses aux anguilles, *Munte* était à leurs côtés... (Claes 1926: 143; my emphasis)

This option clearly identifies the geographical setting and the characters as "Flemish" in their heterolinguistic realization. The story takes place in Northern rural villages with protagonists belonging to the Flemish-speaking lower or middle classes. For the francophone upper-class target readers, these Flemish toponyms and patronyms evoked a familiar world of villages they had sometimes lived in themselves (although as the local landlord) with their reassuring sociolinguistic hierarchy and with characters having the names of their servants.[12] This was not the dangerous Flanders with its sociolinguistic emancipation claims. The introduction of clearly "Flemish" heteroglossic elements in the French translations did not therefore affect the prestige of the national language. Consequently, for this same reason, not every Flemish author appreciated this option. In the multicultural space characterized above, interventions of the Flemish authors in the translation process were not at all unusual. When correcting their French translations, some minority writers replaced Flemish proper names with a French equivalent, so as to suggest a less obvious link between "Flemish" and "popular".[13] In other words, Flemish authors-translators avoided accentuating the unequal sociolinguistic power relations. Interventions of the source culture in the translation process thus acted as a barrier to a type of translational heteroglossia especially suited as a confirmation of the existing unequal sociocultural power relations for the target majority culture.

Another point of contention resulting from these hierarchical relations was the translation of French passages, a commonly used literary device in interwar Flemish novels. In the original, they represented specific instances of contact between the dominating and dominated languages. More in particular, code switching to French sometimes symbolized the bilingualism of the middle classes using French as the language of social promotion and distinction. Very often, the Flemish texts also commented (positively or negatively) upon the diglossia of Flanders' middle classes. The following examples come from *Kiki* (1925), an autobiographical novel written by Ernest Claes, one of the best-selling interwar Flemish regionalist writers. It relates the evolution of the relationship between a father (Ernest Claes) and his son Kiki (the author's son Eric) in a typical Flemish middle-class milieu. In the first example, the father sings French student and soldier songs to his baby son: the army and the university were indeed francophone institutions until the 1930s. Although the mother had some doubts about the pedagogical value of the songs, neither of the Flemish parents seemed to question the role of French as the national language for army and university.

> En zoo waren zijn kinderwijsjes, tot mama's ergernis, liedjes uit zijn studententijd of uit zijn soldatentijd. . . .
> *Elle avait une jambe en bois*
> *Et pourqu'on ne la voie pas,*
> *Elle avait mis en dessous*
> *Une rondelle en caoutchouc*
> Tot mama er eindelijk tusschenkwam. . . .
> – "Zijn dat nu liedjes om voor een kind te zingen?" vroeg zij met een duidelijk misprijzen voor de militaire muziek.
> – "Wel, zei papa, 't is daarom dat ik ze in 't Fransch zing, dan verstaat ie ze toch niet!" (Claes 1925: 21–22; my emphasis)

In 1929, a francophone aristocrat translated the novel for an elitist francophone periodical, carrying the significant title *La Revue Belge*. Translation into French by definition neutralized the visibility of the contacts between Flemish and French. However, with a footnote specifying that the passage was originally in French, the translation could not only stress its status as a translation but also preserve the reference to the heteroglossia of the source text and to the bilingualism of some middle-class groups in the dominated culture. The role of French as the national language of university and army was thus explicitly affirmed. For the target majority readers with the linguistic habitus we know, all these options confirmed their cherished sociolinguistic hierarchies. It is further

interesting to notice that the translator corrected some minor mistakes his Flemish colleague had made in quoting the francophone song: the dominant groups continued to be more familiar with the legitimate cultural repertoire.

> De sorte que, à la vive indignation de sa maman, les chansons enfantines de Kiki furent des refrains d'étudiants ou de troupiers. . . .
> *Elle avait une jambe en bois*
> *Et pour que ça n'se vît pas,*
> *Elle avait mis en dessous*
> *Une rondelle en caoutchouc.* (*)
> Jusqu'à ce que maman intervînt, . . .
> – C'est-il des chansons pour un enfant, voyons?
> – Bah! c'est pour ça que je chante en français. Il ne comprend pas!
> (*) *En français dans le texte.* (Claes 1929: 529; my emphasis)

Still, as indicated before, translated texts did not disappear from the source culture. Not only were they commented upon or even criticized by Flemish critics in both Flemish and francophone periodicals, Flemish writers also sometimes corrected the French translations of their texts. This happened with *Kiki*, when Ernest Claes revised the *La Revue Belge* version for publication in book form. In opposition to his francophone colleague, the Flemish author skipped the note. Consequently, explicit reference to the original heteroglossia disappeared. The revised translation thus did not explicitly try to emphasize the role of French as the national vehicular in education or the army, nor even the Flemish middle-class's bilingualism resulting from these sociocultural conditions. Once again, the source culture intervened in the translation process and more precisely in the representation of the languages of translation and of their mutual symbolic power relations.

> De sorte que, à la vive indignation de sa maman, les chansons enfantines de Kiki furent des refrains d'étudiants ou de troupiers. . . .
> *Elle avait une jambe en bois*
> *Et pour que ça n'se vît pas,*
> *Elle avait mis en dessous*
> *Une rondelle en caoutchouc.*
> Jusqu'à ce que maman intervînt, . . .
> – C'est-il des chansons pour un enfant, voyons?
> – Bah! c'est pour ça que je chante en français. Il ne comprend pas!
> (Claes 1933: 27–28; my emphasis)

The sociocultural distance between the francophone upper-class translator and the Flemish middle-class author-translator became even more significant in passages where the role of French, as the prestigious national vehicular language, was more openly questioned. The following example describes the initial linguistic alienation of the Flemish middle-class child, living his first days at a francophone school and not understanding the poems he had to recite. At first, the boy seemed to reject the dominant language because of communicational difficulties, but then his linguistic socialization and the internalization of the symbolic dominance of French through the education system made him accept the current linguistic regime at school. Without openly attacking the national language of education, it is obvious that, especially in the eyes of the Flemish middle classes lobbying for their sociocultural emancipation, these lines could strengthen them in their struggle.

In the version of *La Revue Belge*, the francophone upper-class translator exactly repeated the strategy described above. He retained the reference to the original heteroglossia by adding a note and accentuated the symbolic power of French at school by a faithful translation of the original's comments. For the francophone target readers indeed, having a linguistic habitus which did not question the symbolic dominance of the national language, these comments did not criticize its superior status but instead explicitly confirmed and legitimized the dominant groups' favourite sociolinguistic hierarchy, which was the translation's major purpose.

> Kiki a appris un petit poème, et, chaque jour, il doit se camper devant papa . . .:
> *Je suis le petit Pierre*
> *Du faubourg Saint-Marceau,*
> *Messager ordinaire,*
> *Facteur et porteur d'eau,*
> *J'ai plus d'une ressource*
> *Pour assurer mon bien,*
> *Je n'emplis pas ma bourse, Mais je gagne mon pain! . . .* (*)
> Il pouvait réciter cela ou le déclamer avec la même chaleur, *bien qu'il n'en comprit pas un traître mot.*
> *En effet, dans cette école tout se faisait en français.*
> *Les premiers jours Kiki en éprouva une désillusion amère, il trouvait ridicule que les religieuses lui parlassent français, mais, comme peu de mots sont nécessaires aux jeux d'enfants, il s'entendit bien vite avec ses petits camarades.*
> (*) *En français dans le texte.* (Claes 1929: 130; my emphasis)

It must come as no surprise then, that the author-translator again skipped the note in his revised edition: school poems were not explicitly identified as French but could have been simply Flemish. What is more, Ernest Claes omitted the whole passage commenting on the initial linguistic alienation of Flemish middle-class children at francophone schools, on the linguistic socialization and the internalization of the symbolic dominance of French through a francophone education system. In short, the Flemish middle-class author deliberately cut everything the francophone upper-class readers could interpret as a confirmation of their favourite sociolinguistic hierarchy.

> Kiki a appris un petit poème, et, chaque jour, il doit se camper devant papa . . .:
> *Je suis le petit Pierre*
> *Du faubourg Saint-Marceau,*
> *Messager ordinaire,*
> *Facteur et porteur d'eau,*
> *J'ai plus d'une ressource*
> *Pour assurer mon bien,*
> *Je n'emplis pas ma bourse, Mais je gagne mon pain!. . .*
> Et il pouvait réciter cela ou le déclamer avec la même chaleur.
> (Claes 1933: 171–172; my emphasis)

4.   Conclusion

When translation serves to glorify an officially monolingual nation in a multi-lingual context of sociolinguistic tensions, the language of translation is loaded with the highest symbolic importance: it accentuates the ideological, sociocul-tural faultlines of the society and forms a statement about cultural identity. For the target majority culture, translation into the majority language is a patriotic act where the language of translation avoids presenting itself as an instrument of sociolinguistic emancipation. The ideology of purity is stronger than the heteroglossic search for linguistic *vraisemblance*. Translational effects are in-compatible with the image of the dominating language as the national literary and cultural language *par excellence*. One type of heteroglossia is translated into another one, better suited to the sociolinguistic sensitivities of the dominating target culture. The target majority language is affirmed in its superiority, not affected by the translational contact with the minority language. After all, the other's language is not that legitimate. For all these reasons, the minority cul-

ture is suspicious about translational strategies limiting heteroglossia to those forms that confirm existing sociocultural hierarchies. The source culture's control over and even interventions in the translation process react against these kinds of options. The dominated source culture's ideal is non-translation. Incapable of realizing this protectionist stand, the language of translation is the *locus* of ideological struggle.

Notes

1. Tymoczko (1999) is an interesting attempt at integrating Postcolonial and Translation Studies.

2. The notion goes back to Bakhtin (1978) who distinguishes heteroglossia or linguistic diversity, heterophony or diversity of voices, heterology or diversity of social registers, of language levels. In the novel, all the socio-ideological voices of society have to be present; it has to be a microcosm of language plurality. The Bakhtinian concept therefore has a normative character, which the present paper will not consider.

3. Simon (1994) is one of the rare exceptions, even though it still focuses on what she calls "translational effects" ("effets de traduction") in original writing in Canada.

4. The nation-state is a model of sociopolitical organization developed to replace the structures of the Ancien Régime in an industrialized society. It tries to make a political organization (a State), a territory and a nation overlap. A nation is defined by Anderson (1991) as an "imagined community", a feeling of national union, of popular identification through national symbols such as a national language, a national literature etc.

5. See Bourdieu (1991). The habitus concept refers to the internalized system of social structures in the form of durable dispositions. Under the influence of its social position and its individual and collective past, every cultural agent develops (and continues to develop) a social identity: a certain representation of the world and of his or her position in the world.

6. Especially these groups experienced the dominance of French as an injustice because it complicated their access to higher-level jobs and thus their social promotion.

7. In 1930, the former francophone state university in the Northern city of Ghent became the first Flemish university of the country. Two years later, two other laws regulated language use respectively in administration and in primary and secondary education, according to the principle of territorial monolingualism: Flemish became the official language for these domains in the North of the country and French in the South. From 1935 onwards, all legal proceedings have to be in Flemish in Flanders. See also von Busekist (1998) and Luykx and Platel (1985).

8. For more details on this boom, see Meylaerts (1994).

9. It is then no coincidence that during the interwar period literary translations from Flemish into French started to boom. For more details, see Meylaerts (1994).

10. The expression occurs numerous times in reviews, in prefaces, in editors' and translators' letters etc., always with a positive connotation. See Meylaerts (2004a).

11. This was still a vain hope in most cases: French translations of Flemish novels were not successful on the French market. In fact they did not even reach it. As the large majority of texts was translated by a Belgian translator instead of a French one and was published not by a French but a Belgian publisher, the conditions for distribution in France, which was the dominant literary market for the francophone Belgian market, were simply not fulfilled. Francophone literary products from outside the Hexagon were not deemed worthy of attention.

12. At the same time, Flemish proper names were also commonly used in francophone literature of the time, which made the option all the more acceptable for target readers.

13. This is what happens in Claes (1928), a revised version by the author himself, replacing e.g. the Flemish "Dries" with the French "Dré." For more details, see also Meylaerts (2004b).

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Defining target text reader

Translation studies and literary theory

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Taking Descriptive Translation Studies as the focal point of our research, this paper considers the relevance and operativeness of different notions of reader as defined by literary theory and pragmatics for the study of translated literary texts. Starting out by taking translation as a communicative situation, the degree of "realness" of reader definitions called for in Translation Studies is assessed, bearing in mind as well ST and TT actual readers, ST and TT implicit readers together with their hierarchical organization in different enunciative levels. Our purpose is to contribute not only to a more sophisticated analysis of the receiver/addressee end of translated literary texts as communicative interaction in context, but also, and in particular, to the study of translational norms.

Keywords: implied reader, actual reader, pragmatics, literary theory, DTS.

1. Introduction

> [If] we want to deal with an ideal literature that has never existed on land or sea, and postulate an ideal reader who could never possibly exist, and then judge all books and readers as they more or less approximate to this pure state, that is our privilege. But as the facts are, even the greatest of literature is radically dependent on the concurrence of beliefs of authors and readers.
>
> (Booth 1961/1978: 140)

Following the work of John Rupert Firth (1930s) and Emile Benveniste (1960s), individual and communicative situations have gradually assumed a key role in the study of verbal communication; addresser and receiver are, therefore, defined as entities located in a certain historical and sociocultural context which conditions their linguistic behaviour and interaction. This historical

and sociocultural location comprises a set of filters (discursive formations) that determine discursive activity, under given ideological and sociocultural parameters (Reis & Lopes 1990: 105), which, of course, include far more than the beliefs mentioned by Wayne C. Booth.

The study of literary communication has also moved from the study of an ideal literature with ideal readers to focus on literary texts as communicative interaction in context. Similarly, as suggested within Translation Studies since the late 1970s, translation is now also studied as communication in context, and therefore as a product of negotiation with variables pertaining to the sociocultural context in which it is produced and received: the target culture.

It is one of those variable factors the receiver or consumer that draws our attention in this paper. Taking Descriptive Translation Studies as the focal point of our research, this paper traces a centripetal movement to consider the different definitions of reader put forth by literary theory and discusses their degree of "realness" (Wales 1989: 390), their relevance and operativeness for the study of translated literary works.

2. Definitions of reader of literary works[1]

Literary theory has defined the reader according to a multiplicity of methodological frameworks (ranging from structuralism, the sociology of reading to communication theory or deconstruction, to name but a few); and this notion has become a special focal point of the post-Anglo-American New Criticism and post-French Structuralism critical approaches of Reader Response Criticism, or their German strain of Reception Theory – popular since the late 1960s and 1970s. Consequently, numerous descriptive labels and definitions of reader come to our mind, corresponding, as said, to different degrees of "realness," among which perhaps the most often quoted are: Actual Reader (van Dijk 1972; Jauss 1977); Encoded Reader (Brooke-Rose 1980); Ideal Reader (Culler 1975; Prince 1973); Implied Reader (Booth 1961/1978; Iser 1974; Chatman 1978); Informed Reader (Fish 1970); Model Reader (Eco 1979); Superreader (Riffaterre 1966); or Virtual Reader (Prince 1973).

To delve into the details and nuances of each of these definitions is clearly beyond the scope of this paper, but we would venture to distinguish three main types of receiver/reader of literary texts. For this purpose, let us consider, as said, the text as communicative interaction and import from Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis the distinction between actual receiver or recipient, on the

Table 1. Types of reader

TYPES OF READER		
Actual Receiver /	Intended Receiver /	
Actual Reader (1)	Addressee	
	Ideal Addressee/	Implied Addressee /
	Ideal Reader (2)	**Implied Reader** (3)

one hand, and intended receiver or addressee, on the other, as depicted in Table 1.[2]

Accordingly, in literary communication we may distinguish three different types of reader: the extratextual **actual or real reader** (1), who is the receiver of the literary text and is defined by Seymour Chatman as "the flesh-and-bones you or I sitting in our living rooms reading the book" (1978: 150). This actual or real reader may be close to or distant from the profiles of the addressee considered by the author, which, in turn, also differ since they may correspond either to the **ideal reader** (2) who, being ideally competent, is capable of an informed and sensitive reading, able to understand the meaning and significances of any literary text, but who is distant from any given context; or to the intratextual **implied reader** (3), corresponding to the writer's expectations of his/her addressed readership (Fish 1970), built by and in discourse. This expectation materialises in the text as the implied reader, whom Seymour Chatman considers a party "immanent to the narrative" or literary text, who is presupposed by the literary work itself (Chatman 1978: 150); who Katie Wales states may "be inscribed in the text in the form of presuppositions or assumed shared knowledge; or explicit direct addresses" (1989: 240); whom Leech and Short (1981: 259–260) identify as the addressee of literary communication, defined as "a hypothetical personage who shares with the author not just background knowledge but also a set of presuppositions, sympathies and standards of what is pleasant or unpleasant, good and bad, right and wrong;" and whom Rimon-Kenan defines as ". . . a theoretical construct, implied or encoded in the text, representing the integration of data and the interpretative process 'invited' by the text" and whose profile is, therefore, also developed and shaped by the actual text (Rimon-Kenan 1983: 119).

3.   Types of reader relevant for Translation studies and the study of translational norms

3.1   Definitions of reader put forth by Translation Studies[3]

Considering the above-mentioned notions, which are the definitions of reader that Translation Studies calls for, and which degree of "realness" is invoked for the type of studies to be carried out within its framework?

When producing a translated text, the translator as addresser/text-producer considers his/her receivers and their repertoire in a given sociocultural context. Therefore, what the work devised by Translation Studies seems to distance itself from is any definition of an ideal reader, far from the historicity of any of the participants in the interaction configured by translation, and disengaged from the sociocultural context in which it takes place.

As stated by Gideon Toury (1995), translations are facts of the target culture, and as such are produced under the target culture's constraints or motivations. One of these is the receiver, mostly considered in the Translation Studies bibliography in terms of a given interpretative community with a collective sociocultural profile. This interpretative community is said to process translated texts in view of a set of discursive formations: a historically and socioculturally motivated repertoire, defined by Even-Zohar as "the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product" (Even-Zohar 1990: 39) and by Toury as "... the range of choices which makes cultural functions realizable through real products and practices ..." (1995: 268). Therefore, Translation Studies purports that a given translator's activity will result in a translation produced under a set of historical, cultural and social constraints or motivations, among which such a collective readership (and its repertoire) is to be counted.[4]

Additionally, reference to an implied reader of translation was also found in the research literature, since Theo Hermans (1996) and Giuliana Schiavi (1996) explicitly identify a target culture implied reader, again pointing towards a collective readership's profile. We prefer to identify a target text's (TT) implied reader, by analogy with the implied reader of literary theory, the characteristics of which may be elicited from one or several TTs' textual regularities.

Table 2. From Even-Zohar (1990: 31)

	INSTITUTION [Context]	
	REPERTOIRE [Code]	
PRODUCER [Addresser]	--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---	**[Addressee]** CONSUMER
("Writer")		("**Reader**")
	MARKET [Contact/Channel]	
	PRODUCT [Message]	

3.2 The importance of considering actual reader and implied reader of translated texts in Translation Studies

As for non-translated literary texts, the distinction between receiver and addressee, between actual reader and intended or addressed reader, allows for a more sophisticated description and understanding of the communicative situation of translation.

This also involves reconsidering Even-Zohar's application of Jakobson's model of speech events to literary communication (Even-Zohar 1990: 31), reproduced in Table 2.

The analysis of the receiver end of his model suggests several reflections: (1) the choice of the term "consumer" corresponds to presumably more comprehensive notions than those of reader and reading on which this paper is focussing (Even-Zohar 1990: 36); (2) the shift from singular to plural, from single consumer to "consumers as a group," "the public" (Even-Zohar 1990: 37) is not without consequences in terms of degree of "realness" – which decreases. Lastly, and most importantly, Even-Zohar equates addressee with consumer, and also addressee with receiver, and, as we have seen, these are different notions.

The stress laid by Translation Studies on the historicity of translation and of the reader as a participant in this particular communicative situation seems to call for the definition of an actual reader/readership that corresponds to the actual receiver or consumer and his/her repertoire. However, the definitions of an implied reader/readership, that is the addressee, and his/her corresponding repertoire, are also called for, perhaps even more.

3.2.1 *The importance of the notion of implied reader*

The notion of implied reader is perhaps even more pertinent because it seems to be more the translator's expectations of the expectations of a given reading community that seem to play a role as motivation or constraint of his/her activity. It seems to be these expectations of the expectations of the

interpretative community regarding translated texts that determine the norms the translator will consider – either to follow, alter or even discard.[5]

We consider that the notion of implied TT reader – as an addressee profile drawn by the translator and encoded in the TT – assumes a much more important role for Translation Studies because: (1) it is this expected profile that, among other factors, will motivate or constrain the translation process and product; (2) it is this expected profile that may constrain or motivate a given translation policy, regarding the choice of text types and individual texts to be translated (preliminary norms) (Toury 1995:58), since these may be related to the profile of the audiences targeted just as much as they may be related to the publishing houses, editors or translators; (3) it is this expected profile that will be encoded in the text as a set of regularities resulting from translation procedures, both in terms of fullness of translation, textual distribution and segmentation (operational matricial norms) and also in terms of actual textual-linguistic choices (operational textual-linguistic norms); and it is these regularities that we aim at describing and explaining as the result of preliminary and operational norms.

As Gideon Toury states: "...it is norms that determine the (type and extent of) equivalence manifested by actual translations" (Toury 1995:61). What we are trying to suggest is that norms and the type and extent of equivalence are only indirectly conditioned by the profile of an actual readership because they are sifted through the profile of implied readers, recoverable from one or several translated texts. Therefore, the profile of the addressee of translation, as modelled by the translator and encoded in the translated text, is one of the factors determining the norms followed in translation.

Nevertheless, this implied reader is an abstracted model that, however close to the actual readership, is still modelled by the translator. So, this implied reader may be located somewhere in a continuum connecting the actual reader to the ideal reader (irrespective of their ontological statuses).

3.2.2 *The importance of the notion of actual reader*
This emphasis on the pertinence of the notion of implied TT reader does not mean, however, that the profile of the actual reader or interpretative community is not of importance for the studies carried out within the framework of Translation Studies, far from it. However, this importance does not result from the fact that this actual reader corresponds to the one targeted by the translator, and is implicitly or explicitly identified in the bibliography as both receiver and addressee. The notion of actual reader is important because no profile of an implied TT reader (as a group of intended readers or addressees with their

corresponding textual and literary competence) may be drawn independently of the virtual contemporary real readers and their textual and literary competence; and also because of the importance of the notion of actual reader for the study of norms, when considered in combination with other receiver and addressee entities that participate in the TT as communicative interaction.

3.2.3 *The participants in the TT as communicative interaction*

If we consider that a Target Text is a communicative interaction as depicted in Table 3, we identify a first pair of extratextual participants: an addresser 1, the translator, and his/her actual readership, receiver 1 or TT reader. The TT (shaded in Table 3), in turn, encodes a series of further intratextually embedded communicative interactions. For, as mentioned – drawing a parallel with literary theory, and following Hermans (1996) and Schiavi (1996) –, the participants in the communicative interaction on level 1 are encoded in the target text as implied translator and implied TT reader, on level 2.

Additionally – and disagreeing with Hermans (1996) – we may consider that the TT is a type of reported speech, in which the translator reports a message that corresponds to the source text (ST), which in turn configures a communicative interaction between one author and his/her readership – two participants that are encoded in the ST as implied author and implied reader. And these two intratextual participants in the communicative interaction of the ST may also be transferred into the TT and encoded as implied author and implied ST reader.

Consequently, on the receiver and addressee end, we may consider the actual extratextual TT reader (level 1), the intratextual implied TT reader (level 2), and a potential intratextual implied ST reader (level 3): when taken in their inter-relations, they all may be deemed pertinent for Translation Studies.

The notion of actual (ST and TT) reader is also of importance for the description of norms. On the one hand, a comparative analysis of the profiles of the implied TT reader (level 2) and the actual TT reader (level 1) may contribute to the identification of the initial norm of acceptability; on the other

Table 3. The TT as communicative interaction

Addresser 1	→ Translated Message →	Receiver 1	Level 1
Translator →		→ TT Reader	
Addresser 2		Addressee 2	Level 2
Implied Translator →	→ TT →	→ Implied TT reader	
Addresser 3		Addressee 3	Level 3
(Implied Author) →	→	→ (Implied ST Reader)	

hand, a comparative analysis of the profiles of the implied TT reader (level 2) and implied ST reader or even the actual ST reader may contribute to the identification of the initial norm of adequacy (Toury 1995: 56).

Therefore, the combined consideration of the notions of actual ST and TT reader, and implied ST and TT reader on the one hand may be considered operative in the identification of initial norms and, on the other, it may be beneficial to bring in these notions when doing descriptive-explanatory studies.

4. Questions and problems by way of a conclusion

We, hence, believe that importing and adapting these notions of actual, implied (and ideal) reader into Translation Studies and considering them for the research of norms will allow for a more finely tuned approach to studying any TT's textual-linguistic regularities – since these notions are applicable to more than translated literary texts.

Nevertheless, such an application is not devoid of problems. It might be objected that we are suggesting reader notions with different ontological statuses be related: on the one hand, real extratextual readerships and their repertoire, and, on the other, intratextually encoded readers (implied and/or ideal readers) (Toury, personal communication). However, once we depart from the consideration of one single actual reader and turn it into a plural entity, the readers; once we suggest a collective actual readership, we are already moving away from one real/actual profile and abstracting a theoretical construct: an artificially homogenous actual reader profile, in fact located somewhere in a continuum between the sum of actual readers and an ideal one. Additionally, there are criteria – such as linguistic, textual-linguistic (including literary) and discursive norms – that may provide a starting point to compare such reader profiles, irrespective of their only potentially different ontological statuses. Once such reader notions are related to particular linguistic forms and their functions, the outcome of such a comparison may yield interesting results.

Another set of problems that arise from our suggestion results from the fact that any implied TT reader encoded in a TT will always be (though to a variable extent) determined by the profile of an actual readership. It will be even further complicated once we acknowledge that any actual readership's repertoire and textual/literary competence depends, to a variable extent, on acquaintance with translation. This fact is often not stressed enough when we are identifying a given readership's textual and literary competences – or considering its repertoire – all of which are of importance both for the

production and reception of translation (and, for that matter, possibly also for the production and reception of non-translated texts). However, once we acknowledge the potentiality of interference from other cultures through translation in one literary system, we will need to assess the qualitative and quantitative importance of translation in a given sociocultural context, when drawing the profile of any readership – actual or implied.[6]

These are just two sets of problems or difficulties that have been so far identified in our ongoing research on reader notions and profiles in Translation Studies. Surely, much remains to be discussed on the relevance of these notions not only for descriptive-explanatory studies of translation but also for literary theory. Once Translation Studies contributes to the reassessment and re-definition of these reader notions, based on actual studies of the importance of translation for their actual profiling, literary theory may have something to gain by importing them back, in a fully transdisciplinary endeavour to explain the phenomena we are all interested in describing and understanding.

Notes

1. Caveat lector: Our study emerges from the consideration of literary texts and their translations (and narrative fiction in particular) as communicative interaction between addresser or text producer (author or translator) and receiver (ST or TT reader). This means that its reflections apply to a particular communicative situation in which the message is a published written text, with one addresser and a large number of receivers, mostly unknown to the addresser or text producer (see Leech & Short 1981:258). However, these considerations do have a wider scope of application beyond literary texts of narrative fiction and their translation.

2. John Lyons distinguishes "actual receiver" ("it is not uncommon for there to be more than one receiver linked to the sender by a channel of communication and for the sender to be communicating with only one (or some subset) of these receivers" [Lyons 1977:34]) and addressee, which he calls "intended receiver," adding that "... the sender will often adjust what he has to say according to his conception of the intended receiver's state of knowledge, social status, and so on" (Lyons 1977:34). Stephen C. Levinson identifies several participant roles: speaker/spokesperson differs from source of an utterance; recipient is distinct from target; hearers or bystanders are distinct from addressees or targets. Additionally, he also refers to interactionally important distinctions between overhearers, unratified vs. ratified participants, the latter including addressees and non-addressed participants, as mentioned by Goffman (1976:260) and Goodwin (1979, 1981) (cf. Levinson 1983:68–72).The linguist A. Culioli introduces the term "coénonciateur", instead of "destinataire," to stress that both participants play an active role, since when the speaker speaks the addressee communicates too. Dominique Maingueneau states: "pour énoncer, le locuteur est en effet obligé de se construire une représentation d'un coénonciateur modèle (doté d'un certain savoir sur le

monde, de certains préjugés, etc.). . . . Dès que l'énonciateur s'addresse à des lecteurs . . ., la représentation de ce coénonciateur modèle est surtout contrainte par le genre de discours. En étudiant un discours on peut, sur la base d'indices variés, reconstruire le coénonciateur modèle qu'il implique" (Maingenenau 1996:15–16).

3. This paper focuses mainly on Itamar Even-Zohar's text "The Literary System" (1990) and Gideon Toury's work *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995).

4. Christiane Nord refers to target text recipient (1991:28) as a "determining factor;" Vermeer (1972:133) goes as far as identifying the recipient's personality.

5. Vermeer (1972:133 cit. Nord 1991:15) does refer to this, despite considering only co-operative communication: "if the sender wants to communicate, he attunes himself to the recipient's personality, or, to be more precise, he adapts himself to the role which he expects the recipient to expect of him. This includes the judgement which the sender has of the recipient."

6. As part of an ongoing endeavour to profile Portuguese contemporary actual readership regarding translation, see Rosa (2003, 2006).

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Critical Language Study and Translation

The Case of Academic Discourse

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English academic discourse, which emerged in the 17th century as a vehicle for the new rationalist/scientific paradigm, is now the prestige discourse of modernity. Its hegemonic status in the world today means that other knowledges are rendered invisible, or have been swallowed up in a process of "epistemicide," which operates above all through the practice of translation. This paper looks at how Critical Language Study can contribute to this issue, focusing upon the Portuguese discourse of the humanities as an alternative way of configuring knowledge.

Keywords: Critical Language Study, academic discourse, scientific paradigm, epistemicide, translation.

1. Introduction

Translators working with academic texts have perhaps more need than most of a critical distance with regards to the discourse they use. For in English, academic articles and dissertations, unlike self-consciously "literary" works, generally purport to refer to some aspect of the outside world, and this implicit bid for "factual" status has important implications for the whole process of textual (re-)construction. Failure to comply with the norms of the established discourse may effectively compromise the perceived truth value of the assertions made, ultimately undermining the academic standing of the author, and bringing consequences on the level of promotions, financing etc. Thus, many of the linguistic decisions made during the process of translation must surely be governed by the translators' sense of responsibility towards their clients, whose motives for requesting the service clearly pertain to a desire for academic recognition on the international stage.

English academic discourse has over the years gained such prestige that fluency in it is essentially a prerequisite for such acceptance. The market is inundated with manuals and courses claiming to teach academic writing skills to undergraduates and foreign scholars, while papers presented in a style that strays too far from the accepted norms are rarely accepted for publication. Both situations reinforce the common Anglophone perception that there is only one acceptable way in which knowledge may be construed, a myth further perpetuated by the notorious monolingualism of English and American academics, many of whom only gain access to work by foreign scholars through translation.[1] Indeed, it may be only the translators working on the margins of the Anglo-American hegemony that are aware that there are in fact alternative ways of construing knowledge, a situation which endows them with a great deal of political and ethical responsibility.

Portugal is one example of a culture in which the norms governing the presentation of academic knowledge seem to differ markedly from those employed in the English-speaking world. A glance at Portuguese-language journals in the humanities, or at some of the academic texts produced in English by Portuguese scholars and students, reveals a style that has more affinities with literary writing than with what English speakers would usually expect from "academic" discourse: it is to a large extent non-analytical, uses language in a non-referential way, and frequently contains an abundance of figurative and ornamental features that would be frowned upon in English texts of the same kind. However, the very extent of the phenomenon and the value that is given to it in Lusophone culture belies any simplistic explanation that the Portuguese are just not taught systematically how to write. Instead it would appear that we are indeed in the presence of another discourse tradition operating under a wholly different set of norms, and this naturally has important implications for translators attempting to render such texts into English.

It is for this reason that I have made it my objective here to try to demonstrate that there are indeed quite different assumptions underlying the Portuguese and English discourses of the humanities, and then to discuss some of the options available to a translator trying to express the one in terms of the other. The approach used will be that known as Critical Language Study (CLS) or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), developed in English by Fairclough, Kress, Hodge etc., in the wake of work done by French Post-Structuralists. This conceives discourse as a form of social practice and aims to "show up connections which may be hidden from people – such as [the] connections

between language, power and ideology . . ." (Fairclough 1990:5); thus it is ideally suited for an enterprise of this kind.

In this paper, I will apply some of the tools developed in CLS to passages of English and Portuguese academic texts in order to try to uncover the underlying ideologies and value systems of each. The two texts selected are felt to be representative of their respective cultures, in the sense that they generally comply with mainstream norms, and are parallel in that they are both about literature. In fact, both deal with Portuguese authors: Extract A is from an article published in the American journal *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies* about Miguel Torga's short story collection, *Novos Contos da Montanha*; while Extract B, taken from the *Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades,* considers the essays of Eduardo Lourenço. Full references are given in the bibliography, with the extracts presented in the Appendix.

Each will be considered in turn, following which a brief comparison will be made of the styles used. Finally, I will discuss how this impinges upon the practice and theory of translation.

2.   The English Text

(1)   *Extract A: from "Living on the Edge: Borders and Taboos in Torga's 'Novos Contos da Montanha'" by David Frier.*

To anyone involved in the analysis or teaching of academic discourse, it is immediately obvious that this paragraph is constructed "by the book." That is to say, it closely respects the norms promoted by the various manuals on the issue, not only on the level of structure and cohesion, but also as regards choice of grammatical forms and lexis.

The structure of the paragraph is illustrated visually in Table 1. As can be seen, the paragraph opens with a Topic Sentence introducing the Theme (medium shading), which is then developed in the body of the paragraph, and concluded at the end with the lightly shaded section signalled by the linker "therefore." The same structure (frontal statement of Theme followed by Development) is also evident on the level of the intra-paragraph section; here, the topic sentences are highlighted through dark shading.

It is of course characteristic of modern English that thematic material comes in first position on all levels of the system. Linguists within the Systemic Functional School have given a great deal of time analysing this on the level of the clause (cf. Halliday 1994:37–64); but it is also evident on the level of the

Table 1. Extract A: Paragraph structure

There is, of course, a significant role-reversal in this story, in the sense that Robalo, the guardian of the law, *is portrayed* as the outlaw, the character who is out of step with the rest of the community and who is unable to live within the law of the land (as opposed to the law of the State).

This point *is reinforced* by the references in the text to God. Firstly, as part of the narrator's preparation of the reader for the change in Robalo's outlook, he writes "o Diabo põe e Deus dispõe" (30), thus relativising the traditional roles of God and the Devil; and then, when Isabel, the criminal in the eyes of the patriarchal state, appeals to Robalo for mercy when he catches her crossing the border, she appeals to him as an "homem de Deus" (35).

These references deepen the significance of her plea to him: effectively by using these words, Isabel asks Robalo to abandon his previous self-appointed role of quasi-divine authority in favour of a recognition of their shared status as imperfect human beings, conscious of their own fallibility.

To be able to continue living in Fronteira, therefore, Robalo must reject the role which he originally accepted (symbolically that of the father) and submit himself instead to the will of the mother, that is, the land, as Lopes states: . . .

Table 2. Extract A: text structure

Introduction: *Theme of Borders and Boundaries*
Par. 1 – Title of Torga's work emphasizes peripherality of communities depicted
Par. 2 – Importance of borders in region of Trás-os-Montes
Par. 3 – Importance of borders and boundaries in these stories

Development:
A. Boundary between life and death
    "O Alma Grande" (*1 paragraph*)
B. Boundary between locals and outsiders
    i.   "Fronteira" (*6 paragraphs*)
    ii. "A Confissão" (*1 paragraph*)
C. Transgression of community boundaries
    i.   "O Regresso" (*3 paragraphs*)
    ii. "O Leproso" (*4 paragraphs*)
    iii. "O Sésamo" (*6 paragraphs*)
Conclusion:
Concept of borders and boundaries in this cycle may be factual or psychological

paragraph, section, and even the whole text, where the Introduction takes over the thematic role (see Table 2). Thus, the structure is clearly hierarchical, with the paragraph, section and sentence effectively operating as microcosms of the text as a whole.

If we look more closely at the extract under consideration here, we will see that Torga's story is being observed and analysed much as if it were a specimen of the exterior world under a microscope. In his topic sentence, the author claims to have found an example of a particular phenomenon in the narrative, which he then proceeds to justify through illustration. The language of his assertion also echoes scientific discourse: "There is of course a significant role-reversal." Here the existential process ("there is") functions as a bald assertion of fact, with no hedging or concessions to the observer's subjectivity, while the nominalization ("a significant role-reversal") activates a pre-existing category from the discourse of Literary Criticism, into which the present "specimen" will be slotted. (Incidentally, while a "role reversal" seems to be a self-evident category for those schooled in literary criticism in the English tradition, it may not exist as a ready-made notion in other cultures, as becomes obvious as soon as we try to translate it.)

Nominalizations of course play an important role in the construction of scientific discourse, and have been amply studied by Halliday and his associates in two volumes from the 1990s, *Writing Science* (Halliday & Martin 1993) and *Reading Science* (Martin & Veel 1998). Halliday (1993a, 1998) describes in considerable detail how these grammatical metaphors reconstrue primary experience by crystallizing processes into things, a transformation which not only enables dynamic events to be held still for observation and analysis, but which also has the secondary effect of transforming subjective experience into objective fact by effectively removing the observer from the scene.

This process of "fact-creation" is continued by another kind of grammatical metaphor that has also been fundamental for the construction of the scientific worldview, namely the Passive (cf. Ding 1998). Here the object under observation is shifted into subject position in the clause, which not only thrusts it into thematic focus but also further erases the observer, thereby removing any doubts that might remain about the truth value of the claim, and doing away with the need for any ethical responsibility. These two devices together, nominalizations and passives, thus present a picture of an objectively existing universe that is largely static and utterly unaffected by the subjectivity of the observer; this of course is the vision that has formed the basis of the scientific approach to knowledge.

In the extract we are observing here, the first two topic sentences contain passives ("is portrayed" and "is reinforced"), while the third, though strictly speaking not a passive, has a non-human actor, which gives it a similarly impersonal feel. The only reference to any authorial figure of the narrator is also significantly couched as a nominalization. Therefore, the parts of this

Table 3. Extract A: Processes

1)	there *is* a significant role reversal	Existential
2)	Robalo *is portrayed* as the outlaw = the narrator *portrays* R.	Material
3)	who *is* out of step	Relational: Intensive
4)	who *is* unable to live	Relational: Intensive
5)	this point *is reinforced* = the narrator *reinforces* this point	Material
6)	he (the narrator) *writes*	Material
7)	*relativizing* the traditional roles = he (the narrator) *relativizes*	Material
8)	Isabel *appeals* to Robalo for mercy	Verbal
9)	he *catches* her crossing the street	Material
10)	she *appeals* to him	Verbal
11)	these references *deepen* the significance	Material
12)	Isabel *asks* Robalo to abandon	Verbal
13)	to be able to *continue living* in Fronteira = in order that he might *continue to live*	Material
14)	Robalo must *reject* the role	Material
15)	which he originally *accepted*	Material
16)	he must *submit* himself	Material
	TOTAL: 16 clauses	10 Material; 3 Verbal; 2 Relational; 1 Existential

[Key: *Shaded*: Processes from the Meta-Narrative domain, i.e. those used for analysis of the narrative as object; *Unshaded*: Processes from the Narrative domain, i.e. examples quoted or paraphrased from the text under scrutiny.]

extract that represent critical discourse about Torga's work (essentially the topic sentences highlighted in Table 1 with dark shading) are couched in a language very similar to that of the hard sciences. The rest of the text represents illustrations from the narrative under analysis, which also confirms the empirical nature of this research.

Finally, I would like to take a look at the Processes that are used in this text. These are presented in Table 3.

As we might expect, the processes are mostly Material (that is to say, processes of "Doing" oriented to the external world) and those which are not are paraphrases of Torga's narrative, thus illustration rather than analysis. This confirms the "scientific" basis to this discourse, already provided by other textual and syntactic features.

Consequently, what we have here is an example of scientific discourse transposed to the domain of literary criticism. There is a clear division between observer and observed, with the focus firmly on the latter; and empirical methods are used to demonstrate the existence of the particular phenomenon in the "object" under scrutiny. The text thus provides a concrete illustration of the colonization of the humanities by the discourse of science in the English-

speaking world, a process which has been described in considerable detail by Martin (1993a, 1993b) and Wignell (1998a). This of course reflects the prestige attached to science in our culture, largely due to its associations with technology, industry and capitalism, the structures of power in the modern world.

3.   The Portuguese text

(2)   *Extract B: from "Rasura e Reinvenção do Trágico no Pensamento Português e Brasileiro. Do ensaísmo lúdico ao ensaísmo trágico" by Maria Helena Varela.*

For those who read Portuguese, it is immediately obvious that, structurally, syntactically and lexically, this is a very different kind of discourse to that of Extract A and one which does not lend itself easily to translation into English. One of the clearest points of difference is the degree of abstraction manifest in this text on several different levels. Lexically, there are a large number of abstract nouns that are not easily digested by English (see Table 4): some, such as *tragicidade* and *historicidade* are just about acceptable (as "tragicity" and "historicity" respectively), while others defy easy translation. These include: *ensaísmo* (from *ensaio*, meaning "essay", giving "essayism" or "the state or condition of writing essays"); *portugalidade* (literally "Portugality"

Table 4. Extract B: Lexical abstractions

O ensaísmo trágico de Lourenço, [sic] parece em parte decorrer da sua própria tragicidade de ensaísta, *malgré lui*, como se esta posição de *metaxu* do pensamento português, entre o *mythos* e *logos*, projectada no papel do crítico que tragicamente parece assumir, entre o sistema impossível e a *poiesis* estéril, o guindasse para um lugar / não lugar de indecibilidade trágica, ao mesmo tempo que, inserido no fechamento de um pensar saudoso, na clausura de uma historicidade filomitista, mais do que logocêntrica, se debate na paradoxia de uma portugalidade sem mito, atada à pós-história de si mesmo, simultaneamente dentro e fora dela.

Saudosismo sem saudade, entendida esta como um *universal inconcreto*, expressão usado pelo próprio autor relativamente à ontologia de Pascoaes, o pensamento de Lourenço respira uma messianidade sem Messias que, por um lado, é espera sem horizonte de espera, e, por outro, é a memória saudosa de uma esperança sentida e pressentida na obliquidade dos 'místicos sem fé', como ele próprio se define, 'adoradores de Deus em sua ausência'. Num Portugal que só parece existir como fidelidade hipermnésica a um passado mítico, o que se repete não é mera recordação do nada, mas o próprio acto de repetir o que já não existe senão no acto da repetição. Daí seu ensaísmo trágico do não trágico de 'um povo insolentemente feliz'.

Table 5. Extract B: Parallels and paradoxes

O ensaísmo trágico de Lourenço, [sic] parece em parte decorrer da sua própria tragicidade de ensaísta, *malgré lui*, como se esta posição de *metaxu* do pensamento português, entre o *mythos* e *logos*, projectada no papel do crítico que tragicamente parece assumir, entre o sistema impossível e a *poiesis* estéril, o guindasse para um lugar / não lugar de indecibilidade trágica, ao mesmo tempo que, inserido no fechamento de um pensar saudoso, na clausura de uma historicidade filomitista, mais do que logocêntrica, se debate na paradoxia de uma portugalidade sem mito, atada à pós-história de si mesmo, simultaneamente dentro e fora dela.

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[Key: dark shading – parallel paradoxes; medium shading – paradoxes that are partly parallels; light shading – paradoxes that are not parallels.]

or "Portugalness"); *messianidade* (from the word for "messiah", therefore "messianity"); and *saudosismo* (based on the supposedly untranslatable word *saudade* referring to a state of soul akin to "yearning" or "nostalgia", *saudosismo* can thus be understood as "the cult of *saudade*").

Another feature of this extract that is alien to the genre in English is the use of paradox (see Table 5). Some of the paradoxes are presented in a structure that is repeated several times creating an effect of parallelism (shaded darkly; e.g. *saudosismo sem saudade*; *messianidade sem Messias*; *espera sem horizonte de espera*). In these cases, the paradox is achieved through the negation of the second element – an essential component of the first – by the use of the preposition *sem* ("without"); this gives, respectively, "the cult of *saudade* without *saudade*"; "messianity without a Messiah, and "a waiting without a horizon of waiting." Elsewhere, there are paradoxes that are semi-parallels in that they reproduce the repeated structure only in part (e.g. *portugalidade sem mito*, literally "Portugality without myth", and *místicos sem fé*, "mystics without faith"), and others that are not parallels at all, as in *um lugar / não lugar* ("a place / non-place"), *simultaneamente dentro e fora dela* ("simultaneously inside and outside it") and *seu ensaísmo trágico do não trágico* ("his tragic essayism of the non-tragic"). None of these are comfortable in English academic discourse, for obvious reasons.

Table 6. Extract B: Syntax

> O ensaísmo trágico de Lourenço, [sic] parece em parte decorrer da sua própria tragicidade de ensaísta, *malgré lui*, como se esta posição de *metaxu* do pensamento português, entre o *mythos* e *logos*, projectada no papel do crítico que tragicamente parece assumir, entre o sistema impossível e a *poiesis* estéril, o guindasse para um lugar / não lugar de indecibilidade trágica, ao mesmo tempo que, inserido no fechamento de um pensar saudoso, na clausura de uma historicidade filomitista, mais do que logocêntrica, se debate na paradoxia de uma portugalidade sem mito, atada à pós-história de si mesmo, simultaneamente dentro e fora dela.
>
> Saudosismo sem saudade, entendida esta como um *universal inconcreto*, expressão usado pelo próprio autor relativamente à ontologia de Pascoaes, o pensamento de Lourenço respira uma messianidade sem Messias que, por um lado, é espera sem horizonte de espera, e, por outro, é a memória saudosa de uma esperança sentida e pressentida na obliquidade dos 'místicos sem fé', como ele próprio se define, 'adoradores de Deus em sua ausência'. Num Portugal que só parece existir como fidelidade hipermnésica a um passado mítico, o que se repete não é mera recordação do nada, mas o próprio acto de repetir o que já não existe senão no acto da repetição. Daí seu ensaísmo trágico do não trágico de 'um povo insolentemente feliz'.

[Key: main clausal information is identified by lighter shading, with the Topic Sentence identified with darker shading.]

The syntax (see Table 6) is also very different from that conventionally used in English academic discourse. The first paragraph of this extract is all one sentence, containing 98 words in total; and the main clause meanders along without any explicit statement of theme, constantly being interrupted by circumstantial information (mostly of location, although it is location in an abstract, rather than material realm). It could perhaps be literally translated as something like this: "Lourenço's tragic essayism of the non-tragic seems partly to arise out of his own tragicity as an essayist /.../ as if this position of *metaxu* of Portuguese thought /.../ had hoisted him to a place/non-place of tragic undecidibility, at the same time as /.../ it struggles in the paradoxicality of a Portugality without myth. . . ."

The second paragraph speeds up a little, culminating in a sentence that may perhaps be considered as the Topic Sentence in that it seems to encapsulate the main idea of the section (illustrated visually in Table 6). Thus we can see that, while the English text proceeds deductively, with a frontal statement of theme followed by a development of that idea, this one seems to be more inductive in its approach, involving a gradual build-up to the main thematic statement.

The topic sentence could perhaps be paraphrased roughly as follows: "Portugal seems only to exist in virtue of its attachment to a mythical past, constantly repeating something which is not a memory, but which exists

Table 7. Extract B: Processes

1) o ensaísmo de L. parece *decorrer* ["arise"]	Existential
2) esta posição o *guinda* ["hoists"]	Material
3) esta posição *se debate* ["struggles/is debated"]	Material? (Verbal?)
4) o pensamento de L. *respira* uma messianidade ["breathes"]	Behavioural
5) *é* espera sem horizonte de espera ["is"]	Relational
6) *é* a memória saudosa ["is"]	Relational
7) Portugal só parece *existir* ["exist"]	Existential
8) não *é* mera recordação ["is"]	Relational
9) *é* o acto de repetir ["is"]	Relational
10) daí (*vem/surge*) ["comes/arises"]	Existential
10 Processes	**4 Relational; 3 Existential;**
	1(2) Material; 1(0) Verbal;
	1 Behavioural

only in the act of repetition." At this point, the paradoxes of *saudosismo sem saudade* and *messianidade sem messias* etc, become intelligible as alternative formulations of the same idea, and thus should perhaps be seen as prefiguring the main statement of theme. The central idea here is clearly of a cult which has lost its object, or a symbolic ritual with nothing behind it, and it is this which is seen to have given rise to the paradox of a phenomenon that is simultaneously tragic and non-tragic: the situation is tragic because there is nothing left to revere, but non-tragic because nobody realizes it, and so persist happily in their illusion.

Analysis of the processes used in this extract also supports our intuitions that the text is engaged in a markedly different kind of enterprise from the English one.

Table 7 shows that almost all the processes are Relational and Existential, and indeed, the few that are Material are used metaphorically. This suggests that meaning is being created in a very different way in the two texts, an intuition that is confirmed if we situate the processes from both texts on Halliday's famous diagram (see Figure 1).

Thus, it becomes clear that, while the English is concerned with the physical world and activities of "doing," the Portuguese text is giving its attention to something entirely different, namely the world of abstract relations.

It should also be noted that the relational processes used in the Portuguese text do not operate in quite the same way as they usually do in English. Instead of connecting the concrete or material with the abstract or symbolic, they mostly link ideas that already abstract with others that are even more so. The effect of this is that the text spirals off into a conceptual realm totally
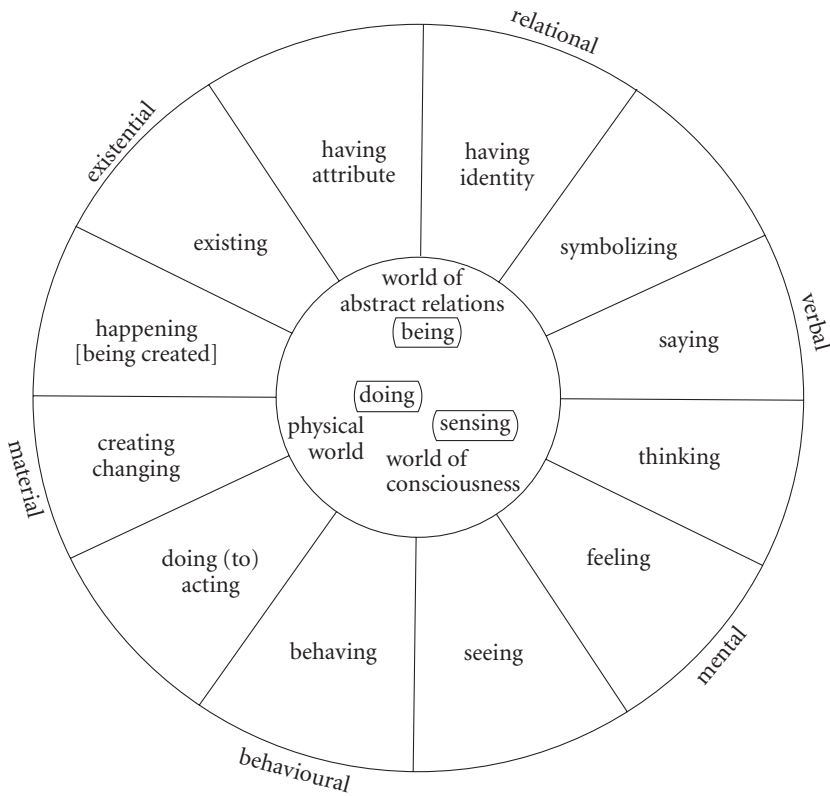
Figure 1. The grammar of experience: types of process in English (Halliday 1994: 108)

unanchored in the physical world. Consequently, the notion under discussion here (of a cult or ritual that has lost its object) is effectively being enacted by the discourse. For this text is an edifice of linguistic signs with few or no referents in the outside world, and as such construes knowledge in a way that is entirely alien to the positivist, empiricist outlook of English academic discourse.

To sum up then, despite the superficial similarities of genre between these two extracts, analysis reveals that underlying them are very different worldviews. While the English text posits the existence of an objective reality that can be observed, analysed and described, the Portuguese one is supremely uninterested in the physical world. Indeed, it makes no distinction between observer and observed, for Lourenço's work is not analysed empirically as Torga's is; instead, his essays serve merely as a springboard for the author's own reflections, and she appropriates and incorporates his words into a whole new creation.

The Portuguese text also collapses the traditional distinction between form and content in a way that is alien to English academic discourse. While English texts are constructed to be transparent "containers" of information – information that can then be easily extracted, summarized and transferred – this Portuguese text has not been conceived in the same way. Instead, the sense is diffused throughout the discourse and enacted by it, and thus cannot easily be separated from the words that are used to convey it.

Finally, there is also a different attitude towards the propagation of meaning. The English author controls the sense very tightly, using terms in a strictly denotative way, keeping syntax as simple as possible, and not permitting any ambiguity to cloud the clarity of the message. The Portuguese author, on the other hand, revels in ambiguity, deliberately setting up paradoxes and analogical relations, and allowing the syntax to sprout unrestrainedly until the main trunk is all but hidden by linguistic foliage. The result is a jungle of signification that is chaotic and easy to get lost in, but which is also rich and fecund in comparison to the sparse unidirectional lines of the English style.

4.   Conclusions

This divergence in approach between the two discourses raises many interesting questions for the theory and practice of translation. First and foremost, how can we possibly translate a text of Type B into one like Type A when the whole worldview is so different? Any attempt to render the one in terms of the other would surely result in a travesty of such proportions that the whole purpose of the original text would be all but destroyed. And yet this is what is frequently expected. Professional translators, operating within the Portuguese market, are often asked to put texts of Type B into a form that would render them publishable in English-speaking journals, and if publication is refused (as it inevitably is), then it is their work that is called into question.

For this reason, a translator in such a situation is, to my mind, faced with two unappealing alternatives: she may either refuse to undertake the translation at all on the grounds that it is unacceptable in the English-speaking world, or may seek the client's permission to reformulate the paper entirely, producing an entirely new text. Ultimately these are the only ways available of protecting her professional reputation and of avoiding situations that might be embarrassing and costly for her client.

However, this ethical concern on the practical level conflicts with a much greater one in the theoretical sphere. For in the end, each of these alternatives

yields the same broad result. Both involve the *silencing* of this particular Portuguese way of configuring knowledge and thus implicitly confirm the right of the hegemonic discourse to prevail over all others. What we have here, then, is a concrete example of what the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos calls "epistemicide" – the systematic elimination of alternative knowledges that is one of the more sinister symptoms of globalization. In his General Introduction to the multi-volume study *Reinventing Social Emancipation: Towards New Manifestos* (forthcoming), Santos explains how the scientific paradigm, which rose to epistemological prominence on the promise of peace, freedom, equality, progress, etc, is now used to justify the subordination of peripheral and semi-peripheral countries to Western imperialism:

> In the name of modern science, many alternative knowledges and sciences have been destroyed, and the social groups that used these systems to support their own autonomous paths of development have been humiliated. In the name of science, epistemicide has been committed, and with this, the imperial power has gained strength to disarm the resistance of the conquered peoples and social groups.

There is no such thing as pure or complete knowledge, he argues, only constellations of different knowledges; moreover, the "universality" of modern science is in fact a Western particularity. Yet "with its strict narrow divisions between disciplines, positivist methodologies that do not distinguish objectivity from neutrality, bureaucratic and discriminatory organization of knowledge into departments, laboratories and faculties that reduce the adventure of discovery to a matter of corporate privilege" (*idem*), it nevertheless has the power to define all rival forms of knowledge as local, contextual and situational. Consequently, "new ideas, especially those that try to bind science to its original promises, rarely get past the gatekeepers and the demands of the free market" (*idem*).

Santos does not specify the nature of the gatekeepers that control the flux of new ideas into the system. However, amongst them we can clearly count translators, who, in making the kinds of decisions described above, ultimately determine which foreign texts gain access to the dominant culture and in what form. These are not free decisions, of course; the translator is constrained, as we have seen, by market forces and obliged to operate first and foremost in the interests of her clients. Yet the inevitable and ironic result is an endorsement of a hegemony that does not allow that client an authentic voice of his own.

This situation begs some interesting questions. Firstly, is the translator merely a passive agent in all this? Or could translation be mobilized as an instrument for social change, thus helping to overturn the preconceptions that

have allowed the hegemony to flourish in the first place? Some theoreticians, notably Lawrence Venuti (1995), seem to think it could. Yet the foreignizing style of translation that he advocates as a means to this end is undeniably difficult to sustain in practice, since all the relevant actors in the publication process (from publishers, editors and critics to readers) are oriented towards a translation strategy that foregrounds domestic values. It would take years of concerted effort by all of these forces together before preconceptions could seriously start to change.

Secondly, we need to ask why it is that texts like this Portuguese one continue to be silenced or domesticated when the ideology underlying them is more in tune with post-modern concerns than the dominant one? As we have seen, English academic discourse ultimately displays a positivist stance upon the world that is difficult to sustain in theoretical terms nowadays: why then does it persist in this encoded form? As a tool for the processing of ideas, it is surely as obsolete as the mechanical typewriter in this age of virtual realities.

One response may be that this discourse, oriented as it is towards the world of action and things, "can build aeroplanes,"[2] an application which of course gives it credibility in the wider world beyond the university department and academic journal. Could it be that it is now so entrenched in the power structures of the modern world that nothing short of a major revolution will unseat it?

To my mind, it is exactly because it is so entrenched that we, translators and academics, should be thinking very seriously about whether to perpetuate it any further. For as we have seen, this discourse which, in the seventeenth century, was an instrument of liberation from the stifling feudal mindset, has now become imperialistic in its turn, excluding all other views with a zeal worthy of some of the more fundamentalist religions. The sensible thing at this point in history might well be to encourage the process of linguistic perestroika by opening it up to other voices (through translation or otherwise), thus allowing those cultures access to the power structures we control. If we do not, then we run a serious risk of losing the whole thing. For one day, the silenced majority from the non-English parts of the globe might suddenly feel that they have had enough of exclusion and, in a desperate demand that their alternative worldviews be recognized, decide to turn our achievements against us. A few of those metaphorical aeroplanes strategically aimed might be enough to bring the whole linguistic edifice of western knowledge tumbling down.

Notes

1. While it is fashionable today to focus on the inter- and intra-disciplinary differences that exist between academic "discourses" in English (cf. Hyland 2000; Swales 1990), I would argue that these are largely questions of detail, with the macro-structures remaining essentially the same. This becomes clear only when we compare them with texts produced in other cultures (cf. Kaplan 1980; Connor 1996).

2. This observation was made by Andrew Chesterman in private conversation.

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Appendix

Extract A

There is, of course, a significant role-reversal in this story, in the sense that Robalo, the guardian of the law, is portrayed as the outlaw, the character who is out of step with the rest of the community and who is unable to live within the law of the land (as opposed to the law of the State). This point is reinforced by the references in the text to God. Firstly, as part of the narrator's preparation of the reader for the change in Robalo's outlook, he writes "o Diabo põe e Deus dispõe" (30), thus relativising the traditional roles of God and the Devil; and then, when Isabel, the criminal in the eyes of the patriarchal state, appeals to Robalo for mercy when he catches her crossing the border, she appeals to him as an "homem de Deus" (35). These references deepen the significance of her plea to him: effectively by using these words, Isabel asks Robalo to abandon his previous self-appointed role of quasi-divine authority in favour of a recognition of their shared status as imperfect human beings, conscious of their own fallibility. To be able to continue living in Fronteira, therefore, Robalo must reject the role which he originally accepted (symbolically that of the father) and submit himself instead to the will of the mother, that is, the land, as Lopes states: . . . (226 words)

Extract B

O ensaísmo trágico de Lourenço, [sic] parece em parte decorrer da sua própria tragicidade de ensaísta, malgré lui, como se esta posição de metaxu do pensamento português, entre o mythos e logos, projectada no papel do crítico que tragicamente parece assumir, entre o sistema impossível e a poiesis estéril, o guindasse para um lugar / não lugar de indecibilidade trágica, ao mesmo tempo que, inserido no fechamento de um pensar saudoso, na clausura de uma historicidade filomitista, mais do que logocêntrica, se debate na paradoxia de uma portugalidade sem mito, atada à pós-história de si mesmo, simultaneamente dentro e fora dela.

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The ideological turn in Translation Studies

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This paper investigates the benefits of taking an ideological turn in translation studies after the linguistic turn and cultural turn in the previous decades. This ideological turn refers to a new/renewed focus on the ideological significance of the act of translation; more specifically, it refers to a changed perspective of seeing translation as a means of ideological resistance. Critical discourse analysis is equally engaged in exposing that discursive practices could have ideological effects. A translator, as a mediator between languages, cultures and ideologies, should make the readers aware of this feature of discourse. This has the advantage of allowing the readers to come to the ideology in their own terms, and not be forcefully interpreted for them by the translator.

Keywords: ideological turn, cultural turn, critical discourse analysis, translation studies, ideology.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the new ideological turn in translation studies after the linguistic turn (see Catford 1965) and cultural turn (see Bassnett & Lefevere 1990) of the previous decades, and discusses whether this turn should be promoted for the benefits of translation as an academic discipline, as a profession, and as social behaviour. In general, this ideological turn refers to a new/renewed focus on the ideological significance of the act of translation; more specifically, it refers to a changed perspective of seeing translation as a means of ideological resistance. The main body of the paper is divided into 3 sections. Section 1 discusses the relationship between the cultural turn and ideological turn, arguing that the latter is not just an offshoot of the former and contains its own characteristics. Section 2 introduces the field of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1996/2002; Fairclough & Wodak

1997; Toolan 1997/2002; van Dijk 1993/2002) and relates its relevance to the ideological turn. Section 3, by way of conclusion, proposes some reasons for this ideological turn and its potential benefits. The cross-fertilization between critical discourse analysis and translation studies represents of course but one facet of this ideological turn.

2. The cultural turn and the ideological turn

Instead of focusing on the translator's painstaking attempt to replace one linguistic unit in the source language with another so-called "equivalent" linguistic unit in the target language, the cultural turn has re-orientated the effort of the translator to consider the influence of the wider context of culture on the translation enterprise, from the micro-level of daily routine greeting between two acquaintances to the macro-level of wholesale transplant, or domestication, of a culture's beliefs and discourse practices. In their introduction to their edited collection *Translation, History and Culture* (1990), Bassnett and Lefevere explore the various forms this cultural turn can take: studies of how translation norms, rules and appropriateness conditions can change over time; how the exercise of power affects cultural production, including the production of translation; how feminist translation subverts the dominant male discourse; how colonization impacts on translation; how translation can be used as a way for a new nation to prove itself; and how translation is a form of rewriting, including film rewrites. The field of translation studies is thus greatly expanded in terms of subjects appropriate for investigation.

Lefevere and Bassnett also make reference to Gideon Toury and no doubt see the research done under polysystem theory (e.g., Even-Zohar 1990; Toury 1995) falling under their purview. The fact that Even-Zohar is primarily interested in literary historiography does not matter, so long he moves research away from isolated study of individual texts towards the study of literary texts, including translated texts, within the literary and cultural systems in which they function. Toury's descriptive stance also frees translation scholars from incessant debates on the merits or demerits of a translation – usually according to some kind of fidelity or equivalence criteria. The study of translation is no longer just text-based, rather the function and significance of the translation enterprise will have to be seen in the context of cultural history and cultural development.

In her contribution to the Bassnett and Lefevere's collection (1990), significantly entitled "Linguistic Transcoding or Cultural Transfer? A Critique of

Translation Theory in Germany," Snell-Hornby makes reference to Vermeer's *Skopostheorie* (1990:82), which highlights the importance of the function of the translated text in the receiving culture in determining the translation strategies. This concept of *skopos* urges translators to reconsider and reflect on what they intend to do, and opens up many new possibilities, including one where a translated text can in fact share very little linguistic and discoursal features with the source text – as the skopos/aim dictates.

Lefevere himself did much to promote the concept of viewing translation as rewriting and bring practices which have once been regarded as outside translation proper (e.g., adaptations and abridged/simplified versions) into the field of translation studies. He argues that:

> Two factors basically determine the image of a work of literature as projected by a translation. These two factors are, in order of importance, the translator's ideology (whether he/she willingly embraces it, or whether it is imposed on him/her as a constraint by some form of patronage) and the poetics dominant in the receiving literature at the time the translation is made. The ideology dictates the basic strategy the translator is going to use and therefore also dictates solutions to problems concerned with both the "universe of discourse" expressed in the original (objects, concepts, customs belonging to the world that was familiar to the writer of the original) and the language the original itself is expressed in.   (1992:41)

And he illustrates this by reviewing various translations made over time of a line from Aristophanes' *The Lysistrata,* concerning lifelines, noses, legs, and handles. He shows that translators have often refused to provide as literal a translation as possible, and have in fact inserted passages in their translations which are not in the original, for various purposes. Thus, he suggests better using the term "rewriting" as it "absolves us of the necessity to draw borderlines between various forms of rewriting, such as "translation," "adaptation," "emulation"" (47). He concludes: "translation [rewriting] is not primarily 'about' language. Rather, language as the expression (and repository) of a culture is one element in the cultural transfer known as translation" (57). From his perspective, patronage, ideology and poetics can be subsumed under culture, and like linguistic differences, they all have a part to play in the rewriting.

Lefevere makes use of the term "ideology" and according to him, one striking example of "ideological ... motivations / constraints" (1992:8) is Edward Fitzgerald's translation of the Persian poet Omar Khayyam:

> Ideologically Fitzgerald obviously thinks Persians inferior to their Victorian English counterparts, a frame of mind that allows him to rewrite them in a way in which he would have never dreamed of rewriting Homer, or Virgil.
>
> (1992: 8)

He also refers to the case of the German translation of Anne Frank's diaries. After reviewing a number of the translator's mistranslations, he concludes:

> This "mistranslation" is only one among many that have been made for reasons best described as ideological – a mixture of a more old-fashioned "ideology" based on a certain view of the world, and the more contemporary "ideology" of profit pure and simple. In Anneliese Schutz's [the translator's] own words: "a book you want to sell well in Germany . . . should not contain any insults directed at Germans."   (1992: 66)

Lefevere does not in his book provide a detailed or rigorous definition of the term "ideological," assuming the readers will get the drift from the examples provided. One could associate Fitzgerald's practice with the ideology of colonization, and Schutz's with the 50's middle class values and rampant commercialization of the publication industry. Lefevere does not make use of such terminology, maybe because he is not interested in taking an "aggressive" or "promotional" stance towards some such ideologies; he is more interested in arguing how the three factors of patronage, ideology and poetics affect the rewriters, resulting in a manipulation of literary fame and the acceptance by the receiving culture of a particular manipulated view of the source culture.

   The cultural turn could be seen as one reaction to the excessive concern with linguistic or formal equivalence, and an attempt to go beyond the immediate linguistic context for wider re-contextualization. It re-directs scholars' excessive attention on the text to the surrounding sociopolitical, economic and cultural forces that impact on and constitute the text. Basically, it opens up the field of translation studies, bringing into it many research questions that have not been investigated in earnest in the past. However, as the name of one of its most influential schools suggests, the focus is first and foremost on description (see Toury's *Descriptive Translation Studies And Beyond* 1995). At the initial stage of a research programme, such a focus is of course highly suitable. However, some researchers-translators, having taken on the cultural perspective and seen the possibility, want to do more. As personal and social beliefs (e.g., feminist and postcolonial thinking) are politicized, different ideologies take roots and are pitched against one another. People are asked to take sides. And many do. A group of feminist translators, including Godard, with her idea of "womanhandling the text in translation" (1990: 94), obviously takes sides.

These ideologically committed translators have a focus which is much more specific than the culturally orientated ones, and most strike out with a sense of mission. The goal of translation is not just a fairly vague one of improving cultural understanding, rather it is the spread of a particular ideology, an act which its advocates think is the ethical and altruistic thing to do. Many of these ideologies deal with social groups which are less powerful or being dominated over. Other than feminism (Godard 1990; Massardier-Kenney 1997; von Flotow 1997), they also include race (Kadish & Massardier-Kenney 1994), colonialism and postcolonialism (Cheyfitz 1997; Niranjana 1992; Robinson 1997), homosexuality (Harvey 1998; Keenaghan 1998), democracy (Chang 1998), and a nationalistic translatology (Zhu 2004).

In the introduction to her compilation of essays entitled *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology – Ideologies in Translation Studies* (2003), Calzada Perez summarizes more examples of research done on the role ideology plays in translation studies and the production of translation, including the co-writing of two language versions of a political policy document, the marketing of translations of gay fictions through the textual and non-textual features of their bindings, the translation of conceptual arts that focus on exposing and opposing different social injustices, the co-translation of the Bible, the establishment of a translation bureau as a tool for modernization and nation building, the creation of a new kind of media interpreters who can readily adapt to the values and demands of consumer capitalism and popular television, the choice of censoring strategies for social and ideological control in film translation, and the deconstruction of various metaphors about translation, calling into question translation studies' own pre-established ideologies. Writing about the last paper in the collection, Calzada Perez says: "Tymoczko's informed article is a fitting conclusion to our discussion in *Apropos of Ideology. . . .* Above all, she practices a constantly self-critical attitude, which avoids blindfolded (albeit possibly trendy) militancy" (2003: 20).

An advocate needs not have a scheduled programme for the spread of her/his ideology and its eventual successful establishment as the dominant ideology – different ideologies should surely be allowed to co-exist and compete. And the ideology could just be an ideology of resistance. In raising people's consciousness of the issues involved, the advocate is already making a contribution.

Pointing out that these issues are receiving attention does not mean that one has to show support for any one of these ideologies, nor does it mean that translators who show sympathy for these ideologies have sophisticated theoretical understanding of them. The one undoubted contribution that

ideologically committed translators make is to raise awareness in themselves and in the readers of the prevalent influence of ideology in discourse, and how translators should handle this reality.

One example of an ideological translation may be Chang's Chinese translation of *Yes Prime Minister* (the book, not the TV version). As he explains, this translation is a "product of conscious manipulation on the linguistic, literary, cultural and ideological levels" (1998: 249). *Yes Prime Minister* is a work of political satire, a genre very rare in contemporary China, probably because of its supposedly subversive nature and disrespect towards authority figures. So, translating it in a particular way is seen as "a form of ideological resistance" (255), and Chang hopes that his translation "would become a political satire in the Chinese context, thus making a contribution to the democratic movement" (255). Such a lofty goal of going against the dominant ideology in China is clearly ideological in nature.

Chang has to take liberties with the source text to achieve his goal. Doing a translation rather than writing an original piece is already a strategic move, as "what are considered to be anti-communist or anti-Chinese sentiments are tolerated much more in translated works than in original writing" (256). In the translation, much thinking is placed on how to handle puns and culture-specific terms. Puns and culture-specific terms have traditionally been a major headache for translators espousing literalism. In translating them, Chang then sometimes gives himself the freedom of incorporating Chinese political terminology, many popular during the period of "the Cultural Revolution" and "the events of the 1980s, especially the Campaign against Bourgeois Liberalization in 1987" (255), into the target text. He hopes that such translation would evoke in the mind of his readers these events and his work "would become a political satire in the Chinese context, thus making a contribution to the democratic movement" (255). So, in certain parts of his translation, Chang's approach is one of domestication, ideologically motivated; and his ideology is explicit.

Cheung (2002) takes another perspective to look at the relationship between ideology and translation research, one informed by polysystem and its views on literary history and translation history. Her paper presents three seminal twentieth-century Chinese essays on Chinese translation history and relates them to the prevailing sociopolitical and ideological structures. Her interest is in the ideology of the translation researcher and the use of translation research for an ideological end, and not the ideology of the translator. In the first, "The Translated Literature of Buddhism" (Parts 1 & 2), first published 1928, its author Hu is said to have promoted translations of Buddhist works as literature and "placed them in the *baihua* [vernacular] tradition of literary writing in

China" (2002:148), representing an attempt at counter-canonization "at a time when neither translations nor literature in the vernacular (*baihua*) formed part of the canon" (144). As one of the leaders of the New Literary Movement in China, who challenges the position of classical Chinese, Hu is using his essay as a ploy of "subversion" and "ideological rebellion" (149).

The second seminal work is the essay "The Translations of Lin Shu", published in 1964 by Qian Zhongshu. Apparently talking about Lin's translations, Qian is in fact presenting his own view – it is not so much about the ideology of the translator, rather the ideology of the translation researcher. Cheung comments: "It is a view of translation that is realistic rather than prescriptive, for Qian shows no insistence on translation being what it should ideally be (transformation in a total sense), and simply accepts translation for what it is in reality – misrepresentation, distortion, disguised composition of a parasitic nature, or enhanced performance" (2002:154). On its own, Qian's view is of great interest, but more importantly, its significance is even greater when seen in the context of the historical and political climate at the time of the essay's publication. "In the 1960s, discourse about translation, under the "direct leadership of the Party," was dominated by the notion of faithfulness advocated by Lu Xun, an extremely influential leftist writer, especially since Mao Zedong had spoken openly in favour of Lu Xun's strategy of rigid translation and personally championed the importance of "accuracy" in translation" (155). Qian's essay could be construed as a direct challenge of the Party's orthodoxy. Cheung therefore concludes that Qian's translation research should be regarded "as an act of political engagement" (156).

The third essay, Luo Xinshang's "A System of its Own – Our Country's Translation Theories," published in 1983, attempts a review of China's translation tradition and emphasizes it has a system of its own. Cheung interprets this as "an attempt at identity construction," but this identity is also "different from that envisaged by the propaganda machine of the state in the early 1980s, as the essay is remarkably free from party rhetoric and jargon" (2002:160). Moreover, the 80's is also the time of China's opening up to the West and economic reform, with all the economic, moral and spiritual tumult that Western capitalism brings. Cheung sees Luo's essay also an attempt "to invoke a new cohesive force," and Luo "was using translation research for the ideological invention of a new spiritual order" (160).

Cheung's paper shows that translation research needs not be just about enriching knowledge of the translation field, it can be used to promote another agenda that is ideological in nature. She recognizes that contemporary re-

searchers may not find themselves in the same situation as these three Chinese scholars did, but she warns against any complacency. She concludes:

> Our entry into the age of the information superhighway, which renders the boundaries of nation and culture superfluous to the travel of ideas and ideologies alike, makes the prospect of the totalizing power of ideology more daunting than ever. But such a prospect also means that more and more individuals will confront competing ideologies and will be forced to recognize this as a fact of their consciousness. It is of crucial importance, therefore, that we know how assertion of difference and resistance to dominant ideology can be achieved – not as an end in itself, but as a means of self-empowerment, of ensuring that we remain thinking subjects capable of engaging critically with competing ideologies. (2002: 161)

She asks that serious attention be paid to the twin issues of the "ideology of translation research" and the "translation (carrying across) of ideology in translation research" (161). Her call is specifically ideological, and not broadly cultural.

Bassnett and Lefevere's collection contains a chapter by Godard entitled "Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation," where according to the author,

> [A]s an emancipatory practice, feminist discourse is a political discourse directed towards the construction of new meanings and is focused on subjects creating themselves in/by language... It seeks to expose ideological modes of perception through an expansion of messages in which individual and collective experience originates from a critical stance against the social contexts of patriarchy and its language. In this, feminist texts generate a theory of the text as critical transformation. (1990: 88)

Godard also shows how feminist writing would use translation as a way of subverting the dominant male discourse – "womanhandling the text in translation" (94) to advance her own feminist ideology.

Von Flotow's *Translation and Gender: Translating in the "Era of Feminism"* (1997) provides many more details that Godard's short article cannot. In a comprehensive survey of the feminist practice of translation, von Flotow distinguishes three important approaches: (a) experimental feminist writing and its translation; (b) interventionist feminist translation; and (c) recovering women's works "lost" in patriarchy.

In the first, the translator has to try to match the highly experimental nature of the source text, with creation of "new words, new spellings, new grammatical constructions, new images and metaphors in an attempt to get beyond the conventions of patriarchal language" (Von Flotow 1997: 15).

Punning and various forms of wordplay are most common here. Von Flotow concludes that faced with the practical task of translating these writings, some translators become "politicized" (24), showing that the act of preparing a translation could in fact impact on the translator's thinking and ideology.

In the second approach, a translator manipulates the source text for her/his own purpose. Von Flotow reports: "Over the past decade a number of women translators have assumed the right to query their source texts from a feminist perspective, to intervene and make changes when the texts depart from this perspective. Drawing attention to the political clout they personally assign to language and to the impact of a translator's politics, they openly intervene in their texts" (1997:24). This is the more aggressive group of ideologically committed translators.

The third approach works through anthologies of women's writing in translation (e.g., Kadish & Massardier-Kenny 1994) or other genres to rescue significant women writers who have been almost drowned in the sea of male discourse. The translation strategies employed include the re-constructive and interventionist ones mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

One effect of these practices is that these feminist translators are much more visible. They are very ready to assert their own feminist identity, and often use extra-textual means (prefaces or notes) to explain their purposes and translation methods.

Massardier-Kenny (1997) writing on a similar topic summarizes that two major types of translation strategies are employed in feminist translation: author-centred strategies including recovery, commentary, resistance and thick translation, and translator-centred strategies including commentary, use of parallel texts and collaboration.

As can be seen in the research of von Flotow and Massardier-Kenny, discussion of feminist translation practice is much less on the micro-linguistic aspect of translation, rather the focus is more on the macro-approaches to be adopted to make "the feminine visible" (Massardier-Kenny 1997:58).

The term "ideological" has been used so far as if its meaning is already clear to everyone, but of course this is not the case. The following attempts not a definition but an outline of the distinctive features associated with the term "ideology" as these features are relevant to the issue under discussion in this paper. Mainly, van Dijk's work on this topic has been consulted (1998, 2002). His very general definition of "ideologies," as "the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members" (2002:Ch. 1) provides the starting point for further elaboration and exploration. In brief, there are 6 important points:

–   The term "ideology" is used as a neutral term, without the usual derogative meaning associated with it.
–   Ideology is sociopoliticized (it is usually not a belief about how one wants to wear one's hair, but how one wants to vote, though the former can also be politicized if one wants it to be).
–   Taking an ideological stance means oriented towards action – it is pro-active, not just reactive.
–   Ideologies are conflictive – one ideology often is pitched against another ideology, for dominance.
–   An ideology can be communicated through discourse, and do so often in an implicit manner, disguised as the understood shared beliefs of the people.
–   Ideologies are relativistic, that is, an ideology may be an ideology in one culture, but not one in another.

The term "culture" can be said to be an encompassing one. If it forms a set, then ideology can be a sub-set within it – the ideology is highlighted, but cultural matters will also be in the background. Research works in translation studies which show particular concern towards most of the points made about ideology in the preceding paragraph could be said then to have made an ideological turn.

Gentzler and Tymoczko in their introduction to their collection entitled *Translation and Power* write that "the "*cultural* turn" in translation studies has become the "*power* turn," with questions of power brought to the fore in discussion of both translation history and strategies for translation" (2002: xvi) and "translation is not simply associated with the "possession of control or command over others" and, hence, with colonization or oppression, but also with "the ability to act upon" structures of command, such that translation becomes a means to resist that very colonization or exploitation" (xvii). Their concerns are in many ways similar to those discussed in this paper: power, dominance, minorities, marginalization, resistance, politics and ideology, and the term "power turn" is probably a suitable term to describe the phenomenon. This paper, however, still prefers the term "ideological turn" for it allows a more extensive scope for investigation. The "power turn" will probably focus on different kinds of power and power relationships. While many ideologies do deal with power and power relationship, they need not be restricted primarily to them, e.g., environmentalism has its power institution, but it may not be quite appropriate to view the relationship between human beings and nature

as essentially a "power" one, and someone could also make an ideology out of a pastoral view of life.

3.   Critical discourse analysis and the ideological turn

Critical discourse analysis (or CDA) in one of its forms is simply the taking of a critical analytical look at discourse to reflect on the everyday apparently innocent use of common language. In this ordinary use, being "critical" means "not just taking things for granted." A set of linguistic analytical tools, adopted from Halliday's functional grammar, is employed in CDA to reveal how language can be used to manipulate readers' responses, resulting in uncritical acceptance of the explicitly stated or implicitly hidden ideology of the discourse. Hammersley, however, further relates this to the loftier "critical" perspective common in contemporary social research, and surmises that in such a context "what is promised is some sort of comprehensive theory that will provide the basis for political action to bring about radical and emancipatory social change" (1997:238). Advocates of CDA like Fairclough and van Dijk are quite ready to admit such an ideological base to their practice. Van Dijk writes that "CDA should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it" (1993/2002:107) and "critical discourse scholars should also be social and political scientists, as well as social critics and activists" (108) – he has researched much on racism (cf. 1991). Fairclough admits that "[P]ractitioners of CDA are indeed generally characterized by explicit political commitments" (1996/2002:151), generally that of the political left. "They are people who see things wrong with their societies, see language as involved in what is wrong, and are committed to making changes through forms of intervention involving language – e.g. by working on critical language awareness programmes for schools, which can point learners towards the possibility of self-conscious language change as a form of social change" (151).

   The term "ideology" is understood by Fairclough "in the sense of assumptions which are built into practices (especially for CDA practices of discourse) which sustain relations of domination, usually in a covert way" (1996/2002:152). He further adds that CDA should also "recognize its own 'partiality'" (152), i.e., it is also ideologically biased. The main enemy for CDA is "covertness" – the hidden ideology, left or right, must be exposed. The resulting greater transparency should allow readers to see where and how language has been used to manipulate their responses to reconfirm or reinforce the ide-

ology of the discourse, and they should then be better able to make informed decision about such ideology. Metaphorically, one could say CDA clears a space of its many hidden traps and allows a more open, fairer playing field.

To add substance to its enterprise, CDA employs a set of existing tools from Halliday's functional grammar that allows both quantitative and qualitative analysis (see Fowler 1994 for explanation and demonstration of how it works). While Widdowson (1995/2002) raises some valid concern about the relation between analysis and interpretation, the point remains that the analysis is not an impressionistic one, but based on quantifiable language data (though the data base should further be expanded, through the use, e.g., of electronic data bank – see Stubbs, 1997/2002). By and large, the analysis does point to patterns of language use which have been neglected or overlooked, and which should have merited more detailed investigation. The interpretation of such tendencies in language use, like all interpretations, will no doubt be open to controversies or claims of over-simplification or naivety. However, an interpretation, by a CDA scholar or not, remains an interpretation – it needs not have a privileged status. The significant thing is that the analysis has provided a more comprehensive picture with multiple perspectives to the readers who will then have to form their own interpretations.

Similarly, Hammersley's criticism of CDA of its lack of critical understanding of its own philosophical foundation, its "rather naïve view of events and actions" and that it takes "relatively crude positions on a variety of issues" (1997:245) may well be valid. However, once again, does one read CDA research for its "sophisticated" ideology? Or its account of how language is used – often not innocently?

The cross-disciplinary fertilization of translation studies by CDA precisely lies in this account of language use tied in with ideology. There have been many accounts of how language is used to influence readers in the field of literary appreciation and criticism. Rhetoric and stylistics have had their play. Their focus, however, has been primarily on aesthetic effects. (Literary translators have also wrestled with the literary devices and their aesthetic effects.) Ideological issues are discussed often at the level of themes and characters rather than words and clauses. Also, literary works, and literary language, have often been studied apart, as something special. Readers approach them with heightened consciousness and a special frame of mind. Non-literary genres of writing, which CDA is particularly interested in, are often read with much less heightened consciousness or care. CDA shows that this is a dangerous attitude to take for everyone in today's highly politicized world.

CDA tries to promote critical language awareness programmes in schools and relies on the thus-trained readers to identify the embedded ideology on their own (Fairclough 1996/2002). Olk also suggests that similar training should be provided in the translation classroom (2002). However, can the translator help to make this easier? In this age of political correctness, many people have started using forms like "her/his", "s/he", or "hi(her)story." Feminist translators have tried with creating "neologisms such as 'the-rapist', 'boreocracy' and the 'Totaled woman' to refer to more or less familiar ideas and then to undermine them with humour, irony, and anger" (von Flotow 1997:21). This kind of wordplay is the wake-up call to the readers to pay special attention to how word, and language, is used; it is also a constant reminder that a piece of discourse is an ideological battleground. But whatever translation strategy is used, the goal of the ideologically committed translator is to direct the readers' attention to the existence of an alternative perspective. This is the ideology of resistance. And if one is not too comfortable with the idea of manipulating, e.g., rewriting to remove the ideology, or to replace one ideology with yet another, this is a reasonable position to take.

CDA has made, and can make, people, including translators, more aware of the ideology and there is no way, once one knows about it, to ignore it. Professional translators have their professional ethics, but is it not also an ethical thing to do by taking on board the practice of CDA to inform the translation process? Rewriting is relatively easy; sabotaging and subverting from within is relatively more difficult. It will require all the creativity and ingenuity that a translator can command to retain the original, and at the same time, expose the ideology without using paratextual commentary. This is the challenge the ideologically committed translators face.

If there is an ideological turn in translation studies, then one fruitful direction to go for sustenance is to take on board some of the practices of CDA. CDA is ideological, but not in the sense that it must inevitably promote one particular ideology, rather it asks readers to take note that discourse, which is made up of language, constitutes beliefs and social identities, often in covert ways, and readers must always be on the lookout for the unnoticed manner their beliefs are affected – formed, reformed, or reconfirmed. A translator, as a mediator and broker between languages and cultures, should at least make the readers aware of this feature of discourse and promote greater transparency with the primary materials she/he works with.

4. The ideological turn and its potential benefits

The ideological turn entails a number of consequences, some of which are of potential benefit to the discipline of translation studies:

– The important role of ideology in society is acknowledged, which raises issues of ethics and altruism in the act of translation.
– The visibility of the translator is greatly increased, leading to an enhancement of her/his status as a professional and as a participant in sociopolitical and cultural development.
– In addition to the role of mediator and broker between national cultures, the translator also takes on the role of mediator and broker between ideologies.
– There is greater transparency to the multifold functions of translation and the role of the translator and such an openness is conducive to more informed decision about and greater critical reflection on discourse and self.
– The translator gains a greater self-awareness of the potential for ideological manipulation in her/his work, and her/his responsibility toward this.
– In sum, taking an ideological turn does not mean that the translator will now devote her/his effort to promoting her/his ideology; rather by exposing the ideological nature of the source text and the target text, and the practice of translation, it encourages a critical stance in the readers and creates an open playing field for all parties in the translation process.

Critical discourse analysis with part of its roots in linguistic analysis, and another part in ideological aspiration, of whatever persuasion, provides a fruitful opportunity for cross-disciplinary fertilization with translation studies. The result is that for the latter, after the linguistic turn and the cultural turn, intensive micro linguistic analysis is back in another guise, and at the macro content level the important issue stays more focused at the ideology. The ideologies of some of the advocates of CDA, as their critics point out, may not be that sophisticated, but they have attempted, through intensive systematic study, to raise the transparency of the discourse. Perhaps, for a translator, with her/his complex ambivalent relationship with the source culture and the target culture, and the inherent constraints that a translation task entails (e.g., that there is a source text to follow, in whatever way), the best to ask for is a space, artificially distanced from the source culture/text and target culture/text, where, if possible, everything is in the open. Let the readers roam there. The motto may be: don't take the ideology to the readers, let them come to their own, on their own free choice.

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Texts and contexts in translation

Institutionalising Buddhism

The role of the translator in Chinese society

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Even in the so-called age of globalisation, Western knowledge of China's pioneering role in both theory and practice of translation is minuscule. The explanation ready at hand is often based on cultural and linguistic barriers. However, a more important cause can be found in the unwillingness in Western scholarship of dealing with what André Lefevere calls "the other." Given this unsatisfactory state of affairs, it is hoped that this study on the role of the translator in Chinese society will contribute to a more open and inclusive approach in Western translation scholarship as postulated by André Lefevere (1992) and Mona Baker (1992).

Keywords: translator in Chinese society, social status of translators, translation theory and practice, history of translation.

1. Eurocentricity in Translation Studies: The case of Chinese

Unfortunately, Chinese translation history and practice is virgin territory in Western translation research, which is by and large Eurocentric, just like literary studies (Bloom 2004).[1] Even George Steiner's landmark study, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (1975), contains only passing references to Chinese translation history. Chinese (Asian) translation history is also ignored in most of the more recent studies which attempt to highlight the importance of intercultural space in translation research, such as Paula G. Rubel's *Translating Cultures: Perspectives on Translation and Anthropology* (2003) and Anthony Pym's excellent study, *Method in Translation History*, which contains a short personal communication about an aspect of translation in China in a brief footnote (1998: 177), or Lawrence Venuti's study, *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995), among many others.[2] Eugene Eoyang's characterisation of Chinese

translation as "no-man's land" in Western translation research is therefore as valid today as it was in 1993:

> In the studies of translation, the case of Chinese (and other East Asian languages) has traditionally been relegated to the periphery of concern, occasionally with a note of apology about one's ignorance of this important culture.
>
> (Eoyang 1993: xi)

Among the very few exceptions to this trend in Western translation research is the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies,* edited by Mona Baker and Kirsten Malmkjær (1998), which contains an informative entry on "Chinese Tradition" in the "History and Tradition" section, compiled by Eva Hung and David Pollard.[3] Regrettably, the two leading experts on Chinese translation are not represented in the "General Part" of this important study and reference book, nor are there any significant references to Chinese translation history, theory and practice, despite the long history of translation in China, dating back to the Zhou Dynasty in the ninth century BC and the wealth of information on translation accumulated over the centuries. Early historical works, such as *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Historian*) from the first century BC (195 BC-7 AD), contain numerous references to translation in the political context of the time, and to the organisation and protocol of government bureaus and the official translators and interpreters known as *sheren*, i.e., "tongues-man," since the Han Dynasty (195 BC-7 AD) and *yiguan* or *yishi*, i.e., "translation officials," which foreshadow in many respects the present set-up of the comprehensive EU translation and interpreting bureaucracy in Brussels.

Narrowness of focus on individual (European) languages and translators therefore constitutes a key problem in the field of contemporary translation studies.[4] Unfortunately, this issue has not yet been sufficiently identified and articulated as a problem in current translation research.[5] A rare exception is Mona Baker, who forcefully articulates her disquiet about the situation in the introductory section of her study, *In Other Words. A Coursebook on Translation* (1992: 7).

While the prevailing Eurocentric (Anglo-American) perspective in translation research is of troubling proportions, the conspicuous absence of comprehensive studies concerning the relevance of what Anthony Pym calls "the human side of translation history" (1998: 150) in the context of a specific cultural-political setting is of equal concern, since it ignores significant factors of the translation process. The translator's "invisibility" or "shadowy existence" as described by Venuti (1995: 8) and highlighted in Larbaud's metaphor of a beggar at the church door (Steiner 1975: 270) might reflect a post-romantic

view concerning notions of hierarchy in the chain of communication between author, text, reader and translator (Bassnett-McGuire 1980: 75),[6] but it constitutes an equally significant reality with tangibly detrimental consequences for the translator, as spelt out in considerable detail by Venuti: "The translator's shadowy existence in Anglo-American culture is further registered, and maintained, in the ambiguous and unfavourable legal status of translation, both in copyright law and in actual contractual arrangements" (1995: 8).

A cursory look at Chinese translation history documents, perhaps more openly than that of the West, shows the key role of the translator in determining and shaping not only prevailing attitudes towards translation, but towards society as a whole. Regrettably, scholarly attention to this question is as minuscule in Chinese critical literature on translation as it is in Western translation research, which also pays "little attention to translators" (Pym 1998: 150). However, valuable research on this question has been conducted in disciplines not specifically concerned with aspects of translation, such as religious studies and historical and socio-political research, which underpins the urgency of interdisciplinary efforts along the lines suggested by Anthony Pym.

The following reflections on the impact generated by translators within Chinese society in the Tang Dynasty (618–907) and Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) are therefore designed to make the enduring effect of translators upon Chinese culture and thought more visible, and translation as a scholarly discipline more open and inclusive.

2.   A brief overview of early translation activities in China

Translation theory in China is deeply rooted in translation practices and literary conventions which date back well over two thousand years in documented form. In his preface to a special Chinese issue of the journal, *Meta*, the eminent Chinese translator and scholar, Xu Jun, divides the long history of Chinese translation into four major periods: translation of the sutras, translation in the Ming and Qing period, translation at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, and translation after 1949 and the founding of the PRC (Xu 1999: 1). This view is shared by Wang Kefei and Fan Shouyi, who divide the five thousand year history of translation in China into four major "waves" over the centuries, and Eva Hung, who identifies three "peak periods:" the Buddhist sutra translation movement, the Jesuit translation activities in the late Ming dynasty, and the introduction of "Western learning" into China in the second half of the nineteenth century. Hung also draws attention to the little-known fact that

non-Chinese translators played a leading role in all three periods identified in her study (1999: 226). She also highlights the not infrequent but historically incorrect and untenable practice of translation scholars studying the early history of translation in China in the context of current national boundaries:

> Some researchers, for example, apply the present-day national boundaries to their description of Buddhist sutra translators. Instead of classifying the Iranian, Persian and Scythian translators from Taklamakan oasis states of Central Asia (the "Western Region" in Chinese historical documents) as non-Chinese, they refer to them as Chinese minorities.   (Hung 1999: 224)

In the second and third centuries, the majority of Buddhist monks in China were foreign missionaries who communicated primarily with the Chinese intelligentsia. As they were identified as foreigners, their activities were not entered into the official records of the Bureau of History. For that reason, little is known about them and the degree of their acceptance in Chinese society. However, it can be safely assumed that, as exponents of a foreign religion, they did not enjoy great prestige and popularity. Nevertheless, they prepared the ground for the steady propagation, growth and institutionalisation of Buddhism in China.

In the beginning only a limited number of *sutra*s were available, and there was no outstanding Chinese translator to speak of. Early in the fifth century, some of the most eminent monks had made available to the Chinese the key *Mahayana* texts (e.g. the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Nirvana Sutra*, among others). This period also saw the development of Buddhism along two distinctly different lines in the North and South. While the focus of the Buddhist monks in the south was on philosophical discussion with the educated Chinese (literati), the emphasis in the North was on rendering service in the form of military and diplomatic advice to the non-Chinese rulers, which led to a close supervision of the monastic community in later years. The missionary work which the educated monks in the South conducted among the cultured Chinese provided them with a much broader base of support, which included the elite of Chinese society as well as the great masses of people (Chen 1973: 93).

There seems to be general agreement among historically oriented translation scholars that the translations during the early period of Chinese Buddhism were initially intended for the literary layman with only a superficial knowledge of Buddhism. Their translations were, therefore, mostly loose paraphrases or abstracts of the respective originals. Since Chinese was often not the translator's mother tongue, local assistants were used as stylistic advisors. However, the number of Chinese monks increased steadily, and around 400 AD the foreign-

ers became a small minority. Also, their translations were no longer addressed to the cultivated laity, but to monks by now familiar with Buddhist terminology and a jargon that ordinary Chinese without philosophical and religious training could no longer understand (Waley 1952: 86).

3.   The role of the translator in the spread of Buddhism in China

The indignities experienced by some of early Buddhist monks and translators in Chinese society were reversed with the arrival of a number of exceptionally brilliant and influential Buddhist scholars, who also demonstrated a strong commitment to translation and the sciences. Significantly, most of them enjoyed imperial patronage and support, which facilitated the rapid spread of Buddhism and the introduction of astronomical, calendrical and medical studies all over China. Dao An (312–385), born in north China, was such a unique personality in the early Chin period. The range and depth of his activities and achievements are indicative of his role in Chinese society of his time. He was a brilliant student and instantly attracted the admiration of the great master Fo-t'u-teng in Yeh (present Henan), who supported his interest in the *Prajna* texts and *dhyana* exercises. Within a short time, Dao An succeeded in establishing a reputation as a teacher and scholar, and officials and ruling princes invited him to give lectures. His study of the *sutra*s and his translations and commentaries spread his reputation to distant rulers and to the Emperor Hsiao-wu, who sent him presents. Apart from his scholarly activities and his evangelical duties of propagating Buddhism in the Yang Zhou and Sichuan areas and the establishment of the famous Buddhist centre of Lu Shan, he collected, copied and interpreted Sutras, corrected wrong translations, and compiled a *Comprehensive Catalogue of Sutras* (*Tsung-li chang-ching mu-lu*), better known as *An's Catalogue* (*An-lu*). These activities constitute a pioneering effort by any standard as it involved a detailed textual examination of every *sutra* and the compilation of data on time, place and circumstances of the translations, on the identification of forgeries, and above all, on the name of the translator, which was in most cases ignored by the copyists. Since Dao An had large numbers of followers, he re-examined the rules concerning the conduct and discipline of monks, or what are commonly known the *Vinaya* rules. During his final years in Chang'an under the patronage of Fu Chien, Dao An enjoyed the admiration of numerous nobles and aristocrats and was finally appointed imperial advisor (Chen 1973: 101). Unfortunately, Fu Chien did not heed Dao An's counsel and lost the battle at Fei-shui in 383, one of the decisive

battles in world history (Chen 1973: 101). Among Dao An's many religious and secular achievements, his contribution to translation, theory and practice has been of particular significance due to its wide range of commitment and its lasting influence on Chinese culture and thought. A brilliant translator himself, Dao An was instrumental in having Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese by attracting such outstanding translators as Chu Fo-nien to work for him, and even more importantly, by providing optimal conditions in Chang'an to do so:

> It was mainly due to his efforts that Ch'ang-an was one of the important centres of translation at this time. To carry on the intensive translation activities in Ch'ang-an, Tao-an assembled many workers to assist the foreign monks, providing a pool of trained talent in the city that was to prove extremely valuable and useful to Kumarajiva when the latter began his large-scale translations. (Chen 1973: 102)

Despite his essentially practice-oriented approach to translation, Dao An's insight into the more theoretical subtleties of translation are still of relevance today. Dao An's intellectual brilliance, openness and versatility and his commitment to both religious and secular engagement are hallmarks of the majority of leading Chinese translators, characteristics which distinguish them from many of their counterparts in the West. This applies also to Kumarajiva, who spent part of his childhood in Afghanistan, settled for a while in Kucha (Central Asia), and arrived in the capital Chang'an in 401. His arrival occurred, however, only after several failed attempts by Fu Chien, the ruler of the Jin Dynasty, to attract the celebrated scholar to his household. His privileged position and closeness to the ruling Yao family in Chang'an is reflected in the following description:

> The Hsiao-yao Garden was placed at the disposal of Kumarajiva and his fellow monks, and here, with a thousand monks sitting in daily sessions, Kumarajiva carried out his translation activities. Sometimes the ruler, Yao Hsing, personally participated in these proceedings by holding the old translations which were used by Kumarajiva as the basis for comparisons ... He was honoured with the title *Kuo-shih* (*National Preceptor*) and from 402 to his death in 413 he and his colleagues poured forth a steady stream of translations, which included some of the most important items in the Chinese canon.
> (Chen 1964: 83)

Through his translations, Kumarajiva facilitated the establishment of an influential *Mahayana* School in China. His closeness to the ruler, who was fascinated by his intellectual brilliance and intuitive wisdom (*Prajna*), is underpinned by the fact that he was appointed "arbiter of all things Buddhist" shortly after his

arrival in Chang'an and provided not only with royal quarters but also with the "pleasures of the inner apartments," which ultimately led to tensions between himself and the more disciplinarian Buddhists (Chen 1964: 109).

During his time in Chang'an, Kumarajiva devoted most of his time and energy to translation. As he was at home in Chinese and Sanskrit, he was extremely successful. His translations are rather free and extremely agreeable to read. In contrast to other translators of his time, he held the view that "popular scriptures are literary works intended to make an aesthetic as well as an argumentative appeal" (Waley 1952: 87). Among the disciples of Kumarajiva, Seng Chao (374–414) was the most distinguished scholar. He also mingled freely with the leading literati in Chang'an and assisted Kumarajiva in explaining and collating the *sutras.*

The most illustrious and influential translator during the formative period of Buddhism in China was Xuan Zang (602–664), with the honourable Buddhist title, Tripitaka, or what Arthur Waley refers to as "the real and historic Tripitaka" (Waley 1952: 11). Tripitaka's legendary journey to India is the subject of the epic novel *Xiyouji* (*Journey to the West*), one of the great classical works of Chinese (and world) literature. Although Xuan Zang himself has left no account of his life and career, sufficient information has been transmitted in biographies and historical documents to identify his lasting achievements as a missionary, translator, scholar, philosopher, teacher and imperial advisor who enjoyed the favours of successive emperors (Waley 1952: 121). The available records also provide a great deal of little-known material concerning the translation activities in Chang'an and other Buddhist centres of learning in the early Tang period.

Like his predecessors, Dao An and Kumarajiva, Xuan Zang had a high public profile and enjoyed already in his lifetime a legendary reputation. For example, his return from India to Chang'an in 647 generated so much interest in the general public that he had to stay overnight in the outskirts of the city, as it was impossible to force a passage through the crowds who filled the streets in order to catch a glimpse of him (Waley 1952: 77). The spectacle of his official entry in Chang'an on the following day reflects imperial support, public interest, and admiration on a grand scale, as highlighted in the following description:

> Next day a huge concourse of monks in solemn procession carried relics, images and books that Tripitaka had brought back with him from India, to the Hung-fu Monastery, which lay just outside the Imperial Park, in the northwest corner of the City. The route was lined by dense throngs of "citizens and officials both of the Palace and the Civil Administration." Lest the spectators

should crush one another to death in their eagerness to see the holy objects, they were forbidden to move an inch while the procession was passing. Standing stock-still they burnt incense, threw flowers and broke out again and again in cries of wonder and delight.   (Waley 1952:81)

As a confidant of the Emperor and moral advisor he was invited to occupy one of the best of the four thousand rooms in the Western Brightness Monastery in Chang'an, and was attended to by ten newly ordained acolytes, and "constantly visited by Palace eunuchs and high officials sent by the Emperor with gifts of precious stuffs, cassocks and so on from the Imperial stores" (Waley 1952:124). The Emperor's insistence of having Xuan Zang in his vicinity and accessible at all times was time-consuming and seriously interfered with his interest in translation and religious activities. Also, due to multifarious secular commitments and administrative duties at the imperial court, such as entertaining foreign visitors and dignitaries, translating diplomatic communications, giving public lectures, selecting personnel, preparing submissions for funds, representing Buddhist interests at government level, manoeuvring at the court on religious matters, corresponding with the Imperial Court on all sorts of occasions such as birthdays (necessitating congratulations and letters to foreign governments on behalf of the Emperor), selecting suitable sites for imperial building projects, organising public processions, presiding over official banquets such as the banquet at the Monastery of Maternal Love on the occasion of the creation of a new Heir Apparent in 656 (at which five thousand monks took part and prominent statesmen and officials were ordered to attend), for all these reasons, Xuan Zang was continuously distracted from his duties as official translator at the Imperial Court. When he requested in 657 to be allowed to retire in order to have more time for his numerous translation projects and for meditation, the Emperor rejected this idea out of hand, despite the impressive list of translations (over six hundred scrolls) which Xuan Zang had completed since his arrival in Chang'an, many of them promoting imperial interests and national security (Waley 1952:114–115).

Despite his privileged position, Xuan Zang's translation activities were strictly controlled by the Emperor and his bureaucrats and he needed imperial approval with regard to the selection of texts for translation, the re-translation of already translated works, the need for such translations, the method of translation, the locations (monasteries) of translation work, and apparently insignificant matters such as getting three days off in order to visit the grave of his parents in Luo Yang (Waley 1952:120). After the completion of his work on the two hundred chapters of the *Hinayana* compendium *Mahavibasha* in 659,

Xuan Zang finally received the Emperor's permission to withdraw to the Jade Flower Monastery in the vicinity of Luo Yang in order to commence work on the great *Prajna* Corpus, which consists of sixteen long scriptures supposed to have been preached by Buddha on various occasions (Waley 1952: 124). The task ahead of him and his translators and disciples was massive. Nevertheless, despite initial doubts as to the feasibility of the project, he completed it in 663. "His final version ultimately filled six hundred volumes and is said to be eighty-four times the length of the Bible" (Waley 1952: 124). When a deputation of translators and monks approached him on New Year's Day in 664 with the request to embark on a similar gigantic translation project (the *Ratnakuta*), Xuan Zang dismissed the idea on health grounds.

While there is consensus among critics with regard to the immense quantitative achievements of Xuan Zang's life-long translation activities (Waley 1952: 85), doubts have been expressed concerning the quality of his translations (Waley 1952: 88) and his approach to translation, which differed considerably from earlier methods and styles of translation, insofar as the translation process was directed by Xuan Zang alone and the translation dictated by him was final. The most obvious problem Xuan Zang and his assistants were confronted with is related to the stylistic characteristics of Sanskrit:

> [I]n Sanskrit the style most admired is that in which words are interlocked in groups that are piled up one upon another. This leads to a Chinese style that is rather too complicated. That is why the special class of helpers called "connecters" were given their position. It was their business to add what was necessary in order to make clear the relationship of meaning in a sequence of phrases. When the duly edited text had been bound up (i.e. the sheets pasted on to rolls) it was sent to the Imperial Secretariat for a fair copy to be made.
>
> (Waley 1952: 88)

Arthur Waley, an outstanding Sinologist and translator himself, sums up Xuan Zang's achievements and shortcomings as follows:

> Tripitaka's translations are certainly closer and more efficient than those in the preceding century. But his methods were not revolutionary and in one respect a revolution was badly needed. We expect a translator, where a bare translation is unintelligible, to furnish in footnotes or elsewhere the necessary explanations; Tripitaka, like his predecessors, simply translated. The annotation, highly necessary in the case of all but the simplest texts, was left to his disciples who furnished it in separate commentaries. They relied to a large extent on what Tripitaka had told them orally, so that the commentaries are in an indirect way also his work. But the method was highly unsatisfactory. Different commentators understood what he had said in different ways and

there is, I think, no evidence that any of these annotations were checked by Triptaka himself. It would certainly have been better if he had attempted fewer translations and done the annotations himself, paragraph by paragraph. This latter method had been used for hundreds of years past in editing Confucian and Taoist Classics and presented no technical difficulty. But it was probably for this reason that Tripitaka did not adopt it; he would not have liked his Scriptures to have the appearance of "outside" (that is to say, non-Buddhist) Classics.   (Waley 1952:89)

4.   Xuan Zang's role in institutionalising Buddhism in China

Little is known outside China about Xuan Zang's intellectual brilliance and his achievements as official translator at the imperial court. However, most foreign visitors come across his legendary fame at visits to Dayanta (the Wild Goose Pagoda) in Xi'an, which was built in response to his request in 652 to house the texts he had brought back from India. Although his grandiose plans for a stone pagoda in Indian style some three hundred feet high was rejected by the Emperor and replaced by a substantially lower timber structure, the present tower, which dates from about 1700, is nevertheless a conspicuous landmark in the cultural and intellectual landscape as well as the history of translation in China. With the decline of Buddhist influence at the imperial court and in government, and the ruthless persecution of the Buddhist community soon after Xuan Zang's death, there was also a marked decrease in Buddhist translation activities, which is understandable as most of the key religious texts had already been translated.

However, Buddhism had by now become "thoroughly acclimated to the Chinese scene" and an integral part of the Chinese cultural pattern (Chen 1973:303).[7] The attempt by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century to similarly integrate Christianity turned out to be less successful, although their mission strategy initially had a great deal in common with the Buddhist proselytisers. Another important factor the Jesuits had in common with the great Buddhist scholars and translators of the seventh century was the use of translation as a powerful instrument in their mission of institutionalising a religious belief in East Asia, and their view that cultural mediation can be best achieved by establishing close contacts with the political (imperial patronage), intellectual and moral leaders of society.[8]

Notes

1. Harold Bloom's list of "the hundred most important authors of world literature" (*Weltliteratur*) highlights the still widespread narrow focus of Western literary scholarship and its underlying exclusiveness, particularly with regard to Asian literary achievements, past and present.

2. The brief reference to China is related to "Beijing supplanting Peking" (Rubel 2003:184). The references to Japan and Korea are just as cursory and India is not even mentioned.

3. No doubt, the longstanding commitment of Eva Hung and David Pollard to the promotion of Chinese translation scholarship in the West has greatly contributed to a rapidly growing exchange of information between Chinese and Western scholars in this important field of research. Recent publications, such as Hung (2002) and Pollard (1998), to name only two, are exemplary in this respect. However, they also highlight the numerical under-representation of Western scholars.

4. While Europe still figures prominently in Fernando Poyatos' research (Poyatos 1992, 1997), the author successfully opens up new cross-cultural perspectives, including a Chinese one (Yau Shun-chiu 1997, 1992) in his groundbreaking studies on non-verbal communication in translation. "Crosscultural Transgressions" are also programmatically signalled in Theo Hermans' book (2002), which contains two excellent Chinese contributions (Chan 2002; Cheung 2002). *Across Languages and Cultures*, a new Hungarian journal, has similar scholarly objectives, reflected in the range of topics, which include three Chinese contributions (Chan 2001; Tan 2001; Zhong 2005).

5. A positive step towards greater inclusiveness in Western translation research can be found in the collective monograph edited by Marilyn G. Rose (2000), in which languages of reference come from Latin America, the Far East, the Indian Subcontinent, the Middle East, Africa and Europe and a de-Westernised perspective prevails. Regrettably, Elsie Chan's and Sean Golden's contributions have not been accessible to the author of this paper. The Danish journal *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* (1996) should be mentioned (see Wang & Xu). A more recent attempt to widen the scholarly horizon of Western translation research can be found in David Wright (2000), Leo Tak-hung Chan (2003, 2004), and Eva Hung (2005).

6. This is in stark contrast to the public profile and social privilege enjoyed by some of the Chinese translators (Dao An, Kumarajiva & Tripitaka).

7. For Hu Shi's (1891–1962) critical comments on the influence of the Buddhist translations in his lectures ("The Translated Literature of Buddhism" Parts 1 and 2) published in 1928, see Cheung (2002:146–157).

8. For an excellent interpretation of the tensions between the apparent accommodation of the Jesuits to Confucianism and "their intended goal of ultimately transforming it," see Zhang (1999).

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Subtitling reading practices

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Reading practices and their influence on studies of literacy in Portugal have been subject to a great deal of attention by scholars in general. Although Portugal is referred to as a predominantly subtitling country, and therefore a country with a great tradition of subtitling reading practices, research in this particular field is yet to be undertaken. With this paper, I intend to discuss the key role of translation for the media in Portugal with regard to established reading practices in Portuguese High School students within the compulsory schooling age. In order to show the social relevance of this particular kind of translation, a close analysis of questionnaires answered by the students will serve as a corpus.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, subtitling, reading practices.

1.   Introduction

Generally, when we speak of *reading*, we seldom relate it to any other material besides books, magazines, newspapers and others. We don't pay much attention to the amount of reading we do from other sources, namely from audiovisual materials. This is one possible explanation for the reason why we have not considered the practice of the reading of subtitles in Portugal. Subtitles derive from a particular kind of translation process – audiovisual translation.

This work aims to contribute not only to research on subtitling, as a product of translation, but also to the understanding of subtitling reading practices in Portugal. In order to achieve these two main goals, questionnaires were given to 293 Portuguese High School students[1] within the compulsory schooling age, i.e., from the 5th form to the 9th form.[2] A close analysis of their answers will, hopefully, help to build a framework of reference for audiovisual reading habits of Portuguese school-goers.

2.   Reading habits and subtitling reading practices

Before embarking on the details of what constitutes the *corpus* that underlies the present study, it is significant to briefly define some concepts that I will be using throughout this work. Thus, the phrase "audiovisual translation" has been widely used (Gambier 1996: 7, 2000: 33; Karamitroglou 2000: 1–4) to refer to the work of intralingual and interlingual translation done for TV, cinema, video and DVD.

Notwithstanding the several types of linguistic transfer in the media proposed by Gambier (1996: 9–10),[3] the focus will be on subtitling as an interlingual practice carried out by Portuguese translators/subtitlers.[4] Emphasis will be given to subtitles to feature films. Therefore, the terms *screen translation* or *film translation* can be used as synonyms of *audiovisual translation.*[5]

In the area of audiovisual translation, there is still much ground to cover as far as Translation Studies are concerned. Gambier (2000: 33) corroborates this idea when he ascertains: "De fait, la traduction AV est encore un objet largement inexploré dans toutes ses implications."

These words can perfectly be transposed to the Portuguese audiovisual landscape. Portugal is referred to as a predominantly subtitling country, alongside The Netherlands, Scandinavia, Belgium, Greece, Israel, Egypt and other Arab and Asian countries. As opposed to dubbing, subtitling is very often associated with a practice adopted by countries of lesser economic means, due to it being a faster and cheaper method of translating films/programmes from a source into a target language/culture.

According to Ivarsson and Carroll (1999: 63), subtitling presupposes meeting some specific requirements, which have a decisive impact on the quality, "... regardless of the medium (film, TV, video, DVD, etc.)." These range from the awareness of reading speed of an audience to synchronization between subtitle content and sound/image. Furthermore, the layout of subtitles is also important as well as their editing, with regard to time of exposure. The responsibility of translating for all kinds of audiences is also an issue. This paper will not discuss these matters despite their relevance to the practice of audiovisual translation.

3.   The aims of the questionnaire

It is not the intention of this work to promote any specific form of audiovisual interlingual translation. The primary goal of this questionnaire is to lead to

reflection on subtitling reading practices in Portugal. The respondents were called upon to answer a total of twenty-five different questions. However, within the scope of this paper, it is not pertinent to address the entire sequence of questions.

The questionnaire is subdivided into four sections, each of which presents a set of questions relating to the students' experiences and perceptions of their reading habits:

  a) Identification;
  b) Reading Matter on Paper;
  c) Audiovisual Means of Communication;
  d) Reading Subtitles.

3.1 Identification

Out of the 293 students who answered this questionnaire 2.6% do not speak the Portuguese language as their mother tongue. English is the language that 65.7% respondents favour in foreign films, followed by French and Spanish: the preference of 13.2% and 12.1% students, respectively.

3.2 Reading matter on paper

As regards reading in general, 15.3% of the students report that they do not like reading and 11% of them admit to not reading a single book per year. If we sum up the latter with the 18% respondents who read between 1 and 50 pages per year, the result (44.3%) is impressively low in terms of Portuguese adolescent reading habits.

If we translate these results into the number of books read per year we can summarise as follows: (1) 15.8% of the students read more than 10 books per year and (2) 30% read between 3 and 9 books per year.

We can conclude that these informants read very sparsely and that the size of books they read is small, given that only 9.6% students state that they read more than 1000 pages per year.

3.3 Audiovisual means of communication

In addition to the economic relevance of the audiovisual sector, television is referred to by The European Commission as playing a "key social and cultural role", for "… television is the most important source of information and

entertainment in European societies, with 98% of homes having a television, and the average European watching more than 200 minutes television per day."[6]

All respondents possess a TV set and 47% have access to cable TV. So far, very few (18.5% students) possess DVD.

TV is watched everyday for more than 5 hours by 28.8% students. Their favourite programmes on national television are music programmes (52.2%), followed by sports programmes (33.3%) and by foreign films (29.7%). The TV foreign programmes they dislike the most are documentaries (20.2%), the news (19.2%) and fashion (18.9%).

Again, in terms of foreign programmes, their preference goes to sports (30.4%), music (25.7%), closely followed by cartoons (24.8%) and foreign films (24.3%).

If we run through the figures in relation to the subtitling or dubbing of the foreign programmes mentioned above, the students make a clear statement on their choice. There is no doubt whatsoever as to their preference for subtitling.[7] More than 50% of the students choose to watch subtitled programmes. Amazingly enough, this applies to cartoons as well, the dubbing of which, both on TV and cinema, has recently flourished in the Portuguese market.

3.4 Reading subtitles

In general terms, Portuguese students learn how to read around the ages of 6 or 7. As for the readability of subtitles 55.8% of the respondents stated that they had started reading them between the ages of seven and ten. Furthermore, 22.3% of the students report that they had started reading subtitles before they were 7 and 20.7% between the ages of 10 and 12.

At the moment of the completion of the questionnaire, most students (55.4%), whose ages ranged between 11 and 18 years old, considered they could fully read and understand subtitles. Still, there is a rather large number of respondents who cannot read a whole subtitle (18.3%). Although 18.7% don't read the entire subtitle, they say they can follow the film. There is a small group of students (8.7%) to whom reading subtitles is a difficult task.

The students were also asked to mention the aspects they thought of as positive in relation to reading subtitles. They can be listed as follows: (1) subtitling helps the deaf/hard-of-hearing to watch films (46.2%); (2) subtitling helps to develop reading speed (44.7%); (3) subtitling helps all kinds of viewers to better understand films (40.9%); (4) subtitling contributes to the general learning of the Portuguese language (31.9%).

A small group of students (11%) feel that having access to subtitled films does not help them to pronounce a foreign language better. In fact, this was considered the least important aspect about subtitle reading, but they end up contradicting this idea when they answer the next question, as I will show further on.

Then, the students were asked to list what the practice of reading subtitles could enable them to learn. Here are some of the most mentioned points: (1) subtitling could help them to become faster readers (45%); (2) subtitling could help them to pronounce the foreign language they were learning at school (43%); (3) subtitling could help them to understand the film better (37.7%); (4) subtitling could help them to express themselves better in the Portuguese language (36.4%).

The aspect 8.4% students indicated as the least important to their learning process was the possibility of comparing the Portuguese language to the source language used in films.

Ivarsson and Carroll (1999:71) point out the close relationship between literacy levels and the positive impact of subtitles on reading proficiency, referring to a Dutch study which has proved "... to be the main means by which Dutch children learn their early reading skills ... Thus it appears that subtitles promote competence in mother tongue as well as foreign language learning."

Gambier (2000:43) provides us with an example with regard to viewers in Finland and he postulates: if a Finn watched subtitled programmes on television for 2 hours and 20 minutes per day (during 1992), he/she would have read more than 200 books of roughly 300 pages each. From this example, two questions could legitimately be posed: (1) what points of contrast would be likely to emerge if we thought of the Portuguese scenario? (2) Keeping in mind the fact that most Portuguese students prefer subtitled programmes and that those subtitles are the result of a specific process of translation, what should national and international academia do to promote the study of these phenomena?

For the time being, I will refer to the answers offered by the students relating to the quality of subtitles in Portugal: (1) The great majority – 62.4% – considers the quality of subtitles good; (2) 29.7% students assess it as very good; (3) a reduced number of respondents – 5.6% – think of it as "poor" and 1.7% consider it to be "very poor."

As we have just seen, most students consider the quality of subtitles in Portugal good; nonetheless 36.8% have claimed never to pay attention to the author of the subtitling/translation work. Out of 293 respondents, only 1.7%

admitted to remembering the names of subtitlers/translators; however, none of them was able to mention a single name.

The social relevance and the linguistic and cultural implications of some of the answers to this questionnaire could be a good starting point to develop a strategy of *audiovisual translation awareness* within the Portuguese translation studies scenario.

Taking into account that audiovisual translation plays such an important role in students' lives, shouldn't we pay more attention to this kind of activity? Karamitroglou (2000:10) points out that it is "... a well-known fact that audiovisual translation has always been considered inferior to (written) literary translation, most probably because of the lack of cultural prestige in audiovisual mass-media ...;" nevertheless, we need to ponder on the importance the phenomenon has in our daily routine and its reflection on public literacy and on Translation Studies.

4. Concluding remarks

The study of translation for subtitling purposes in Portugal is still in its initial stages.

Yet, from the analysis of the results I have presented, we are able to extract some crucial information. In my opinion, action should be taken to ensure the needs and objectives of audiovisual translators and the furtherance of their work in Portugal. I strongly believe that professionals of audiovisual translation would like to see their work supported legally and protected as any other aspect of audiovisual creation is. Under such conditions, audiovisual translators would not object to having their work appraised, monitored and subsequently evaluated.

We must keep in mind that, in the case of most European countries, the result of the work of audiovisual translators reaches its target – the viewers – faster than almost any other kind of translation. Furthermore, it covers the largest number of receivers, when compared to any other kind of translational mode. As a result, it is urgent and appropriate to think of the protection of audiovisual translation since it is, in my opinion, a cultural legacy as well.

Notes

1. I would like to thank all teachers and students from the schools of Válega and Estarreja. I also thank Professor Maria Teresa Gomes Roberto for her comments on this work.

2. The students questioned attend two different Schools in the Aveiro region (during the school year of 2001/2): Escola do Ensino Básico – 2º e 3º Ciclos Monsenhor Miguel de Oliveira – Válega – (5th and 6th form) and Escola do Ensino Básico – 2º e 3º Ciclos Padre Donaciano Freire – Estarreja – (7th, 8th and 9th form).

3. These are as follows: film subtitling, simultaneous subtitling, multilingual subtitling, dubbing, interpreting, voice-over, narration, commentary, simultaneous translation and "le sur-titrage"(surtitling or supratitling – used in some opera and theatre stages) (cf. Gambier 1996:9–10). The list of types of language transfers has been extended in Gambier (2003:172–177).

4. Zoé de Linde and Neil Kay (1999:1) make a clear distinction between the two types of subtitling: interlingual (for foreign language films) and intralingual subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing. In my opinion, the latter refers to almost all types of audiences with special needs but who have developed some reading skills, except, of course, the case of the blind.

5. Karamitroglou (2000:1) considers the term "screen translation" only when either the written or the spoken text is accompanied by moving images and sound on a computer monitor. Computer screen translation is not to be confused with the "screen translation" in film or other audiovisual media.

6. The European Commission. *Introduction to Audiovisual Policy.* In http://europa.eu.int/comm/avpolicy/intro/intro-en.htm, last update 28.06.2001 (25.06.2002).

7. 32.4% of the students prefer subtitled music programmes against 38.6% who would rather have them dubbed; 1.7% would like to have these both dubbed and subtitled. 43.2% students prefer subtitled films against 12.8% who would rather have them dubbed; 2.6% would like to have films both dubbed and subtitled. 36.5% students prefer subtitled cartoons against 2.5% who would rather have them dubbed; 2.1% would like to have cartoons both dubbed and subtitled. 28.6% students prefer dubbed sports programmes against 26.6% who would rather have them subtitled.

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An Englishman in Alentejo

Crimes, Misdemeanours & the Mystery of Overtranslatability

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When faced with a translated text, the reader must ask him/herself what it is s/he expects of a translation: is it a taste of the foreign or a confirmation of the self? The answer will, to some extent, determine how s/he evaluates the text s/he is reading. Writing in English about Portuguese matters and places, Robert Wilson poses an interesting conundrum to Portuguese readers and translators alike: how does one read and, more to the point, how does one translate a text which is perhaps *too* translatable? How can a translator render the ways in which *his/her* culture is presented as seen through the eyes of a foreigner? This paper aims to shed some light on the phenomenon of "overtranslatability," as presented in *A Small Death in Lisbon*, and its consequences for translational practices.

Keywords: translating identity, detective fiction in Portugal, overtranslatability, transparency vs. information overload.

1.   Crime fiction in Portugal – The early years

> I'll tell you all my ideas about Looking-Glass House. First, there's the room you can see through the glass – that's just the same as our drawing-room, only things go the other way.   (Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass*)

The turbulent and not always easily (re)traceable history of crime fiction in Portugal seems to have recently taken a curious turn. Like Alice, readers find themselves now in a position where they may be able to experience reality through the looking glass. Indeed, with the 1999 publication of Robert Wilson's *A Small Death in Lisbon*, and its subsequent translation into Portuguese (2000)

under the inauspicious and self-explanatory title of *Último Acto em Lisboa*, the tradition of the sub-genre as practised in Portugal has come full circle in what is almost a parody. If we look at Wilson's murder mystery from within the Portuguese literary memory of the genre, we find that the talented Mr. Haskins and Mr. Maynard of the late 50s and 60s have now evolved into the self-deprecating Inspector Zé Coelho; bustling London has been replaced by a Lisbon full of contradictions; and the almost mythical Scotland Yard has become the very down-to-earth Polícia Judiciária. The genre has been fully naturalised, it seems, by an Englishman in Alentejo.

The implications of this "nationalisation" are far-reaching and more intricate than we might think. In fact, what Robert Wilson and his book have achieved is a refraction of the work done mainly in the 1960s by writers like Dick Haskins or Dennis McShade. To state the obvious: in the late 90s, an Englishman writes a mystery in which the scenario is Portugal and the hero a Portuguese policeman. When translated back into Portuguese, the novel gains *momentum* as it resonates with the ghost voices of previous authors.

The genre developed fully in Portugal during the 50s and 60s with authors, such as Andrade Albuquerque and Dinis Machado, who, however, wrote, as crime novelists, under pseudonyms: Andrade Albuquerque is Dick Haskins while Dinis Machado ironically chose to anglicize his name into Dennis McShade. To go along with their English names, these writers created detectives who were English or American and lived English or American lives. Moreover, while it is true that they wrote in Portuguese, anglicisms are by no means unusual in their work. In *O Isqueiro de Oiro*, for instance, Dick Haskins even relies on the English language to sort the mystery out – it is an English plot, in every sense of the word. In turn, Robert Wilson writes in English but he does so with frequent recourse to Portuguese words and expressions, as the action takes place in Portugal.

Bearing these (di)similarities in mind, it is tempting to claim that what Wilson's novel conveys to the reader of crime fiction in Portugal is probably a sense of a circle being closed. It is as if writing Portuguese variations of age-old stories in English and becoming an international hit – every possible pun intended – could somehow prove the feasibility (and desirability) of the genre in Portuguese, while setting aside the prejudices relating to an understanding of English as *the* language of crime fiction. That these prejudices exist(ed) is clearly shown by the qualms of the older writers. In an interview, Andrade Albuquerque unequivocally states:

> [A] writer of the genre I practised was *unacceptable* with a Portuguese name...
> and then I came up with the pseudonym (which I consider unusual and ap-
> propriate and which even abroad has been seen as such!) which I registered in-
> tentionally. But let me be clear about it: *contrary to what some prejudiced people*
> *refuse to admit, continuing to ignore the existence of Andrade Albuquerque-Dick*
> *Haskins,* I never tried to present myself as a foreigner...
>
> (Haskins 2002: 1; my translation and emphasis)

Later in the interview, the author declares that, before his latest book, called *A Embaixadora*, he had never felt tempted to "set the action I was describing in my country" or generally to use Portuguese characters. This may explain why Andrade Albuquerque does not feel like a "practitioner of *Portuguese* crime fiction" (2002: 2). As he says, "the plots of 95% of the books I have written take place in foreign countries that I know well, above all England, where I spent long periods of time" (2002: 2). Be that as it may, Andrade Albuquerque has been responsible for some of the most whimsical detective stories written in Portuguese.[1]

To the best of my knowledge, Andrade Albuquerque's work is still largely ignored by the academia, which remains to some extent caught up in old hierarchies and prejudices of a much too narrow concept of "literature," ruthlessly excluding the outer borders of the system. The perceived subalternity of the genre has had the effect of downgrading the importance of books and authors alike and, by the same token, of stifling research in this field. However, it is of some note that this subalternity was in part subscribed to by the authors themselves. Like Dinis Machado, they accepted that "crime authors are usually taken to be second rate, they do not transform the world. They are *escritores de ofício* [hack writers] (Machado 2002: 1)." No wonder that to be able to write crime fiction, they had to adopt a pseudonym and take their plots elsewhere.

It is, however, my conviction that early crime fiction in Portuguese can be best understood through Translation Studies, since most of these novels do read as translations. Indeed many of them contain features usually expected in translated texts and not in "original" works, such as foreign names and places, foreignisms, explanatory footnotes, etc. Reading early Portuguese crime fiction as pseudo-translations may help us gain a better understanding of the ideological and poetic constraints under which they were produced.[2]

This is then a brief and necessarily incomplete sketch of the history and expectations of the genre in Portugal.[3] It must, however, act as the now feasible contextualisation of my interest in seeing how Robert Wilson's novel may unwittingly be an answer to the memory of the genre in Portugal and the expectations it produces. The nagging question is how a Portuguese translator,

who is immersed in this tradition, deals with a crime story written in English but taking place in Portugal. How does one learn to look at the others looking at oneself?

2. Nabokovian Misdemeanours – Questioning assumptions & prejudices

> The person who desires to turn a literary masterpiece into another language, has only one duty to perform, and this is to reproduce with absolute exactitude the whole text, and nothing but the text. The term "literal translation" is tautological since anything but that is not truly a translation but an imitation, an adaptation, a parody.   (Nabokov 2000: 77)

Much reflection on translation has been devoted to considerations on how to handle the singularity of literary work. Those approaches are more often than not indebted to concepts of originality as *difference*, as purported by German thinkers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and of literature as defamiliarisation, as championed by the Russian Formalists at the beginning of the twentieth century. Translation should, according to such views, preserve the foreign, prefer the innovative, and preclude (as much as possible) the interference of the self. After all, when "translating, we try to leave our language and go to the other" (Ortega y Gasset 2000: 63). The alterity complex, although philosophically exciting and ethically sound, tends to silence the debate on the self as ideologically suspect. Even functionalist constructs do not always escape the allure of *difference* as such. While there is, of course, nothing intrinsically wrong with that, I would like to adopt here the perhaps unpopular stance that there are "more things between heaven and earth…"

As Lawrence Venuti in his "Translation, Community and Utopia" states:

> Translation never communicates in an untroubled fashion because the translator negotiates the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text by reducing them and supplying another set of differences, basically domestic, drawn from the receiving language and culture to enable the foreign to be received there.   (2000: 468)

While referring to translation as a form of negotiation between otherness and domesticity, Venuti merely addresses one side of the problem, however important it admittedly is: how does one, indeed how can one, receive the foreign? Venuti makes a very interesting point: when translating, one works with two sets of linguistic and cultural *differences*: the foreign and the domestic.

While I do not wish to argue with this, I would like to point out that one may encounter at least two further possibilities of *difference*. The first has been a priority within Anthony Pym's (1998) architecture of reflection, and might succinctly be described as the possibility of there being more than two sets of *differences* operating within a translation, either because the translator is rendering a text into a language which is not his/her own or because the text is originally multilinguistic. The latter applies to the novel I am discussing here: *A Small Death in Lisbon* involves at least three *differences* in language and culture: German, English and Portuguese. The second possibility of *difference* poses the difficult question of what I would like to refer to as *overtranslatability*: how does one respond not to defamiliarisation but to *familiarity* as innovation? How does one translate domesticity? While the *untranslatability* of literature and cultures has been a *topos* of the history of translation theory from Jerome to Benjamin, from Nida to Venuti, its twin phenomenon, that of *overtranslatability*, has remained obscure. It may, however, deserve some looking into, as it may well turn out to be every bit as complex as untranslatability. So, the question is how does one translate the self as seen through the eyes (and language) of the other? The easy way out is to pre-empt the debate with the argument that the self is not the self anymore when mediated by the language of the other. The simplicity of the axiom, though beguiling, is deceptive for the problem of translating statements such as "[h]ere there was a *contrabandista* who was going to run a pack mule operation through the *serra* for him if Dr. Salazar decided to make life difficult" (Wilson 2000: 158) or the more mundane "Don't be a *chato*, Zé" (Wilson 2000: 498) remains unsolved.

I therefore propose to examine *A Small Death in Lisbon* as an example of the complexity of translating the domestic linguistic and cultural *difference* back into what Venuti calls the domestic remainder (Venuti 2000). Let us see what may happen when a translator is faced with the *overtranslatability* of a text, or parts of it, when *difference* entails *similarity*.

First and foremost, the translator, *any* translator, faces one kind of defeat that is far more real than the age-old cries of *traduttore, traditore*: the target text will necessarily be *less* different than the source text. The loss is self-evident: where there were two languages, one of them foreign to the source reader, there is now only one, the mother tongue of the target reader. This indelibly changes the text. The target text must necessarily be *less* foreign than its source, regardless of the skills of the translator, regardless of the translator.

Bearing this inevitability in mind, let us look more closely to the translation by Maria Douglas and its understanding of the problem of how to domesticate

domesticity. *A Small Death in Lisbon* presents a wide range of translatory complexities, as it takes place in two different time frames (during the Salazar regime and in the 90s) and, although set mainly in Lisbon, in two different countries (Nazi Germany and Portugal).

3.   The Mystery of domesticating domesticity – Robert Wilson Translated

> My *parti-pris* is the desacralisation of the literary work...
>
> (Gomes 1983: 26; my translation)

A Small Death in Lisbon's foremost stylistic feature is probably the integration of foreign words, both German and Portuguese, into the English syntax. As Robert Wilson explains in an interview published in the newspaper *Expresso*, he uses this device to "give the people some flavour, to make it click in their heads, to remind them: ah, we are in a foreign country, these are foreign people speaking" (Faria 2002: 4). Thus, the introduction of foreignisms performs a twofold aim: (1) it characterises the people and situations as foreign; (2) it unsettles the readers and prepares them for *difference* as a defining quality of the novel. To some extent, Wilson's text may already function in the source language as a kind of translation. In a way, it is in the source culture that the work most easily assumes the status of a translated artefact, as we will see.

Let us now examine the importance of the mentioned foreignisms in the translation of the text into Portuguese. In the first chapters of the novel, which are set in Berlin and its surroundings, the text contains a large number of unexplained German words. In most cases, the Portuguese text reproduces this foreignisation strategy to the letter: "Bastava-lhe passar pelos *Bierstuben* e *Kneipen* de Kreuzberg e Neuköln (...) para obter todos os segredos militares que quisesse" (Wilson 2002: 42).[4] The translator takes the device even further when evading the difficulty of translating the word "sir" into Portuguese and replacing it, in the German context, by "mein Herr" (ibid.: 36, 37, 38, 43).

There is, however, a handful of moments in which Maria Douglas decides to render German words into Portuguese.[5]

(1)   I was on my own at a *U-bahn station*. (Wilson 2000: 20; my emphasis)
Eu estava sozinha numa estação de *Metro*... (Wilson 2002: 26; my emphasis)
I was on my own at an underground station...

(2)   You've got the whole day, once you get on the *autobahn*... (Wilson 2000: 51; my emphasis)

Tem o dia inteiro, e logo que chegue à *auto-estrada*... (Wilson 2002: 53; my emphasis)

You've got the whole day, and once you get on the motorway...

One possible explanation is that the translator thought the German words would present a higher degree of difficulty to the intended target audience than was the case with the source readership. But if that is true, should it not hold for the whole text? The explanatory attitude does not, however, seem to prevail when the text deals with the military ranks of Nazi Germany: *Gruppenführer*, *Hauptsturmführer, Brigadeführer, Förderndes Mitglied*, all of which remain in the original language – as in the English text. The same can be said of names of German people, newspapers, places and customs.

From Chapter IV onwards, the Portuguese reader finds himself, with few exceptions, on familiar territory: the main characters are now all living in Portugal. Writing in English, Robert Wilson still wants to preserve some local colour, a reminder to the non-Portuguese reader that the plot is not taking place in his/her own backyard, but somewhere else. This *elsewhereness*[6] is most obviously present in the many instances in which the Portuguese language literally, and perhaps unexpectedly, pops up in the middle of an English sentence. This strategy has two results. First, the source novel is potentially more difficult to read than the target text, which undermines one of the unspoken claims about translation, namely, that a translated text would be more difficult to read because it incorporates two sets of linguistic and cultural *differences*. Second, the translation *naturally* "effaces the linguistic and cultural difference" (Venuti 1992: 5) present in the foreign text, and becomes transparent where the English text was rebellious and sometimes even potentially obscure. The translator simply vanishes behind the necessary monolingualisation of the novel in Portuguese. Let us look at a selection of the many examples to choose from:

(3)   'That guy,' he said, '*novo rico.*' (Wilson 2000: 168)
– Este tipo é um novo-rico – disse-me. (Wilson 2002: 155)

(4)   '*Boa tarde*, did you see this girl yesterday around two, two-fifteen? No. Thank you. *Adeus.* (Wilson 2000: 205)
– Boa tarde... Viu esta moça ontem, pelas duas, duas e um quarto? Não. Obrigado. Adeus. (Wilson 2002: 186)

(5)   … they're going to make him an *agente de 1.ª classe…* (Wilson 2000: 330)
Vai ser promovido a agente de 1.ª classe! (Wilson 2002: 293)

While subdued in instances like these, the presence of the translator may be felt whenever the English author stumbles on a word or a phrase. In some of the cases, though not all, the author gets corrected: the "*maricão* in the bin" (Wilson 2000: 440) becomes "o mariconço no contentor" (Wilson 2002: 389); the too literal "*Inspector Dourado* – the Golden Inspector" (Wilson 2000: 495) evolves into the more acceptable "inspector de ouro" (Wilson 2002: 437). Spelling and accentuation are sometimes corrected as well.

Other examples of interfering Portuguese words, which are lost in translation, are: "four or five *Polícia de Segurança Pública* boys" (Wilson 2000: 65), "the PSP men" (65, 69), "the *chefe* of the GNR" (125) ; "have you tried to eat *bacalhau*? (108); "There's nothing wrong with a good *paio Alentejano*" (366; note the capitalization which is typical of the English language, though not of Portuguese); "Yes, excellent *tinto*" (367).

Curiously, the one instance where the translator makes herself unmistakably heard has little to do with the linguistic or cultural difference, although it is again, one might say, an example of correction. I am referring to the cleansing of language, which results in the erasure of the word altogether, in a contrived and softened use of taboo words in Portuguese or the adoption of what is commonly a censorship device: three dots. The following are just three examples, one of each type.

(6)   I didn't know you could catch communism from *fucking*.
(Wilson 2000: 26; my emphasis)
[I]gnorava que se pudesse apanhar comunismo pelas *vias baixas.*
(Wilson 2002: 31; my emphasis)
I didn't know one could catch communism through the private parts.

(7)   We need a *fucking* miracle. (Wilson 2000: 255; my emphasis)
… precisávamos era dum milagre, *porra*! (Wilson 2002: 299; my emphasis)
What we needed was a damned miracle!

(8)   So you end up *fucking* yourself. (Wilson 2000: 196; my emphasis)
E ela acaba por se *f*… a si própria. (Wilson 2002: 178; my emphasis)
'And she ends up f… herself'

Maria Douglas, one surmises, is not adept at using strong, vulgar language. The consequence, of course, is that such a persistent avoidance of the often very crude words used in the English text ends up transforming the characters.

Colourful language is, after all, one of the novel's most powerful devices to characterise figures. People who have nothing to lose do not say things such as *prostituta* ("prostitute") for "whore" or *rabo* ("behind") for "arse." There is only one moment when the translation is actually much cruder than the source text, and I must confess to have no explanation for it whatsoever – I am still mystified at the way some harmless "fat sods" (Wilson 2000: 44) turn out to be "paneleiros pançudos" (Wilson 2002: 47), "pot-bellied fags."

One final thought on the taboo words: there seems to be no strategy, other than that of standardization, as the same words are translated differently in identical contexts: "whore," for instance, is indiscriminately translated as "prostituta" or "puta." The impact of translating the same meanings by words of different language levels is a dilution of characterisation and, possibly, even ridicule.

Both the inescapable deforeignisation of the text in Portuguese and the translator's resistance to doing justice to diverse language levels render the target text potentially less exciting than the source. The former tends to eschew, out of necessity and choice, "unidiomatic constructions, polysemy, archaism, jargon, abrupt shifts in tone or diction, pronounced rhythmic regularity or sound repetitions" (Venuti 1992: 4).

One of the most interesting side effects, so to speak, of a text like Wilson's is that it can be read almost as a travel guide, for it aims to introduce the reader of the source text to a different landscape. In this, contemporary authors such as Robert Wilson or William Boyd seem to follow in the footsteps and share much the same ground as travel writers or the post-colonial writers. Because they deal with foreignness, the information load contained in their works is potentially enormous, as Maria Tymockzo states in her article "Post-colonial Writing and Literary Translation:"

> Thus, in both literary translations and original literary works, the necessity to make cultural materials explicit and to foreground potentially unfamiliar cultural materials affects primarily the movement of a cultural substratum from a marginalized culture to a dominant culture and it is associated with a negative cline of power and cultural prestige.   (Tymockzo 1999: 28–29)

The trouble begins, however, when such writers are translated into the "exotic" languages and cultures they use as a device of difference.

Thus, many of the depictions of places and food in *A Small Death in Lisbon* certainly defy translation into Portuguese. Not because they are difficult, but because they are straightforward and self-evident to the "persons-in-culture" (Toury 1985: 26). Two examples must suffice here.

(9)   Teresa Carvalho, the keyboards player, lived with her parents in an apartment building in *Telheiras, which is not far from Odivelas on the map, but a steep climb on the money ladder. This is where you come when your first cream has risen to the top of your milk. Insulated buildings, pastel shades, security systems, garage parking, satellite dishes, tennis clubs, ten minutes from the airport, five minutes from either football stadium and Colombo. It's wired up but dead out here, like pacing through a cemetery of perfect mausoleums.* (Wilson 2000:177; my emphasis)

Teresa Carvalho, a teclista, vivia com os pais num prédio de apartamentos em *Telheiras, que no mapa não é longe de Odivelas, mas fica uns degraus acima na escala financeira. Vem viver para aqui quem já começou a subir na vida. Prédios isolados, persianas pastel, sistemas de segurança, estacionamento privado, antenas parabólicas, clubes de ténis, a dez minutos do aeroporto e a cinco do Colombo ou do estádio do Benfica. É uma maqueta electrificada, mas morta, como passear num cemitério de mausoléus perfeitos.* (Wilson 2002:162; my emphasis)

Teresa Carvalho, the keyboards player, lived with her parents in an apartment building in Telheiras, which is not far from Odivelas on the map, but some notches higher up on the financial scale. This is were you comes when you've begun to go up in the world. Insulated buildings, pastel blinds, security systems, garage parking, satellite dishes, tennis clubs, ten minutes from the airport and five minutes from Colombo and Benfica's stadium. It is a wired up but dead model, like going for a stroll through a cemetery of perfect mausoleums.

(10)   … as they turned away from the Tagus into the Terreiro do Paço and the trucks made their way behind the arcaded eighteenth-century façade into the grid system of the Baixa, purpose-built by the Marquês de Pombal after the Lisbon earthquake in 1755. They drove along Rua do Comércio, behind the massive triumphal arch at the head of the Rua Augusta, to the conglomeration of buildings including the church of São Julião that made up the Banco de Portugal. (Wilson 2000:100)

… quando entraram no Terreiro do Paço. Os camiões meteram por trás da fachada em arcos oitocentista e entraram na traça simétrica da Baixa pombalina construída de raiz pelo marquês de Pombal depois do terramoto de 1755. Seguiram a Rua do Comércio, por trás do grande arco triunfal da Rua Augusta, até ao complexo de edifícios, incluindo a Igreja de S. Julião, que constituía o Banco de Portugal. (Wilson 2002:96)

… when they got into Terreiro do Paço. The trucks made their way behind the arcaded façade from the 1800s and entered the symmetrical grid of the Pombaline Baixa, built from scratch by the Marquês de Pombal after

the earthquake in 1755. They proceeded along Rua do Comércio, behind the large triumphal arch of the Rua Augusta to the conglomeration of buildings, including the church of São Julião that made up the Banco de Portugal.

Apart from one or two of the less appropriate options found in the last quotation,[7] what these examples clearly reveal is the superfluity of the facts mentioned for the Portuguese reader. It is my contention that this surplus of trivial, and therefore usually unspoken, knowledge weighs the novel down, making it appear to some extent implausible. What is the use of telling a Portuguese reader that the Beira Baixa is in Portugal or that Rua da Glória is in Baixa, which in turn is in Lisbon? The repeated reference to facts like these turns out to be, after a while, an irritant.

The same applies to descriptions of food. Occasionally the narrator seems to revel in the exoticism of the Portuguese diet, and once more the translator follows obediently through. Again two examples must suffice.

(11) *bica, the one-inch shot of caffeine* which adrenalizes a few million Portuguese hearts every morning. (Wilson 2000:62; my emphasis)
bica, a dose de 2,5 centímetros de cafeína responsável pela adrenalina matinal de alguns milhões de portugueses. (Wilson 2002:64; my emphasis)
bica, a 2.5 centimetres shot of caffeine responsible for the morning adrenalin of a few million Portuguese.

(12) It was one of his favourite Alentejano concoctions – *ensopado de borrego* – a large tureen of lamb broth with neck chops and breast stewed until the meat has all but parted from the bone. (Wilson 2000:497)
Era um dos seus cozinhados alentejanos favoritos – ensopado de borrego –, uma grande terrina de caldo de borrego com costeletas e peito guisados até a carne quase se separar do osso. (Wilson 2002:438)
It was one of his favourite Alentejan dishes – ensopado de borrego – a large bowl of lamb stew where the ribs and breast are cooked until the meat almost falls off the bone.

The Portuguese reader can either be amused by all the unnecessary information, smiling at the charming innocence of the foreign writer, or feel irritated by the constant overload of unnecessary facts and their sometimes naïve depiction. Both attitudes defeat the purpose of the novel and remind us that the effort to be literal may well revert into unfaithfulness. The words of the much maligned d'Ablancourt come back to haunt us from the seventeenth century: "…ambassadors are accustomed, for fear of appearing ridiculous to those they

strive to please, to dressing themselves according to the fashion of the country where they are sent" (Robinson 1997: 158–59). Although I would not want to make all his arguments mine, I cannot help but to point out the justice of his image and its relevance to the matter in hand. Faithfulness, whatever that may mean nowadays, cannot be reduced to an ideal of repetition which excludes inventiveness.

One further aspect of the problem of translating domesticity has to do with the social hierarchies and codes of behaviour. The geometry of power, as seen for instance in the manifold forms of addressing people that are possible in the Portuguese culture, puts the English author in a very difficult spot, and provides Maria Douglas with another opportunity for correction. And indeed there is plenty of room for such alterations, even if not every correction is entirely necessary: after all, "Senhor Doutor" (Wilson 2000: 75, 88) is a perfectly appropriate form to address a lawyer and does not need to be "corrected" to "Dr. Oliveira" (Wilson 2002: 76, 86). The inappropriate use of "Senhora Oliveira" (Wilson 2000: 87, 88, 90, 91, 377, 378) or the appalling "*Dona* Oliveira" (88, 91, 303, 306, 406, 444) when addressing the wife of the said lawyer is another story altogether. Here, as before, the translator chooses to solve the problem in a myriad of ways, and if "D. Teresa Oliveira" and "minha senhora" are well chosen options, the occasional "senhora Oliveira" seems clumsy and was probably the result of absent-minded revision.

There are two instances of very inappropriate adaptations in the forms of addressing people: the translation of the impossible "Inspector Senhor Doutor" (Wilson 2000: 63) – not even the Portuguese are *that* complicated – by the equally ridiculous "Inspector Dr." (Wilson 2002: 64), and the rendition of "Mr. Felsen" and "Miss van Lennep" (Wilson 2000: 118) by "Sr. Felsen" and "menina van Lennep" (Wilson 2002: 112) which represents a missed chance to regain some foreignness by keeping the English forms.

Although understandable from the viewpoint of the power relations within the Portuguese literary system, the translator's literalising stance is at times vexing as it somehow diminishes the text. The following is one final example of how target readers are supplied with information which they would regard as infantile.

(13) '*Bom dia, Senhor Engenheiro*,' I said, addressing him by his degree in science, as was usual. (Wilson 2000: 60)
     – Bom dia, senhor engenheiro – cumprimentei, tratando-o pelo título académico, como era costume. (Wilson 2002: 62)

Overall, the main concern of the translator seems to be not to unsettle the Portuguese translational habits (fluency and fidelity being perhaps the unspoken and occasionally contradictory demands of editors and readers alike), while remaining as close as possible to Wilson. This strategy, however, clearly fails as Maria Douglas discovers that the task of the translator may sometimes be not to select what can be said but to choose what needs to be said. Maria Douglas evidently finds the task of deciding what *not* to include too arduous.

4.   A small paper in Lisbon – Some remarks towards a conclusion

Having read the translation some three years ago and before I had the chance to even look at the English text, my first impression was that the Portuguese text was contrived, a *translation* some would say. Now, this impression had nothing whatsoever to do with the conventional arguments concerning the superiority of the original, the defeat that is said to be akin to *every* translation, the existence of footnotes, of errors – I do not share any view that insists on seeing these prejudices as essential truths.

No, surprisingly enough, the text by Maria Douglas does not read "right" at times, not because of what it is not capable of achieving but by overachieving it. *Último Acto em Lisboa* is often artificial on account of not daring *not* to explain what the reader knows far too well. Somehow the novel in Portuguese seems to be structurally stuck in the conventional views on fidelity and does not seem able to rise above what is traditionally expected of a translation. Not only does it not read fluently, as was not strictly necessary, but it also occasionally seems rather far-fetched and downright clumsy. Remember Grice: too much information on too well known topics can be as irritating as too little. *Overtranslatability* is as much a pitfall for the translator as linguistic or cultural *untranslatability*, of which the former is but one very perverse instance.

Being born into a language and a culture may very well mean that we are inhabited by all that remains unsaid in that given language. And it remains unsaid because, as the English idiom so aptly puts it, it goes without saying. Maria Douglas chooses to say it. Like the social *faux pas* committed by the very shy, cultural inadequacies result from an understandable timidity and lack of boldness, and call unwanted attention to the translators and translations, which thus remain caught in the socially constructed cocoon of secondariness.

One potential way out of the cocoon is for translators, like the crime novelists of the past, to be made aware of the fundamental role they play both

as agents of the culture they happen to work in and as dreamers who help (re)shape society as they go along.

> Translating is always ideological because it releases a domestic remainder, an inscription of values, beliefs, and representations linked to historical moments and social positions in the domestic culture. In serving domestic interests, a translation provides an ideological resolution for the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text.
>
> Yet translating is also utopian. The domestic inscription is made with the very intention to communicate the foreign text, and so it is filled with the anticipation that a community will be created around that text – although in translation.   (Venuti 2000: 485)

The time has come to empower translators, so that they may learn to be bold and trust themselves – the institutionalisation of the discipline can perhaps help to produce that effect on society in general. It is time (for translators) to round the Cape of Good Hope that represents the fears and society's hierarchical thinking, and assume their place in reshaping the communities we construct and live in. It is time to grant translation its rightful place in the continuity of discourses that make up culture as we know it. And one way of doing so is to discuss translations, to question, to illuminate them. Then, by discussing existing translations, by questioning their choices, by illuminating their strategies, we are all contributing to a better understanding of ourselves and of others. And in times like ours, of dissension and fear of alterity, this may not be an altogether insignificant task.

Notes

1. Only the briefest of references is possible here to Andrade de Albuquerque's probably most whimsical plot: *Obsessão*, originally published in 1962, tells the story of a Portuguese crime author who travels to London in order to get better acquainted with the places he has been describing for years in his books. Once there, he witnesses a murder and finds himself lending a helping hand to his much admired Scotland Yard. The self-reflection and self-irony of the plot are obvious, and Pedro de Castro, a crime-writer-turned-detective, is in a remote way both predecessor and foil to Wilson's Zé Coelho, the inspector-turned-crime-writer.

2. This recalls one of the steps of the "where next" question asked in 1998 by André Lefevere and Susan Bassnet: "We need to learn more about the acculturation process between cultures, or rather, about the symbiotic working together of different kinds of rewritings within that process, about the ways in which translation . . . constructs the image of writers and/or their works, and then watches those images become reality. We also *need* to know more about the ways in which one image dislodges another, the ways in which different

images of the same writers and their works coexist with each other and contradict each other" (1998:10). They go on to state that we need to delve into the agendas behind the creation of those images. Indeed, crime fiction in Portugal has conveyed, either willingly or unwittingly, the illusion of being translated, a phenomenon that can only be culturally and historically determined.

3. Given the very brief historical contextualisation, it does not take into account the last 10 or 15 years, which saw an increasing number of Portuguese authors writing in Portuguese on Portugal. Perhaps the best known are Ana Teresa Pereira, Francisco José Viegas and Henrique Nicolau.

4. Compare with Wilson's text: "All he'd have to do is hang around the *Bierstuben* and *Kneipen* of Kreuzberg and Neukölln . . . and he'd get all the military intelligence he needs" (2000:38).

5. When relevant to my argument, a back-translation of the Portuguese version will be provided.

6. The word is Rushdie's. See Salman Rushdie (2001). *Fury*. London: Jonathan Cape.

7. The most obvious (though by far not the only) inadequate choice is the "façade from the 1800s" for "eighteenth-century façade" in example (10).

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Lembranças e Deslembranças

A case study on pseudo-originals

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This paper is a case study which points out how literary creation can deal with the prevailing concepts of "original" and "translation" in the culture where the literary object is produced. We are dealing with a book of poems introduced to the reader as a bilingual and posthumous edition: the Portuguese text would be the source text and its editor would have done the Spanish version. However, in the Portuguese text some non-native characteristics stand out, or it could be the case that its author wanted to conceal that the "original" was in fact a self-translation from Spanish. The creation of this poetic pseudo-original in Portuguese may be related to the role Gabino Alejandro Carriedo played in the fifties as an intercultural mediator between Portuguese and Spanish poetry. It may also show how Lusophone literature was adopted by the Spanish literary system and, therefore, an ethical challenge to its cultural identity.

Keywords: pseudo-original, translingual, non-native discourse, poetic translation.

The posthumous book by the Spanish poet Gabino-Alejandro Carriedo (1923–1981) does not at first sight lend itself to analysis as a case study in the field of Translation Studies, and indeed this is not an approach that has ever been taken in the few studies dedicated to it. Nobody has any doubts about the originality of this work and the critics who research on his life and work repeat as a fact that the book was indeed "originally written in Portuguese." This should not surprise anyone since Carriedo was well known as a translator of Portuguese poetry and on friendly terms with Lusophone poets such as João Cabral de Melo Neto, Rui Knopfli and Egito Gonçalves; he also contributed to several Portuguese literary reviews such as *Bandarra*, working as

its correspondent in Spain during the fifties (cf. Palacios 1984:90), and *Vértice* (published in Coimbra). Everyone seems to want to forget the meaningful paragraph from one of the last interviews given by Carriedo, which the editor of his posthumous work, Amador Palacios, quotes in the preface to *Lembranças e Deslembranças:*[1]

> Una vez concluida la redacción y corrección de este libro portugués, Gabino declara, siempre que tiene ocasión, este hecho, afirmando en la prensa, sin duda con mucho optimismo, en una entrevista concedida meses antes de su fallecimiento, que *Lembranças e deslembranças* "se editará simultáneamente en España y Portugal" y recalcando, en los mismos párrafos, tal vez con un exceso de retórica (las típicas exageraciones carriedianas) que "*sin saber cómo, me he encontrado desde hace años pensando y sintiendo no sólo en español, sino también en portugués. (…) De ahí mi acercamiento, ya en los años cincuenta, a los autores portugueses y, al tiempo, a los brasileiros. El Conocimiento de Pessoa, por ejemplo, fue un descubrimiento inolvidable para mí, así como por la línea brasileira lo fueron Drumond de Andrade y Cabral de Melo. Y lo curioso es que no traduzco mentalmente. Cuando escribo en portugués, siento y pienso en portugués, y no sé por qué, ya que no creo haber estado en Portugal más de siete días seguidos.*"
>   (Palacios 1988:9)

Carriedo's statements about "feeling and thinking" in Portuguese, as Amador Palacios points out, are obviously exaggerated and can be read as a literary mystification from an author who, as his friends and biographers keep remembering, was "una de las personalidades más alocadas y divertidas que podían encontrarse en el mundillo literario de aquel Madrid, entre paleto y deslumbrante, de los primeros sesenta" (Esteban 1996:295): he enjoyed making fun creating literary games. In fact, he once managed to make his fellow poets believe that he had translated some Chinese poetry from the French. However, these translations were nothing more than pseudo-translations, which imitated what an occidental poet would consider at that time to be characteristic of Chinese poetry.[2] Therefore we may assume that his inclination to mystification based upon a fading frontier between *original* and *translated* poetic creation was not new.

Ángel Crespo and other biographers of Carriedo say that the book *Lembranças e Deslembranças* was given to his friend from Mozambique, Rui Knopfli, so that the language problems could be corrected. Nevertheless, Juan M. Carrasco González (1989:32) points out that "some details show us that Portuguese was not Carriedo's first language." This critic notices only grammatical issues – the absence of the personal infinitive and rare use of the future of the subjunctive – although it is possible to find in some of his poems traces

of a process of literary translation from Spanish to Portuguese. These traces would prove that some of these texts were conceived and "thought" in Spanish, in spite of the author's statements.

We will not dwell on orthographic mistakes, which could result from the editorial process in such cases as "relaçôes" (instead of "relações"), "parãmetros" (instead of "parâmetros"), "tâo" (instead of "tão"), "veem" (instead of "vêem"), "tras" (instead of "trás"), "vocé" (instead of "você"), "Luisa" (instead of "Luísa") and "Açucar" (instead of "Açúcar") (Carriedo 1988: 16, 18, 28, 66, 72, 80). In all these examples we can only point out that there is an accent missing or changed. We can also find cases which could stand out as interferences from the Spanish source text in the Portuguese target text, for example "policia" (instead of "polícia"), "matices" (instead of "matizes") or "crimem" (instead of "crime") (20, 28, 72). However, we will take only into account those cases that seem to suggest the existence of an original text written in Spanish, which would be the source of some Portuguese texts presented in the book. Those cases would consist of lexical or syntagmatic unities, a certain use of verb-forms, a hesitation between diachronic or geographical Portuguese language norms and even the translation itself made by the editor to present Carriedo's work in a bilingual edition. For that reason, we could in a certain way see Carriedo's book as a case of *pseudo-original*, a text that hides the fact that it was translated from the Spanish in order to stand as a literary product created in Portuguese.

If we take a careful look at the poem "A voz dos meus avós" we come across two surprising facts by comparing both the Portuguese text and Amador Palacios' translation in the bilingual edition:

> Simplesmente uma voz
> vinda de longe
> vinda de além
> vinda de ontem.
> Vinda dessas lembranças ancestrais
> vinda do original ovóide
> vinda do povo – velho
> vinda do homem.
>
> Simplemente una voz
> venida de lejos
> venida de allende
> venida de ayer.
> Venida de esos recuerdos ancestrales

> venida del retrato oval
> venida del pueblo – viejo
> venida del hombre. (Carriedo 1988: 22–23)

The first fact is obviously the strange translation of "original ovóide" into "retrato oval," for which we cannot find any explanation in the Portuguese text. Hence we have to look for an explanation outside the text itself and we may be able to find it in the knowledge the author and editor Amador Palacios must have had of a Spanish text by Carriedo that would have been the starting point for the Portuguese text. In opposition to other poems that we will examine later on, this one makes use of some of Carriedo's favourite stylistic procedures in his poetic evolution, i.e. alliteration is present in the Spanish text ("allende" and "ayer") but it is absent in the Portuguese. Indeed we base upon this second fact our thesis that there was a previous Spanish version, which must have been translated into Portuguese.

This stylistic procedure leads also to our statement that some of the poems in the book were in fact first written and "thought" in Portuguese, such as the poem's title quoted above, in which the homophony of the sounds "a voz" ("the voice") and "avós" ("grandparents") stands out. This phenomenon also occurs in "Noite na solidão," with its initial rhyme "Sobre a rua / a lua / nua," and in the poem "Ir em vão" where we find the alliteration in the sequence of sounds that build the words that follow "vou – voo – véu – vão – vou," altogether similar to the alliterations we read in Carriedo's Spanish poems written during this decade, as in "Castilla."[3] The rhyme of certain poems, such as "João sem Medo" or the last of this book "Ao final," could also make us think that the initial composition of the poem was in Portuguese, because this poem has two quatrains, each with a rhyme scheme *abba* that is only possible in the Portuguese language.

> Num magro corpo hoje eu repouso
> na velhice nunca desejada.
> Em verdade, não espero nada
> da vida que anoitece em cada osso. (Carriedo 1988: 86)

Still we can find an evident imperfection of the rhyme between the first and the fourth lines, as there is a difference in the pronunciation of the consonants of "-ouso" and "-osso." This is clearly a sample of a non-native author's imperfect ability in the target language: it is a sample of an interlanguage where the phonological opposition between /s/ and /z/ is not operative, exactly in the same way it happened in the spelling of the words "matices," as we have

Table 1. The lowest level of textual competence

Level of competence	Characteristics of text at this level
Substandard	Spelling is very inaccurate; source text is not fully translated and target text is short; function words are often omitted so that text contains high proportion of content words, especially nouns; translation is rather indirect because of efforts to cope with poor target language repertoire. (Campbell 1998:69)

seen above, and "exploção" (22). In this last word we can see an obvious tendency to expand wrongly the use of a Portuguese ending, a very common phenomenon in an interlanguage. Indeed we could apply to Carriedo's book the analysis model used by Stuart Campbell in his book *Translation into the Second Language* to study the levels of competence of those who translate into a second language, since Carriedo writes and/or translates into a language that is not his mother tongue. Campbell proposes a model with three levels of textual competence when translating into a second language as the result of an empirical study, and defines the lowest level as shown in Table 1.

Some of the characteristics described by Campbell reflect with accuracy the kind of Portuguese text we are facing when we read *Lembranças e Deslembranças*: frequent spelling problems and particularly in the poems where Portuguese language is used more successfully, as in "Noite na solidão" and "João sem Medo," short and repetitive texts composed mostly with nouns and with hardly any connecting textual elements. Setting aside spelling problems, these characteristics correspond to a certain kind of poetic text also developed by Carriedo in his Spanish writings, and therefore they allow him to create successful Portuguese poetic texts, though with a limited knowledge of the language. When *Lembranças e Deslembranças* was published, critics inquired about the way Carriedo had managed to acquire sufficient Portuguese textual competence besides reading and translating literary texts;[4] however, it would certainly have been this very textual contact that enabled him to produce a particular kind of literary text that accorded well with some of the Portuguese models he had relied on, such as poems by João Cabral de Melo and Rui Knopfli.[5]

Although the analysis of certain stylistic devices, like rhyme and alliteration, may prove that some poems of this book were first thought and written in Portuguese, most of them present marks of a process of translation from Spanish into Portuguese. In another paper on contemporary translation of Spanish poetry in Portugal (cf. Soler 2000:111–120), we have developed the idea that

the search for phonic and spelling correspondences between source and target text is a typical strategy of Spanish into Portuguese translation, even if those correspondences represented a semantic deviation or gave the target text a certain archaic flavour, absent from the source text. In the Portuguese texts in Carriedo's book, we can perceive the remains of a translation process from a source text in Spanish to which we do not have access but which is visible in the target text. Let us consider the following sample of extracts:

> Se a felicidade durasse,
> não seria mais felicidade;
> seria sòmente um costume
> …
> Mas se a tristeza findara,
> tão-pouco seria tristeza, … (Carriedo 1988: 34, 36)

> Como um cão que passara pela porta de tua casa
> Como uma casa antiga cheia de velhos cheiros
> …
> Como um homem que fora filho de peixe e cão
> Como um cão que passara pela porta de tua casa. (44)

Verbal forms like "passara," "fora" and "findara" in the contexts quoted above are viewed in Portuguese as archaisms or regional variations that find no justification in the language frame of the poems they are inserted into. In the second poem, "Trajecto," we come across an anaphora, inspired by surrealism, with a succession of comparisons with objects from daily life, whereas in the first poem, "História do homem," the verb termination "-ara" alternates continuously through the whole poem with "-asse" in the same conditional clauses, *just as would happen in Spanish, in fact, where in this context there would be no semantic or functional difference*. We should take into consideration that it is possible to find – as the bilingual edition translator did – a corresponding Spanish text whose *word to word* translation, insisting on phonic and spelling resemblance, would be the source of Carriedo's Portuguese text:

> Si la felicidad durase,
> no sería ya felicidad;
> sería solamente una costumbre
> …
> Pero si la tristeza terminara
> tampoco sería tristeza … (35, 37)

The strategy of phonic or spelling correspondences applies also to the lexical choice of "tão-pouco" and to the preference Carriedo has for the word "sòmente" instead of "só" throughout the whole book – it is remarkable that "sòmente" appears always written with an accent that follows a spelling rule which was obsolete when Carriedo wrote this poem. Yet, the similarity strategy is absent in the choice of "mais" ("more") to translate from the Spanish the word "ya" ("no longer"). The choice of "mais" ("no longer" in Brazilian Portuguese) must have had its origin in the influence of the Brazilian norm, present in two poems in this book where we can find explicit quotations from Brazilian authors such as Vinicius de Morais in "História do homem" and Drummond de Andrade in "As mortes e outras notícias." In this poem, the "collage" technique is used by quoting the obituary section of a Brazilian newspaper. This approach to the Brazilian norm is also present in the spelling as in "hipovolêmico," with a circumflex accent, and in lexical choices like "ônibus" instead of "autocarro." However the rest of the book is always written according to the European Portuguese norm.

Throughout the book, there are more examples of Spanish texts as the source of the Portuguese counterpart. Let us consider an extract from the poem "Pertença amarela:"

> Nas sombras sombrias do quarto
> as ténues trevas da tarde
> (noite que chega agora
> subtil e sub-reptícia
> como chegam os remorsos velhos
> devagar
> com a sua capa de mais lá das estrelas).
>
> En las sombras sombrías del cuarto
> las tenues tinieblas de la tarde
> (noche que llega ahora
> sutil y subrepticia
> como llegan los viejos remordimientos
> despacio
> con su capa de allende las estrellas). (Carriedo 1988: 28–29)

Oddly enough, in the last line above, we do not read "além das estrelas" ("beyond the stars") but "mais lá das estrelas," when this expression is clearly anomalous in European Portuguese. Carriedo might have copied a Spanish clause ("más allá de las estrellas"), whereas Amador Palacios seems to be translating a non-existent "além" in the Portuguese text.

From this analysis we may conclude that the posthumous book by the Spanish poet Gabino-Alejandro Carriedo could stand not only for a case of what some critics have called lately "translingualism" (cf. Kellman 2000) – that is the case of a writer who uses for literary production a language which is not his mother tongue – but also a case of hidden self-translation. One of the first critical reviews of Carriedo's book already placed it in the trend of "empresas en parecido sentido de otros grandes poetas de nuestro siglo: me estoy acordando, claro está, de los poemas ingleses de Pessoa, de los gallegos de García Lorca o de los franceses de Rilke" (Martínez Sarrión 1988: 74), although it did not even try to place Carriedo's work in the same (undoubtedly heterogeneous) literary framework as these three poets (Pessoa writing in English, García Lorca in Galician and Rilke in French), whose relation with that second language had most certainly different characteristics. The use of a second language for literary production has been related to post-colonial or migration situations, or to bilingualism and self-translation cases – frequent as a matter of fact at that historical moment in Spain.[6] Probably all these cases of the use of several languages for literary production, as can be seen in Carriedo's work, are due to the existence of a level of intercultural communication which can be placed in that intercultural space Anthony Pym proposes for the translator.[7] This would be a place where cultural agents, both writers and translators, could be found. These are agents whose practice creates a new cultural reality based upon the intersection and simultaneity of several languages and several literary traditions coexisting in their texts.

So why would Carriedo choose to write in a foreign language? Critics have insisted on the history of his literary contacts with the Lusophone world. They have put forward as a hypothesis that the first encounter might have been through Unamuno's "Iberism," among other writers of the same generation (cf. Carrasco González 1989: 27). They have also suggested that his choice of the Portuguese language may have been due to his personal friendship with the Brazilian writer João Cabral de Melo Neto during his stay in Spain, the translations of Brazilian poetry published with Ángel Crespo during the sixties by the *Revista de Cultura Brasileña* edited by the Brazilian Embassy, and the contacts with reviews and Portuguese poets such as Egito Gonçalves – whose Spanish post-war poetry anthology of 1962 included Carriedo (cf. Molina 1990: 340). Critics have read the book as a sign of admiration and gratitude towards a literature and a language that had enriched so much of his poetic imagination. But if we look into Portuguese and Spanish literary relations at the moment of Carriedo's death, we will notice at once that contemporary Spanish poetry is almost non-existent in Portugal. We notice

that the attempts to establish some productive contacts during the sixties – with Egito Gonçalves's anthology in Portugal and Carriedo's and Ángel Crespo's translations in Spain – were not continued. This lack of relations is difficult to understand when both countries were going through similar democratisation processes. 1980 was the year in which the Spanish attitude towards Portuguese literature began to change, with a massive diffusion of essays on Pessoa's work and translations of his books, extending to other Portuguese poets, such as Eugénio de Andrade and the *Antología de poesía portuguesa contemporánea* by Ángel Crespo in 1981. It is an unfortunate coincidence that Carriedo died unexpectedly in that year, when Pessoa and Portuguese literature in general became fashionable in Spain.[8] On the other hand, the beginning of the 1980s saw an increase in the number of translations of Spanish literature in Portugal, with José Bento's *Antologia de poesia espanhola contemporânea* in 1985 as an outstanding piece of work. This amazing "boom" in Portuguese and Spanish relations during the eighties may be traced back to the years 1974–1975.

Carriedo published his last book *Los lados del cubo*, within a concretist trend, in 1973. From then on, he only published poems in reviews. *Lembranças e Deslembranças* is probably his contribution to the boom in Portuguese and Spanish relations in the 80s, which would once again give him a certain status in a literary system that had to a certain extent rejected or marginalised his way of writing poetry. Whereas Ángel Crespo had been embraced by the academic world, Carriedo had mostly been visible only as a translator of Portuguese poetry in both countries. At the same time, the publication of the book in Portuguese highlighted the absence in Portugal of contemporary translations from Spanish; the amazing fact of seeing a Spanish writer publishing in Portuguese provoked some kind of a reception. One of the phenomena we can observe in the publication of translations of Spanish literature at that time in Portugal is the systematic selection of works and authors that are in some way related to Portugal and the Portuguese culture (cf. Soler 2000:84–92). *Lembranças e Deslembranças* is a case in point: the work functioned as a means of legitimizing Carriedo's work, proving its interest for the public and making use of the process of "self-recognition" to which Venuti refers as essential for the reader's approach to translations that domesticate the source text.[9]

The literary mystification we mentioned at the beginning of this paper was probably Carriedo's attempt to gain visibility as a poet in both countries. Yet, this attempt failed. The desired effect was lost because the book was published posthumously seven years after the date its author intended. That is why, today, *Lembranças e Deslembranças* is a forgotten book both in Spain and Portugal – the rest of his work has also fallen into oblivion. But if, as some voices have

suggested lately, in the surviving manuscripts of this author we could find a version in Spanish language of *Lembranças e Deslembranças,* then we would have the chance of studying the self-translation process and the multilingual writing which originated this book. Let's wait and see.

Notes

1. Nevertheless, Juan M. Carrasco González (1989:32) mentions the text we refer to saying that the preface by Amador Palacios makes some meaningful revelations about the book, "algunas revelaciones sobre la elaboración del libro."

2. Cf. the description of this episode made by Ángel Crespo in an interview given to Amador Palacios (Palacios 1984:64): "Un día, Gabino me enseñó un poemita y me dijo que era un anónimo chino que él había traducido del francés. Yo me lo creí. ¿Por qué no había de creérmelo? La gente empezó a decir que el poema era una ocurrencia suya – un heterónimo llamado Anónimo – y yo sostenía que era verdad: que se trataba de un anónimo chino. Supongo que esto debía divertir mucho a Gabino, pues ahora, que he leído mucha poesía china – en inglés, en francés, en italiano y en español, claro – , me doy cuenta de que eran obras suyas, originales y no traducciones. Pero la verdad es que la simulación era muy inteligente, si la hubo, pues yo no he leído toda la poesía china, cuyos estilos son muy variados, y no puedo asegurar nada."

3. This poem was included in the book *Nuevo compuesto descompuesto viejo*, where all the disperse work written during the seventies was published: "Casta astilla Castilla / amarilla / amor de arcilla / Llana dura / llanura / andadura / honda y dura," etc. (Carriedo 1980:163)

4. Cf. for example the critique by Antonio Martínez Sarrión (1988:74): "No sabemos de largas estancias de Carriedo en Portugal o Brasil, ni de un estudio académico del portugués, por lo que en su conocimiento de este idioma fue por completo autodidacta."

5. We can see the stylistic similitude between the poems of *Lembranças e Deslembranças* and the following extracts: "O jornal dobrado / sobre a mesa simples; / a toalha limpa, / a louça branca / e fresca como o pão." (Neto 1986:420) "Falo de outro país singular, / do perfume aloirado / e desse sabor a pão matinal. / ... / Falo de paisagens ternas / e sombrias, simétricas / como parques e losangos" (Knopfli 1982:255).

6. Cf. Whyte (2002:65): "Spain since the death of Franco is perhaps richer than other European nations in instances of self-translation."

7. Cf. Pym (1998:177): "I use the term 'interculture' to refer to beliefs and practices found in intersections or overlaps of cultures, where people combine something of two or more cultures at once."

8. Cf. Gavilanes Laso (1999:87–88), where "Pessoa's phenomenon" in Spain is described as "a social and cultural obligation," mentioning the fact that a politician of that time had appeared in the newspapers with a book by Pessoa on his desk. Carriedo's critics follow the fashion: Amador Palacios (1984:159) describes Carriedo's Portuguese book in the following way: "*Lembranças e Deslembranças* se acerca al aura poética de Fernando Pessoa."

9. "Translation forms domestic subjects by enabling a process of 'mirroring' or self-recognition: the foreign text becomes intelligible when the reader recognizes himself or herself in the translation by identifying the domestic values that motivated the selection of that particular foreign text. ... The self-recognition is a recognition of the domestic cultural norms and resources that constitute the self, that define it as a domestic subject" (Venuti 1998:77).

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