

Handbook of Translation Studies

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As a meaningful manifestation of how institutionalized the discipline has become, the new *Handbook of Translation Studies* is most welcome.

The *HTS* aims at disseminating knowledge about translation and interpreting to a relatively broad audience: not only students who often adamantly prefer user-friendliness, researchers and lecturers in Translation Studies, Translation & Interpreting professionals; but also scholars, experts and professionals from other disciplines (among which linguistics, sociology, history, psychology).

Moreover, the *HTS* is the first handbook with this scope in Translation Studies that has *both a print edition and an online version*. The *HTS* is variously searchable: by article, by author, by subject. Another benefit is the interconnection with the selection and organization principles of the online *Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB)*. Many items in the reference lists are hyperlinked to the *TSB*, where the user can find an abstract of a publication.

All articles are written by specialists in the different subfields and are peer-reviewed.

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Volume 1

Handbook of Translation Studies. Volume 1
Edited by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer

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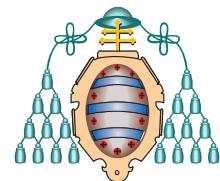
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Introduction

The institutionalization of Translation and Interpreting Studies manifests itself in many ways: summer schools, new curricula, historical surveys, publishing houses, journals, book series, textbooks, terminologies and bibliographies. In addition to all these, the discipline has also yielded several encyclopedias and handbooks, and while this new *Handbook of Translation Studies* (HTS) is not the first of its kind, we believe that the discipline is now diversified enough and strong enough to cope with several initiatives, each with its own rationale and its particular focus. Rather than fearing this diversity and this competition, a mature discipline is able to make the most of these, as the recent history of Translation Studies has shown.

Since 2008, when we were invited by the publisher to be editors of this *Handbook*, we have searched for other perspectives and added values compared to the existing publications. We believe that HTS makes two major contributions to the field. First, it is the first encyclopedia with this scope in Translation Studies to offer *both a print edition and an online version*. The advantages of an online version are obvious: it is more flexible and more accessible. The authors will regularly be asked to revise and update the entries. The software used to support the online HTS has proved to be valuable and reliable. It has been used for several years to support the online *Handbook of Pragmatics*, a similar product in a related linguistic area.

A second added value is the interconnection with the principles of selection and organization we have used in the online *Translation Studies Bibliography* (TSB). As editors of TSB, we are constantly developing and adapting topical and conceptual maps of the discipline (see van Doorslaer 2009). The taxonomy of the TSB has been applied in part to the selection of terms for the HTS, not rigidly, but pragmatically. The keyword system underlying the selection and organization of the TSB has served as a basis for the classification of the HTS entries.

On the basis of that keyword list, we are planning several volumes for the printed edition of the HTS. At least one volume will be published each year. Over a period of several years, we will have completed a whole set of volumes containing a vast range of topics, traditions and methods that constitute the interdisciplinary field of Translation Studies. This first volume already contains a first selection of approximately 75 topical articles.

The HTS aims at disseminating knowledge about translation and interpreting studies. It is an academic tool, but one that is also directed at a broader audience. It addresses the needs of students (who often prefer to surf the net, to skim and make do with short texts rather than studying long monographs), researchers and lecturers in Translation Studies and practitioners, as well as scholars and experts from other related disciplines (linguistics, sociology, history, psychology, etc.). This project will also be of interest to anyone with a professional or personal interest in the problems of translation, interpreting, localization,

editing, etc., such as communication specialists, journalists, literary critics, editors, public servants, business managers, (intercultural) organization specialists, media specialists, marketing professionals, etc.

With this larger target audience in mind, we decided to include relatively brief overview articles (between 500 and 6,000 words each, based on relevance). They are clearly longer than the average dictionary or terminology ones, but they do not necessarily contain all possible technical details. The limited reference list concluding each article could be supplemented with a list of further essential reading. In the online version, the items in the reference lists are hyperlinked to the TSB, where the user also finds an abstract of the publication. Cross-references to other entries in this first HTS volume are indicated with an asterisk*.

All articles were written by specialists in the different subfields and peer-reviewed. Moreover, the HTS project relies on a strong International Advisory Board with experts in Translation and Interpreting Studies. In addition, the project is supported and backed by a network of collaborating universities: the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein (South-Africa), the University of Graz (Austria), the University of Oviedo (Spain), the University of Oslo (Norway), ISIT Paris (France), HUB Brussels, the University of Namur and Lessius University College in Antwerp (Belgium). The editors explicitly would like to thank these partners, the members of the International Advisory Board, the reviewers and the publisher for their valuable work and support in the HTS project. Our special thanks go to the authors of this first volume, who have been working under less than ideal conditions and time pressure. We certainly look forward to an on-going collaboration.

Last but not least, we ask all users for feedback. If you have any questions, remarks, suggestions for improvement about accessibility or usability, please don't hesitate to contact the editorial team at hts@lessius.eu.

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The HTS editors

Yves Gambier & Luc van Doorslaer

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Adaptation

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“Adaptation” is a term widely used in films, television, the theatre, music, dance and other media. Indeed, the terminology in the whole area of adaptation is extremely confusing. However, an examination of the nuances of the myriad of terms is beyond the scope of this article, but a number of the terms used in the area, many of which are self-explanatory, may be mentioned: adaptation, appropriation, recontextualization, tradaptation, spinoff, reduction, simplification, condensation, abridgement, special version, reworking, offshoot, transformation, remediation, re-vision.

A working definition of “adaptation” comes from Julie Sanders: an adaptation will usually contain omissions, rewritings, maybe additions, but will still be recognized as the work of the original author (Sanders 2006: 26 *passim*). This is very similar to the definition of John Dryden of “paraphrase”, which he made in his Preface to the *Epistles of Ovid* in 1680: “translation with latitude (...) where the author is kept in view by the translator (but his words are not so strictly followed as the sense; and that too is to be amplified, but not altered” (Dryden 1956: 182). The original point of enunciation remains.

Sanders contrasts “adaptation” with “appropriation”: the original point of enunciation may have now changed, and, although certain characteristics of the original may remain, the new text will be more that of the adapter or rewriter. This is again similar to the definition of Dryden, this time that of “imitation”: the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty, not only to vary from the words and the sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion; and taking only some general hints from the original, to run division on the ground work, as he pleases” (Dryden 1956: 182). And perhaps here we can tentatively place a possible boundary as to what may be considered “translation”.

A number of works in the area of Translation Studies have specifically examined adaptations. Among them are: Zatlin (2005), Lathey (2006), Milton and Torres (2003) and Upton (2000). These works have in common the fact that they stress the inter-lingual element of translating from one language to another. The translations with which they deal may also be inter-semiotic, adapting works from one code to another, for example, from “page to stage”, from a novel to a film or a play.

Among the types of adaptation we find in the field of translation is localization*. For example, the translation of the site of a cheap flight company may have to introduce information on visas and cabin baggage restrictions into sites for certain countries.

Literature translated for children (see Children’s literature and translation*) will frequently involve the adaptation of material which may be considered unsuitable. For

example, in adaptations for children Shakespeare's plays will lose their strong sexual references and bawdy language. Mores and morals may also change. Health and Safety are important factors today in Western societies. This can be seen in certain adaptations of the stories of Pippi Longstocking: "The French Pippi is not allowed to pick up a horse, only a pony" (Birgit Stolt in Lathey 2006: 73); and in the 1965 German translation the section in which Pippi finds some pistols in the attic, fires them in the air, then offers them to her friends who also enjoy firing them, is replaced by a moralistic Pippi putting them back in the chest and stating "Das ist nicht für Kinder!" (Emer O'Sullivan in Lathey 2006: 98). This was totally out of character, and in further editions this modification was omitted.

Theatre texts will continually be adapted for performance (see Drama translation*). Of course, no two performances will be exactly the same. Alterations may be introduced by director and/or actors; actors may fluff their lines; costumes and set may change; the relationship between actors and audience may change from night to night (Zatlin 2005). Sirkku Aaltonen (in Milton & Torres 2003) writes on the way in which the translator may provide an intermediate text, which may then be adapted for each performance.

Advertising is another key area of adaptation, and the success of a product on the way it is advertised. Good examples are the (apparently apocryphal) story of the Vauxhall Corsa, originally a sales disaster when sold in Spain as the Nova (no va = doesn't go). Mitsubishi changed the name of the Pajero (Brazil, UK and elsewhere) to the Montana in Argentina as no one would fancy driving a Mitsubishi Wanker!

Texts may have to be adapted for those with physical disabilities. For the hard-of-hearing the native language of the country in which they are living is usually their second language, the local sign language being their first language. Thus their reading of the national language may often be slow. Film subtitles may be adapted for the hard-of-hearing, and these subtitles* may also include closed captions which provide information on any important sounds, which of course they will not hear (Franco & Araújo 2003).

The translation of songs may involve special linguistic elements. Translators of operas into Portuguese avoid stresses of the "ugly" nasalized sounds "-ão", "-ãe", etc. Thus alternative words will be found, or the lyrics will be rephrased (Kaiser 1999).

Translations of classic works for mass markets may involve a number of changes. A study made of the translation of classic works into Portuguese by a Brazilian book club, the Clube do Livro (Milton 2001, 2002), showed the following changes. Homogenization of size and weight was necessary in order to cut printing and postage costs, and all books had to fit into a 160 page format. The authorial style was frequently lost: poetic elements, puns, and dialects were all discarded, and the result was a homogenous, "correct" language. Offensive material was usually cut; this could be of a scatological, religious, political or sexual nature, depending on the period.

What is adapted will usually depend on certain constraints, namely: the target audience, its age, social class, and possible physical disability, as seen above in the case of adaptations for children and the hard-of-hearing.

Commercial factors will often be very important. André Lefevere (1982/1999) writes about the need to cut out a number of the songs in Brecht's *Mother Courage* when it was first staged in New York; if the full number of songs had been kept, union rules required that a full orchestra be employed.

Political adaptations may also be made. Annie Brisset (1990/2000) describes the politicized translation of Michel Garneau's *Macbeth* in Quebec, in which the use of Quebec French, repetition of "Mon pauvr'pays" and other key expressions made the Quebec audience of the 1970s think of political situation of Québec, sandwiched between English-speaking Canada and the US, and dominated culturally by Paris.

Maria Tymoczko (1999) describes the changes which were made to the figure of the ancient Irish hero Cu Chuliann in a number of adaptations made at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, a period during which Ireland was looking forward to possible independence. The mythical Cu Chuliann was often lazy, a great womanizer, and full of fleas. If he were to become the patron of the independent Ireland, he would have to be cleaned up, and out go his filth, randiness and sloth. Indeed, the popular stories of Lady Gregory make him into a Tennysonian knight-like figure.

Historical factors are very important. Certain periods tend to adapt more than others. The classic example is that of the *belles infidèles*, translations made into French in the 17th and 18th centuries, when material coming into French had to adapt to the French norms of *beauté*, *clarté* and *bon goût*. Roger Zuber (1968) describes the translations of Pierrot d'Ablancourt. And translations of Shakespeare are a case in point. Shakespeare's works were vulgar, rough and rude, they ignored the classic unities. Voltaire referred to them as a "rough diamond". They would have to be polished and improved. Voltaire did this in his *La Mort de César* (1733), as had Dryden in *All for Love (Antony and Cleopatra)* (1677) (Monaco 1974). But probably the most renowned adaptor of them all was Jean-François Ducis, whose adaptations of the tragedies, especially *Othello*, were popular throughout the world. Indeed, they were being played in Brazil until the second half of the 19th century (Rhinow 2007).

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Applied Translation Studies

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Applied Translation Studies (ATS), the performative branch of Translation Studies (TS), is concerned with translation activities that address a particular goal and a specific (group of) final user(s) and that imply doing something with, for or about translation according to some standard of quality. ATS designates fields which partly belong in TS and partly in other disciplines such as translator training/education (see Translation didactics*), translation tools* and translation criticism among others. This article will concentrate on aspects common to different ATS areas without focusing on any in particular.

1. Background

In the widely accepted Holmes/Toury map of the discipline ATS are defined by opposition to the “pure” branches, DTS* and Theory, in terms of purpose (knowledge vs. performance) and of criterion (description vs. prescription).

In Holmes’ proposal ATS was a branch “of use” (Holmes 1988: 77), a necessary complement of the main, pure research branches with which it maintains a dialectical rather than unidirectional relationship: there is no applied consideration which is not informed by some theoretical model and dependent on some descriptive data, and the applied branch in its turn supplies materials for the other two. Holmes, however, seems to assume that the transition between description and ATS is automatic as he does not offer any hint of ways to convert pure research information into particular “how to” applications.

Toury’s revision of the map (1995: 17–19) maintained the disciplinary division but labelled this branch “applied extensions” in an attempt to convey the necessity of some bridging device between TS findings, the other relevant discipline(s) and the actual applications.

Toury named this device “bridging rules” and accounted for the passage of descriptive TS information to applicable data. These rules would be necessarily different for the different types of applied extension. For example, rules for, say, translator training would come from “pure” TS findings and from a theory of teaching and learning. These rules, however, are not bound to be relevant for translation criticism or for the design of translation aids.

Additional features of Toury’s applied extensions are their interdisciplinary nature and their relevance for non-translational fields. While a theory of learning or a linguistic model can contribute to the creation of applications for translator training, the set of rules

obtained from the interplay between those and TS findings may also be relevant for foreign language teaching (FLT) and/or provide insights into linguistic analysis, see Malmkjær (1998 and 2005), for example. In other words, Toury's applied extensions behave as an interface drawing tools and materials partly from TS partly from other relevant disciplines, and thereby contributing to other fields.

2. Issues in ATS

2.1 Prescription and users

A central issue in the applied branch is the status of prescription and its relation to users. Some notions of quality* and correctness are intrinsic to a community's understanding of translation and they are a necessary component of the applied branch of TS whose aim is to establish how to carry out an activity so as to produce a result which complies with accepted standards of quality. Traditionally methods of measuring value and quality in activities such as translation assessment, translation training, etc., have rested on criteria not always overtly formulated but handed down as prescriptive judgement by someone in authority, i.e., critics, teachers, etc. Contemporary ATS welcome prescription derived from empirical, verifiable findings (Chesterman 1999). Its role is to account for the standard of translation correctness prevalent in a given community. The duty of ATS is to conceptualize and operationalize these findings, linguistic or otherwise, as applied parameters (Rabadán, Labrador & Ramón, 2009).

2.2 Usefulness and usability

While the final users of descriptive and theoretical work tend to be researchers, ATS users are professionals that expect to be supplied with reliable, easy to use applications. Identifying their needs and generating effective and efficient aids to accomplish applied tasks introduces a further step in the research process. This has triggered recent attempts at redefining the notion of "applied extensions" and the nature of the "bridging rules" in terms of usefulness and usability (Rabadán 2008). Both concepts refer to user problems and have been borrowed from Cognetics, a field that addresses the relationship between human cognition, its capabilities and limitations, and the design of computer interfaces. Its aim is to further promote the integration of business, technology and people (Cognetics Corporation 2007–2008).

Usefulness concerns the relevance of the findings for the task at hand and the extent to which the application helps users to solve their problems, so much so that it has been termed "the foundation of user satisfaction" (Kreitzberg & Little 2009). Usability aims at bridging the gap between application and intended users and is defined as "the quality of a system that makes it easy to learn, easy to use, easy to remember, error tolerant, and subjectively pleasing" (Foraker Design 2002–2010).

Usefulness and usability behave as procedural guidelines and inform all stages of research so as to ensure that ATS products can actually meet the demands of their final users. They ensure the user-centered nature of ATS by playing a fundamental role in the applied process, from needs analysis, research tools design to the analysis and leading to the operationalization and conceptualization of the applicable parameters.

3. ATS procedure(s)

ATS fields tend to rely on various procedures, generally borrowed from the corresponding associated discipline (e.g., theory of learning in the case of translator training/ education; critical theory and aesthetics in the case of translation criticism, etc.). Different ATS areas, however, can also benefit from the use of corpus-based methodology as a common, bottom-line procedure to help use empirical findings to their best advantage. The role of corpora* as research tools in TS, their characteristics and their uses have been amply discussed. There is also abundant literature on the direct application of corpora, which partly underlies applied trends such as translator education (Bowker 2002 & Yuste Rodrigo 2009 among others). To date neither of these two discussions has produced direct applications nor a clear procedure for achieving them. Rather, the outcome is still raw descriptive data that may or may not be useful for applied needs. Further applicability drawbacks of corpus-based materials concern defective user targeting and poor usability. Very often, and depending on language combinations, the final user has to design and build his/her corpus, which generally implies learning expert skills. Using already existing corpora also requires additional training in how to formulate queries and do the searches, a process which is time-consuming and has to be done afresh for each new applied project (Zanettin, Bernardini & Stewart 2003).

An effective ATS procedure should allow us to obtain information that can be used advantageously in different ATS fields to carry out different tasks.

To be useful and usable for ATS, corpora need to be used in conjunction with other tools, such statistics and/or informants, that can assist in conceptualizing these findings for applied goals. Comparable corpora (two subcorpora, each one concerning one original language, representing the same cultural/professional/textual/etc. section in each of the cultures; i.e., technical reports) relay empirical information that can help candidates to become anchors for a specific language pair. Data obtained from this source introduce the necessary prescriptive component in ATS (Toury 1995: 19; Chesterman 1999).

Parallel corpora (two subcorpora in two different languages, one of which contains the empirical information in language A, the other this information translated into language B) contribute diagnostic data about translation alternatives in particular and translation practice in general. Diagnostic here means that these data are a tool for sourcing additional information leading to the identification of significant language-pair specific information.

Statistics contributes to assessing the usefulness of the descriptive data. It plays a part in rating the significance of quantitative data and helps to connect quantitative and qualitative information. Statistic results indicate which data should be considered relevant for applied purposes and their suitability assessed in terms of usefulness and usability.

Evaluative tools such as a control group of representative users acting as both informants and testers of an application prototype also plays a role in ATS. These informants provide feedback concerning whether (a) the problem(s) is actually being dealt with (usefulness), and (b) the application is accessible to its final users (usability). The information provided by these “prototypical users”, which is generally obtained by means of informal questionnaires, helps to improve aspects that warranted a poor rating and even to modify the initial working assumptions.

Applied research uses these tools according to a replicable procedure in order to obtain useful and usable information. Independently of the underlying framework, and whatever the nature of the empirical data, the procedure comprises at least three stages that utilize descriptive findings obtained in prior analyses: (i) sourcing and selecting useful and usable data, (ii) conceptualization and (iii) verification and evaluation of applicability (Rabadán 2008).

4. Conceptualization

These data are best conceptualized as *anchors*, which are defined as those language-pair specific resources that can be empirically singled out as recurrent problem-triggers in cross-linguistic communication. They are perceived as being cross-linguistically equivalent but tend to convey and/or result in partially divergent meanings in each of the languages concerned, e.g., modal meanings in English and in Spanish (Rabadán 2007: 498–99).

From an ATS perspective, anchors can be used as key indicators of the degree of success in cross-linguistic transfer. Since significant dissimilarity cannot be assumed to be the same for different language combinations or in each direction, the associations that qualify as anchors also differ according to direction and language combination.

Anchors can be operationalized as probabilistic statements (e.g., “Value B” tends to be translated by \langle option x \rangle in contexts of the type β and δ . A possible, but less frequent possibility is \langle option y \rangle), as quantitative prescriptions (e.g., A number of occurrences of \langle phenomenon A \rangle that exceeds/ does not reach magnitude α , or falls outside range $\gamma-\epsilon$ does not fulfil threshold quality conditions), or alternative formats, as long as their descriptively prescriptive component is incorporated in some type of guideline.

Since they are operational for different (groups of) applied tasks, anchors help simplify the bridging between description and applications. They can be used as an indicator of translation quality assessment (TQA), as organizing devices in the design of training strategies and resources, or may contribute to a number of innovative, computer-assisted applications relevant for ATS and/or other fields/ disciplines (ACTRES 2010). Localization*

and other web and translation* activities are recent additions to ATS that can also benefit from anchor findings.

Although they obviously serve different needs and commercial materials address each task separately, it would be unrealistic to deal with these applied areas separately: whatever the framework, the applicable findings are relevant for all these activities and their content has to be useful for and usable by the applied professional. CATs*, assessment and education and training operate jointly in the evaluation of translation technology, changing translation practices and offering feedback for empirical research leading to the improvement of tools, either human or machine-based (e.g., IGNITE 2010).

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Audiovisual translation

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Audiovisual Translation (AVT), although a relative newcomer within the field of Translation Studies (TS), has moved from the field's periphery to its centre over the past two decades. The earliest form of AVT may have been translation of intertitles in silent films, but far greater needs for translation arose with the advent of 'talking movies' in the 1920s and the necessity of providing films with translations (so as to secure exports, especially for the US film industry). Various forms of translation were tried, even multiple language versions of one film, with subtitling and dubbing soon becoming the preferred modes. Selection between the two was determined by economic, ideological and pragmatic factors in the respective target countries. Initial research publications on AVT date from the mid-fifties and sixties, but a true research and publication boom did not occur until the early 1990s.

1. What translation modes does audiovisual translation encompass?

Subtitling* and dubbing are still commonly regarded as the two main AVT modes, with voiceover being the third (see Voiceover and dubbing*). However, the boom and proliferation of AV texts at the close of the 20th century led to a corresponding boom in AVT modes and eventually to increasingly interdisciplinary research. Developments that majorly impacted the AV landscape include the globalisation of AV distribution and production systems, the financial integration of TV broadcasting companies and the film industry, digitization (e.g., the advent of DVD technology, which allows for various translation modes on one disc), and related technological developments such as expansion of the Internet and proliferation of on-the-go gadgets like mobile phones, iPods and the like. Some of these developments and their theoretical capacities for supplying tailor-made products have led to the diversification of target audiences (and 'narrowcasting') and, most recently, to the capacity for users to actively participate in the translation of certain AV products (Gambier 2003). These newer forms of AVT are variants of older forms and/or new developments that share features with other, related types of translation. Newer variants include surtitling for the stage (Mateo 2007), subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH) (Neves 2009) and its subcategory of live subtitling with speech recognition, as well as intralingual subtitling that confronts linguistic variation within a language (Remael et al. 2008). Fansubbing and fandubbing are a form of User-Generated Translation (UGT)

in which Internet users subtitle or dub their favourite productions, thereby challenging commercial production modes (Nornes 2007). In fact, since 2009 YouTube has offered subtitling options to its users. Related to dubbing is audio description (AD) for the blind (Braun 2008), which translates essential visual information from an AV production into verbal narration between film dialogues, sometimes in combination with audio-subtitling (AST), an adapted aural version of subtitling. Video game localisation*, which mixes AV forms like dubbing or subtitling with features of localisation, could be considered a completely new genre. Needless to say, the proliferation of AV modes and technical developments is linked to the growing number of new environments (museums, opera houses, trains stations, etc.) where AVT is used.

2. Unity in variation: An attempt at structuring the field and its research topic

Many forms of AVT, as other forms of translation or interpretation, still share the challenges of transposing text in one language into text in another language. However, audiovisual texts, unlike 'traditional' printed texts, typically use two types of signs and two different channels of communication. They are composed of audio-verbal signs (the words uttered), audio-nonverbal signs (all other sounds), visual-verbal signs (writing), and visual nonverbal signs (all other visual signs) (see Zabalbeascoa 2008: 24; and also e.g., Delabastita 1989). The different sign systems interact and together constitute the audiovisual text, a structure that is more complex than the simple summation of its parts. First, the relative importance of each system can vary. Second, even the verbal component of an AV text is never purely 'verbal': its shape is determined by the sign systems that surround it. Indeed, integration of the verbal component in a complex sign system meant to be watched, heard and sometimes read, often results in this component taking a hybrid form, i.e., one that is neither purely written nor purely spoken language. Moreover, as language varies according to use and genre, the language of AVT is never a monolithic entity (Freddi & Pavesi 2009: 32).

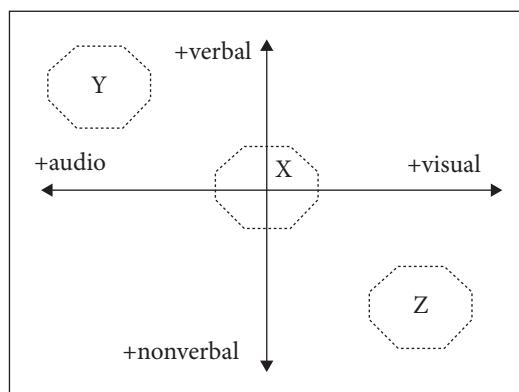
Both the expansion and increased specialization of AVT practice and research have led to various re-namings of the field and to different definitions of the practice and/or research topic(s). *Film translation* and *cinema translation* were among the first terms in use, but such terms soon failed to cover every mode of translation, especially as modes expanded to television and DVD, including different types of programmes (e.g., talk-shows) that were not 'films' in the strict sense. *Screen translation* is more encompassing, and includes translations done for the plethora of screens being produced by today's audiovisual market. Yet this term encompasses localization*, which is not necessarily a form of AVT. Moreover, *Screen Translation* does not include surtitling for the stage, even though surtitling (or supertitling, the American term) forms part of a text that is composed of the aforementioned sign systems and communication channels. Another term, *(Multi)Media Translation* (Gambier & Gottlieb 2001), can include translations for the stage as well as

different forms of screen translation, and refers explicitly to the multitude of media and channels now used in global and local communication. The term *Multimedia Localisation* is a newcomer that appears occasionally today. The addition of SDH and AD to the research arena has led some researchers to define AVT as a form of *Media Accessibility*, thus stretching the concept of 'translation' to include 'translation' from sounds or images into words (Díaz Cintas et al. 2007). At the time of this writing, *Audiovisual Translation* is the most commonly used term in the field. This term refers to the different components involved in the type of text under scrutiny, and though it does not explicitly point to the interactive component of multimedia, it does not exclude it either.

The main challenge posed by this expansion is the increasing difficulty in delineating the AVT domain. Starting from the four constitutive features of AV(T) texts (cf. *supra*), Zabalbeascoa (2008: 29) proposes a way of mapping the object of study of AVT, placing

AV texts, types of AV texts and parts of them [...] on a plane defined by the following coordinates: a cline that indicates the presence (amount and importance) of verbal communication in proportion to other semiotic forms of expression; [and] another cline for measuring the relative importance of sound in the audio channel weighed against visual signs.

The area closest to the centre of the two clines is where the most prototypical instances of the AV text must be situated (i.e., texts in which both audio channels and visual channels as well as verbal and non-verbal codes are active in producing meaning). As one moves away from the centre (in either direction), one communication channel and/or sign system gains prominence. This flexible schematic allows for all existing and future AV texts and their translations to be classified as more or less prototypical, and precludes omission of potentially interesting newcomers. Likewise, the schematic can incorporate or provide links to texts (e.g., cartoons) that have verbal and visual components but lack an audio channel (Kaindl & Oittinen 2008).



Zabalbeascoa (2008: 29)

3. Audiovisual translation and Translation Studies

The multimodal or semiotic nature of AVT once led scholars to question if AVT was indeed a form of translation. The view of AVT as a form of 'constrained' translation, in which the other sign systems over-determine the translator's contribution, stimulated such considerations. Constraints include, in dubbing, the need for various forms of synchrony between text and image/sound; and, in subtitling, the need to compress, paraphrase and adapt speech to a hybrid form of writing. Today, however, the discussion may need to be revisited. The 21st century may well see the advent of the "audiovisual turn" in TS. Initially, TS limited itself to bible translation and literary translation. Only later did TL research extend to translation of other text types, although it remained focused on translation of verbal texts in one language into verbal texts in another language, or, in Jakobson's terms, interlingual translation or *translation proper* (Jakobson 1959/2000). Jakobson also coined intralingual translation (or *rewording*) and intersemiotic translation (or *transmutation*) to refer to related fields, but his very terminology relegated the terms to translation's periphery. The current inundation of text production modes and the ubiquity of image and/or sound in texts have made it virtually impossible to adhere to such a limited concept of translation. This also brings translation and other forms of text production closer together, as well as propelling aspects of AVT into other translation types or leading to incorporation of AVT modes (subtitling, subbing, AD, SDH, etc.) into other communication settings, such as website localisation.

It is difficult to predict if the trend towards expanding the concept of translation to encompass this diversification will prevail over the opposite trend, that of introducing new terms (such as *localization*, *technical communication* and *multimedia localisation* (cf. *supra*)) that aim to reduce translation to one link within a larger communication chain. This will depend not only on the decisions of scholars and university policies, but also on politico-economic developments that determine the translation market. Most forms of AVT have always involved some form of collaboration, rendering AV translators and their work dependent on other agents in the production process. New technical and socio-economic developments are enhancing that process, sometimes to the detriment of translators' status and working conditions, and a focus on quantity rather than quality.

4. Research trends

The developments described in the previous sections pose interesting challenges for researchers and have produced a wealth of material. Numerous collections of articles offer good overviews of current research topics (see e.g., Díaz Cintas 2009; Gambier 2003, 2008; Lavaur & Serban 2008; Orero 2004; Remael & Neves 2007), and, as a quick Internet search will demonstrate, academic programs throughout Europe offer training and research in AVT.

Some scholars deplore the lack of an encompassing theory of AVT, yet one cannot help wondering if such a theory would even be useful. Although interdisciplinarity increasingly characterizes AVT research today, the frameworks within which much AVT research has been and is being conducted are those of Descriptive Translation Studies, Polysystem Theory, and, more recently, Functional Translation Studies (the last is particularly apt for the study of video game localization (O'Hagan 2009). Such studies stimulate partial descriptive theories (e.g., Zabalbeascoa 2008; Chaume 2004). Researchers continue to use (or re-use) research methods and concepts from various linguistic disciplines (including pragmatics, text linguistics, and cognitive linguistics), but combine them, depending on the particular research, with methods from literary studies, (experimental) psychology, film studies, statistics, reception studies, anthropology, history, didactics, etc. This is a result of the realisation that studying only the verbal component of AVT does not suffice and that AV media have inestimable social and ideological impact (witness e.g., the study of censorship in AVT) that merits further in-depth study. Research has gradually begun moving away from case studies and towards corpus-based approaches, thus facilitating more extensive research of the sign systems of the (digitized) AV text. Moreover, logging systems and eye-tracking offer new perspectives for quantitative research. More generally, digitization and Internet access facilitate research by increasing the availability of AV products and their components (e.g., scripts) and furthering the circulation of affordable AV(T) software for education, production, analysis and publishing. AVT is definitely here to stay and will, even by any other name, remain an interesting field for exploration.

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Censorship

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1. Concepts

The subfield of censorship and translation explores extreme manifestations of the influence of ideology on translations. Consequently, its investigation “takes us into some of the most important ideological aspects of Translation Studies” (Tymoczko in Ní Chuilleanáin et al. 2009: 45). Censorship has been justified on aesthetic, moral, political, military and religious grounds, and considered from, among other viewpoints, the network of agents involved in the transfer* process, translatorial agency, the ethics* of translation, the relationship between rewriting (creativity) and translation. It is not always a product of polarized binary situations where innocent translators are pitted against repressive regimes in the translation process. Although traditionally considered coercive and repressive, with oppressors and victims, twenty-first century research on censorship and translation is broadening our understanding of this complex phenomenon.

The placement of censorship on a continuum of norms* and constraints can at times be difficult to pinpoint (Brunette, in *TTR* 2002). Since censorship is an instrument used to mould, if not enforce, worldview and discourse production, it can strike out with particular ferocity when faced with unpalatable alterity, and leave its mark on interpretation (community and “formal”), media translation (e.g., film, stage, radio plays) and all types and genres of textual translation (e.g., travel writing, religious writings, political speeches, essays, poetry, the novel, newspapers) (*TTR* 2002; Billiani 2007; Seruya & Moniz 2008; Ní Chuilleanáin, Ó Cuilleanáin & Parris 2009). Generally speaking, the broader the intended audience is, the more rigorous the censorship. It is a commonplace of democratic societies through structural censorship – a set of unwritten rules shaped by habits and the symbolic capital of discursive products in the field (Bourdieu, cited in *TTR* 2002: 15–16), though often not consciously acknowledged. By contrast censorship is generally associated with totalitarian regimes where it is considered repressive. When it becomes institutionalised in repressive contexts, it can become a collaborative project (Kuhlwaczak, in Ní Chuilleanáin, et al. 2009). Take for example, the GDR, where the word “censorship” was taboo and replaced by such expressions as “planning and guiding”, “directing and assisting” (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, in Billiani 2007: 106). Economic means, e.g., expensive taxes and permits, are an enforcement mechanism retained not only by totalitarian regimes, but also by democratic systems to exclude undesirable cultural products from the marketplace (Gambier, in *TTR* 2002).

Censorship is motivated either by a desire to protect the vulnerable or to create a cultural or political system. Ben-Ari (2006) has studied the role of (self-)censorship in the formation of the “Puritan Sabra” image in Hebrew literature as part of a project of Israeli nation-building. In an “official censored context” (*TTR* 2002: 10), “institutional (State or religious)” censorship (Billiani 2009: 29), i.e., legislators, political and religious leaders, dictate its need, though they may not be those who enforce it, relegating that responsibility to censorship boards. Censors may be consummate producers of the types of cultural products (e.g., translated literature, subtitled movies) that they censor as well as being esteemed members of their community, or they may be people who have no knowledge of translation or of the source language and culture (Toury 1995: 278). The latter group, variously feared and despised, may resort to repressive, even violent means, to achieve censorial ends. As a result, the word “censorship” usually has a negative connotation. Yet, the reception of rewritten children’s literature – often positively connoted through the choice of the noun “adaptation”* – and of sanitised subtitled movies for the general public (GP) (Gambier, in *TTR* 2002) is generally positive. Consequently, censorship is perceived, alternately, as in the best interests of the ideological positioning of a larger socio-political entity (e.g., children’s literature, GP films) or repressive.

Censorship in translation can occur prior to publication and posterior to publication. Censorship prior to publication can take the form of cultural blockage (Wolf, in *TTR* 2002), preventive censorship and self-censorship. Cultural blockage intervenes at the point of entry of a cultural product into the target culture. The source culture may have initiated the transfer process or target-culture agents may have attempted to import a foreign cultural product; however, selection mechanisms intervene to block the entry of those cultural products deemed undesirable or, when entry is allowed, to influence the form of cultural transfer (e.g., various forms of rewriting). Furthermore, some ostensibly blocked cultural products may enter the target system by clandestine means, such as underground translation and publishing (Merkle 2010).

Translators who assume the role of “gatekeeper” (*TTR* 2002: 9) reproduce the norm and are likely to apply the principle of correction, or self-correction (self-censorship), to their discursive products, while carefully remaining within Lefevere’s margin (O’Sullivan 2009). The concept “self-censorship” is best limited to translators who censor their own translations to conform to society’s expectations, often referred to as bowdlerism in the Victorian context (Ó Cuilleanáin 1999), and is performed consciously or unconsciously. However, self-censorship is difficult to identify. Unless genetic or paratextual material describing the translation process has been left by the translator, it is impossible to distinguish with certainty what changes have been made by the translator versus those made by a reviser, copyeditor or the publisher. For example, when a translator’s self-correction is considered insufficient, the reviser, copyeditor or publisher may further censor, as a preventive measure, in order to ensure that the text will pass censorial muster or be positively received by the target market. While, apparently, the majority of translators tend to censure potentially

troublesome foreign ideas (Simeoni's well-known "submissiveness" hypothesis – Simeoni 1998), others have adroitly subverted the values of their culture by finding innovative means to import cultural (or literary) alterity (e.g., Léger, in *TTR* 2002). The ultimate aim of (prior) censorship is to internalise norms to the point that translators do not think about the issue. Their writing simply reproduces what has become essentially discursive "habit" (Wolf, in *TTR* 2002).

Should a translation slip through the censorial cracks, post censorship can come into play to remove a work from the system by boycotting it (a bookseller refusing to sell the translation, a librarian refusing to lend it) or by formally banning it (*TTR* 2002: 9). Post-censorship in the form of banning or boycotting is often the easiest to identify and study because the translations are forcibly withdrawn from the marketplace after they have been published.

2. Prospects

Early in-depth published case studies concentrated on translation censorship in repressive totalitarian regimes marked by military and/or political dictatorship (e.g., Rundle 2000 & Dunnett, in *TTR* 2002 (Fascist Italy); Merino & Rabadán (Franco Spain), Sturge (Nazi Germany), Tomaszkiewicz (Soviet-dominated Poland), in *TTR* 2002). Studies on Portugal have recently been added to the list (Seruya & Moniz 2008). Victorian England has provided material for the study of the mechanics of censorship in democratic systems (e.g., Ó Cuilleanáin 1999; Merkle 2006, 2009; O'Sullivan 2009).

Yet, despite the concentration of research on censorship and translation since the mid-1990s, several areas are yet to be explored, and others await a more systematic and in-depth study. To be explored is censorship throughout history, for example in nineteenth-century Europe. Wakabayashi (2000) has studied the history of censorship and translation in Japan since the mid-nineteenth century. Her research has also contributed to broadening geographical contexts, for the bulk of published research to date is Eurocentric. More systematic and in-depth studies are required in non-Western geographical contexts and on non-Western textualities, although a number of essays and books have been published, for example, on Brazil, China, Turkey and the Ukraine (Milton, Nam Fung Chang, Erkazancı & Olshanskaya, respectively, in Seruya & Moniz 2008) and Israel (Ben-Ari 2006). While censorship as a repressive act has been well researched, the issue of ideology requires further study. Furthermore, comparatively little research has been conducted on the impact of censorship on translatorial and textual creativity (Brownlie, in Billiani 2007), on the relationship between censorship and knowledge production (Billiani 2009: 28) or on the links between censorship, resistance and subversion (Tomaszkiewicz, in *TTR* 2002; Merkle 2010).

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Children's literature and translation

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“Translation of Children’s Literature” is the dominant label for this area of study that some scholars prefer to label “Translation for Children” or “Translating for Children” since such labels emphasize that children are intended readers, not a textual trait. Translation of children’s literature is characterized by a series of traits. Among these, the most commonly treated by scholars in the field are: (1) cultural context adaptation, (2) ideological manipulation, (3) dual readership (the targeted audience includes both children and adults), (4) features of orality, and (5) the relationship between text and image.

1. Cultural context adaptation

Cultural context adaptation is Klingberg’s (1986) term for modifications that aim to adjust a text to the prospective readers’ frames of reference. The category includes the use of literary references, foreign languages, historical background, flora and fauna, proper names, weights and measures and other culture-specific phenomena. Klingberg argues that children’s literature, as a rule, “is produced with a special regard to the (supposed) interests, needs, reactions, knowledge, reading ability and so on of the intended readers” (Klingberg 1986: 11). Since the cultural contexts of the source and target texts’ readers differ, the target text will become difficult to understand or less interesting if the translator of a children’s text does not adapt it to the prospective target readers’ frames of reference. On the other hand, Klingberg also stresses that one of the main pedagogical goals with translated children’s literature is that it may further young readers’ international outlook and understanding. If translators adapt all cultural elements, such understanding will not be enhanced.

Most studies on culture-specific phenomena in translations of children’s literature, also recent studies carried out within descriptive and/or functional frameworks, point at a certain loss for the child reader when cultural phenomena are reproduced without context adaptation. Studies on cultural elements thus make evident a (supposed?) need for cultural context adaptation in translation for children. However, and as already pointed out by Klingberg (1986: 10), “the struggle between consideration for the original text and regard for the intended readers is [...] as old as translation itself.” Adaptation* and domestication are however not negative or positive as such, which translation strategy*

or strategies to choose depends rather on the translation project as a whole: whether e.g., readability is more important than a historical and/or foreign atmosphere has to do with the specific translation project, the translation situation and the translator's image of children (Oittinen 2000: 91).

2. Ideological manipulation (purification)

Adaptation in the translation of children's literature also occurs for ideological reasons. Ideological manipulation, by Klingberg (1986: 12) called "purification", is that which is adapted to adhere to the adults' (parents', teachers', etc.) supposed sets of values. Ideological manipulations can also be defined as forms of censorship*. Unhappy endings may be transformed into happy ones. When Scandinavian picture books are published in the US, illustrations showing small girls without bikini tops are altered. A verbal example is when Sofie, the child protagonist of the Norwegian novel *Sofies verden* (*Sophie's World*), is set to meet a grown-up, male philosopher in a church at the abnormal hour of four a.m. (leading Sofie to tell a lie at home). Once there, it becomes evident that the hour was carefully chosen to demonstrate figuratively the time when the Middle Ages started, and their long stay in the church to demonstrate how long it lasted (with one hour equal to one century). The US translation, however, changed the meeting hour to eight a.m., a textual manipulation that not only sacrifices the didactic figure, but furthermore makes the passage illogical (Johnsen 2000). In some political contexts the ideological manipulation of translated texts is carried out under the surveillance of the state. This was e.g., the case in East Germany (Thomson-Wohlgemut 2006).

Stylistic elements frequently manipulated for similar reasons include swear words and informal speech. The text may be simplified in order to become more accessible or elevated as a way to enrich the vocabulary of the child readers. Style can also be affected by issues related to language planning, also a kind of ideological manipulation. In Spain, Galician and Catalan are still in a process of normalization, which means that some registers simply do not exist, or that they are heavily influenced by Castilian. Instead of a mixing of the codes, a homogenized style is therefore preferred by the publishers. Homogenization occurs also for other reasons. A vulgar style, like Hagrid's in the Harry Potter series, is e.g., erased in Castilian translation because it is conceived of as a bad model for the readers (Lorenzo 2008: 344).

Stylistic changes also affect literary devices. One example is Hans Christian Andersen's tale about the steadfast tin soldier, a highly ambiguous narrative that opens up for several contradicting interpretations. This kind of ambiguity is common in literature for adults but considered by some pedagogues to be inappropriate for children. It is therefore not surprising that many translations of this tale, especially the ones targeted at children, are less ambiguous texts than Andersen's own version (Alvstad 2008a).

3. The dual readership

Children are not the only intended readers of children's literature. Grown-up editors, translators, teachers, librarians and parents also read children's literature, and they are often the ones who make the books available to young readers by publishing and buying them. This is why not only the assumed values and tastes of children but also those of adults are considered when children's books get translated. The dual audience of children's literature does not apply only to real, empirical readers, it also manifests itself as a textual presence. Already in the seventeenth century it is possible to detect two implied readers in fairytales, a genre that only then started to be targeted at children. Just to mention one example, Perrault's version of Little Red Riding Hood has an ambiguous structure with an official addressee, the child, and, because of its ironic and satirical tone, an unofficial one, the adult (Shavit 1986: 8–16).

Among other texts studied by scholars because of their complex dual addressee are *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, *Winnie-the-Pooh* and *Pinocchio*. It has been pointed out that the dual address of such texts is a feature difficult to reproduce in translations. Some scholars therefore advocate that the translator makes a clear choice concerning the target reader.

Adults are not always as explicitly addressed as in the above examples. The dual readership is nevertheless always at play in children's literature, if for no other reason than that the main mediators of children literature are adults. The child-adult dual readership is probably the only exclusive trait of children's literature. It should however be noticed that it bears much in common with other kinds of dual readerships. Bi- and polylingual texts for adults (like the books by Junot Díaz) are, for example, not equally understandable to monolingual readers as to Spanish-English bilingual readers.

4. Features of orality

Literature for children is frequently written to be read aloud. Sound, rhythm, rhymes, nonsense and word play are thus common features of children's stories. These features sometimes force translators to choose between sound and content. They must also choose between familiar and foreign target models of children's rhymes and songs.

5. Text and image

The coexistence of a verbal and a visual code is common in children's literature, especially so in books intended for small children. The verbal and the visual can stand in different

relations. They may support each other, functioning as parallel media that basically tell the same story. They may also contradict each other, with the illustrations telling another story or the same story from another perspective.

A translation can change the ways the verbal and the visual codes interact with each other. O'Sullivan (2006) provides several examples of how open texts and pictures can become much less open in translation, due to translators transferring information from the pictures into the verbal code and thus closing the gaps in the texts. From standing in mutual, sophisticated relations pictures can thus be converted to have a purely illustrative function.

Translations and pictures have in common that they sometimes make explicit what is open or ambiguous in the source text. This may be a difficulty for the translators, and it may lead to mismatches when the translator does not know with which illustrations the text is to be published or when a translation is published with illustrations made for another translation. A nice example of this is when "Father William" from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* became "Pappa Kantarell" (Father Chanterelle) in the Swedish translation. In the illustrations made especially for this translation, Tove Jansson consequently depicts the character as a mushroom. When these new illustrations in turn were republished together with an older Finnish translation they were not anymore in dialogue with the verbal code (Oittinen 2000: 142–147).

One of the reasons why translated children's texts are sometimes published together with new illustrations is that it may make a text look more up-to-date. It may also be a cultural domestication of the text, a way of making it look like a non-translation. This will especially be achieved when well-known target culture illustrators make the new illustrations. Changing the illustrations may also be a way of adapting a book's contents. A potentially unhappy ending, like the one when the steadfast tin soldier burns up in the fireplace, becomes considerably less unhappy when the illustrations depict the event in bright colors and with a pink heart surrounding the tin soldier and the little dancer who burns up together with him (Alvstad 2008b).

Though text and images stand in a special relationship in children's literature, it ought to be noticed that the verbal and the visual coexist in many other kinds of (translated) texts as well, such as tourist brochures, manuals, ads and, occasionally, fiction for adults.

6. Final words

The values and ideas of children's books are of huge cultural relevance precisely because children's books are read by and for children, and such values and ideas are often passed on to future generations. Cultural manipulation and concrete interventions made in relation to racist or sexist elements, swear words and other taboos ought to be interpreted in this context. If a given society considers it inappropriate that children use "bad" words, or that

girls bathe without a bikini top, then such actions cannot be consecrated in the reading material provided to children.

Children's literature is likewise supposed to foster what is conceived of as positive values. This becomes clear in the East German censorship files, but it also holds true for less totalitarian societies. Children are almost always supposed to learn from what they read.

The traits presented above are the ones that most decisively have motivated research on translation of children's literature. Few, if any, of these features are exclusive to children's literature. What nevertheless makes translation of children's literature interesting is that these features are often in play simultaneously and that they generally affect the final product (the translated texts) in more obvious ways than, for example, in literary translation for adults. Furthermore, the possibility of comparing translated texts to their source texts makes it possible to expose more evidently how publications for children are manipulated to fit what adults consider to be adequate and appropriate. Because of the asymmetrical character of the communication in children's literature, the voice of the translator furthermore becomes more visible (or audible) in translated children's books. Research on translation of children's literature can therefore help reveal general characteristics and constraints of both translation and of children's literature, features that can be more difficult to expose in other kinds of translation as well as in non-translated children's literature.

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Cognitive approaches

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All human communication requires a set of diverse and complex cognitive activities. Likewise, any type of translation is inherently a complex cognitive activity which requires from individuals performing it a set of knowledge and abilities (see Competence*) applied while translating: the translation process*. The mastery of this set of specific and relevant cognitive traits single out those individuals who can successfully translate. Such traits led Hurtado Albir (2001: 375) to define the process of translation as a complex cognitive process which has an interactive and non-linear nature, encompassing controlled and uncontrolled processes, and requiring problem solving, decision making and the use of translation strategies and tactics*.

The study of translation as a cognitive activity entails a great deal of complexity constrained by intrinsic difficulties inherent to studies which aim at tapping into any kind of cognitive processing not amenable to direct observation. Since the late 1960s, attempts to describe translation as a cognitive activity have ranged from speculative and phenomenological theoretical modeling to empirical-experimental studies drawing on disparate disciplines such as cognitive psychology and cognitive sciences. These have focused on the different phases of the translation process, on the unit of translation and segmentation patterns, on instances of problem solving and decision making, on the use of strategies, etc.

Here we present a chronological overview of cognitive approaches to translation encompassing the first reflections on this subject matter as well as the experimentally grounded findings achieved so far.

1. First theoretical and empirical steps

The first theoretical considerations about the study of translation as a cognitive activity can be credited to the pioneering work carried out at the *École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs* (ESIT) in Paris with the Theory of Sense or the Interpretive Theory of Translation (ITT) (see Interpretive approach*). The foundations of ITT can be found in Seleskovitch (1968) that gave rise to a long-standing tradition of cognitive research in translation producing ground-breaking work which is dominant throughout the 1970s and up to the mid-1980s. ITT brought about a paradigmatic turn in relation to the strict linguistic and comparative approaches hegemonic throughout the 1960/70s and paved the way for the cognitive study of translation.

Drawing on cognitive psychology, until the 1980s a few experimental studies focused solely on cognitive aspects of interpreting. From the 1980s onwards, studies focusing on written translation also appeared. Empirical-experimental research in written translation started in the early 1980s with a line of inquiry based primarily on verbal protocols (see Think-aloud protocol*). Krings's study (1986) is considered to be the seminal work in this new emerging paradigm in written translation. It was followed up to the mid-1990s by a series of works by Königs, Gerloff, Séguinot, Tirkkonen-Condit, Jääskeläinen, Lörscher, Kussmaul, Fraser, Kiraly, Alves, among others (see Hurtado Albir & Alves 2009 for a comprehensive bibliography).

TAPs did not provide direct access to unconscious or automatic cognitive processes. Nevertheless, they remained as the main source of process-oriented information until the late 1990s. Research in this emerging paradigm was not developed without its drawbacks and shortcomings. Experimental designs lacked systematization and clear objectives, used small samples (case studies) and differed significantly both conceptually and methodologically among researchers. These shortcomings led Fraser (1996) to show that conclusions emerging from those studies were quite varied and their results could not be generalized. The road was paved for a new turn to take over (cf. Section 3).

2. A plethora of theoretical models of the translation process

In the first half of the 1990s, a myriad of models of the translation process were developed, putting forward different accounts of the mental processes carried out by translators/interpreters. Six of the most representative models are described here in chronological order. With the exception of Alves's and Kiraly's proposals, the other models lacked empirical data.

2.1 A linguistic and psycholinguistic model

Bell's (1991) model builds on linguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives, employs elements of artificial intelligence in its structural organization and adopts the framework of systemic-functional linguistics for its conception of language. Drawing on the information processing paradigm, Bell's model requires both short-term and long-term memories for the decoding of source language input and the encoding of target language output. Based on a top-down/bottom-up structure, the model starts with the visual recognition of the words of the source text, undergoes syntactic parsing in combination with mechanisms of lexical search processed by a frequent structure analyser, followed by semantic and pragmatic processing to generate a semantic representation supported by an idea organizer and a planner. Once the decision to translate is taken at the level of semantic representation, the input is reprocessed by synthesizers distributed in pragmatic, semantic, and lexico-grammatical levels to be encoded in a new writing system and gives rise to a target text.

2.2 A relevance-theoretical model

Gutt (1991) builds on Relevance* Theory to develop an account of translation as interpretive language use, steered by the concept of interpretive resemblance. Drawing of Gutt's work, Alves (1995) develops a cognitive model oriented to the maximization of relevance. Alves's model starts with the selection of a cognitively determined translation units (see Unit of translation*) which are first processed automatically and then reflectively if a solution is not found in the first step. Alves's model also requires both short-term and long-term memories to process information reflectively through internal and external types of support against which the maximization of optimal relevance is assessed. Once a translator deems to have established interpretive resemblance between a translation unit from a given source text and its target text counterpart, a decision to translate is made and the process moves to a next step in which a new translation unit is selected.

2.3 A social and psycholinguistic model

Kiraly (1995) considers translation both as a social (external) as well as a cognitive (internal) activity and presents two models of the translation process: a social model and a cognitive model which draws on psycholinguistics. In Kiraly's cognitive (psycholinguistic) model, the translator's mind is an information-processing system in which a translation comes from the interaction of intuitive and controlled processes using linguistic and extralinguistic information. His model consists of (1) information sources; (2) the intuitive workspace; and (3) the controlled processing-centre. Information sources include long-term memory (which stores cultural, physical, social schemata; discourse frames; translation-related schemata; lexico-semantic knowledge; morpho-syntactic frames), source text input and external resources (reference books, data bases, native-speaker informants, etc.). Kiraly draws on the distinction between a subconscious workspace and a controlled processing-centre. He insists that these do not operate in isolation and proposes an intuitive (or relatively uncontrolled) workspace in which information from long-term memory is synthesized with information from source text input and external resources without conscious control. Translation problems emerge from the *intuitive* workspace when automatic processing does not yield a tentative translation output. According to Kiraly, these problems are then considered in the controlled processing centre and a strategy is chosen and implemented in an attempt to deal with them.

2.4 The effort model

Gile (1995) builds on the notion of processing capacity stemming from cognitive psychology to propose a model of efforts. He relates it to simultaneous* and consecutive interpreting* as well as to sight translation* and simultaneous interpreting with text. Gile's model presupposes a distinction between automatic and non-automatic mental operations, emphasizing

the non-automatic character of the mental operations made by interpreters and focuses on three types of effort in simultaneous interpreting: (1) efforts related to listening and analyzing; (2) efforts related to discourse production in reformulation; (3) short-term memory efforts. Gile's model postulates the integration of the three different types of efforts mentioned above, each of which has specific treatment capacities that must be balanced according to the total treatment capacity available. The effort model varies slightly depending on the mode of operation, in consecutive interpreting being broken down into two clearly marked phases (listening/analyzing and reformulation); in sight translation and in simultaneous interpreting with text, listening effort is replaced by reading effort.

2.5 Translation as a decision-making type of behavior

Wilss (1996) considers cognitive psychology the most appropriate framework for the study of translation as a cognitive activity. He argues that translation is an intelligent type of behaviour to be considered from the perspective of problem solving and decision making and upon which other mechanisms, such as creativity and intuition, also play a role. He points that few authors have attempted to analyze translation from the perspective of problem solving and decision making and cites Levy's (1967/2000) account of translation as a decision process as a pioneering work. According to Wilss, translation is a knowledge-based activity and, as with all kinds of knowledge, it requires the acquisition of organized knowledge. In order to explain the organization of this type of knowledge, he draws on Schema Theory. Schemas are cognitive units, hierarchically structured, which support the acquisition of knowledge. Wilss also argues that knowing how to make decisions and how to choose is a most relevant element in translation practice as well as in the teaching of translation (see, above all, Wilss 1996: 174–191). Decision-making processes are closely related to problem-solving activities (a more complex and far-reaching concept). In order to solve problems, an individual builds on both declarative (knowing what) and procedural (knowing how) knowledge.

3. Development and consolidation of research in cognitive aspects of translation

In the mid-1990s, empirical-experimental research on cognitive aspects of translation moved into a second phase, striving for more systematic accounts of translation processes and translation competence. In this second phase emphasis is placed on multi-methodological perspectives, namely triangulation, which, building on research carried out in the Social Sciences and other disciplines, uses various data elicitation tools to "locate" the process of translation from different yet complementary vantage points (Hurtado Albir 2001: 179, 198; Alves 2003: 5; etc.). Subjects range from novice and expert translators to domain specialists, foreign language professionals and bilinguals.

3.1 Topics

As far as interpreting is concerned, research was carried out on the ear-voice span and the temporal distance between speakers and interpreters, the speed of reformulation, the role of anticipation, segmentation of ST input, pause analysis, neurophysiologic aspects (memory span, attention, etc.), quality, etc.

As far as written translation is concerned, some of the research topics are: the unity of translation; the role of linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge; the impact of using reference material; the role of awareness and automatic processes; creativity in translation; issues related to problem solving and decision making; differences between direct and inverse translation; the elicitation of implicit information; the mapping of translators' cognitive rhythms (pause analysis) and of the different phases of the translation process; sources of disturbance in the translation process; contrastive performance between novice and expert translators, between expert translators, bilinguals and other language professionals, etc.; analysis of components of translation competence and characteristics of a translator's expert performance, etc. Most of these works correlate with quality assessment of the product of their translations.

3.2 Instruments

In the second phase of empirical-experimental research in translation, TAPs ceased to be the main instrument for data collection. Interviews, questionnaires, and psycho-physiological measurements were also used. In the late 1990s, research gained renewed impetus with the widespread use of computers tools (Neunzig 1997) and the development of different software packages. Among these tools, perhaps the most important is *Translog* (www.translog.dk), the software developed by Jakobsen and Schou (1999) at the Copenhagen Business School. Translog allowed the key logging of the translation process in real time and, consequently, the online observation of the flow of text production. With Translog, pauses could be tracked in real time and translators' processing effort could be measured in terms of the duration taken to process text segments under different experimental conditions. The replay of key-logged information also enabled the recording retrospective protocols and the generation of csv files which could then be used for statistical analysis of logged data.

Alternatively, Proxy (www.proxynetworks.com), used by PACTE (2003), is also a piece of software designed for monitoring computer users. It enables researchers to view other computer screens linked within the same network and to generate recordings which can be analysed at a later stage. Differently from Translog, Proxy recordings thus capture not only the flow of text production (what is typed by the translator) but also the use of other software and search engines used by the translator.

A combined use of screen recording software, such as Camtasia (<http://www.techsmith.com>) or BB Flashback (www.bbsoftware.co.uk), in conjunction with Proxy, Translog or other key-logging software such as Writelog or Inputlog, was the next set of

tools used in translation process research. With software packages running in parallel, it was possible to record actions taking place outside the range of key logging and add screen monitoring for research purposes.

3.3 Latest developments

Recently, a third phase in cognitive research in translation has been spearheaded by the use of eyetracking as a data elicitation tool capable of tapping into reading processes (O'Brien 2006) and, therefore, shedding light on cognitive processes related to the understanding of input which, so far, were not amenable to scientific investigation. Eye tracking is able to provide information on gaze plots, mapping saccadic movements and regressions online, as well as on hot spots, areas in the source and target texts where fixation is higher (cf. Mees, Alves & Göpferich 2009).

In parallel to the use of eye tracking, a set of new tools for cross-validating and triangulating product and process data have also been developed. These include tools to annotate aligned units of translation (AUs) which are obtained from process-driven data and refer to equivalences in the source and target texts. By means of software which analyses the recordings of gaze patterns provided by eye trackers and aligns them with key-logged data fragmented into AUs, it will be possible to synchronize eye-tracking and key-logged data and make it accessible in xml or csv formats, for subsequent statistical analysis. Complementarily, new tools also enable computers to be trained to contribute to our understanding of human translation processes and tree banks specially designed to this purpose are expected to be fully developed soon. Mees, Alves and Göpferich (2009) provide state of the art information about translation process research incorporating eye tracking, aligned units and tree banks.

4. Findings of cognitive approaches to translation

Findings of cognitive approaches to translation have provided us with sound knowledge of fundamental traits concerning cognitive operations which allow human beings to translate successfully. In this respect, Hurtado Albir (2001: 367–375) and Hurtado Albir & Alves (2009: 62–63) list the following achievements:

1. The existence of basic stages related to understanding and re-expression. Additionally, some of the models postulate a non-verbal intermediate stage.
2. The need to use and integrate internal (cognitive) and external resources.
3. The role of memory and information storage.
4. The dynamic and interactive nature of the process which encompasses linguistic as well as non-linguistic elements.

5. The non-linear nature of the process. It neither follows a linear textual progression nor is it constrained to the sequential development of its basic stages. Therefore, it allows for regressions, i.e., recursive movements in text production, and alternations between the phases of understanding and re-expression.
6. The existence of automatic and non-automatic, controlled and uncontrolled processes. Translation/interpreting requires a special type of information processing which encompasses more conscious and controlled processes and more intuitive and automatic processes.
7. The role of retrieval, problem solving, decision making and the use of translation specific strategies in the unfolding and management of the process.
8. The existence of specific characteristics depending on the type of translation. For example, in written translation (and this also applies to audiovisual translation*) some authors point to the existence of a phase in which the provisional solution found is verified and controlled for accuracy. The specific constraints of each translation modality generate specific problems which require specific competences from translators or interpreters, as well the use of specific strategies and the development of specific decision-making processes.

On the other hand, given the results achieved so far, empirical-experimental research about cognitive aspects of translation is now in a position to use different data elicitation techniques as a way of capturing the process-product interface in translation, strengthening its potential to provide more robust evidence concerning what actually takes place in the cognitive operations involved in translation/interpreting.

However, there is still a tendency in Translation Studies to use tools borrowed from other disciplines. Translation Studies lacks a tradition of empirical-experimental research. The major problem faced by cognitive approaches to translation, and by empirical-experimental research related to it, is precisely the validation of its own instruments of data collection. The field needs to design its own instruments for data collection (questionnaires, standard charts, etc.) and put them to the test in exploratory and pilot studies in order to guarantee the reliability of data to be collected. It also needs to put more effort into refining experimental designs, using larger and more representative samples, and fostering the replication of studies, thus allowing for validation or falsification of previously found evidence. This would then allow researchers to carry out studies with a much greater power of generalization.

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Comics in translation

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Comics are believed to have originated in the US, where the first comic strips were published in the *New York World* in 1895. Though its roots – the socio-political caricatures of the Briton William Hogarth and the picture stories of the German author Wilhelm Busch – go back to Europe, comics only got their typical form in the wake of industrial developments in the field of mass media at the end of the 19th century. In the 20th century, comics spread from the US first to Europe and then, especially after the Second World War, to the rest of the world. As a result, the global comic market is a translation market, too – “exporters”, like the US, the Franco-Belgian area and Japan, can be distinguished from “importers”, like the German-speaking countries and the Scandinavian countries, as well as from countries where export and import largely balance each other out, like Spain and Italy.

Given the large number of genres, which range from funny comics, horror comics, adventure comics and science fiction comics to educational comics, given the target groups, which cover all age classes and all social groups, and given the various formats of publication (newspapers, comic magazines, comic books, internet), it is difficult to come up with a comprehensive definition. There is more or less a consensus that comics can be referred to as “sequential art” (Eisner 1985) where the individual pictures provide context for each other and thereby enhance the narrativity of the story. The various techniques involved in designing comics, ranging from various linguistic elements such as text in speech bubbles, narrative texts, onomatopoeia and captions, to typographic elements, pictographic elements such as speedlines, ideograms such as stars, flowers etc., and pictorial representations of persons, objects and situations, are all integral to the constitution of the meaning – and therefore translation-relevant.

1. The development of research in the field of comic translation

Being at an intersection of various fields, comic translation could for a long time not be allocated to a particular field, and was dealt with in an uncoordinated manner in disciplines such as linguistics, literary studies, communication studies, semiotics and pedagogics. It is quite evident that, up to the 1990s, the main focus of attention was on only a handful of comics, e.g., *Astérix* and *Tintin*, which were regarded as linguistically demanding and thus

scientifically interesting – in part, they are still viewed in this way today. While linguistic publications tend to concentrate on certain aspects of language in the narrow sense, such as puns and the translation of names (e.g., Grassegger 1985), approaches in the field of communication studies which deal with distribution and marketing do in fact show numerous manipulations – not only of linguistic, but also of pictorial elements (e.g., Hunoltstein 1996) – yet they do not put them in a broader translation-theoretic context. In the field of foreign language didactics, comic translation is referred to as one way to learn a language (cf. Lanoë 1991), as puns, dialects, lyrics, quotations, etc. are examined concerning their didactic potential. Publications from the semiotic perspective like those of Celotti (1997) deal in particular with the relationship between text and picture, which is referred to as the central aspect of comic translation in Translation Studies. Moreover, publications dealing with translation experience give some interesting information concerning the translation process*, which has recently become much simpler by means of electronic graphics programmes. Now it is possible to solve rather easily the space problems resulting from the size of the speech bubbles by electronically adjusting the size of the handwritten characters.

With the cultural turn in Translation Studies (see *Turns of Translation Studies**), comics as a topic of Translation Studies became more interesting because so-called mass literature, too, was now an object of study. Moreover, as translation was no longer merely referred to as a linguistic operation, multimodal texts such as films, children's books (see *Children's literature and translation**) and comics increasingly became the centre of attention in case studies in the field of translation. Thus, because of the culture-sensitive approaches that were orientated to target texts, various changes and manipulations which had not been considered in this field could be comprised theoretically and methodically. Hence, Kaindl (2004a) developed a translation-sociological framework for comic translation, where a translation-relevant anatomy of comics was produced which comprised linguistic as well as pictorial and typographical signs and which took into account numerous manipulative interferences in comics as a result of the translation and its social conditions. Moreover, linguistic elements which had been neglected, such as the translation of onomatopoeia, were examined more intensively (Valero Garcés 2000) or analysed concerning their relation to pictorial elements, such as sign plays, which consist of linguistic and pictorial elements. The central aspect of typography, too, was recognized as being translation-relevant. Eventually, Zanettin's miscellany (2008) provided a coordinated overview of topics which were relevant for research – certain genres such as mangas, case studies of various comic series, e.g., Disney comics, as well as the role of publication formats in translation and comic translation in the age of globalization were dealt with. Thus, the range of topics was broadened considerably, paving the way for a more comprehensive understanding of the problems in comic translation. The basis for this is a wide notion for "text", which comprises not only linguistic, but also pictorial and typographic elements and which considers comic translation in its cultural and social context.

2. Problems of comic translation

Comics exhibit numerous different linguistic features which have different functions for narration. For translation, the particular functions are an essential reference point. Altogether five functional linguistic categories can be distinguished (cf. Kaindl 2004a: 229–253): title, dialogue texts, narrations, inscriptions and onomatopoeia.

Normally, the translation of titles considers marketing criteria. Whereas in the first half of the 20th century, titles were adapted for the target-cultural context (e.g., the American comic strip *The Katzenjammer Kids* was broadcast in France with the title *Pim, Pam, Poum*; the strip *Winnie Winkle* was published as *Kalle der Lausbubenkönig* in German), since the 1960s, the trend for keeping the original titles has prevailed, especially if they included the protagonists' names.

Texts in speech bubbles convey what the characters say. With the sequence of dialogues and, thus, the reading direction, the picture gets its temporal dimension. This aspect becomes especially relevant when translating between culture areas with different reading directions, e.g., between European countries, Japan and the Arab World. Texts in speech bubbles serve – similar to dialogues in films and in theatres – to create communication situations and produce the social space where the characters act by linguistic means. At the same time, by typographically creating the dialogue, the intonation, prosody, volume, etc. of the speech acts can be communicated. Thus, together with phonetic, morphological, lexical, idiomatic and syntactic means, characters' language behaviour in the respective situations is created on a social, emotional and psychological level (cf. Kaindl 2004a: 239ff.).

The narrating texts have a contextualising function as they convey the temporal and local context at the macrolevel (between the individual panels) and control the understanding of the respective situation at the microlevel (within a panel). Using narrating texts is culture-specifically controlled, as Hunoltstein (1996: 44) showed with the translation of Disney comics from American English into German: Whereas only short time gaps between panels are normally common in the German-speaking area, for instance, when not linguistically specifying otherwise, in American comics, several hours can pass by between two panels without linguistically stating this. As a result, narrating texts sometimes have to be inserted when translating from American English into German.

Inscriptions used as linguistic elements inserted into the picture primarily have the function of describing the context of the situation in concrete terms. They can refer to the temporal, local or atmospheric frame of a plot and sometimes serve to verbally communicate entire plot sequences. On the one hand, their translation depends on the manner of integration into the picture: The closer the inscriptions are connected with the pictorial graphics (e.g., inscriptions on houses, graffiti on walls, etc.), the greater the effort to retouch them and the more likely the possibility that they will be kept in the original. On the other hand, those inscriptions which summarize larger plot units, e.g., newspaper cuttings or letters, are translated in most cases because they are essential for understanding the plot.

Onomatopoeia appear in different literary works – such as poems, plays and operas – but above all, they have a central function in comics, where they are used to visualize the acoustic dimension. Here, conventionalized onomatopoeia (e.g., animal sounds and interjections) as well as non-conventionalized onomatopoeia are employed. In general, there are two methods of forming onomatopoeia (cf. Wienhöfer 1980: 227): Sound description uses the derivation of conventional word classes with an onomatopoeic meaning (“sigh”, “sob”, etc.). Sound imitation creates new artificial words which, based on the sound qualities of vocals and consonants, creates onomatopoeia that fit the situation (e.g., roooooaaaaaaa for a lion’s roaring, drrrrrrrrring for the ringing of a telephone, etc.). Whether onomatopoeia are translated or not depends on the retouching effort, the genre and the target group. Translation strategies range from direct borrowing (sometimes with graphemic or phonological adaptation) to literal translations and category changes as well as to new creations of onomatopoeia.

Another essential aspect of comic translation is the combination of text and picture. Apart from the cultural specificity of picture contents and the arrangements of pictures as can be found in the Japanese manga, the narrative relation between text and picture is translation-relevant. The text and picture can affirm, supplement or contradict each other in terms of their message, or they can focus on a certain aspect. As changes to the text-picture ratio can have consequences for the narrative flow, it is important to analyse not only the linguistic text in its role for the narration, but also the pictorial elements in the translation. There are varying degrees of closeness for the relation between language and picture (cf. Kaindl 2004b). Verbal puns, for instance, can be supported by non-verbal signs, can be dependent on them, or the linguistic signs themselves may only serve as a support for a non-verbal sign play. When translating, identifying the type of relation is essential as it forms the basis for the translating process. For example, if a picture only plays a supporting role and the pun can be understood even without the picture, the visual-verbal relation may be of minor importance in the translation. However, if the picture plays an essential part in the pun, its function should preferably be taken into account in the translation – if necessary, by modifying a picture, inserting translator’s notes or by other translation strategies.

The typographic design is closely linked to the visual aspect. In comics, typography has several communicative functions in the whole narration. In this area, a highly varied repertoire of typographical means has developed in the course of time (cf. Wienhöfer 1980: 312ff.): The sounds and intonations of speech acts can be shown iconically by appropriately selecting the font, the proportion of letters, the design of the shapes, the run of the letters, their slope, the reading direction and the colours. Moreover, the font, for example, can express the nationality or political attitude. Furthermore, the course, direction or tempo of movements can be shown, for instance, by the run, the slope or the reading direction. So far, these aspects have rarely been considered when examining translations.

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Commercial translation

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Commercial translation is a term which is often used for convenience to designate an area of translation activity or a course on a translator-training programme. However, it is a very generic term which seems to encompass a range of translation activities, using a variety of translation tools, applied to numerous text types which have various functions or purposes. Commercial translation is therefore not easily separated from other topics discussed in this Handbook. If commercial translation is loosely considered to denote all translation carried out in the commercial sphere or the world of business, then it overlaps with entries which focus on specialised domains (see Technical translation*; Legal translation*; Journalism and translation*) and with entries which are concerned with international and global marketing of goods and services (see Globalisation and translation*; Localisation and translation*), as well as entries which focus on features of specialised texts (see Terminology and translation*) and those which tackle aspects of the translation process* (see Translation strategies and tactics*), including the employment of translation technology (see Computer-aided translation*; Machine translation today*) and the use, reception and evaluation of translated texts (see Quality in translation*).

This confluence of interests is discernible in the subset of the academic literature which is generally considered as addressing the study of commercial translation. For example, a good deal of attention has been paid by translation scholars to the strategies used in the translation of advertising campaigns. Researchers who are interested in language contact and multilingualism have provided useful studies of code switching in commercial texts, particularly advertising (e.g., Martin 2006). The role of translation in the tourism sector has also been the object of research (e.g., Sumberg 2004). Here and elsewhere in studies of multilingual business communication, the persuasive or promotional function of texts has been foregrounded, providing a key focus for researchers (e.g., Böttger 2004; Toressi 2010). Theoretically and methodologically, studies which focus on translation in these commercial spheres have often drawn on pragmatics (e.g., Navarro Errasti et al. 2004) or semiotics* (e.g., Freitas 2004) or have employed analytical frameworks from other branches of linguistics, e.g., rhetorical figures (Smith 2006), the cognitive theory of metaphor (e.g., Charteris-Black & Ennis 2001) or corpus methodology (e.g., Laviosa 2007). Integrating cultural dimensions into studies of commercial translation, scholars have found inspiration in models of culture and of cross-cultural communication (e.g., Katan 2004), while the multimodality of business communication and advertising has also been addressed (e.g., Millán-Varela 2004).

Much of the research referenced above by way of exemplification takes the form of case studies in which a dataset is analysed and some conclusions are drawn about translation of a specific text type from one language to another, perhaps considered in a particular linguistic and cultural context. Such studies are useful in illuminating translation problems and strategies, perhaps even translation causes and effects. However, they tend not to provide greater insight into the concept of 'commercial translation'. Sager's (1994) model of the translation process as an industrial one with input material, operations, operators and end-products is one of only a few approaches which seeks to conceptualise the act or activity of translation commercially. In so doing, the model accommodates professional activities and practical considerations (e.g., time and cost) which may be overlooked by researchers who are not approaching translation as a commercial process and product (although it can be noted that these aspects are often dealt with, in a practical sense, in translator guides or professional handbooks). For example, by specifying pre-conditions for translation, Sager's model excludes translation work which is not done in a professional context. By classifying translated texts as autonomous, interdependent or derived (based on the relationship between source and target text) this model of the translation process accommodates the production of substantially different document types and translations which are not considered prototypical (e.g., gist translations, machine translations) but which are nonetheless of use and in demand in the commercial world. Thus, Sager's work provides a scholarly framework within which a range of translation practices and the employment of translation technologies can be better understood.

Can we consider this industrial model of translation as a characterisation of 'commercial translation'? To do so would be to equate 'commercial' with 'professional'. However, literary and religious translation*, among others, are professional activities which would resist a subsuming into the category of 'commercial translation'. An alternative and perhaps more productive line of argument is possible. If we take as our starting point the generally held but ill-defined notion of commercial translation as translation which is carried out in the commercial or business sphere, then translation scholarship could benefit from approaching the issue from the perspective of the business activities or functions themselves in which translation figures. In taking this alternative approach, we would consider, first, the forms of data and documentation generated and used by the business functions which make up product workflow. We would then examine how and where translation figures in relation to this product data, the product workflow and the product lifecycle.

For any product, whether it is a physical entity or a service, product data is integral to the product workflow. This data may be related to the definition or specification (both conceptual and technical) of the product itself, or may be related to stages in the product's lifecycle – e.g., research, design, production, use, maintenance, recycling, destruction. The data may be generated and used predominantly by internal business functions, i.e., those stages of the workflow, such as planning, design, procurement, production, marketing,

customer service and maintenance, which may be carried out internally by a company. Alternatively, the business functions may be external, i.e., carried out collaboratively with business partners, or outsourced, as may often be the case with the engineering, manufacture, assembly, maintenance, etc. of physical products, or the customer service function of service products. The business world and its attendant academe focus much attention on the modelling, standardisation and management of product data; they are usually concerned to ensure that product data can be tracked and secured within companies and can be exchanged successfully across companies and software applications. The product life-cycle management (PLM) literature abounds with examples of the complexities of data and information generation, use and exchange in and between companies and software applications (see, for example, Stark 2005).

It is notable that PLM researchers usually consider 'translation' only as a problem of transference of information between systems and applications and seldom as an interlingual or intercultural issue. However, it is clear that a company operating internationally in any way – whether manufacturing its products abroad, or seeking international patents for its designs, or marketing its products beyond its national or linguistic borders, or collaborating with international partners for distribution, maintenance or customer service – is likely to require translation of at least some of its product data (unless it operates within a single linguistic community or a lingua franca). Since international collaboration or externalisation of business functions can occur at all or any stages in the product workflow, translation can also be required at any or all of these stages. Viewed in this way, the loose understanding of 'commercial translation' as translation which is done in the business world still stands but it can be more systematically specified in terms of the translation of product data generated and used in business functions and product workflow. What is then immediately obvious is that 'commercial translation' subsumes much of what is discussed by translation scholars as 'technical translation' or 'LSP translation' and at least some aspects of what is usually considered to be yet another discrete field, 'legal translation'. However, a distinct advantage of considering translation as it is embedded in business functions and product workflow lies precisely in that notion of embeddedness. It enables us to study translation as part and parcel of business functions and to examine its significance within and impact on those business functions. In addition, we can use the product workflow and lifecycle, as well as existing typologies of product data, to identify better the various different points at which translation plays a role, rather than merely focusing on the marketing stage, as most research has done thus far. In addition to scrutinising the role of translated documentation at all stages in the product workflow, this approach would also accord a more central role to interpreting activities which occur within business functions; these are generally neglected by existing research.

Translation Studies today generally aspires to give more attention to the cultural and social significance of translation activity. It can be argued that a reconceptualisation of 'commercial translation' as an activity which is embedded in the international dimensions

of business functions and product workflow would encourage translation scholars and others to give more attention to the cultural and social significance of commercial translation activity too.

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Committed approaches and activism

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As part of a strong cultural studies turn in the Humanities (see *Turns of Translation Studies**), some theorists in Translation Studies in the 1990s distanced themselves from the popular Descriptive Translation Studies* paradigm in order to highlight power differentials reflected in texts and in translation. Particular translation practices were advocated in order to contribute to redressing geo-political and social injustices. Venuti (1995), for example, showed how as a result of the domination of the United States and consequently of the English language, not only was the proportion of translated texts in the English-language book market minimal, but those books that were translated reinforced the dominant target culture values through fluent translation. He therefore advocated non-fluent translation practices, that is, strange formulations imitating source text expression or the use of marginal discourses in the target culture. Non-fluent practices were also advocated by feminist (see *Gender in translation**) and post-colonial* translation theorists (e.g. Lotbinière-Harwood 1991; Niranjana 1992) in order to combat repressive and dominant attitudes, and to highlight alternative and complex discourses. Translation and translators were to be made visible.

Subsequently, translation researchers such as Tymoczko (2000) have insisted on the importance and even ethical imperative of researchers engaging with questions of power and injustice in regard to translation. It is argued that translation is never a 'neutral' activity, but is always embedded culturally and politically. However, particular political commitments and particular translation strategies are not espoused. This approach allows the researcher to study and draw attention to cases of interventionist translation, without advocating that the same translation strategies should ideally be used in every case which tended to be the approach of the earlier 'committed' theorists. The way is left open for localized decision-making which is fully responsive to the particular translational context at hand. It is also possible to say that for these researchers micro-level translational decisions may be of less importance than attention to the broad social contexts in which translation participates.

1. Action and change

'Activism' fits into this emphasis on the role of translation in society. In a general sense 'activism' refers to intentional action whose aim is to bring about social, political, economic, or environmental change. With regard to current translation research, activism

could refer to two things. Firstly, the study (and possibly promotion) of activist translators and interpreters, and secondly, the study of the current global situation and advocacy of certain causes relating to translation and language in the new globalized world (see Cronin 2003; Inghilleri 2009). I will concentrate in this article on the former case.

Martha Cheung (2010) has applied the concept of activist translators to Chinese translators and translation in the late Qing period (1840–1911). Translators had a vital role in militating for and succeeding in changing Chinese society through the introduction of Western texts. For her part, Tymoczko (2000) illustrates how translators played an active role in Irish history. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century English translations of early Irish literature produced a hero figure, Cú Chulainn, who became the emblem for militant Irish nationalists participating in the struggle for Irish independence. One could say that through the ages and in different cultures translators have often had an innovative role through introducing new ideas and perspectives, sometimes in view of clear political and other activist agendas whereby translators participated in social movements. The contemporary phenomenon of activist translator and interpreting groups does, however, present some specificities. Firstly, the contemporary movements are supra-national (to varying degrees) in the causes espoused, the nature of their membership, and their commissioners and audience. Secondly, contemporary technology is fully exploited in the form of electronic networking, and publicity and dissemination through websites. Finally, the group identity is strongly established with an official name and manifesto.

2. Activism today

Baker (2009) points out that contemporary activist translator and interpreting groups were first established in the late 1990s and took off particularly from 2002 onwards. It was in this year that Babels was born, the largest and most visible of these communities. Babels is a group of volunteer translators and interpreters (see Networking and volunteer translators*) which works in the context of the World Social Forum, and participates in the anti-neoliberalism movement. An earlier community ECOS, established in 1998 and based at the University of Granada, aims to provide volunteer translation and interpreting services for NGOs, social forums and other non-profit organizations. Traduttori per la Pace, an anti-war movement, was founded in 1999 at the start of the war with Kosovo; Traductores sen Fronteiras was founded by professors at the University of Vigo in 2005 to provide free translations for NGOs; and Tlaxcala, a group of translators which promotes linguistic diversity and alter-globalization, was also established in 2005. Some groups (Babels, ECOS, Traductores sen Fronteiras) concentrate on providing interpreting and translation services, whereas others' (Traduttori per la Pace, Tlaxcala) primary role is posting translations of media and other texts on their websites, and also providing such texts to other activist organizations. An important operating principle of the communities is volunteering. Volunteer

work immediately raises the issue of professionalism which seems intrinsically linked to remuneration. However, it is logical that if translators and interpreters want to be perceived as other than neutral subordinate service providers, if they want the role of activists who are equal participants in social movements, like other activists they will not be motivated by financial gain. It is difficult, though, to escape the capitalist system: some translators and interpreters, therefore, normally work for remuneration, and will also work pro bono within activist groups for causes they support.

Baker (2009) advocates the study of activist interpreter and translator communities, since this is a phenomenon which directly challenges the notion of translators as passive and non-interventionist. Baker (*ibid*) criticizes the emphasis in Translation Studies on theories and methods which fail to give voice to translation as a means of resistance to dominant paradigms and which focus on privileged Western scenarios of professional translation. She calls for a 'moralization' of the field which could be embarked upon by engaging with activist communities. This comes close to an explicit admission of advocacy of translator activism, and one could certainly argue that doing research which draws attention to translation and interpreting activism is a means of supporting such activity. Another scenario is that of the researcher who is him or herself a member of activist translator and interpreting groups. Such is the case of Boéri (2008) who explicitly declares her position as both a researcher of interpreting activism, and an active member of two interpreter activist groups, ECOS and Babels.

Both Baker (2009) and Boéri (2008) use social narrative theory to discuss activism. The concepts and analytical tools of this approach are useful in studying how groups position themselves and their work through the use of narratives about themselves, their goals and activities. The interesting and praise-worthy characteristic of Boéri's study of Babels is that she fully recognizes the tensions and even contradictory strands of narrative and action within the group. Babels discourse promotes the principle of horizontalism by virtue of which interested parties participate equally in elaboration of policy, and yet a fixed manifesto of Babels' principles has been produced to which new members must adhere. Babels discourse promotes the equal participation of both amateur and professional interpreters, but recognition of the importance of the issue of quality means that prospective volunteers now undergo a test and may be precluded from working for Babels. Babels discourse promotes the notion of full participation of the community as a partner in the World Social Forum, but there is a growing tendency for Babels to act as an independent organization. Narrative theory is not the only methodology which can be used in studying activist translation and interpreting groups. It makes sense that methodologies used in social movement studies could be deployed, and such has been the choice of Cheung (2010) who uses David Aberle's framework which distinguishes targeted amount of change (e.g. reform, total transformation) and locus of change (individual or supra-individual).

In conclusion, new types of committed approach to translation research can be distinguished as having arisen in recent years in response to the current world order. These

include discussing and promoting the new 21st century phenomenon of activist translation and interpreting communities, signalling the increasing importance of translation and translators in the world despite and because of globalization*, promoting linguistic diversity, and pointing out injustices to which translators and interpreters are subjected. Insofar as researchers who have these goals aim to influence and change perceptions and situations in the world, they can be called activist.

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Community interpreting

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Community interpreting (CI) takes place to enable individuals or groups in society who do not speak the official or dominant language of the services provided by central or local government to access these services and to communicate with the service providers. Typical CI settings are social services such as e.g., welfare, housing, employment or schools; medical settings such as child care centres, hospitals, mental health clinics; or legal settings such as prisons, police stations or probation offices. According to the requirements of the interpreted event, the community interpreter will need to master the appropriate mode and strategy of interpreting. Short dialogue or 'liaison' interpreting in e.g., a housing application, a police interview or medical check up; consecutive interpreting* – with note taking – for e.g., an asylum seeker's narrative or a vulnerable witness in court; simultaneous interpreting*, usually whispered (*chuchotage*) for a single or a limited number of clients e.g., during the closing arguments of the prosecution or the defense in court, during parents' school meetings or the weekly sessions in a women's safe house, though sometimes using portable sets or interpreting booths for larger audiences. Community interpreters are also often required to provide on-sight translation* of all sorts of personal and official documents, and increasingly to do telephone or videoconferencing interpreting. In other words, it is not the modes or strategies that set the community interpreter apart from the conference interpreter but it is the institutional settings – usually sensitive, delicate and private, sometimes downright painful or antagonistic – and the working arrangements: the interpreting is bi-directional between the service provider and the client; moreover the proxemics, the participant parties, the level of formality and range of registers are completely different; and it is as yet on the whole a solitary profession with a very different social aura, professionalization and remuneration.

The 'modern era' developments in CI took place under the impetus of civil rights and anti-discrimination legislation leading, for instance, to the establishment of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf in the U.S.A. in 1965. Although Sign language interpreting* obviously also occurs at conferences or in the media, this not only bilingual but also bimodal mode of interpreting occupies a special and prominent place in CI because the deaf or hard of hearing need an interpreter in virtually every contact with a public service. Other early areas of concern regarding the provision of CI in institutional services were the new (im-)migration needs e.g., in Australia where a Telephone Interpreter Service was set up in 1973, with NAATI as an early example (1977) of a national accreditation authority for CI.

The concern for justice and a fair trial in case of other-language defendants or witnesses led to the 1978 Court Interpreters' Act, setting standards of interpreting in the U.S. federal courts, including testing and certification. Since then, CI has come of age as can be seen in the succinct discussion of four key issues in CI.

1. Training

In spite of significant progress that has been made in many countries in the provision of CI, there are still, unfortunately enough, too many unqualified or insufficiently trained community interpreters. However, there is a genuine awareness these days among service providers as well as interpreters, and this for a variety of reasons such as efficiency, risk-management, quality of service or fundamental rights, that training is the key issue on the road to development. As a result over the past decades one has seen a great diversity of training programmes emerge, from ad hoc 'vocational' courses, which tend to be setting-bound (e.g., legal or medical) and may widely diverge in length and intensity of training, to full-fledged usually 'broader' university B.A. or (Post-) Graduate courses such as the B.A. *Fachdolmetschen* in Magdeburg, the M.A. in Public Service Interpreting at Surrey or the various courses offered in the University of Western Sydney. (see Hale 2007: 265 for more examples).

Whatever the format, all training to a greater or lesser extent aims to train the core competences – the knowledge, skills and attitudes – required of the community interpreter: language proficiency including registers, terminology, public service discourse and genres; knowledge of the institutional sectors and services of CI; all required transfer and interpreting skills; knowledge and professional integration of the code of conduct, the guidelines to good practice and cultural awareness; knowledge of professional issues (associations, resources, assignment management etc.), all this ideally integrated in practical observation visits, case studies and role plays also intended to bring out the suitability and required attitudes of the trainees.

Certainly in institutionalized education, there is usually a *tronc commun* in the CI curriculum, leading from there to differentiation in specific modules (say legal, educational, social or medical interpreting), a model that over the years will probably also gain acceptance in the 'vocational' training programmes because of its efficiency and cost-effectiveness and because community interpreters rarely work in one CI setting only.

The consensus seems to be that CI training is best offered by an interdisciplinary team and ideally should lead to a certification procedure accredited by a central authority. Training the trainers courses and continuous professional development opportunities e.g., on complex issues such as interpreting in mental health settings or new technologies such as videoconferencing, might complement the picture.

2. Role

One of the key issues in training and in the perception of the community interpreter as a professional is the role one has to assume in these often taxing and sensitive settings. In the past, the predominant view of the interpreter was as some sort of 'conduit', a 'pane of glass' through which the information flowed unchanged from one language into another. The underlying assumption being that a language is a monolithic block and that one can transfer the exchanges between parties – verbatim, literally – with absolute corresponding accuracy from one language into the other. The ensuing role of the interpreter in the early codes of conduct was therefore largely prescriptive and restrictive. However, the tension between the interpreter as an 'invisible' conduit and the complexity of the real interaction could hardly be denied, even then, hence the attempts to delineate other, separate roles for the 'interpreter' such as 'facilitator' of the communication, 'mediator' between the parties, or even 'advocate' of the disadvantaged party in its interaction with the service.

These days there is a much greater, solid appreciation of the complexity of the role of the community interpreter. The concept of 'literality' in interpreting and the idea that neutrality equals invisibility have been replaced in consistent research and ethnographic fieldwork (see e.g., Wadensjö 1998; Roy 2000; Angelelli 2004a and 2004b) by a role of the interpreter which goes beyond 'mere' translation in the interaction. The interpreter-mediated event is now seen as actively constructed by all parties together and operating within larger institutional constraints as well as within a cultural, political and ideological framework. Consequently, the interpreter as an active participant in the 'triad' has affected the current understanding of his or her complex role, be it that in many training programmes and professional codes the equilibrium between prescriptive rules and real-life practice is still shaky. (See www.ncihc.org where an international 2005 comparison of codes can be found.)

3. Professionalization

Training, including the integrated awareness of the code of conduct and the guidelines to good practice, seems to be the key to professionalization. It has allowed CI to embark on the transition from an 'occupation' often carried out by well-meaning, unpaid volunteers or family members to a 'profession' of qualified and competent community interpreters who inspire trust in the service providers and the clients and who deliver quality interpreting.

In this respect, one cannot underestimate the role of professional associations, be they national such as e.g., the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators in the U.S.A., or international (e.g., the European Forum of Sign Language Interpreters). They are preeminently placed to try and improve the recognition and status of CI in society, provide support and continuous professional training to their membership and, on the whole, campaign for the visibility and quality of CI.

Other kinds of emboldening contributions are made by organizations such as e.g., the Chartered Institute of Linguists, monitoring the register of interpreters holding a diploma in public service interpreting in Britain or Eulita, the European Legal Interpreters and Translators Association which aims i.a., to support associations of legal interpreters and translators, promote training and research, encourage the recognition of their professional status and promote cooperation and best practices in working arrangements with the legal services and legal professionals.

Although a lot still needs to be done, there is no doubt that institutions, policy-makers and public service providers around the world have responded to these positive developments. The European Union has developed common standards for interpreting in criminal proceedings in all member states. Many countries now have a patients' charter that specifically includes the right to give 'informed consent' to treatment in a language the patient can understand. In a similar vein, asylum and refugee authorities around the world have become sensitive to interpreting quality; federal and state U.S. authorities require competence-based certification for registration, and many hospitals have taken preventive measures not to be forced to compensate for malpractices on the grounds of deficient interpreting quality.

Of course there is still a long way ahead. For the time being, CI remains a volatile field with fluctuating needs and resources, highly vulnerable to budget pressures and the political climate of the day. However, the growing concern with constitutional or legal issues in the provision of public services, with risk management and efficient, cost-effective delivery of service on the one hand, and the bottom-up pressure from professional associations and qualified practitioners on the other, are convincing more and more institutional providers to identify their needs in CI, set the targets, chart the incremental steps and timescales and, hopefully, come up with the budgetary means.

4. Research

There is a great deal of significant research in CI prior to the 1990s but the publication of a number of seminal studies in this decade really opened up the potential of CI as a fully-fledged academic discipline.

Susan Berk-Seligson's landmark study (1990) of interpreting in U.S. courts launched a stream of discourse-oriented studies culminating in legal interpreting in Hale's book (2004). This discursive approach was taken further in Cecilia Wadensjö's study of medical, police and asylum interpreted hearings (1998). Rather than concentrate exclusively on the interpreter as a translator, Wadensjö shows how the interpreter is also actively involved in coordinating the participants' talk in the 'triad', a conclusion that emanated from her observations of the role, positioning, footing, distribution of responsibility and overall performance of the interpreter, constantly choosing between representing or re-enacting others' talk.

These observations coincided with similar ground-breaking work done in Sign Language research, notably by Melanie Metzger (1999) and Cynthia Roy (2000) to the extent that the 'dialogic discourse-based interaction' paradigm' today seems to have established itself as the current research paradigm in CI. A final example worth mentioning in this eclectic survey is the study by Robert Barsky (1994) of interviews with applicants for refugee status in Canada, highlighting the structural, institutional and political environments in which such interpreting assignments take place. This study has opened up the path for critical discourse analysis which is currently being combined with pragmatics and such approaches as politeness theory and face-saving or face-threatening strategies. Critical Discourse Analysis, which underlies the interesting work of e.g., Mason (1999, 2001) and Pöllabauer (2005), focuses much more on the political, social and institutional structures and contexts in which CI is provided and performed and highlights issues such as power, class, gender and race.

All leading academic journals in interpreting now pay explicit attention to CI (e.g., *Meta*, *Journal of Interpretation*, *Target*, *Interpreting*, *The Translator* etc.) and many articles and indeed special issues are now devoted to various aspects of CI. No doubt the ongoing succession of successful conferences at e.g., Alcala de Henares and those organized by the Critical Link, has also greatly contributed to the dissemination of CI research among trainers, practitioners and service providers. As a matter of fact, one could argue that CI has come of age as a professional research community with the first Critical Link Conference in Geneva Park, Canada, in 1995.

Consequently, CI has now established itself as a major research area in Interpreting Studies and indeed may now well be considered its most active research field with great contributory power to the discipline as a whole. CI research takes its inspiration from 'translatology' theories as well as many other disciplines such as forensic linguistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics, critical conversation analysis, cultural studies, but also from legal, medical and social studies, management, psychology etc. and as a result, immense gains have been made in our understanding of the theory and practice of CI. Diversity of methodologies and research strategies and interdisciplinarity are the bread and butter of CI research. (Hertog & van der Veer 2005) Moreover, CI research is often firmly embedded in the political and socio-environmental contexts of the interpreting events, focused as it is on the study c.q. delivery of interpreting to the individual client(s), the service provider(s) and the institutional systems as a whole, thus making it at the same time also a highly relevant academic discipline.

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Competence

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An important aspect of the cognitive processes involved in translation (see Cognitive approaches*) is the competence which enables translators and interpreters to carry out the operations necessary to successfully complete the translation process*: translation competence.

1. On the notion of competence

The notion of competence has been addressed by a number of different disciplines.

Within the field of applied linguistics, the notion of communicative competence has been studied since the mid-1960s. In the literature, a distinction is made between competence (the underlying knowledge and skills required to communicate) and communication itself (communication in specific cognitive conditions and situations). Communicative competence includes skills that are required for language in use and comprises several interacting competences: grammatical competence (mastery of the language code itself), sociolinguistic competence (effective communication in different sociolinguistic contexts), discourse competence (ability to produce appropriate spoken and written texts) and strategic competence (ability to compensate for breakdowns in communication and to enhance the effectiveness of communication, assessment, planning, and execution of communication). Some authors include the psycho-physiological mechanisms (neurological and psychological processes) involved.

Cognitive psychology has studied the concept of expert knowledge (expertise), defined as “consistently superior performance in a specified set of representative tasks for the domain that can be administered to any subject” (Ericsson & Charness 1997; cit Shreve 2006: 27). Studies in the field have shown that expert knowledge comprises a wide range of knowledge organised in complex structures; it may be applied to solve problems; it requires a high degree of metacognition; and it is an acquired competence. A distinction is also made in this discipline between declarative knowledge (*know what*) and procedural knowledge (*know how*), both of which are concepts of interest when investigating the notion of competence.

In work psychology, professional competences used in the field of human resources have been studied and a competence-based management model has been developed.

Professional competence is a complex *know how to do* (comprising knowledge, skills, attitudes, values etc.) that guarantees high level performance in the workplace.

In pedagogy, increasing attention has been focused on competence-based learning over recent years. Competence is defined as “a complex know how to act resulting from the integration, mobilisation and organisation of a combination of abilities and skills (which may be cognitive, affective, psycho-motor or social) and knowledge (declarative knowledge) used effectively in situations with common characteristics” (Lasnier 2000: 32).¹ This pedagogical model, which today forms the basis of curricular development, distinguishes between subject-specific competences (specific to a particular discipline) and generic competences (those common to all disciplines).

2. Translation competence

Since the 1990s increasing interest has been shown in translation competence within Translation Studies, although the subject was first broached in the late 1970s (Wilss 1976; Koller 1979). Other terms used to describe translation competence are: translation ability, translation skills, translational competence, translator's competence, translation expertise.

The complex, diverse nature of translation competence makes it difficult to define. Neubert (2000) highlights its complexity (translation is a complex activity which differs from other language-related professions) and heterogeneity, since translation requires: skills to be developed that are very different from each other, knowledge of a wide range of subject areas, and the ability to adapt to new translational situations (translation briefs) and ways of approaching translation.

Most models describing translation competence are componential models focusing on the components (or subcompetences) that characterise translation competence in written translation: language knowledge; extralinguistic knowledge; transfer competence; documentation skills; strategic competence (see Translation strategies and tactics*), etc.

2.1 Definitions and components

Translation competence has been explored from several different perspectives (see Hurtado Albir 2001: 382–408; Hurtado Albir & Alves 2009: 63–68). The models

1. “Une compétence est un savoir-agir complexe résultant de l'intégration, de la mobilisation et de l'agencement d'un ensemble de capacités et d'habiletés (pouvant être d'ordre cognitif, affectif, psychomoteur ou social) et de connaissances (connaissances déclaratives) utilisées efficacement, dans des situations ayant un caractère commun.”

proposed describe the core competences involved in translation competence. However, those competences specific to the different professional profiles of translators should also be considered.

One of the first definitions of translation competence was proposed by Bell (1991: 43): the “knowledge and skills the translator must possess in order to carry it [the translation process] out”. Bell believes that translation competence is an expert system in which the strategic competence is of particular importance.

PACTE group, which has been carrying out experimental research into translation competence since 1997, also believes that translation competence is expert knowledge. This expert knowledge is defined (PACTE 2003: 58) in terms of declarative and procedural knowledge: the “underlying system of declarative and predominantly procedural knowledge required to translate”. According to the PACTE model, translation competence comprises several interacting subcompetences and psycho-physiological mechanisms:

- Bilingual subcompetence: pragmatic, socio-linguistic, textual, grammatical and lexical knowledge in each language.
- Extra-linguistic subcompetence: encyclopaedic, thematic and bicultural knowledge.
- Translation knowledge subcompetence: knowledge of the principles that guide translation (processes, methods and procedures, etc.) and knowledge of the professional practice (types of translation briefs, users, etc.).
- Instrumental subcompetence: use of documentation resources and information and communication technology applied to translation.
- Strategic subcompetence: its function is to plan the process and carry out the translation project (selecting the most appropriate method); evaluate the process and the partial results obtained in relation to the final purpose; activate the different subcompetences and compensate for any shortcomings; identify translation problems and apply procedures to solve them.
- Psycho-physiological components: cognitive and attitudinal components (memory, attention span, perseverance, critical spirit, etc.) and abilities such as creativity, logical reasoning, analysis and synthesis.

PACTE considers the subcompetences specific to translation competence are the strategic, instrumental, and knowledge about translation subcompetences. The strategic subcompetence is the most important given its role of guaranteeing the control and efficiency of the translation process.

Shreve (2006) focuses on translation competence from the perspective of expertise studies. He considers translation competence as the ability of an individual to use multiple translation-relevant cognitive resources to perform a translation task. This competence

may be seen as declarative and procedural knowledge from a variety of cognitive domains accumulated through training and experience. In his opinion, translation competence comprises:

- Linguistic knowledge: knowledge of the source and target languages.
- Cultural knowledge: knowledge of the source and target cultures, including knowledge of specialized subject domains.
- Textual knowledge: knowledge of source and target textual conventions.
- Translation knowledge: knowledge of how to translate using strategies and procedures including translation tools and information-seeking strategies.

From a didactic perspective (see Translation didactics*), Kelly (2005: 162) defines translation competence as the set of knowledge, skills, attitudes and aptitudes which a translator possesses in order to undertake professional activity in the field. Kelly (2005: 33–34) describes the components of translation competence as: communicative and textual competence, cultural and intercultural competence, subject area competence, professional and instrumental competence, attitudinal or psycho-physiological competence, strategic competence, and interpersonal competence (ability to work with other professionals involved in translation process), including team work, negotiation and leadership skills.

Pym (2003) criticizes the componential models of translation competence arguing in favour of a minimalist concept based on the production then elimination of alternatives. He identifies two skills: the ability to generate a series of more than one viable target text for a pertinent source text, and the ability to select only one viable target text from this series, quickly and with justified confidence.

From a relevance-theoretic perspective, Alves & Gonçalves (2007) differentiate between a general translator's competence and a specific translator's competence. A general translator's competence is defined as all knowledge, abilities and strategies a successful translator masters and which lead to an adequate performance of translation tasks. A specific translator's competence, however, operates in coordination with other subcompetences and works mainly through conscious or meta-cognitive processes, being directly geared to the maximization of interpretive resemblance.

Behavioural research into translation competence and research focusing on professional translators' behaviour (the factors related to the work of translators/interpreters and the tasks they perform in the workplace) have been conducted (e.g., Gouadec 2007).

Some models of the translation competence acquisition process have also been developed (Chesterman 1997; Shreve 1997, 2006; PACTE 2003; Alves & Gonçalves 2007; etc.).

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Computer-aided translation

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Computer-aided translation (CAT) is the use of computer software to assist a human translator in the translation process. The term applies to translation that remains primarily the responsibility of a person, but involves software that can facilitate certain aspects of it. This contrasts with machine translation (MT), which refers to translation that is carried out principally by computer but may involve some human intervention, such as pre- or post-editing. Indeed, it is helpful to conceive of CAT as part of a continuum of translation possibilities, where various degrees of machine or human assistance are possible.

After recognizing that fully automatic MT was a formidable challenge, researchers gradually turned their attention to CAT in the 1960s, starting with the creation of term banks, which used computers to store large volumes of structured information (see Terminology and translation*). Advances in computing and computational linguistics in the late 1970s and early 1980s spurred the development of modern CAT tools, which rely on computers not only for storing information, but also for actively searching and retrieving it. Visionaries such as Martin Kay (1980), among others, conceived of tools that became the backbone of CAT. However, it was not until the mid-1990s that these tools became widely commercially available. Since then, the rapid evolution of technology has made CAT accessible, affordable, popular and even necessary – to help translators in this globalized information age tackle the enormous volumes of text to translate in ever shorter turnaround times (Esselink 2000; Lagoudaki 2006; see also Globalization and translation*; Localization and translation*).

1. CAT tools

Since many translators are avid technology users, a wide range of tools could fall under the heading of CAT. However, this term is typically reserved for software designed specifically with the translation task proper in mind, rather than tools intended for general applications (e.g., word processors, spelling checkers, e-mail).

The most popular and widely marketed CAT tool in use today is the Translation Environment Tool (TEnT) – sometimes referred to as a translator's workstation or workbench – which is in fact an integrated suite of tools. Individual components differ from product to product; however, the main module around which a TEnT is generally constructed is a translation memory (TM), which, in turn, most often functions in close association with a terminology management system (TMS).

1.1 Translation memory tools

A TM is a tool that allows users to store previously translated texts and then easily consult them for potential reuse. To permit this, the source and target texts are stored in a TM database as bitexts. An aligned bitext is created by first dividing the texts into segments – which are usually sentences – and then linking each segment from the source text to its corresponding segment in the translation.

When a translator has a new text to translate, the TM system first divides this new text into segments and then compares each with the contents of the TM database. Using pattern-matching, the TM system tries to identify whether any portion of the new text has been previously translated as part of a text stored in the TM database. When the TM system finds matches for a given segment, it presents the translator with them (see Table 1). The translator is never forced to accept the displayed matches; these are offered only for consideration and can be accepted, modified or rejected as the translator sees fit.

Table 1. Types of matches commonly displayed in TMs

Exact match	A segment from the new text is identical in every way to one in the TM database.
Full match	A segment from the new text is identical to one in the TM database save for proper nouns, dates, figures, etc.
Fuzzy match	A segment from the new text has some degree of similarity to a segment stored in the TM database. Fuzzy matches can range from 1% to 99%, and the threshold can be set by the user. Typically, the higher the match percentage, the more useful the match; many systems have default thresholds between 60% and 70%.
Sub-segment match	A contiguous chunk of text within a segment of the new text is identical to a chunk stored in the TM database.
Term match	A term found in the new text corresponds to a termbase entry in the TM system's integrated TMS.
No match	No part of a segment from the new text matches the contents of the TM database or termbase. The translator must start from scratch; however, the new translation can itself go into the TM for future reuse.

1.2 Terminology tools

While TM systems are at the heart of TEnTs, they are typically integrated with terminology tools, which can greatly enhance their functionality. A terminology management system (TMS) is a tool used to store terminological information in and retrieve it from a termbase. Translators can customize term records with various fields (e.g., term, equivalent, definition, context, source), and they can fill these in and consult them at will in a standalone fashion. Retrieval of terms is possible through various types of searches (e.g., exact, fuzzy, wildcard, context).

However, termbases can also be integrated with TM systems and work in a more automated way. For instance, using a feature known as active terminology recognition, a TMS can scan a new text, compare its contents against a specified termbase, and automatically display records for any matches that are found. If desired, users can further automate this step by having the system automatically replace any terms in the text with their target-language equivalents from the termbase. Consistency and appropriateness are maintained by using termbases specific to certain clients or text types.

1.3 Other TEnT components

TEnTs include more than just TMs and TMSs. Table 2 summarizes the functions of other common TEnT components. For more detailed descriptions, see Bowker (2002), Somers (2003) or Quah (2006), as well as *Corpora**, *Localization and translation**, *Machine translation today** and *Terminology and translation**.

Table 2. Some common TEnT components

Component	Brief description
Concordancer	Searches a (bi)text for all occurrences of a user-specified character string and displays these in context.
Document analysis module	Compares a new text to translate with the contents of a specified TM database or termbase to determine the number/type of matches, allowing users to make decisions about which TM databases to consult, pricing and deadlines.
Machine translation system	Generates a machine translation of a segment that has no match in the TM database.
Project management module	Helps users to track client information, manage deadlines, and maintain project files for each translation job.
Quality control module	May include spelling, grammar, completeness, or terminology-controlled language-compliance checkers.
Term extractor	Analyzes (bi)texts and identifies candidate terms.

2. Impact on translation

With much touted benefits of increased productivity and improved quality being hard to resist, the incorporation of CAT into the translation profession has been significant: CAT tools have been adopted by many translation agencies, governments, international organizations, trans-national corporations and freelance translators (e.g., Joscelyne 2000; Jaekel 2000; Lagoudaki 2006). However, organizations and individuals must take into account their unique needs and, in light of these, must evaluate the costs and benefits of CAT before adopting it.

Given the way TMs operate, any gain in efficiency depends on the TM's ability to return matches. Texts that are internally repetitive or that are similar to others already

translated (e.g., revisions, updates and texts from specialized fields) will tend to generate useful matches. Texts that are less “predictable”, such as literary works or marketing material, will not. Once matches are found, simply being able to automatically copy and paste desired items from the TM database or termbase directly into the target text can save translators typing time while reducing the potential for typographic errors. However, significant productivity gains are usually realized over the medium to long term, rather than over the short term, because the introduction of CAT tools entails a learning curve during which productivity could decline (Lagoudaki 2006).

With regard to quality, CAT still depends on human translators; should a client impose its own TM for its work, the translator has no control over its contents. Furthermore, the segment-by-segment processing approach underlying most TM tools means that the notion of “text” is sometimes lost (Bowker 2006). Translators may be tempted to stay close to the structure of the source text, and individual segments may bear the differing styles of their authors, leading to poor readability of the resulting target text.

CAT also affects the professional status of translators, their remuneration and their intellectual property rights. For instance, some clients ascribe less value to the work of translators who use CAT tools. If CAT is faster and easier than human translation, clients may ask to pay less for it. When a TM offers exact matches or fuzzy matches, should the translator offer a discount? Clients may be even more demanding if they use their own TM to pre-translate a text before sending it to a translator. Yet, even exact matches do not equate to zero time spent; a translator must evaluate the suggested sentences and make adjustments depending on the communicative context. Traditional fee structures (billing by the word or page) may no longer be appropriate, and among freelancers in particular, these are sometimes being replaced by hourly charges. In addition, the movement away from desktop TM systems towards Web- and server-based access to TM databases is giving more control to clients, who insist that translators use their TMs only, preventing translators from building up their own linguistic assets (Garcia 2008: 62).

Ethical, financial and legal questions surround the ownership and sharing of CAT data (Topping 2000; Gow 2007). The contents of a TM are source texts and translations, the ownership of which presumably remains with the client. However, when collected as a database, control and ownership are thrown in doubt. Translators may wish to exchange or sell a TM or termbase. However, the client or original owner may demand confidentiality of the information (e.g., for copyright protection). Currently, translators often deal with this problem through contracts and nondisclosure agreements, but it remains a murky issue.

3. Emerging possibilities

CAT is here to stay, and translators will continue to adapt to its presence and its increasing importance. However, CAT will undoubtedly proceed to develop at a rapid pace.

Advances in TMs may include the introduction of linguistic analysis and the ability to recall the surrounding context of matching segments, as well as that of their corresponding translations – already a feature of certain TMs. Moreover, in the case of fuzzy matches, current TM systems readily identify differences between the sentence to be translated and the source text segment retrieved from the TM database; however, future enhancements may also indicate which elements of the corresponding target segment should be preserved or modified. Sharing across different products will become easier as standards such as Translation Memory eXchange (TMX), TermBase eXchange (TBX) and XML Localization Interchange File Format (XLIFF) become more widely adopted (Savourel 2007). In addition, the availability of open-source products will make access to CAT tools easier for more translators, while Web- and server-based access to TM databases is also increasing (Garcia 2008).

The Internet provides several atypical possibilities for CAT. For instance, crowdsourcing translations involves leveraging the knowledge and free labour of the crowd – the general public. Collaborative translation – often undertaken as part of a volunteer effort – is similar in that multiple translators participate, but it can be limited to selected or professional ones. Tools such as wikis and weblogs can serve these purposes (Bey et al. 2008; see also Networking and volunteer translators*; Web and translation*). There will be no shortage of innovation while millions of technologically savvy people, speakers of dozens of languages, contribute daily to the information sphere that is our world. However, none of this will obviate the need for professional translators, equipped with specialized skills and knowledge – and even CAT tools – to continue their indispensable work into the next decades.

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Conference interpreting

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Conference interpreting can be distinguished as a subset of the modern interpreting professions by certain prototypical features:

1. Setting and status: typically, high-level formal meetings and negotiations;
2. Mode: mainly simultaneous interpretation* (SI), or ‘full’ or extended consecutive with notes;
3. Qualification: most practitioners receive intensive initial training tailored to these skills and setting;
4. Professionalization: most conference interpreters work within a framework of norms and conditions promoted and defended by a dedicated international association.¹

This definition is ‘prototypical’ in the sense that while most of these features are usually present, not all are compulsory for an instance of practice to be considered as conference interpreting. SI is now widely used in court proceedings, the media, and a variety of local, corporate or relatively low-profile events, while many high-stakes international meetings, in business or diplomacy, are conducted in consecutive mode, sometimes even sentence-by-sentence. Specialised training, and professional organisations defending norms and standards, are gaining ground in more ‘intra-social’ (less ‘international’) practice, as in legal, courtroom or local public-service or ‘community’ interpreting*. Also, any classification remains conventional rather than legal, since no sub-group of interpreters has yet secured the exclusive right to practice for holders of a particular qualification or certification.

Conference interpreting more usefully describes a recognizable set of *tasks*, settings and appropriate skills than a closed population of practitioners; many interpreters who are qualified for conference interpreting, but located closer to socially and economically active multilingual communities or private business centres than to the headquarters of international organisations, may work in a wide variety of settings (Mikkelsen 2009).

Prototype conference interpreting can nevertheless be characterised, not only by the social parameters of setting, relationship and tone of the exchange as identified by Alexieva (1977) – i.e., formality, discourse ‘literacy’ vs. ‘orality’, shared goals (high), and participants’ involvement, proximity, status differentials (low) – but also in terms of distinct markets

1. AIIC, the International Association of Conference Interpreters.

and skills. Researchers from inside and outside the profession have sought to capture and model conference interpreting, understand its constraints and possibilities, and where possible, apply their findings to improving quality, training or working conditions.

1. Settings, history and status

Interpreting has been practiced throughout history in different settings, perhaps never more so than today with globalisation. The main catalyst for the professionalisation of interpreting in modern times was the post-war rise of multilateralism. Demand soon expanded beyond the diplomatic sphere to almost every domain of business, science and technology, but has retained certain key features as regards working environment, occupational status, user expectations and skill-set (in particular, simultaneous interpretation) that favoured its separate professionalisation.

In the past sixty years the worldwide market for interpreting has naturally been shaped by shifts in the emphasis of international discourse, between military, commercial, scientific or ecological concerns, but also by shifts in cultural and linguistic influence, notably the spread of English. Today, conference interpreting can be roughly divided into two partially overlapping markets: multilingual conferences in international organizations (or private multilingual conventions), and bilingual markets where interpretation is most often offered between a national language and English. The world's largest employer of interpreters, primarily in multilingual combinations, is the European Union, where meetings may involve up to 23 languages, or 506 possible language pairs and directions. Elsewhere, especially on local or national markets, bilingual interpreting predominates, typically provided by interpreters working between their A (native) and B (active acquired) languages (e.g., Spanish-English in most of Latin America, French-English in much of Africa, Chinese-English in China). This trend, along with increased speed and technicality, places new demands on conference interpreters, who must manage both input from non-native speakers of English and quality simultaneous output in their own acquired language.

2. Professional norms, standards and conventions

Conference interpreting contrasts with community or public-service interpreting in the relative formality and standardization of the interpreter's role and working environment. Participants are typically more uniform in terms of educational level, speak on behalf of institutions or nations rather than individual interests, and follow internationally agreed procedures rather than their own cultural conventions or customs. Interpreters are physically separated from the meeting in booths, and do not usually intervene to provide cultural explanations, adjust language register, or even to ask for clarification, although some

studies of interpreters' roles have highlighted exceptions to this pattern (e.g., Diriker 2004). Typically, however, expectations focus on speed and accuracy, even in consecutive, and procedure is relatively standardised, with little scope or call for explanation or advocacy.

Probably around half of the total number of active conference interpreters worldwide belong to AIIC,² which defines and promotes technical, ethical and quality standards, sets out detailed working conditions that it negotiates on behalf of the profession with leading employers such as the European Union or the United Nations, and issues guidelines for training. The motivation of conference interpreters to create and maintain a strong representative body of this kind must be sought not only in a desire to protect pay levels and status, as elsewhere, but also in the fact that, though clients and users might find their performance admirable and often somehow magical, they do not always understand the interdependence between working conditions and norms and the quality they expect from the service. The links between quality and such factors as access to documentation, a direct view of the meeting room, sound quality and ventilation, rest periods and manning strengths, not to mention training, are instinctively and strongly experienced by practitioners, and have been explored in various studies (e.g., Moser-Mercer et al. 1998); and the consensus to defend such framework conditions for the profession remains strong.

One such convention that is applied more rigorously in conference interpreting than elsewhere – for training, recruitment and assignment, and membership of AIIC – is the peer-approved definition of each interpreter's working languages according to an interpreting-specific classification as A, B or C rather than the L1, L2, L3 used in the field of language acquisition. An interpreter's 'A' language is an educated mother tongue, into which s/he interprets from all other working languages. Acquired languages may either be 'active' (B) or 'passive' (C). An interpreter may work into a B language (though usually only from 'A'), in consecutive, and sometimes also simultaneous; but a 'C' language will only ever be a source language *from* which she works, usually into A. On average, conference interpreters offer between three and four working languages, usually one 'A', one 'B' and one or more 'C's, although many work only from C languages into their mother tongue, while some have two 'B's (and a few are recognized as 'pure bilinguals' and granted a double-A classification). Today, interpreters are increasingly required to work 'back' into a B language (known as *retour*) even in SI, amid an ongoing debate about the effect on quality.

3. Modes and skills

Consecutive interpreting* was the traditional mode before SI equipment and techniques were developed in the mid-twentieth century. Where delegates needed to set out more complex

2. In 2009, AIIC had around three thousand members (75% female, average age 49).

positions on international issues, and speakers preferred to speak for several minutes at a time, the informal sentence-by-sentence method was inadequate. Interpreters developed a technique of 'extended' consecutive, using notes – perhaps unique to interpreting – based on a few general principles of abbreviation, symbolisation and layout that are adapted by each individual interpreter and to different types of speech. This form of consecutive is widely used today in smaller international meetings, press conferences, and private but high-stakes diplomatic or business meetings. Consecutive gives participants more time to think – in delicate negotiations, for example – but also adds to the length of a meeting, and is therefore only viable and cost-effective if the interpreter can produce a complete, accurate, clear and fluent rendition with minimal hesitation, redundancy or consultation.

The formality and the public, 'high-stakes' nature of the conference environment extend to the type, register and content of discourse (ranging between diplomatic and technical), and more significantly, to expectations of speed and accuracy. From an early stage in its history, these constraints imposed a challenging new condition on this segment of the profession: simultaneous interpreting (SI) through a system of microphones, soundproof booths, earphones and dedicated channels for different languages. SI now accounts for 90% of all conference interpreting work, and is routinely used not only in international organisations and large multilingual conventions, but also other high-exposure public multilingual events such as international tribunals and live TV broadcasts (see *Media interpreting**).

Simultaneous interpreting has always impressed observers with the mental and linguistic agility needed to produce an accurate and fluent rendition of live speech, often at high speed, without interrupting the proceedings to clarify terms or ambiguities with the speakers or audience. The task has grown more challenging in recent years with the increasing technicality of content, the widespread use of multimedia presentations, and, with the steady advance of 'World English', a high proportion of speeches delivered by non-native speakers, and/or recited in a fast monotone from prepared text, often with little or no opportunity given to the interpreters for preparation.

While SI is now the preferred mode in meetings with two or more languages, interpreters may also be called upon to work in closer proximity to participants, either consecutively, by speech segments, or by 'whispering' a running translation into a delegate's ear; or a mixture of these, sometimes using a portable system with microphone and headsets but no booth.

One arrangement unique to conference interpreting is simultaneous relay interpretation*, for meetings where one or more of the conference languages is not understood by all the interpreters. In this system, an interpreter (known as a 'pivot') interprets a speech from a 'rare' language Q into a more common language R, which is then interpreted by her colleagues in other booths into one or more other languages S, T, U, V etc.

Another hazard of real-life conference interpreting is simultaneous-with-text. Ordinary 'free' simultaneous interpreting, whether direct or on relay, involves a single pass, in the sense that the speech is interpreted live and extempore, with no preparation save

the clues that the interpreter may gather in advance about the speaker, the subject matter, the context of the meeting and what is at stake, all of which may help her anticipate the general thrust. However, many speeches are not delivered extempore or from notes as in the parliamentary tradition, but recited from prepared text or slides, which may or may not be provided to interpreters in advance. As all interpreters know (but many speakers, users and clients do not), this makes it much harder to produce accurate, pleasant and high-quality interpretation. When a text (or a printout of slides) is provided in advance, the interpreters must make whatever use of it they can, depending on the time remaining before the speech: the text can be read through, possibly marked with pointers and warnings of difficult ideas or structures, or ideas for stylish translation. In this and other respects, an interpreter has some strategic choice. Following a text while listening to and interpreting a speech is a more complex exercise in eye-ear-voice coordination. It may be tempting to set the text aside and focus on the speech as delivered (which has priority – and the speaker may omit or change parts of the prepared speech, or insert material spontaneously). On the other hand, the text may be very useful for catching proper names and numbers, especially when read very fast or with a strong accent. Simultaneous-with-text has become a key skill for any practising conference interpreter and is a focus of special training in schools. Slides and power-point presentations, too, need to be followed closely – especially when providing relay – to ensure that the speaker and his audience are all ‘on the same page’.

To manage these hazards and complications, teamwork is another important feature of conference interpreting, which typically involves multilingual teams of interpreters working in different booths or different rooms within the same overall event. In each booth, the interpreter currently ‘on line’ can be helped by a colleague who finds relevant documents, or notes figures, terms or names during especially fast, dense or recited presentations. Members of a team assigned to a meeting can exchange documentation and terminology, and are aware of the roles, responsibilities and difficulties involved in providing or taking relay.

The pressure on the interpreter’s cognitive, linguistic and coordination skills, and the demand for speed, clarity and formal register, combined with unpredictable input on complex and unfamiliar topics in live situations, have given conference interpreting its reputation, rightly or wrongly, as the most challenging segment of the profession. These multiple challenges help to explain conference interpreters’ insistence on appropriate working conditions. Interpreting depends crucially on coordination between listening and analysing, speaking (or noting, in consecutive) and monitoring the quality and accuracy of one’s own production: separate channels and a soundproof booth make this possible by minimising acoustic interference. Access to context – through advance preparation and physical proximity to the meeting and its participants – is seen as no less important than language proficiency: an interpreter who understands the context of the meeting and experiences the exchange directly, observing participants’ expressions, reactions and body language, can identify better and sound more like an ‘insider’. Accordingly, professional conference interpreters are at pains to secure such conditions as access to documentation, good

sound quality, comfortable and spacious booths, and a clear view of the meeting room, and there has been some resistance to recent pressure to introduce remote interpreting (see Mouzourakis 2006).

When interpreters are trained, informed, and properly equipped, quality interpreting has been shown to be possible even under the demanding conditions of an international conference on a complex topic. In practice, given economic and other constraints, ideal conditions are not always guaranteed. Interpreting may be needed in difficult environments such as a coalmine, a steel mill, a boat at sea or a nuclear power plant; or booths may not be available for all languages. To save time, interpreters may be asked for a more improvised form of interpreting, mixing whispering and consecutive. These makeshift solutions are obviously not conducive to optimal quality, but are sometimes inevitable. Finally, ethics – in particular, client confidentiality – are traditionally stressed as a cornerstone of professionalism.

4. Training and qualifications

In terms of profile and qualifications, nowadays most working conference interpreters will have completed a specialised one or two-year vocational training course at university postgraduate level, and/or intensive induction training if they join an international organisation as permanent staff. Typically such courses, of which there are a few dozen world-wide, are practically oriented, using authentic conference materials and staffed by practising professionals. Access is restricted to candidates with superior passive and active language proficiency, above-average general knowledge, and natural curiosity and communicative skills. Training usually involves both partial and targeted exercises designed for pedagogical purposes, and realistic interpreting tasks. Consecutive interpreting with notes is generally taught before simultaneous. Sight translation* is one task that is widely taught, and also, despite its name, occasionally required of conference interpreters: a written text, such as a document drafted in one language and to be provisionally approved by other delegations, or a letter of congratulations or apology for absence, must be fluently rendered extempore, or 'at sight'.

Ideally, the training course is rounded off with internships and mentoring programmes. The final professional diploma is usually based on performance in a realistic examination as judged by a jury of senior professionals and recruiters. Graduates must be ready to provide accurate live interpreting, whether on the freelance market or in an organisation, of high-level, often complex international exchanges on a wide range of subjects, from financial policy, taxation, eco-labelling or sports events to surgery, chemicals safety and civil engineering. Training must therefore also include knowledge management (and introductions to key domains like law and economics), and last but not least, an introduction to professional ethics and the organisation of the market.

5. Conference interpreting as a service: Quality criteria and the user's perspective

For most of its history, conference interpreting has enjoyed a higher occupational status than interpreting in public service, community and even legal and medical settings, despite the importance of these functions. This can be attributed to the difficulty of SI, to the perceived scarcity of qualified practitioners as the conference sector grew and content became more technical, to the higher status given to international events than to intra-social encounters such as welfare, medical or legal interviews; but also to the interest in preserving a certain mystique, and the claim to special knowledge and skills, that are among the hallmarks of an organised and autonomous profession. Conference interpreters traditionally assumed a monopoly on evaluation, but a more balanced perspective has emerged with the publication of surveys of the perceptions and preferences of the users of the service, the largest so far commissioned by AIIC (Moser 1997). While respondents may not understand the cognitive challenges and workings of interpreting, their replies have made interpreters more aware of the importance their clients and users attach to such aspects as delivery, terminological precision, and flexibility in assignments.

While conditions for interpreting may vary due to ignorance, expediency or lack of resources, most users expect an interpreter to be, at a minimum, faithful and comprehensible. But to meet even these expectations (not to mention added requirements like terminological precision, register, pleasant voice, tact, cultural mediation, etc.), different skill-sets are needed in the different settings and constraints of the conference room, the courtroom, the welfare office, and the shopping mall.

6. Recent developments and outlook

The practice of conference interpreting has changed over the years with trends in technology and language distribution. The 'mixed-media' presentation, with slides and often fast or recited text, is a relatively new challenge; and many users in the media, business or high-exposure diplomacy now opt for 'soundbite' or voice-over translation instead of full consecutive. Despite the spread of World English as the international language of business, the market for conference interpreting continues to grow, with demand still outstripping supply (AIIC statistical survey, 2006). Several factors may explain this: trade, migration and conflict have not abated with globalization, and the stakes in international negotiations are as high as ever, while new challenges in areas like climate change, world health and financial stability bring new jargon and add to the speed, informational density and technical complexity of international discourse, even as new players from emerging economies and different cultures are coming to the table. Research indicates that many participants prefer to follow meetings in their native languages despite a working competence in English (Donovan 2002).

7. Research on conference interpreting

Practising conference interpreters are primarily interested in practical aspects of the profession, and often attend refresher courses and updates focusing on specialised knowledge domains, or to upgrade and add new languages. However, theoretical and academic research began as early as the 1950s, and has since been supported by a handful of specialised journals (e.g., *Interpreting*, *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, *Forum*, *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, *Meta*, *Target*) and by the requirement on students in university-based training programmes to produce a graduate thesis. This has generated a substantial interpreting studies literature, addressing cognitive, social or neurolinguistic aspects of the interpreter's tasks and working environment, including theoretical models to support training and empirical studies of the impact of training and conditions on performance. Research on conference interpreting has drawn more on cognitive psychology – models of memory, attention, and speech or discourse processing – than on Translation Studies or linguistics. Empirical research that might yield robust generalisations and applications remains difficult given the speed, immediacy and complexity of multilingual events, the quest to obtain valid representative samples from a small and mobile professional population, and wide individual variation in interpreting styles and strategies. Conference interpreting, in short, remains attractive, challenging, and elusive.

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Consecutive interpreting

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Interpreting may be classified, labelled and divided into types and subtypes based on various criteria, *working mode* being one of the most important of these. When categorizing according to mode, two major types of interpreting emerge: simultaneous and consecutive interpreting. In consecutive interpreting, the interpreter starts rendering the target-language version after the speaker has stopped speaking: the interpreter speaks *consecutively* to the speaker, hence the name.

In principle, consecutive interpreting can be performed on the basis of source-language utterances of any duration, from one single word to entire speeches, and there are no limitations as to the types of discourse or formats of interaction to which it may be applied or the settings in which it may occur. Thus, both monologues and dialogues are interpreted in the consecutive mode, and consecutive interpreting is performed in contexts as varied as international conferences and community settings. However, the term 'consecutive interpreting' is often used in the literature to denote interpreting in the consecutive mode of relatively long stretches of speech produced in the context of international conferences or similar settings. In other words, consecutive interpreting is generally regarded as a subtype of conference interpreting*, though the name in itself does not support this interpretation of the term, and in spite of the fact that it is clearly the mode most commonly used in community interpreting*.

The prototypical type of consecutive interpreting as used in conference settings is sometimes labelled *long consecutive* or *classic consecutive* – or even *true consecutive* by some conference interpreters – as opposed to *short consecutive* or *sentence-by-sentence consecutive*. A distinctive feature of the classic form of long consecutive (in the following simply referred to as *consecutive (interpreting)*) is that it involves the use of systematic note-taking, which its short counterpart does not.

Consecutive interpreting is often described as consisting of two separate phases (as opposed to simultaneous interpreting, in which the two phases co-occur): (1) the reception or comprehension phase, and (2) the production or reformulation phase. In the comprehension phase, the interpreter essentially listens to and analyzes the source text, and – based on the analyzed input – takes notes which serve as memory triggers and/or devices for external memory storage in the subsequent phase. In the reformulation phase, the interpreter produces a target text drawing on the notes and information stored in memory.

The two-phased conceptualization of the consecutive process is widely accepted and constitutes the basis of important process models in the field. One example is Daniel Gile's

Effort Model of consecutive interpreting, which is concerned with processing capacity issues and depicts consecutive as a two-phased cognitive resource management process (for details about the Effort Model of consecutive, see Gile 2009: 157–190). However, depending on the theoretical perspective, other aspects of the consecutive process may be taken to the fore. An alternative and equally important model, sometimes referred to as the *Théorie du Sens*, depicts (consecutive) interpreting as a triangular process with the construct of *sense* at the centre. The triangular model has come to constitute the basis of the widespread Interpretive Theory, which covers both translation and interpreting, but it was originally developed to describe consecutive interpreting, notably by Danica Seleskovitch (Seleskovitch 1975; see also Interpretive approach*). Conceptualizing interpreting as a knowledge-based sense-making activity, the triangular model posits an intermediary stage between the source text and the target text in which the interpreter reduces words to non-verbal sense, drawing on both linguistic input and prior knowledge.

1. History and professional practice

Consecutive was the first form of interpreting used at international conferences, and in the first half of the 20th century in particular English and French consecutive was the norm in diplomatic encounters and international meetings of all kinds. However, electronic equipment enabling interpreters to work in the simultaneous mode was introduced as early as the 1920s, and was successfully used on a wide scale for the first time at the Nuremberg Trials after World War II (1945–6). Subsequently, simultaneous interpreting was adopted by the United Nations and other international organizations as a faster and more efficient alternative to consecutive in settings which became increasingly multilingual, and by the 1970s simultaneous had overtaken consecutive as the main form of conference interpreting.

However, although the use of consecutive interpreting has declined dramatically in multilateral and multilingual conference settings, it remains the least costly and most flexible form of interpreting and continues to be used for e.g. ceremonial speeches, guided tours and international press conferences. Consecutive also remains the preferred mode for high-level tête-à-tête diplomatic encounters, and it is still used for working meetings and business negotiations when electronic equipment is not available, not necessary or not appropriate i.e. typically in the context of bilateral interactions with only two languages involved and in settings where confidentiality, intimacy and directness of interaction are given priority over time efficiency.

2. Teaching and training

In the field of teaching and training, consecutive interpreting is as vital as ever. As recommended by AIIC, the International Association of Conference Interpreters,

consecutive remains a curricular component in most interpreter training programmes, though this choice is sometimes questioned by trainers and practitioners due the limited use of consecutive in present-day professional practice.

Many interpreting teachers see training in consecutive as a good way of preparing students for simultaneous interpreting. This approach is informed by the Interpretive Theory, and the basic tenet is that consecutive, because of the separation between listening and speaking, forces students to actively analyze the source text for content and dissociate words from meaning before they start producing the target text, a process which is assumed to prevent them from falling into the trap of producing word-for-word translations. Consecutive interpreting is thus thought to help students develop good working habits and to serve as a useful base for the cognitively more taxing task of simultaneous interpreting.

The role of consecutive in conference interpreting training is evidenced by the steady production of MA- and graduation theses on the subject (see the various issues of the *CIRIN Bulletin* at www.cirinandgile.com).

3. Literature and empirical research

The literature on consecutive interpreting reflects the former and current status of the discipline in professional practice. Much of the early literature on conference interpreting, written by the pioneers of the profession in the 1950s and 1960s (notably Jean Herbert, Jean-François Rozan, Henri van Hoof & Danica Seleskovitch), was concerned with consecutive interpreting – the dominant interpreting form of the time. In the following decades, simultaneous interpreting gradually replaced consecutive as the most popular topic in the literature and in research. Since *Interpreting Studies** as a field of sustained scientific inquiry did not take shape until the mid 1980s, a time when consecutive had been losing ground as a field of practice for decades, the existing body of empirical research on consecutive conference interpreting is scattered and rare.

The few empirical studies that have in fact been conducted on consecutive testify to the natural scholarly interest in what is probably the most distinctive feature of this mode of interpreting: note-taking (e.g. Seleskovitch 1975; Andres 2002; Dam 2004; Szabo 2006; Albl-Mikasa 2008). The researchers behind these studies have followed in the footsteps of the pioneering professionals and a large number of other practitioners, teachers and scholars, whose sustained interest in note-taking has generated a large volume of literature, though not necessarily research-based, on the subject. Separate mention must be made of Jean-François Rozan (1956), the author of the perhaps most widely used note-taking system ever, and Heinz Matyssek (1989), whose elaborate symbol-based system remains influential in Germany. In fact, rather than a 'system', Rozan's seminal proposal consists of seven general principles or recommendations for note-taking to be adapted and built on by each individual (student) interpreter. The most important recommendation is that the interpreter should take down the *ideas* or meaning behind the words rather than the words themselves.

The other principles are concerned with the abbreviation of long expressions, the representation of logical links and connectors, negation and emphasis, and the organization of notes on the notepad. Rozan's note-taking principles surface in the various empirical studies that have been conducted on interpreters' notes, though so far no single study has been dedicated exclusively to studying the real-life manifestations of Rozan's recommendations.

Though some attention has been devoted to the form and function of interpreters' notes, focus in most empirical research on note-taking has been on the cognitive processes involved in consecutive as evidenced through interpreters' notes. For example, in her doctoral dissertation from 2002, Dörte Andres looked at the extent to which note-taking competes with listening and analysis for limited processing capacity in the comprehension phase of consecutive, and found evidence of processing overload in both student and professional interpreters' performances (Andres 2002). The student interpreters in particular tended to lag considerably behind the speaker in their note-taking, and were consequently forced to leave gaps in their notes in order to catch up. Other scholars have studied the choice of language for note-taking and found that interpreters seem to make an attempt to reduce processing capacity requirements for note-taking by writing in the language of least effort, which may be the (untranslated) source language, the interpreter's native language (A-language), or simply the shortest language, depending on parameters such as directionality and the structure of the languages involved in the task at hand (e.g. Dam 2004; Szabo 2006).

Other empirical studies on consecutive interpreting are concerned with topics which are not specific to consecutive, but of interest to the conference interpreting research community in general. Thus, topics that have been investigated empirically with specific reference to and based on data from the consecutive mode include source-text difficulty, coherence and cohesion in target and source texts, pauses and hesitations, directionality, condensation, explicitation, form-based vs. meaning-based interpreting, target-text quality, names and numbers – to mention only a few. A number of these studies are cross-modal and aim at comparing consecutive to e.g. simultaneous interpreting. Not surprisingly, the findings of most of these comparative studies indicate that there are indeed differences between the different interpreting modes in terms of both cognitive processing and end products i.e. the target texts. For example, in a study on the so-called depth-of-processing hypothesis, Sylvie Lambert found evidence of deeper processing of source-text information in consecutive than in simultaneous interpreting (Lambert 1989). And in a product-oriented study comparing the accuracy of consecutive and simultaneous renditions, Daniel Gile found evidence to indicate that consecutive is a less accurate interpreting form than simultaneous, which in fact runs contrary to the conventional wisdom shared by the interpreting community (Gile 2001).

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Corpora

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1. What is a corpus?

In modern linguistics a corpus is a collection of authentic texts held in electronic form and assembled according to specific design criteria. These principles determine the physiognomy of a particular corpus type. Corpora are classified according to six sets of contrastive parameters as outlined below.

1.1 Sample or monitor

A sample (or finite) corpus is of finite size and contains abridged or full texts that have been gathered so as to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety. A monitor (or open) corpus is constantly supplemented with fresh textual material and keeps increasing in size.

1.2 Synchronic or diachronic

A synchronic corpus consists of texts produced at one particular time, while a diachronic corpus is made up of texts produced over a long period of time.

1.3 General (or reference) or specialized

A general (or reference) corpus is thought to be representative of a language for every day, general usage. This is typically a large corpus that contains a broad cross-section of text types. A specialized corpus is thought to be representative of a language for special purposes (LSP), i.e., a language used to discuss a specialized field of knowledge.

1.4 Monolingual, bilingual or multilingual

A monolingual corpus contains texts produced in a single language. Bilingual and multilingual corpora consist of texts produced in two or more than two languages respectively.

1.5 Written, spoken, mixed (written and spoken) or multi-modal

A written corpus is made up of written texts, while a spoken corpus consists of recorded texts, including those that are written to be spoken. A mixed corpus contains written and spoken texts. A multi-modal corpus consists of texts produced by using a combination of various semiotic modes, e.g., language, image or sound.

1.6 Annotated or non-annotated

An annotated corpus contains textual or contextual information and/or interpretative linguistic analysis added to raw language data. Corpora can be annotated at different levels of linguistic analysis: phonological, morphological, semantic, parts of speech, lexical, syntactic, discourse, pragmatic, or stylistic. A non-annotated corpus contains plain text that has not been analysed in any way before hand.

2. Corpus processing tools

Two basic corpus analysis tools are a word lister and a concordancer. A word lister calculates the total number of running words (or tokens) in a corpus. It also counts the occurrences of every different word (or type). Word lists can be sorted alphabetically or in order of frequency. Table 1 displays two extracts of word lists retrieved from the English subcorpus of the SALCA (a bilingual English-Spanish specialized corpus of marketing compiled by the University of Salford, the Universidad de Castellón and the Universidad de Granada). The software used is AntConc 3.2.1w, (http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html).

Table 1. Extracts from a frequency and an alphabetical word list retrieved from the SALCA

Rank	Freq	Word	Rank	Freq	Word
1.	9473	the	1.	3952	a
2.	5610	of	2.	3	abandon
3.	4933	and	3.	1	abc
4.	4597	to	4.	1	abilities
5.	3952	a	5.	5	abbreviated
6.	3038	in	6.	43	ability
7.	1958	is	7.	45	able
8.	1689	that	8.	1	abolition
9.	1488	for	9.	216	about
10.	1161	be	10.	37	above
11.	1160	as	11.	1	abroad
12.	1143	or	12.	5	absence
13.	1082	are	13.	3	absolute
14.	1040	on	14.	2	absolutely
15.	1006	marketing	15.	1	absorb
16.	975	it	16.	1	absurd
17.	917	with	17.	1	abundance
18.	853	by	18.	1	abuse
19.	845	price	19.	2	abused

A concordance shows all the occurrences of a search word in its immediate left and right contexts. This linguistic data is typically displayed as a KWIC (key word in context) concordance, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. A KWIC concordance for 'businesses' retrieved from the SALCA

1. to sell directly to consumers and **businesses**, generate or qualify sales leads,
2. pe. We would like to hear from any **businesses**, especially ones which have expe
3. Type of Article: Case study. As **businesses** worked towards Y2000 compliancy
4. ative advertising for 227 consumer **businesses** and found the following: 1. brand
5. that is one possible explanation). **Businesses** may be deluded through a lack of
6. ent can be seen in all the group's **businesses** but a good example is in the vacuu
7. mer base: International industrial **businesses** and public organisations, orders w
8. out 60 countries and has four main **businesses**: industrial gases, health care, va
9. nto obtaining a high proportion of **businesses** from new customers at the expense
10. dy that showed that 60 per cent of **businesses** had begun to stockpile against the
11. s that organisations, particularly **businesses**, have to respond to in the rapidly
12. nd software to help them run their **businesses** with fewer support staff." But th
13. slative changes had affected their **businesses** (and costs). Furthermore, the
14. nsurance (Nairn, 1999). Therefore, **businesses** may have rationalised their limite
15. rictions may limit the scope of UK **businesses** to trade in Europe. We would like
16. g is the set of activities whereby **businesses** and other organizations create tra

A concordance can be sorted to identify the lexico-grammatical patterns of a given search word (or node). For example, in Table 2 the KWIC display of 'businesses' has been obtained by ordering alphabetically the first word occurring on the left of the node. A concordancer can search for a single word, a group of words, wildcards as well as words and/or wildcards in combination with the Boolean operators: AND, OR, NOT.

3. Analytical procedures

The corpus-based approach enables researchers to make claims on large quantities of observable empirical data, which are examined through a cyclical process of observation, discovery, hypothesis formation and testing, as exemplified by the procedural steps proposed by Sinclair (2003: xvi-xvii) (see Table 3).

Table 3. Procedural steps for the analysis of an ever expanding KWIC concordance

Step 1: Initiate	Look at the words that occur immediately to the right of the node word to note any that are repeated; do the same with the words to the left of the node and decide on the strongest pattern.
Step 2: Interpret	Look at the repeated words to form a hypothesis that may link them.
Step 3: Consolidate	Look for other evidence that can support the hypothesis formulated in Step 2.
Step 4: Report	Write out the hypothesis formulated in Step 2 and revised according to the evidence collected in Step 3 so as to have an explicit, testable version.
Step 5: Recycle	Start with the next most important pattern near the node going through the same steps as before, and then look for the strongest pattern remaining on either side, until there are no repeated patterns.
Step 6: Result	Make a final list of hypotheses linking them in a final report on the node word.
Step 7: Repeat	Gather a new selection of concordances and apply your report on this new data, going through the same steps and confirming, extending or revising the list of hypotheses drawn up in Step 6.

4. Corpus-based Translation Studies

The introduction of corpora in Translation Studies was put forward by Mona Baker (1993) in her seminal article titled “Corpus linguistics and Translation Studies: Implications and applications”. Since then, corpora have been increasingly used in descriptive studies of translation, translator training, translation quality assessment (TQA), and computer-aided translation (CAT)*.

4.1 Corpus-based descriptive studies

Corpus-based methods of enquiry have given impetus to the quest for the so-called translation universals, i.e., “features that typically occur in translated text rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems” (Baker 1993: 243). Explication, simplification, normalization, the law of interference and the unique items hypothesis (IUH) have been investigated with monolingual comparable and bilingual parallel corpora (for an overview of corpus studies of universals see Klaudy 2009; Laviosa 2009).

The former corpus type is made up of two subcorpora in the same language: one consists of translated texts; the other comprises non-translated texts that are comparable in text genre, topic, time span, distribution of male and female authors, and readership. This corpus is used to explore target-oriented universals (also called T-universals), i.e., different

linguistic patterns occurring in translational and non-translational texts produced in the target culture. The bilingual parallel corpus can be either unidirectional or bidirectional. The former is made up of two subcorpora: one containing original texts in language A, while the other comprises their translations in language B. The bidirectional parallel corpus consists of four subcorpora: original texts in language A, their translations in language B, original texts in language B and their translations in language A. Parallel corpora are employed in the study of source-oriented universals (or S-universals), i.e., different linguistic patterns in translations and their source texts.

Translators' styles (see Kenny 2009 for an overview), translation shifts (Xiao 2010), the influence of English on European languages through translation (Anderman & Rogers 2005) and the linguistic features of dubbing (Pavesi 2009) have also been explored with the employment of corpora. These variegated corpus analyses of the product and process of translation offer an excellent example of the reciprocal relationship between translation theory, which constitutes a rich source of hypotheses about what can happen in translation, and description, which provides substantial empirical evidence about what actually occurs in translation. More specifically, these investigations have formulated and tested explicit interpretive and descriptive hypotheses derived from general theoretical claims, broadened our knowledge of translation, and suggested explanatory hypotheses that can be properly tested by putting forward explicit predictive hypotheses in future studies.

4.2 Corpus-based applied studies

Since the turn of the century, there has been growing interest in corpus-based translator training. In the student-centred and collaborative corpus-based classroom, the unidirectional specialized parallel corpus is used to discover norms of translational behavior at different levels of linguistic analysis as well as retrieve and examine terminological, phrasiological, syntactic and stylistic equivalents.

Bilingual and multilingual specialized comparable corpora (collections of original texts in two or more languages, which are assembled on the basis of similar design criteria, e.g., subject matter, topic, communicative situation) are typically employed to discover functional translation equivalents. These are units of language that are comparable across languages denotationally, connotationally and pragmatically (Tognini-Bonelli 2002: 80). These corpus types are also employed as sources of data that enhance the acquisition of subject-specific knowledge (Bowker 2003: 173–175).

A target language reference corpus is often used when teaching translation into L2. Stewart (2000), for example, shows that native speakers of Italian translating tourist brochures into English were able to produce naturally sounding collocations by examining the frequency of occurrence and concordances of posited direct equivalents of Italian noun phrases in the

British National Corpus (accessible at <http://pie.usna.edu/simplesearch.html>). Two examples of accurate and fluent translation equivalents were identified as follows:

- (1) *gran giro della città*
grand tour of the city
- (2) *strada panoramica*
road with panoramic views.

In translation quality assessment (TQA), corpora are used in studies that put forward verifiable evaluation criteria and aim at establishing to what degree a translation may be judged to be better than another (Bowker 2000, 2001, 2003). Two corpus types are the essential components of the evaluator's tool kit: (1) a unidirectional parallel corpus of source texts in language A and their translations in language B, produced by trainee translators, (2) a reference or specialized corpus of comparable non-translated texts in language B. The latter corpus provides a standard by which students' translations are evaluated according to a number of criteria: (1) understanding of the subject field, (2) lexical, terminological, phraseological and syntactic accuracy, (3) stylistic fluency and appropriacy.

Normally tested under experimental conditions, the use of corpora for evaluation purposes has generally proved to be very useful for raising the level of objectivity in terms of number of errors identified and corrected, quality of comments provided by the evaluator, consistency in the identification of lexical errors among evaluators, and usefulness of the evaluator's comments for editing the translation draft. Moreover, students welcome this approach because corpus data provides an objective and concrete source of information and feedback (Bowker 2000: 184).

5. Looking to the future

Corpora have contributed to pushing the interdisciplinary field of Translation Studies towards empiricism. The future of corpus studies of translation will continue to be shaped by the effective cooperation with corpus linguistics and computer science. Recent advances in multi-modal analysis are a case in point (see the *HeadTalk* project outlined in Carter & Adolphs 2008). In all probability, multi-modal corpus linguistics will be of considerable interest to scholars engaged in the study of sign languages, sign language interpreting* and audiovisual translation* (cf. Kenny 2009).

Moreover, it can reasonably be foreseen that the design of web-derived mega corpora and standard-size corpora in a growing number of languages will strengthen interdisciplinary research through the development of corpus-based contrastive and Translation Studies as well as the study of language contact (cf. Braunmüller & House 2009;

Xiao 2010). Finally, the combination of corpus data, experimental, metatextual, ethnographic, and survey-based data will help contextualize, diversify and enrich linguistic evidence.

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Curriculum

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Institutional translator training is essentially a phenomenon which began in the mid twentieth century, as the growing need for professional translators and interpreters gradually led to the establishment of programmes in an increasing number of countries.

Not all of these take the same form: national educational contexts and traditions mean that some of them are full undergraduate programmes while others are postgraduate. Some are fully integrated into the university system and thus linked to departments which also conduct research; these tend to include a higher proportion of theoretical elements. Others are offered by institutions which do not belong entirely to the university system, granting vocational diplomas which do not lead on to postgraduate education, and tend not to include or to include only a minimum of theoretical content.

The aims of the programmes vary also from generalist training, to training in specific areas of translation (e.g., literary, technical*, legal*, audiovisual* or screen translation). Length varies from short one year courses to long courses of up to five years.

1. Approaches to curricular design

Early publications on translator training often tended simply to be descriptions of programme structure at different institutions, with little or no analysis of the educational context. Programmes tended to be understood as a collection of self-standing courses or modules, often with scant relation between them, dependent on the staff available, or at most a very local professional market. Rarely was the design process carried out in a systematic way. In the same way, theory of curriculum has been amply applied to primary and secondary education, but much less so to tertiary education, and only recently has research incorporating insights from it begun to appear in Translation Studies. Examples are Gabr (2003/7), Kelly (2005), Kearns (2006) and Calvo (2009).

The implementation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), or Bologna process as it is more commonly known, has brought to the centre of the tertiary academic debate in Europe a change in paradigm for most of the systems to which it is being introduced, from a teacher/teaching-centred approach to a student/learning-centred approach to education based on learning outcomes or competences. In this perspective, systematic approaches to curricular design take as their starting point the institutional and social context in which training is to take place, and from there establish their objectives or intended

outcomes with input from the professional sector for which students are to prepare, from society at large and from the academic disciplines involved; careful attention is paid to the resources available, and to the profile of the participants involved: students and teaching staff. Teaching and learning activities are designed with a view to attaining the learning outcomes desired and are carefully sequenced and coordinated with each other and with assessment. Assessment includes not only evaluation of the degree of attainment by learners of the learning outcomes established for the programme, but also evaluation of the functioning of the programme itself, with a view to identifying areas for improvement.

In the words of Cannon and Newble,

the key to curriculum planning is to forge educationally sound and logical links between planned intentions (expressed as objectives), course content, teaching and learning methods, and the assessment of student learning while taking account of student characteristics.

(2000: 142–143)

In the remainder of this entry, a brief overview of each of these steps and factors is offered.

2. Social and institutional context

There are many different possible sources from which to determine the factors of the social and institutional context which influence the establishment of objectives, but the following are some of the most frequently important:

1. Social needs (often linked to the local or regional economy)
2. Professional standards (sometimes not expressed formally; in other cases, very clearly set out and broken down into component parts, as is the case of the UK National Standards by the Language National Training Organization)
3. Employers' needs and views
4. Institutional policy
5. Institutional constraints (national regulations or legislation; available training resources, etc.)
6. Disciplinary considerations (existing research and literature; common practice on other similar courses in your country or others)
7. Student/trainee profiles

3. Social and market needs

In the case of translation, apart from general economic indicators pointing to areas of activity (see e.g., Olohan 2007), major employers and sectors of employment offer important input when defining desired graduate profiles. A further point worth noting is that

universities should cater in their curricular design not only for the present, but for future social and market needs. This clearly requires profound knowledge of the present and trends for the future, close contact with market and other stakeholders, and forward-looking staff responsible for the design process.

4. Specific and generic competences as learning outcomes

Competence-based curricular design takes into account not only purely disciplinary considerations, but also general social context and needs. That is, the future graduate in translation is not only a translator, but also a graduate (i.e., shares a level of competence with graduates in other fields), and a critical citizen. For simplicity's sake, here the term *specific competences* will be used for competences belonging to the discipline itself (translator competence), and *generic competences* to those characteristic of all graduates at a particular level, respectively.

5. Disciplinary considerations: Translator competence

Translation as a discipline has for some time now worked with the concept of translator competence as a way of describing the different skills, knowledge, attitudes and aptitudes which differentiate the expert professional from the non-expert. It should perhaps be pointed out that this differentiation is better understood as a cline, and not as a distinct frontier. It is very certainly not the case that completing an educational programme means that a person has become an expert professional; it rather means that they have reached a point where they can commence activity in the profession with a minimum guarantee of success, usually under some form of initial supervision.

Many authors, for example Hurtado (1999), PACTE (2000), Pym (2003), Mayoral (2001), Kelly (2005), Kearns (2006), have written on the subject of translator competence: about the concept, the term, whether or not it should be taken from a multicomponential viewpoint, and so on. Kelly (2002, 2005) offers a summary of different elements of translator competence identified by many authors:

- *Communicative and textual competence in at least two languages and cultures.* Active and passive skills in the two languages involved; awareness of textuality and discourse, cultural textual and discourse conventions.
- *Cultural and intercultural competence.* Not only encyclopaedic knowledge of history, geography, institutions and so on of the cultures involved (including the translator's own), but also and more particularly, values, myths, perceptions, beliefs, behaviours

and textual representations of these. Awareness of issues of intercultural communication and translation as a special form thereof.

- *Subject area competence.* Basic knowledge of subject areas the future translator may work in, to a degree sufficient to allow comprehension of source texts and access to specialized documentation to solve translation problems.
- *Professional and instrumental competence.* Use of documentary resources of all kinds, terminological research, information management for these purposes; use of IT tools for professional practice (word-processing, desktop publishing, data bases, Internet, email ...) together with more traditional tools such as fax, dictaphone. Basic notions for managing professional activity: contracts, budgets, billing, tax; ethics, professional associations.
- *Psycho-physiological or attitudinal competence.* Self-concept, self-confidence, attention/concentration, memory, initiative.
- *Interpersonal competence.* Ability to work with other professionals involved in translation process (translators, revisers, documentary researchers, terminologists, project managers, layout specialists), and other actors (clients, initiators, authors, users, subject area experts). Team work. Negotiation skills. Leadership skills.
- *Strategic competence.* Organizational and planning skills. Problem identification and problem-solving. Monitoring, self-assessment and revision.

The elements included in this summary are of very differing nature, and many of them are transversal, that is, cannot be considered to be the objectives of an individual module or course unit. Rather, these are outcomes which are reached gradually over time within a coordinated study programme, within which non-traditional modes of learning, such as study abroad and work placements, also play an important role.

6. Generic competences

In an EU working paper on the subject, the following definition is given of *generic competences*: “a transferable, multifunctional package of knowledge, skills and attitudes that all individuals need for personal fulfilment and development, inclusion and employment” (Working Group “Basic skills, entrepreneurship and foreign languages”, 2003: 11). As a discipline, translation offers access to a very wide range of competences, difficult to match in other academic fields at university level. Thus, if we take the list of generic competences drawn up as a basis for the work of the Tuning project (González & Wagenaar, 2003), and compare it with the summary-catalogue of translator (hence tentatively specific) competences offered above, graduates from translator training programmes appear almost uniquely qualified as flexible, adaptable and highly employable citizens.

Having established outcomes based on the kind of specific social, professional, contextual input commented on above, the curricular design process continues through a series of stages briefly summarised below.

7. Student profile

Learners are by far the single most important element in any teaching and learning process. In order to design a programme which is appropriate for its intended target group, designers, through needs analysis of different kinds, examine at least the following aspects of the likely future students:

1. Prior knowledge
2. Personal characteristics
3. Learning styles and approaches
4. Expectations and motivation
5. Degree of homogeneity

Taking into account all the above aspects, and ensuring that the result is appropriate for individual students may at times prove to be extremely complex, particularly given the increasing heterogeneity of student groups in today's multinational and multicultural universities.

8. Programme content

Designers should then be able to move on to plan course content and structure. Situations vary considerably, thus excluding any one-size-fits-all solution, which would inevitably be doomed to failure as a key principle of curricular design is its context dependency. However, as a general outline programmes should address the general areas of competence outlined above, from both translation-specific and generic perspectives.

Similarly, the design will take into account how the programme is to be unitized (if at all), and how the separate units are to be networked into one single overall programme, coordination being a key factor here. Furthermore, issues relating to progression and sequencing are addressed at this stage.

9. Resources

The next stage in the process is the identification and acquisition of the resources required for the implementation of the programme, including material and technical resources on the one hand and teaching and support staff on the other. The former will include:

1. Physical environment
2. Traditional classroom resources
3. Information and communication technologies
4. Mobility programmes
5. Work placements

As to teaching staff, it is the case in many institutions that curricular design has traditionally been based on this factor alone. Competence-based approaches attempt to break with this fairly longstanding tradition which has only contributed to widening the enormous gap between academia and society. Much as for potential students, analysis should be made of existing and potential teaching staff with regard to:

1. Prior knowledge and experience
2. Teaching styles
3. Expectations and motivation
4. The need for coordination and team work.

10. Designing teaching and learning activities

Designers consider types of teaching and learning activity (large groups, small groups: who does what? how? when? where? why?). In particular, they reflect on team and group work, in-class and out-of-class activities, support and mentoring. For varied detailed and useful proposals, see Hurtado (1999), Colina (2003) or González Davies (2004).

11. Designing assessment activities

Assessment is almost always understood as the end of the entire teaching and learning process. In competence-based approaches, the basic principle for the assessment of learning processes is that assessment should be aligned with intended outcomes (Biggs, 2003). Assessment is complex, and requires a wealth of approaches and instruments, well beyond the traditional examination in which students translate a text and the translation is evaluated. Many institutions are now moving on to a portfolio approach to summative assessment, in line with current practice in language teaching and learning.

12. Programme evaluation and quality enhancement

The circle of the curricular design process closes with programme evaluation, covering all aspects of the teaching and learning process, agents involved, resources available and so on, and leading to proposals for improvement which are then incorporated into the programme in the following edition. This element is essential as it converts the entire process into a dynamic, reactive one, far from the traditional rigidity of academic programming in some contexts, where a single change in course content requires a tortuous reform taking years to complete, by which time the reform itself has already been superseded and become obsolete.

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Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)

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Also known as the Polysystem Approach, the Manipulation School, the Tel-Aviv Leuven Axis, the Descriptive, Empirical or Systemic School, or the Low Countries Group, DTS corresponds to a descriptive, empirical, interdisciplinary, target-oriented approach to the study of translation, focusing especially on its role in cultural history. This approach was first developed in the early 1970s, gained momentum in the 1980s, boomed in the 1990s, and still inspires several researchers seeking to “dive into translation as cultural and historical phenomena, to explore its context and its conditioning factors, to search for grounds that can explain why there is what there is” (Hermans 1999: 5). Although frequently equated with the study of literary translation, especially in its early stages (see Literary Studies and Translation Studies*), DTS has branched out in several directions including technical translation*, audiovisual translation* or interpreting*, among others.

1. The name and nature of Descriptive Translation Studies

Responsible for the name of the discipline in English as well as for its most influential map, the Amsterdam-based American researcher James S Holmes chose the name Translation Studies, stressing that it “would not be wise to continue referring to the discipline by its subject matter”, which would mean failing to distinguish the territory from the map (Holmes 1988/2000: 173–174). Significantly starting with the word “science” and a reflection on the hard and soft sciences and their relation to the emerging discipline, the seminal 1972 paper entitled “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” also explains the choice of “studies” as a means of explicitly affiliating the discipline to the arts or the humanities. As a field of pure research, Translation Studies is then defined as an empirical discipline with the dual purpose of describing “the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience” and, based on such descriptions, of formulating general principles that allow one to both explain and predict translational phenomena (Holmes 1988/2000: 176). The map of the discipline encompasses a first binary division between the branches of Pure and Applied Translation Studies* (which includes translation didactics*, translation criticism, producing translation aids and devising translation policies). Pure Translation Studies are further subdivided into two branches: Descriptive Translation Studies (with the aim of describing the phenomena of translation

and translating) and Translation Theory (with the purpose of explaining and predicting translational phenomena, and thereby producing general or partial theories).

The branch of DTS encompasses three main kinds of research, as suggested by Holmes. Product-oriented DTS focuses on the description of individual translations, the comparative descriptions of several translations of the same source text (either in the same language or in different languages) and the description of larger corpora of translation, which led to the analysis of corpora* in Translation Studies in the beginning of the 1990s. Function-oriented DTS researches contexts rather than translated texts, considering the study of the function, influence and value of translation in the target context, the mapping of translations and the analysis of the effects of translation upon the context, which has developed into a focus on translation sociology*, also under the influence of Pierre Bourdieu and other sociological models. Process-oriented DTS aims at a systematic description of what goes on in the translator's mind while translating, which results in translation psychology, but may also comprehend the study of more conscious decision-making processes, the selection of global strategies or the organization of translation services. In a statement that would prove relevant for the forthcoming evolution and discussion of DTS, Holmes highlights the importance of maintaining pure Translation Studies independent of any applied goal (1988/2000: 176).

2. The Manipulation School

In the 1970s, a group of scholars including Raymond van den Broeck (Antwerp), Theo Hermans (Warwick and London), James S Holmes (Amsterdam), José Lambert (Leuven), André Lefevere (Antwerp and Austin) and Gideon Toury (Tel Aviv) carried out descriptive research on translation, with a special focus on translated literature, under the influence of the Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory*, as published in *Papers in Historical Poetics* (1979).

Three seminal conferences taking place in Leuven (1976), Tel Aviv (1978) and Antwerp (1980) also brought together other participants whose names are associated with this group, such as Susan Bassnett (Warwick), Katrin van Bragt (Leuven), Lieven D'hulst (Leuven), Zohar Shavit (Tel Aviv), Maria Tymoczko (Massachusetts) or Shelly Yahalom (Warwick and London). Later recruits include Dirk Delabastita (Leuven and Namur), Saliha Parker (Istanbul) or Theresa Hyun, among others (Hermans 1999: 12). As a new descriptive and systemic paradigm of Translation Studies, DTS is said to have emerged in the 1980s due to the contribution of these scholars.

The 1985 volume of essays entitled *The Manipulation of Literature* and edited by Theo Hermans heralded the new paradigm for the study of literary translation and inspired the designation The Manipulation Group or School for a target-oriented approach, according to which "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain

purpose" (Hermans 1985: 11), as a result either of intentional choices made by the translator or of target system constraints. According to this group of scholars, the descriptive study of translated literature has to break the presuppositions of the evaluative source-oriented "conventional approach to literary translation", based on the supremacy of the (naively romantic idea of the) "original" and the assumption of translation as a second-hand and generally second-rate, error-prone and inadequate reproduction thereof.

Other important landmarks in this opposition to prescriptive, source-text oriented, formalistic and atomistic approaches to the study of translation also include the innovative ideas previously published by Gideon Toury in the volume *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (1980), James S Holmes' posthumous collection *Translated!* (1988) or José Lambert's works, later published in *Functional Approaches to Culture and Translation* (Delabastita *et al.* 2006). Theo Hermans' 1999 work *Translation in Systems* offers a(n already explicitly) critical comprehensive review of the main tenets and developments of this approach.

Two important channels of communication were created in 1989: the scholarly journal *Target* and CE(T)RA. *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies*, created by José Lambert and Gideon Toury, provided a channel for the publication of articles predominantly featuring this approach to the study of translation. Initially named CERA, and later CETRA, the special research programme set up at the University of Leuven by José Lambert, offering annual international intensive summer courses for doctoral students since 1989 (from 1997 to 2006 these took place at Misano Adriatico, Italy), also provided an additional channel for the dissemination of DTS especially among younger scholars.

3. A methodology for describing translations

To take "the translated text as it is" and consider the features underlying its nature (Hermans 1985: 12–13) required devising a specific methodology for the comparative analysis of source and target texts as well as of their respective literary systems, as set out in José Lambert and Hendrik van Gorp's "On Describing Translations" (Lambert and van Gorp 1985). Based on Polysystem Theory and adopting a communicative approach to translation, the authors point out the basic parameters of translational phenomena and offer a complex network of relations between literary systems worth considering in a descriptive study of literary translation. This requires collecting information on author, text and reader in each source and target system, so as to build a scheme consisting of four categories: preliminary data (on title and title pages, metatexts and general translation strategies, leading to hypotheses on the macro- and micro-structural levels); macro-level data (comprising information on text division, titles and presentation of sections, acts, internal narrative structure, dramatic intrigue or poetic structure, as well as authorial comment, leading to hypotheses on the micro-structure); micro-level data (including the selection of words,

dominant grammatical patterns and formal literary structures, forms of speech reproduction, narrative point of view, modality, and language levels, leading to a reconsideration of macro-structural data); and systemic context data (including oppositions between macro- and micro-levels, as well as intertextual and intersystemic relations). Although hypothetical and partial, this systematic scheme, as the authors point out, should aid the consideration of the systemic nature of translational phenomena, and, by moving from individual texts by individual translators to larger corpora and series of problems, should allow for the study of both individual and collective translational norms*, models and behaviour.

4. DTS and beyond

Gideon Toury's contribution towards DTS, featured in his *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995), which in turn builds on some of his previous works, is a central one, due to his emphasis on the need to promote descriptive studies: "no empirical science can make a claim for completeness and (relative) autonomy unless it has a proper *descriptive branch*" (Toury 1995: 1). With the objectives of an empirical science in mind, Toury calls for "a systematic branch proceeding from clear assumptions and armed with a methodology and research techniques made as explicit as possible and justified within Translation Studies itself" (Toury 1995: 3). Intersubjectivity, comparability and replicability are also aimed for when delineating a specific methodology for DTS. Equating Translation Studies with what Holmes had called Pure Translation Studies but adopting Holmes' subdivision of Translation Studies into Descriptive and Theoretical Translation Studies, it is on DTS that Toury focuses his attention. He defines it as the study of what translation "DOES involve, under various sets of circumstances, along with the REASONS for that involvement" (Toury 1995: 15), and stresses that the consideration of the interdependency of the three types of descriptive study proposed by Holmes ("function, process and product-oriented") is mandatory for the purpose of explaining translational phenomena (Toury 1995: 11). Toury also refers to the reciprocal nature of relations between DTS and Translation Theory, since "carefully performed studies into well-defined corpuses, or sets of problems constitute the best means of testing, refuting, and especially modifying and amending the very *theory*, in whose terms research is carried out" (Toury 1995: 1). However, it is DTS that needs developing with the purpose of describing, understanding and explaining the regularities that are representative of translational phenomena.

Toury's most important proposals for DTS are the definition of this approach as descriptive-explanatory and interdisciplinary; the definition of its subject-matter, assumed translations as a result of a target-oriented approach; the proposal of a three-stage methodology for descriptive studies; the contextually motivated redefinition of equivalence as a descriptive concept; the formulation of translational norms (a notion that is central to Toury's position) as the epitome for a target oriented approach; and the formulation of

theoretical (possibly universal) laws of translation behaviour as a goal beyond descriptive studies (Toury 1995: 5).

4.1 Describing and explaining

In a reaction against speculative prescriptive studies, DTS is defined by Toury (1995) as having the goal of producing systematic exhaustive descriptions of “what it [translation] proves to be *in reality*” (Toury 1995: 32). By considering the interdependency of translation as product, process and function, and by relating regularities uncovered by such a description with features of the sociocultural context constraining them, DTS also aspires to both understand and explain the described regularities. The identification of relations of sequence, correlation or cause between profile and context variables is also carried out with the purpose of producing more refined formulations of probabilistic theoretical laws, capable of predicting what translation may be under a given set of circumstances.

4.2 A multidisciplinary approach

Although the need to develop a specific methodology for DTS is always stressed, such a methodology can only be multidisciplinary, given the systemic definition of the object, because “translation borders on too many provinces” (McFarlane 1953: 93). Holmes had already suggested textual features should be analysed against linguistic contextuality, literary intertextuality and sociocultural situationality (1988/2000). Toury suggests DTS should focus on what translation is and does, and on the contextual reasons for what it is and does. Although including micro-textual studies, this approach clearly stresses the need to focus on the wider picture in order to encompass how translation (as product, process and function) is related to the sociocultural context in which it occurs. Only a multidisciplinary approach can aspire to accommodate the wide range of different phenomena that are brought to bear on translation.

4.3 A target-oriented approach

Such a descriptive study “should start from the empirical fact, i.e. from the translated text itself” (Hermans 1985: 13). In what is one of his best-known formulations, Toury states: “Translations are facts of target cultures” (Toury 1995: 29). Statements such as this have operated a Copernican Revolution by reorienting studies on translation, which until then had concentrated predominantly on the source text as the yardstick for an evaluative analysis of the target text as a mere reproduction thereof. Toury therefore posits that the context framing a translation is that of the target culture, and, as such, the target text must always be interpreted as a result of the constraints and influences of such a target context, or as a cause for the introduction of changes into the target system. Such proposals for DTS amount to a shift of paradigm from the a-historical prescription of what translation

should be to a description of what translation is in a particular historical context. As a consequence, attention is shifted from the comparison of source and target text to the study of the relations between target texts and between target texts and their context, the target culture.

4.4 Assumed translations

But Toury goes even further in this target-oriented approach. The definition of translation as the proper object of study is central for DTS and Toury relativizes or “defines” (Hermans 1999: 46) this concept by making its definition a result of the sociocultural target context. Toury advocates an “overall culture-internal notion of assumed translation”, pragmatically or tautologically defined, some argue, as “all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on no matter what grounds”, thereby making pseudo-translations appropriate objects of study too (Toury 1995: 32–33).

This notion of assumed translation posits three postulates: the existence of a source text; the existence of a previous transfer of some source text features to the target text; and, as a result of this process, the existence of a set of relations associating the translated text with its source text.

Such an approach does not exclude consideration of the source text, but it does shift the emphasis to the target text as product, to its function in the target culture and to the process leading to its production. As such, it also shifts the emphasis to the way the translator as a target culture agent negotiates contextual constraints pertaining to the target culture, in its historical, geographical, social and ideological coordinates.

Any descriptive study will consequently reveal the target culture since a culture’s own self-definition within intercultural relations is betrayed by the way in which translation decisions are made. Translation therefore “is of interest because it offers first-hand evidence of the prejudice of perception. Cultures, communities, groups construe their sense of self in relation to others and by regulating the channels of contact with the outside world” (Hermans 1999: 95). The position occupied by translation in the prestigious canonized centre or in the margins of the target system will determine how translations are produced and reveal power relations between source and target cultures.

4.5 Equivalence as a descriptive concept

DTS discards the traditional, a-historical, invariant, ideal and prescriptive concept of equivalence, and replaces it with a functional-relational, historical, variable, empirical and descriptive concept of the translational relationship. This major shift is operated upon the concept of equivalence, traditionally defined *a priori*, when, instead of making the definition of translation dependent on equivalence, Toury inverts the roles and states that “a translation will be any target language text which is presented or regarded as such within the target system itself, on whatever grounds” (Toury 1995: 27). If text A is regarded as

a translation of text B, then, according to Toury, equivalence is the relationship between them, which will exhibit the variable profile determined and accepted by the target context. The relationship of equivalence is therefore presupposed, and any descriptive study will aim at profiling the variable features adopted by functional equivalence. Inverting the traditional relationship between equivalence and translation also operates a redefinition of Translation Studies, for, instead of starting with an *a priori* definition of equivalence, its profiling becomes the epitome of the descriptive process, once it is acknowledged that “features are retained and reconstructed in target language material, not because they are important in any *inherent sense*, but because they are *assigned* importance, from the recipient vantage point” (Toury 1995: 12).

4.6 A three-stage methodology

For the purpose of studying translations as cultural facts, Toury presents a three-stage methodology: firstly, to identify and describe texts that the target culture considers to be translations; secondly, to conduct a comparative analysis of source and target texts, by mapping target text segments onto source text segments (although the intervening criterion underpinning such a mapping remains a point of contention); and, thirdly, to identify regularities evinced by translation shifts, and to formulate generalizations about norms of translational equivalence, defined as the translational models in force in the target culture, and identifying implications for future translation work (Toury 1995: 36–39, 102). The translator is identified as a social-historical agent, whose negotiation of contextual constraints or motivations as well as of the prospective target text function is predominantly revealed by the shifts adopted in translation, which, for this reason, become one of the most important sources for the study of translational norms.

Toury thus establishes as a first-order object translated texts and corpuses of translated texts, which should be studied so as to uncover the interdependencies of product, process and function in the target culture; additionally, texts on translation are also acceptable objects for descriptive studies, with the *caveat* of their probable prescriptive nature. By stating that it is the norms of translation equivalence in force in the target culture that determine, in type and degree, the equivalence adopted by real translations, Toury identifies another fundamental step for the kind of descriptive studies he proposes. The study of norms as a second-order non-observable object is instrumental for ascertaining how the functional-relational postulate of equivalence is realized.

4.7 Translational norms

According to Toury (1995: 53–64), becoming a translator implies learning to play a social role according to a set of intersubjective translational norms in force within a given cultural environment and applicable to all kinds of translation. These norms are defined “as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right

and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations" (Toury 1995: 54–55). As intersubjective elements, norms occupy the middle ground of socioculturally specific constraints that vary in terms of normative force or potency (between the poles occupied by rules and idiosyncratic behaviour), and also in time, in terms of both force and validity.

Toury suggests the consideration of three types of translational norms: initial norms, of semiotic not chronological priority (favouring a choice either for adequacy – determining adherence to source culture norms – or for acceptability – determining a preference for the norms of the target culture); preliminary norms (governing translation policy on the choice of texts or text types to be translated, or regarding the degree of tolerance to indirect translation which resorts to intermediate texts); and operational norms (including both matricial norms regarding the degree of fullness of translation, textual segmentation and distribution, and textual-linguistic norms governing the choice of target textual-linguistic material to replace the one found in the source text).

4.8 Beyond DTS – from norms to laws

In Toury's words: "as soon as the applicability of science to the complex problems clustered around translation has been accepted as such, there is no reason why the formulation of laws should not mark the horizon here too" (1995: 259). Adopting the aims of science, DTS purports to describe translational phenomena in order to understand and explain them, and, by identifying regularities, to generalize and formulate probabilistic laws of translational behaviour relating all variables found relevant (Toury 1995: 16).

Toury tentatively formulates two such laws. According to the Law of Growing Standardization "in translation, source-text textemes tend to be converted into target-language repertoires" (Toury 1995: 268), or, in other words, signs that, by virtue of their occurring within a text, carry *ad hoc* significance within it tend to be translated as mere signs belonging to the target-culture's repertoire, defined as the set of codified items awarded semiotic value by a community. Or, in yet another formulation: the network of textual relations present in the source text tends to be transformed or ignored in translation, being substituted by habitual target repertoire options, or "the more peripheral this status [of translation], the more translation will accommodate itself to established models and repertoires" (Toury 1995: 271). In a peripheral, less prestigious position within the system, translation will tend to replicate existing models; in a central, prestigious position, translation will be allowed to bring innovation into the system. According to the second Law of Interference, "in translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred into the target text" (Toury 1995: 275). Alternatively, in a reformulation of this law, taking into account intercultural and interlingual relations of prestige and power, it is stated that "tolerance of interference (...) tends to increase when a translation is carried out from a 'major' or highly prestigious language/culture, especially if the target language/culture is 'minor', or 'weak' in any other sense" (Toury 1995: 278).

Approaches designated as the cultural, ideological, sociological, empirical, technological and globalization turns* of Translation Studies, are sometimes said to have substituted DTS, especially from the 1990s onwards (Hermans 1999). However, research on translation oriented by key concepts such as laws (and universals), and especially by the influential concept of translational norms, still bears the mark of this descriptive approach – although the appropriate name to be adopted for some of these regularities of translational behaviour, especially the term universals, remains a matter of contention.

5. Criticizing descriptivism

Several researchers have adopted this descriptive target-oriented stance towards the study of translation, refraining from “value judgments in selecting subject matter or in presenting findings, and/or refus[ing] to draw any conclusions in the form of recommendations for ‘proper’ behaviour” (Toury 1995: 2), and valuing the diagnosis of the role played by translation in cultural history and the importance of considering inter- and intra-cultural power relations and ideology as part of the analysis of contextually motivated translational phenomena. However, DTS has been subject to criticism because of its positivistically importing the goals of (exact) sciences and putting forth models based on them; because of its not concentrating enough on the relevance of power relations and ideology for the consideration of intercultural and interlingual relations in empirical studies of translational phenomena (Niranjana 1992); for not focusing enough on the translator as an agent operating in a specific set of circumstances, or for not considering further explanations for translational behaviour due to its being too strictly target-oriented (Pym 1998); or for insufficient self-criticism and self-reflexivity (Arrojo 1998; Hermans 1999). These criticisms are often associated with an affiliation in cultural studies, postcolonial studies, cultural materialism, women’s studies, queer studies, or a more general political motivation to draw attention to the ethical implications of a merely diagnostic approach to translation instead of a politically motivated stance geared towards prescriptive intervention, regarding, for instance, translator invisibility (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999; Simon 1996; Venuti 1995). The distinctions at stake seem to go beyond the early binary opposition between descriptive and prescriptive approaches and are currently described as taking place between early descriptive approaches, current critical descriptive approaches (recognizing the “pervasiveness of interpretation and values”) and committed approaches* (“prescribing what translators should do”) (Brownlie 2003).

It is a fact that Holmes wrote a defence of pure research “pursued for its own sake, quite apart from any direct practical application” (1988/2000: 176); that Toury claimed “it is no concern of a scientific discipline (...) to effect changes in the world of our experience” (1995: 17); and that Hermans stressed “[t]he primary task of the study of translation is not to seek to interfere directly with the practice of translation by laying down norms

or rules" (Hermans 1999: 65). Besides interpreting such statements in terms of a clear move away from traditional or current prescriptivism, other more contextualized readings might also be argued for. On the one hand, such statements were made at a time when the discipline was still struggling for independence, not only from predominantly prescriptive approaches, but also from a focus on its applied extensions (Toury 1995: 2), and was also under pressure for academic recognition, thereby making the need to stress its status as an empirical (soft/human) science understandable. On the other hand, the target-orientedness of DTS and especially what has been identified as perhaps Toury's main legacy – the concept of norms, as a particularly operative theoretical interface between translation and context – has opened up the possibility for the consideration of translation as a social activity, constrained by prestige and the power relations in force both within specific target culture situations and within a network of intercultural relations. This has also made it possible to consider the cultural role played by individual translators and their social, ideological and political intervention. As such, the emphasis on contextualization and norms may be interpreted as having paved the way for more critically, socially, ideologically and politically intervening stances on translation practice and on Translation Studies.

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Drama translation

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Plays are a site for self-study, gaining information and deepening our knowledge of ourselves and the others who inhabit our world. They open up windows to societies and cultures, helping us to make sense of complex realities. Their coming into being is always tied to a particular socio-cultural context. Their translations have the same tie. Once a play is translated/performed, new interpretations become inevitable.

In translation, the meanings in the source texts are expressed with the means of a new language. In this, they already move into a different reality. New interpretations are born with new agencies with new demographics, sex, ethnicity, age, educational background, employment status, motivations, expectations, and experience. They are also born with the agencies of directors, actors, other theatre practitioners, critics, journalists, and audiences.

The travels of plays across linguistic and cultural borders are not linked to inherent properties of plays. A look at the statistics of any national theatre repertoires will confirm this. Some cultures appear largely self-sufficient. This is the case, for example, within the English-speaking theatre of such culturally powerful and insular spaces as Britain and the United States where the mainstream theatres construct their repertoires mainly of domestic plays. Some foreign drama might, occasionally, appear on their stages, but only well-tried familiar classics tend to get chosen to represent metonymically all outlandish drama. Even when translations into English exist, and even when some countries would be geopolitically a familiar and feasible choice, the admission is restricted. A case in point is Latin American drama in the US theatre. Despite the growing numbers of Latinos as the second largest minority in the States, there is very little Latin American presence on the US stages (Nigro 2000: 118). Some contemporary foreign plays may gain access to the stages of usually smaller theatres with specialised audiences. This was the case with the Finnish plays by Laura Ruohonen in Britain: *Queen C* (The Gate in London), *Olga* (at the Traverse in Edinburgh and the Rough Magic in Dublin) and *An Island Far From Here* (Shell Connections at the National Theatre, London) (Aaltonen 2005).

In other cultures, foreign drama may be desirable, but even there the distribution of source languages is not equal. In Finland, although some half of the theatre repertoires consists of translations, statistics show that there are only occasional translations from areas such as the Netherlands, Austria, New Zealand, Latin America and the Middle East. Plays from large and rich theatre cultures, such as Asia, are represented by only a handful of plays: one Indian play, four Chinese plays, and 11 Japanese plays (Aaltonen 2002: 11–12). The entire Arab theatre is represented by two Lebanese plays, both performed in 2009. This

does not mean that, for example, Egyptian plays have been considered unstageable, only that they have not been perceived as attractive cultural capital.

Translation of plays may have a number of motivations. According to Perteghella (2004: 7–8), not all translations need to generate a stage production, and the production of reader-oriented drama translations may be an option. The admission into production may also have a number of motivations. A play may serve as an important political comment. An example of this is the popularity of *Macbeth* productions in the 1920s Soviet Union because its anti-monarchical message fitted the discourse of October Revolution. Plays may also be used to introduce a new dramaturgy or theatrical practice. Expressionism arrived in Finland in the 1920s in the form of German drama, Brecht peaked in popularity in 1967 and 1968, and a freer use of chronology started with Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* in 1957 (Aaltonen 2000: 70–71).

So far the study of what drama translations can reveal of the surrounding society has been fragmented. Important insights have, however, been offered by a number of studies. Brisset (1996) has shown how translated plays were used to enhance the status of Quebecois in the struggle of the independence of Quebec between the years 1968 and 1988. A similar motivation is distinguishable in the translations of the Quebecois playwright, Michel Tremblay's plays by Bill Findlay and Martin Bowman. In their translations they replaced Tremblay's original *joual*, the language of the Montreal underclass, by the vernacular language of Lowland Scotland. According to Bowman (2000: 27), “[...] even the naming of a vernacular represents a political act. And, of course, so does translation into such language.”

1. The roots of drama translation

We can trace the earliest known drama translations to the Roman translations of Greek drama. The first play written in Latin was probably a translation whose author Andronicos (Livius Andronicos) was commissioned to write a play for the Roman Games in 240 bce. The Romans did not, however, pursue a conscious intercultural programme with the translations which occurred much later, in the last third of the 18th century when Goethe began to develop an international repertoire of the most important dramas in both contemporary and historical European theatre for his own small provincial theatre in Weimar.

Ideological motivations have sometimes become very prominent in the choice of the strategy for translation (see Translation strategies and tactics*). For the Romans, theatre was a Greek activity, and Greek elements became emphasised and foregrounded, whereas Goethe did not place much importance on the foreignness of the plays, and revised, for example, Shakespeare's plays as he saw fit. Similar reactions to translation can be detected in other European societies as well. The first French *Hamlet* in 1770 by Ducis was based on a French prose synopsis; the plot was rearranged, the list of players cut, and a playable

text composed in alexandrines (Heylen 1993: 27–33). The first Finnish *Macbeth* in 1834 by Lagervall, reset the play in Finland, gave it Finnish protagonists, Russian villains, and changed the meter to that of the Finnish national epic (Aaltonen 2000: 1).

Translations have supported the emerging national identities. In Finland, the national awakening aimed at linking the language and identity, and the new national theatre supported this with translations. Similar function has also been served by the translations into Quebecois and Scots as indicated above by the studies of Brisset and Bowman. Moreover, translations have served as an important measure of the developmental stage of theatre (Aaltonen 1996: 77).

Censorship* is, and has been, an important issue in both the selection and translation of foreign plays. For example, when the Finnish National Theatre took their play *Kultaristi* (*La croix d'or*) to St.Petersburg in 1885, the translation had to change Russia into Spain, “dangerous” songs to “harmless” ones, and the title “gold ring” (Aaltonen 2000: 83–84). A reversed strategy concerning Egyptian theatre has been commented on by the Egyptian playwright Lenin El-Ramly (2008: 78). No dramaturgical changes are allowed in the translations of Western drama which would replace criticized or ridiculed Western rulers by Arab rulers.

2. Different translations

Translations for the theatre may satisfy different needs. The entire play may be translated in which case the translation takes the place of the source text on stage. The homogeneity and size of the audience, the time, space and mode of the reception, as well as the anticipated life span of the text distinguishes further three types of translations with regard to the openness of their readings. An introductory translation is written for a large and diverse audience of readers and theatre practitioners. It may be either published in printed form as a book or circulated as a theatre script electronically or as a hard copy. There is no concrete link with a particular theatrical production, and the overall trigger to the translation process is usually found either in the publishing industry or promotional cultural centres. The expected life span of such is long. A second type, a gloss translation, is confined to theatrical institutions which insist on tailor-making their own translations on the basis of a linguistic analysis of the source text. Gloss translations are open texts, targeted at a specific set of receivers, often playwright-translators, whose expertise is seen to lie in theatricality. The use of gloss translations has received severe criticism, for example in Britain, for an artificial separation of “linguistic” translation from “theatrical” ones for purely economic reasons. The third translation type, the performance translation, is aimed at the reception in a particular theatrical context. It is intended to be received audio-visually, and its anticipated life span can vary from one production to many, even to an afterlife as an introductory translation (Aaltonen 2003/2004).

3. Translation of drama: Textual challenges

The language of a translation can be (re)actualized in the sites of indeterminacy where there exists a choice between the familiar and less familiar. In an introductory translation the language variety used by the characters forms a site of indeterminacy although the choice is made somewhat easier (or difficult) by the lack of a specific receiver group. Translators tend, however, to use idiomatic expressions from the standard or colloquial varieties of a particular language either for the sake of fluency or to mark the use of a particular variety. They will also take a stance in whether to retain the original names of the characters, places and objects, or create new ones. A gloss translation identifies indeterminacies in linguistic expression and topical cultural markers, points them out and explains them, but does not suggest a choice. Only the stage translation makes the final choice. It (re)actualises the play through social or geographical varieties, culture-specific labels and linguistic idiosyncrasies. For example, in the translation of the Finnish play *Olga* into English, the introductory translation retained the markers of Finnishness in the names of people and places, but used American-English lexis and idiomatic expressions. The gloss translation identified Finnish sayings, metaphors and culture specific objects and concepts, and explained them. Finally, the stage translation for a production in Edinburgh retained many references to the Finnish culture-specific setting, but replaced the idiom of the characters by Scots (Aaltonen 2005).

The use of translated texts on stage directs the attention of the translators to the features of characterization and the relationships between the characters. Apart from the language variety, the linguistic profiles of characters and their relationships may include non-verbal alternants (utterances such as *uh-hu*, *mm*, *aha*), wordplay, swear – and taboo words, and terms of address which can be important for the director and actors in their meaning construction.

Apart from characterisation, the language variety of the original play may have served an instrumental function which cannot be retained in the translation. When John Millington Synge wrote his plays in Ireland around 1907, his aim was to prove that the Irish English of his plays suited theatrical expression (Aaltonen 1996: 171–174). Michel Tremblay's Quebecois *joual* was also part of a larger campaign for an independent Quebec.

The language variety of the translations may also come to serve an instrumental function which is not present in the source text. For example in the translation of plays into Arabic, the choice will need to be made between Modern Standard Arabic, the different common language varieties of the receiver countries, or a hybrid of the two.

Apart from total translation of foreign plays, surtitles (see Subtitling*) may be needed on some occasions, such as theatre festivals and guest performances. They will appear simultaneously with the source-language text (speech) on stage as one of the elements of the production. Also simultaneous interpreting, the preparation of a synopsis of the play, a translator integrated into the performance as an interpreter, and other alternative forms may replace a foreign source text in the production (Griesel 2007: 9).

4. Chasing the meaning in drama translation

Marvin Carlson (1995) has suggested the concept of supplementation to describe the way that subsequent readings of the text, such as the performance, relate to their source text. Performance as the supplement both looks back, relies on what is in the written text, adds to it, and then replaces it.

Seen this way, theatre translation and performance have a great deal in common. Both are subsequent readings of a source text which they replace. Secondly, both the translation and the performance are seen to need the authorisation of their source texts which always enjoy a superior status to its manifestations. Thirdly, the written source text has been regarded as a self-contained entity whose meanings have been put there by the author, whereas the work of a translator or a director has been turned into a hopeless quest to try to uncover these meanings. Finally, the playwright has been seen to put in the text the meanings which the director must find and use as a starting point. The director's task has been to anchor the play into the present. A similar professional role has been granted to the translator as well: to anchor the text to the present cultural context by using the meanings put in the source text by the playwright.

The study of translations (like the study of performances) can reveal what indeterminacies different types of translations have revealed, and how these have been supplemented at different times by different agencies and why. It does matter, who is speaking and why is s/he speaking thus.

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Ethics and translation

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Dictionary entries tell us that the word “ethics” refers to systems of values that guide and help determine the “rightness and wrongness” of our actions. An ethics of translation, then, necessarily addresses what is considered the morally correct manner in which one should practice the task of rewriting a text in another language. Although every conception of translation implies a certain notion of the ethical duties of translators, for much of the history of translation discourse, the word “ethics” is absent because a certain ethical position for translators has generally been taken for granted. Since translation has been understood as a task in which one strives to reproduce the original as closely as possible, ethical behavior has been simply posited as fidelity towards the original and its author.

1. A tradition of sameness

The portrait of faithful translators has been painted quite consistently for more than two thousand years. One of the first traits required is knowledge of languages and cultures. Etienne Dolet, for example, writes in 1540 that a translator, first and foremost, must “have perfect knowledge” of the two languages involved and “understand perfectly the sense and matter of the author he is translating” (2002: 95–96). In addition to knowledge, translators must strive for invisibility, and this means they should be neutral when dealing with texts to ensure that they neither add nor subtract anything from the author’s original. As far back as 20 BCE, Philo Judaeus mentions that the translators of the Septuagint “could not add or take away or transfer anything, but must keep the original form and shape” (2002: 13), and this sentiment has been echoed all the way to, and beyond, Vladimir Nabokov who insists, in 1955, that the translator “has only one duty to perform, and this is to reproduce with absolute exactitude the whole text, and nothing but the text” (2004: 212). In addition to this traditional view, ethical translators must accept their position of subservience and recognize that the texts they translate are not their own. They must see their work as John Dryden describes it in 1697 when discussing his relationship to the authors he translates: “he who invents is master of his thoughts and words,” but the “wretched” translators, he says of himself, “slaves we are, and labour on another man’s plantation” (2002: 175).

These ethical requirements have been reiterated throughout the ages and many of the various translation organizations around the world today reflect them in their

expectations of translator conduct. Apart from echoing Dolet's demand that translators have high levels of linguistic and cultural knowledge, most codes of ethics and/or practice directly call for translators to practice fidelity. For example, the "Code of Ethics" by the Association of Translators and Interpreters of Alberta states that, "[e]very translation shall be faithful to and render exactly the message of the source text – this being both a moral and legal obligation for the translator" (ATIA website). Similarly, the American Translators Association's "Code of Professional Conduct" makes translators swear: "I will endeavor to translate or interpret the original message faithfully" (ATA website). Translators are also asked to suppress their own opinions as can be seen in the draft "Code of Professional Practice" found on the website of the *Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs* (FIT), which maintains that "[t]ranslators and interpreters shall carry out their work with complete impartiality and not express any personal or political opinions in the course of the work."

Although there has been great consensus regarding this general ethical duty of translators, there has certainly been great disagreement regarding exactly what it is in the text one should be faithful to. Friedrich Schleiermacher divides all approaches to translation into two categories: "reader-to-author" and "author-to-reader" (2002: 29). With the first, translators feel that their ethical duty is to bring the target audience to the culture of the original, privileging the foreign elements so that the text's foreignness can be appreciated. With the second, translators feel that their ethical duty is to create a text that seems like it was originally written in the target language and culture, thus, in a sense, bringing the author to the norms of the target culture, language, and audience.

Regardless of which side on the opposition translators position themselves, generally speaking, they justify their position in terms of an ethics of fidelity and invisibility, i.e., that it is via one or the other of these approaches that one is *really* faithful to the original. However, the fact that translators must decide to orient themselves towards, for example, the source *or* the target while striving to reproduce the same text in another language already implies a certain degree of visibility on their part.

2. The emergence of difference

Throughout the twentieth century, some theorists began to posit the ethics of translation in a way that differs considerably from the one that was implied by much of the Western tradition. Although the expectations of translators are still often discussed in the traditional terms of fidelity and invisibility by many translation specialists, as well as in society at large, it is fair to say that mainstream Translation Studies is beginning to critically examine many of the demands historically placed upon translators. Instead of the impossible requirement that translators neutrally reproduce the same text in another language, there has been an increasing focus, since the latter part of the twentieth century, on the agency of translators and the difference that they will inevitably produce.

One example can be found in the *skopos* theory of translation introduced by Hans Vermeer in the 1970s (see Functional approaches*). Instead of trying to recreate what the original supposedly *is*, Vermeer suggests that translators focus on what the translation will be used for, and guide their actions based on its *skopos*, or “purpose.” Considering that the source and target texts may have very different purposes, they may end up being very different from each other (2004: 229), something that may sound unethical according to the traditional view discussed above.

Probably the most radical reworking of the traditional notion of the ethics of translation has come from postmodern philosophy (see Philosophy and translation*), most notably from Jacques Derrida’s deconstruction. According to postmodern thought, meaning does not reside *inside* texts and is not uncovered or extracted, but is attributed to them via the act of interpretation. Interpretation has historically been shunned when the duties of translators are discussed because it implies that they will be visible in the texts they are handling and, thus, unable to faithfully reproduce the original. If interpretation were tolerated, according to tradition, we would risk giving agency to translators who might then corrupt the pure meaning of the original. According to postmodern thought, however, these traditional requirements are unattainable, as is the notion of complete reproduction or transferral of the original because translation will always *transform* it.

If translators accept the fact that the original will always be transformed by the intervention of their work, they will also have to accept the fact that, contrary to the prevalent requirement that they do otherwise, they will always be visible as they leave marks of the decisions they have made. In this sense, they break one of the taboos associated with translators and take on a certain authorial role. This implies a complete reversal of the ethics placed on translators by tradition and, in fact, it has been argued that striving for invisibility can be seen as unethical (cf. Arrojo 1998: 44). If translators embrace the fantasy that they can be completely objective and invisible, then they will not critically look at the role they are actually playing. By acknowledging their visibility, translators can begin to more responsibly and realistically reflect upon the relationships between languages, between the original and translation, or the source and target cultures and examine the role their work plays in cultural mediation.

Postmodern thought stems from the idea that there are no absolutes on which to base our notions of truth, ethics, or even *the meaning* of a particular text in question. Many critics, consequently, erroneously assume that this foments an “anything goes” approach to translation that disallows the possibility of evaluation. However, postmodern theorists argue that it is precisely the opposite (cf. Davis 2001: 57). Because there are no formulas that one can follow for absolutely transferring (or even determining) meaning, translators must pay even closer attention to what they are doing because they can no longer wash their hands with the concept of neutrality. Being ethical does not involve simply declaring fidelity, but, instead, sorting through difficult decisions and taking responsibility for those taken. Also, contrary to the stereotype, just because there are no universals does not mean

translators can disregard conventions and do whatever they want. They must still “take law, rules, and as much else as possible into account (for translation, obviously, this includes grammar, linguistic and cultural conventions, genre, historical context, etc.), for these act as ‘the guardrails of responsibility’” (Davis 2001: 97 quoting Derrida 1993: 19). We all participate in traditions and, while we cannot jettison “the guardrails of responsibility,” we can evaluate them and, knowing they are cultural constructions, challenge them.

One of the consequences of postmodern conceptions of translation and ethics has been the flourishing of trends that focus specifically on what Lawrence Venuti calls an “ethics of difference” (1999), addressing questions of how power influences what is considered proper meaning and its “correct” translation, and silences the alternate versions. For example, increasing attention has been paid to the way translation has served as a tool of dominance and subjugation, and, on the other hand, how it can be used as a tool for activism (see Committed approaches and activism*), helping to combat hegemonic interpretations that have been created at the expense of other interpretations. In this kind of scenario, like with feminist (cf. Simon 1996) or post-colonial (cf. Robinson 1997) approaches to translation (see Post-colonial literatures and translation*), the ethical role of the translator is to take a stand against injustice that is reflected in, brought about by or propagated through language, exposing the hidden or unconscious agendas of what has historically been considered “neutral.”

3. Into the 21st century

Although most of mainstream Translation Studies has certainly not embraced postmodern approaches to translation and ethics, it has been impacted by them, as there is more and more interest throughout the field in rethinking ethics in a way that moves away from traditional expectations of sameness and fidelity towards a more complex contemplation of difference, the translator’s agency and subjectivity, and the role translators play in cultural relations. Perhaps this is also due, in part, to the fact that, in this ever-more globalized world, it is hard to ignore difference as we are constantly confronted with challenges to what have often been considered hegemonic ideas. There is, of course, no consensus as to what exactly it means to be an ethical translator, and this is a good thing because it foments debate regarding this ever-important topic. With debate we can question our own ethical positions and realize it is not enough to simply desire to “do the right thing.”

In closing, it should also be noted that there is one ethical duty of translators that seems to be shared by scholars from all areas of Translation Studies as well as the organizations dedicated to this craft: translators should actively participate in making this practice more visible to our societies that often view it with contempt or take for granted the fundamental role it plays in shaping the world. This includes, for example, educating clients about the complexities of translation, as well as establishing programs to educate translators both in

the theory and practice so that they may more responsibly contemplate what they are doing. There has been a boom of interest in translation all over the world not only from universities, but also from commercial sectors, governments, and many areas of popular culture, all of which are finding it harder to ignore the fact that translation does not merely reproduce ideas and information, but plays an active part in creating culture and civilization. As it gains visibility, and as we explore its complex implications, translation can also help us rethink the ethics of cultural encounters that define relationships among the peoples of the world.

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Ethnographic approaches

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Ethnographic approaches to studying translation have been on the increase, especially in recent years. Translation Studies researchers have recognised the versatility of ethnography as an approach to and research method for exploring translation practices in the broadest sense, in such diverse areas as medical interpreting (Angelelli 2000), asylum seeker procedures (Inghilleri 2003), translation at the European Commission and Parliament (Koskinen 2008) and literary translation (Flynn 2007). Further, ethnography has been put forward as a viable approach to Translation Studies* (Wolf 2002). Translation scholars have studied translation practices in classical and more recent ethnographies from a Translation Studies perspective (Sturge 1997, 2007; Bachmann Medick 2006).

Translation has been part of the ethnographic exercise from the outset both as a practice and as a metaphor (Sturge 2007), as doing ethnography means researching communities and groups who speak other languages than those spoken by community the researcher is reporting to. Malinowski's notion of "context of situation" for example, stems directly from an awareness of the complexity involved in translating and hence representing other cultures, (Malinowski 1935). Ethnographers' awareness of the problematic role played by translation in meaning-making, and especially in representing other cultures, has been the subject of longstanding debate potently crystallised in the work of Clifford and Marcus (1986).

In studies in language and society, researchers have long since turned their attention to "communities of practice". Translators or interpreters can also be viewed as "communities of practice" and the existence of such "communities" has long been acknowledged or otherwise recognised albeit in other terms among translation scholars. Such notions as translation and norms*; regimes in translation history*, translational and translatorial habitus (Simeoni 1998, Sela-Sheffy 2006), and sociology of translation* all explore translation as a socially situated activity.

As this piece is meant to provide a brief introduction to ethnographic approaches to Translation Studies, it is considered important to outline some basic elements of method and two or three assumptions underpinning ethnography and, in doing so, to point to how ethnographic studies can support, add to and build on insights gleaned from other related approaches to and research methodologies within Translation Studies.

Firstly, one cannot attempt to explain what an ethnography of translation might consist in without first attempting to outline what "doing ethnography" involves. In his seminal essay, Geertz states:

From one point of view, that of the textbook, doing ethnography is establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on. But it is not these things, techniques and received procedures that define the enterprise. What defines it is the kind of intellectual effort it is: an elaborate venture in, to borrow a notion from Gilbert Ryle, “thick description”.
(Geertz 1973:6)

The term ‘thick translation’ was coined in analogy to “thick description” and used by Appiah (Appiah 1993) to advocate “thick and situated” reading and translation practices in oral literary translation training in African settings – of particular relevance in the framework of post-colonial studies (see Post-colonial literatures and translation*). It is used in another, both theoretical and practical, sense by Hermans (2003), as well as in gendered approaches to translation (Massardier-Kenney 1997, Wolf 2003). For an interesting discussion of thick translation in ethnographic translations of verbal art, see Sturge (2007: 100–122).

In our case, a thick description of translation would add to studies using a thick translation approach and the various ideologies of power, gender, language etc. they unearth. This would further involve applying the textbook approach Geertz mentions with a view to further grounding and explicating the complex set of socio-cultural practices that result in translation products of whatever kind.

In order to become cognisant of these practices one also indeed has to establish some form of rapport – no matter how problematic the notion is (Marcus 1998: 105–131) – with translators working in whatever area of practice (legal*, commercial*, scientific*, etc.), select a set of informants, transcribe interviews and conversations with and among them, trace genealogies and trajectories of profession and map out the fields and networks of professional and other relations they participate in and maintain. It will involve keeping a detailed diary of or “field notes” on observations made in their presence or while possibly collaborating with them on (translation) projects and products of whatever type.

The data collected from this enterprise would, after analysis, allow us to provide a thick description (of a given subfield) of translation at a given time and place. In this era of globalization* and the World Wide Web*, the description may involve a given time frame but may cover a variety of (virtual) sites and not necessarily a given country or region. Regarding possible generalisations emerging from such a study, Geertz notes that “what generality it contrives to achieve grows out of the delicacy of its distinctions rather than the sweep of its abstractions” (Geertz 1973: 25).

Next to thick description, another assumption underlying ethnography is that language use cannot be separated from its users and the contexts of its use. So in order to gain a fuller understanding of what situated translation involves, one is obliged to step into the field – something which translation scholars have been doing increasingly of late.

Another assumption involves the grounded nature of ethnographic approaches. Following Geertz (1973: 15), it is argued that such studies should be related directly to translators, interpreters and other participants in the field. In other words they “must be

cast in terms of the constructions we imagine [they] place upon what they live through and the formulae they use to define what happens to them," (Geertz 1973: 15). This involves regarding situated discourse and practice in translation as belonging together (Bourdieu 1980) and also as playing a vital role in correcting, adjusting or fine-tuning scholarly description and hence increasing our understanding of translation as a social fact. In a similar vein, Silverstein (1981), in discussing the limits of native-speaker language awareness, argues for an understanding of "the properties of ideologies and ethnotheories, that seem to guide participants in social systems, as part and parcel of those social systems, which must be understood as meaningful", (Silverstein 1981: 22–23). Translators and interpreters can be approached in a similar way. Ethnographies of translation could lay bare the "properties," pointed to by Silverstein, all of which have a real and direct impact on the huge body of translated texts and interpretation events produced on a daily basis in numerous sites worldwide.

"Writing up" these studies opens up a whole range of issues regarding reflexivity (Marcus 1998: 181–202), power, gender*, ethics*, etc. also discussed in detail by translation scholars. Among other things, the researcher is confronted with his/her own position regarding the participants involved and the knowledge they bring with them or help construct in such forms of collaboration (Briggs 2002). It is also important to note – another assumption in ethnography – that such translational communities of practice and their make up are not *a priori* givens. Whether they are bilingual or multilingual, or use a variety of repertoires across various languages and sites, or whether they are indeed "hybrid", "liminal" or "translated", or perhaps more importantly, whether they perceive themselves as such, all remains to be established for the site(s) under scrutiny.

Minimally, ethnographies of translation can reply to the need for more context called for in other areas of translation research (e.g., corpus studies. See *Corpora**). They can also add to larger scale sociologies of translation (Pym, Shlessinger & Jettmová 2003; Wolf & Fukari 2007, among others) by providing "thick" situated insights into translation practices and the positions constructed, negotiated and maintained by translators and other actors in the field (Flynn 2006; Inghilleri 2003). They can provide more contextual substance to and enhance the explanatory power and depth of thick translation and the various ideologies of power, language etc. they throw up. Likewise, ethnographers could learn much from such translation communities and indeed from Translation Studies in general, a point so skillfully argued and illustrated by Sturge (1997, 2007).

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Functionalist approaches

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Functionalist approaches to translation are derived from a general theory of translation called *Skopostheorie*, brought forward by the German scholar Hans J. Vermeer in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It was soon taken up by several scholars who were teaching at the schools for translator and interpreter training in Germersheim (University of Mainz) and Heidelberg, who applied it to their translation classes. It has now followers all over the world, particularly in countries, where translation needs are pressing for various reasons, like South Africa or China. After a short overview of the development of *Skopostheorie*, the article will describe the basic concepts of the theory and the various fields of application, which are usually referred to as “Functionalist Approaches” (cf. Nord 1997a). The last section will give a short outlook on present and future functionalist research.

1. Early functional views on translation

Functional views on translation can be observed throughout history. Early translators, who observed that they were using different strategies for different tasks, like Cicero (106–43 B.C.), Jerome (348–420 A.D.) or Martin Luther (1483–1446), held the view that there are cases where the translator must “keep to the letter” (Luther) or reproduce “even the word order” (Jerome) of the source text, whereas in other cases they believed it was more important to “render the sense” (Jerome), adapting the text form to the acceptability standards of the target audience. In a similar vein, Eugene A. Nida (1964) distinguishes between formal and dynamic equivalence in translation, “formal equivalence” referring to a faithful reproduction of source-text form elements and “dynamic equivalence” denoting equivalence of communicative effect. When trying to apply this approach to translation in general, however, Nida suggests a linguistic model, whose similarity with Noam Chomsky’s theory of syntax and generative grammar is not accidental. This source-text oriented model had more influence on the development of translation theory in Europe during the 1960s and 1970s than did the idea of choosing translation strategies according to translation purposes.

2. A general theory of translation

Up to the 1970s, university training of translators and interpreters had quite a long tradition in Germany, but used to be mainly language-oriented; theoretical foundations were

borrowed from linguistics. Equivalence between source and target language units was the quality yardstick which was never questioned, although definitions of the concept were far from satisfactory. Translation exercises in the classroom used to be geared towards improving the students' linguistic and stylistic proficiency in both the source and the target languages. Trainers were often language teachers with little or no experience in professional translation.

In this situation, Hans J. Vermeer, who had been trained as a translator and interpreter by Katharina Reiss at Heidelberg University and was involved in translator training himself, first published his "framework for a general theory of translation" (Vermeer 1978). The theory was explained in more detail in a book co-authored with Katharina Reiss (Reiss & Vermeer 1984), who had prepared the ground for a functional approach in her work on translation criticism (Reiss 1971). In this book, Reiss integrated her concept of a correlation between text type and translation method as a "specific theory" (Part II) into the framework of Vermeer's general theory (Part I). Due to the fact that the authors' names are given in alphabetical order, readers sometimes erroneously come to the conclusion that *Skopostheorie* was actually developed by Katharina Reiss.

Around the same time, Justa Holz-Mänttäri, a Finland-based German professional translator, translation scholar and translator trainer, developed her theory of "translational action". In this concept, she includes both translating/interpreting and other forms of intercultural mediation that do not involve the processing of a particular (source) *text*, e.g., cross-cultural consulting or technical writing. Her theory and methodology was first presented in 1981 and elaborated in Holz-Mänttäri 1984. Holz-Mänttäri places particular emphasis on the roles of the participants in the translation process (initiator, translator, user, message receiver) and the situational conditions (time, place, medium) in which their activities take place. One of her prime concerns is the status of translators in a world characterized by the division of labour. Her concepts of vocational training emphasize the role of translators as experts in their field.

3. Basic concepts of *Skopostheorie*

Skopostheorie is based on action theory (Von Wright 1968) and regards translation as a purposeful activity intended to mediate between members of different culture communities. *Skopos* is the Greek word for "purpose", and purpose, in the sense of intended communicative function, is the central concept of this theory.

3.1 *Skopos*, purpose, intention, function, adequacy, translation brief

According to *Skopostheorie*, the prime principle determining the choice of method and strategy in any translation process is the purpose (*Skopos*) of the overall translational interaction, which takes place between cooperating parties across language and culture

boundaries. This means that the decisions taken by the participants of the interaction are guided by the communicative intentions of the person initiating the process (client, initiator). Apart from the term *Skopos*, Vermeer uses *purpose*, *intention* and *function* as synonyms. To avoid conceptual confusion, a basic distinction between *intention* and *function* was proposed by Nord ([1988]2005: 53), who defines *intention* from the viewpoint of the sender, while *function* is seen from the perspective of the receiver, who uses the text for a particular purpose. In situations where sender and receiver belong to different cultures and have different expectations regarding a certain text or text type, this distinction becomes particularly relevant. It has been criticized that the *intention* of a sender or author may be difficult to ascertain. Therefore, Vermeer specifies that he is referring to “the intention as interpreted by the reader or analyst”.

In *Skopostheorie*, it is therefore no longer the source text (as in equivalence-based models) but the target text’s functionality or *adequacy* (*Adäquatheit*) that sets the standard for translation evaluation. *Adequacy* is a relative term; it describes a quality *with regard to* a particular goal, which, in the framework of *Skopostheorie*, is the intended purpose. It should be noted that this concept of *adequacy* is fundamentally different from other uses of the term, e.g., in Descriptive Translation Studies*, where adequacy refers to source-text norms.

In order to produce an adequate target text, the translator needs as much information as possible about the situation for which the translation is needed (including the addressed audience). This situation is defined, in an ideal case, by the commissioner in a *translation brief*. If the brief is not specific enough, it may have to be complemented by additional information.

3.2 A text as an offer of information

This way of looking at translation as a mediated intercultural interaction is based on a different concept of what a text is. Vermeer regards a text as an offer of information directed at an addressee who then selects those items they want and/or are able to use in their own culture-specific situation. Thus, a translation is an offer of information made to a target-culture audience about another offer of information directed at a source-culture audience. Within such a framework it does not make sense to speak of conveying “the” meaning of “the” source text in “the” translation. The meaning or function of a text is not inherent in the linguistic signs; it cannot simply be extracted by anyone who knows the code. A text is made meaningful by its receivers. Different receivers, or even the same receiver at different times, may find different meanings in the same linguistic material of a text. Therefore, there may be as many different translations of one source text as there are purposes in the target culture which could be achieved by the target text.

3.3 Intertextual and intratextual coherence

This dynamic concept of text meaning and function is common enough in modern theories of literary reception (*Rezeptionsästhetik*). In order to make the target text work for a

specific target audience, the translator should produce a text that conforms to the standard of what Vermeer terms *intratextual coherence* (Reiss & Vermeer 1984: 113), which means that the addressed audience should be able to make sense of it and that the text should be acceptable for them (in terms of the requirements of the translation brief). On the other hand, the target text is expected to bear some kind of relationship with the corresponding source text. Vermeer calls this relationship *intertextual coherence* (ibid.). The form it takes depends both on the translator's interpretation of the source text and on the translation brief. One possible kind of intertextual coherence could be a maximally close reproduction of the source-text form (e.g., in a word-for-word or interlinear translation), another one could be an adaptation of the form to the norms and conventions of the target culture. Between these two poles, there may be different degrees of similarity or dissimilarity between the two texts.

3.4 Culture and culture-specificity

The concepts of culture and culture-specificity play an important part in *Skopostheorie*. Vermeer's concept of culture is dynamic, focusing on human action and behaviour, and comprehensive in that it conceives culture as a complex system determining any human action or behaviour including language, in which each phenomenon is assigned a position in a complex system of values, and every individual is an element in a system of space-time coordinates (cf. Vermeer 1987: 28). If this is accepted, transcultural action has to take account of cultural differences with regard to behaviour, evaluation and communicative situations. Culture-specific units of behaviour or evaluation are called *culturemets*.

4. Functional approaches to translator training

Very soon after the first publications on *Skopostheorie*, a group of scholars, who were working with Vermeer, started applying the theory to translator training. Hans G. Höning and Paul Kußmaul gave the starting signal with their book on translation strategy (Höning & Kußmaul 1982). They show how functional strategies lead to appropriate solutions to translation problems. Although their examples are taken from German-English translating, the problems they discuss are clearly not language-specific but may occur, with slight variations due to language structures and culture conventions, in any translation situation.

If students are trained for the profession, they have to know that they may be asked to produce different kinds or types of translation. They have to be able to interpret translation briefs, and to retrieve the information they need to produce translations that really work. Functional translator training therefore draws on both *Skopostheorie* and the needs of professional practice.

This has changed the ideas about the translation process as well. Early models of linear processes divided in two or three phases were replaced by a circular model with feedback

loops, in which the interpretation of the translation brief marks the beginning of the process and the standard for quality assessment at the end (Nord [1988]2005: 39). In such a process, pre-translational text analysis plays a different role. Instead of setting the standards for the production of an equivalent target text, it provides the basis for a comparison of the source text's offer of information with the target-text "profile" (i.e., the offer of information expected to be presented in the target text, as defined by the translation brief). This comparison serves as a basis for (a) the choice of a particular translation type (e.g., documentary or instrumental translation, cf. Nord 1997b), (b) the identification of translation problems (cf. Nord [1988]2005: 176), and (c) a holistic design of translation strategies and procedures to solve translation problems in such a way that the target text can achieve the desired communicative functions.

In this framework, translation errors* and mistakes could no longer be regarded as linguistic deficiencies due to insufficient language proficiency on the translator's part, but had to be defined in terms of the purpose of the translation process or product (see, for example, Schäffner 1997). From this point of view, a translation error is "a failure to carry out any one of the instructions implied in the translation brief" (Nord [1988]2005: 187).

5. Functional approaches to simultaneous interpreting

If *Skopostheorie* is a general theory of translation, it should apply to both translating and interpreting. It was Franz Pöchhacker, a practicing conference interpreter and professor at the University of Vienna, Austria, who tried to integrate simultaneous conference interpreting* into the framework of *Skopostheorie*, focusing on the specific aspects under which *Skopos*, intratextual coherence and culture have to be dealt with in conference interpreting. Drawing on a large corpus of authentic conference material, Pöchhacker gives ample evidence that the functional approach can indeed be applied to simultaneous interpreting, where the conference is regarded as a kind of hypertext. In addition to the individual speeches and contributions, the interpreter has to take large amounts of non-verbal acoustic and visual information into account, including slides, overhead transparencies, hand-outs, and the speakers' gestures and body language, while their own means of expression are limited to verbal and paraverbal behaviour. Therefore, the *skopos* of the interpreter's action as a whole is determined by the hypertext of the conference (cf. Pöchhacker 1995).

6. Functional approaches to the translation of specific text types

The applicability of functional approaches to the translation of pragmatic texts is widely agreed upon and accepted, which is obviously not the case with literary or Bible translation (see Religious translation*). In recent years, there have been a number of studies

precisely on these “specific cases”, including the translation of legal* texts, where the distinction between documentary and instrumental translation types has been applied by various researchers (e.g., Prieto Ramos 2002). The translation of opera libretti, chansons, musicals, film dubbing and subtitling*, as well as the translation of comics*, has been an object of study precisely by several researchers around Mary Snell-Hornby at the University of Vienna, e.g., Klaus Kaindl or Mira Kadrić, who have shown in their studies that the functional approach is a valuable tool for this area as well.

6.1 Literary translation

So far, there are few studies on functionalism in literary translation (e.g., Nord 1997a). An interesting experiment was carried out by the Brazilian scholar and literary translator Mauricio Mendonça Cardozo, who produced two different translations of Theodor Storm’s short novel *Der Schimmelreiter*, a documentary and an instrumental one, which were published together in a slipcase. The documentary translation (*A assombrosa história do homem do cavalo branco*) is source-text oriented, whereas the other one, *O centauro bronco*, transfers the story from its North German habitat into the Brazilian *sertão*. Both versions are called “translations”, and the idea was to put the limits of functional translation to a stress test.

6.2 Bible translation

It has always been rather common to have various versions of the Bible for specific audiences (children, young people, visually impaired persons etc.) or denominations. These versions are usually adaptations of existing traditional translations. In their German translation of the New Testament and early Christian apocryphal texts, Berger and Nord adopted a functionalist perspective from the start. The idea was to produce a documentary translation presenting the ancient texts in all their otherness as testimonies of a distant culture, making them accessible for an educated adult lay audience. To bridge the gap between the two cultures, explicitations were carefully integrated in the text, avoiding footnotes wherever possible, and adapting the style to the readability standards of modern German prose, without reducing the strangeness of the message itself (cf. Nord 2003a).

7. Ethical aspects

It is precisely in the translation of author-determined high-status or sensitive texts where the need for ethical standards is felt most. The so-called *skopos* rule, “the translation purpose determines the translation procedures”, does not include any restrictions to the range of possible purposes. The source text could be manipulated as clients (or translators) saw fit. In a general theory, this doctrine might be acceptable enough, since one could always argue that general theories do not have to be directly applicable. But translation practice

takes place in specific situations set in specific cultures; and any application of the general theory, either to practice or to training, must take account of the specific cultural conditions under which a text is translated.

A look into the history of translations shows that the concept of what a translation is or should be is culture-specific and subject to change. According to their concept of translation, readers might expect, for example, that the target text gives exactly the author's words; others might want it to express the author's intention even though this would mean changing the words; still others could praise archaizing translations or ones that are comprehensible, readable texts, and the concept of translation may even vary according to text types. A translator who is aware of this acts as a responsible mediator between the client, the target audience and the source-text author. This does not mean that translators always have to do what the others expect. It just means that the translator has to anticipate any misunderstanding or communicative conflict that may occur due to discrepant translational concepts and find a way to avoid or solve them.

Taking this responsibility translators have toward their interaction partners (and themselves) into consideration, Nord introduced the concept of *loyalty* into functionalism (Nord [1988]2005: 32). Loyalty is an *interpersonal* category referring to a social relationship between individuals. In a general model, loyalty would be a blank space that, in a specific translation task, is filled by the demands of the culture-specific translation concept, especially where the source and target cultures have divergent views of what a translator should or should not do. The translator is a mediator, and mediation cannot mean imposing the concept of one culture on members of another.

The loyalty principle thus adds two important qualities to the functional approach. Since it obliges the translator to take account of the difference between culture-specific concepts of translation, it turns *Skopostheorie* into an anti-universalist model, and since it induces the translator to respect the sender's individual communicative intentions, as far as they can be elicited, it reduces the prescriptiveness of *Skopostheorie*.

8. Present and future research in functionalism

Since most of the seminal texts on functionalism were only available in German during the first two decades, functionalist research was limited to German-speaking scholars based at German, Austrian, and other European universities. Their main concerns were related to training and included the following aspects: (a) translation methodology (pre-translational text analysis, error analysis and evaluation, translation strategies and translation typologies), (b) the elaboration of teaching material (like handbooks, textbooks and language-pair specific course-books, e.g., Schäffner & Wiesemann 2001), (c) translation pedagogy (see Translation didactics*), where I would subsume course design (for undergraduate, postgraduate and Ph.D. level) and continuing education, and (d) translation competence

and its various sub-competencies (cf. Risku 1998). These topics have been taken up by scholars all over the world in recent years.

Another area where functionalist research has been rather productive is the empirical analysis of culture-specificity, including (a) comparative genre studies of text-type norms and conventions in practice-relevant genres, e.g., technical* and scientific* texts (cf. Schmitt 1989; Göpferich 1995), tourist information brochures, scholarly prose, (b) general style comparison based on functional speech acts (cf. Nord 2003b, with regard to Spanish and German), (c) conventions of non-verbal text features, e.g., layout and typography in translation (Schopp), and (d) studies about specific culturemes, e.g., markers of ideology in political* texts (Schäffner), or markers of literary irony.

Since one of the criticisms leveled against *Skopostheorie* was (and is) its prescriptiveness, audience orientation and reader response is an area where more empirical research is urgently needed (for a first study in this direction see Nobs 2006, who investigated what users expect of translated tourist brochures).

9. Conclusion

Skopostheorie (and functionalism in general) was the answer to a language-oriented and equivalence-based concept of translation that was prevailing not only in Germany during the 1960s and 1970s. It drew the attention of Translation Studies to texts as communicative occurrences whose form is determined by the situation in which they occur and by the persons who use them as well as by cultural norms and conventions. It is therefore not concerned with language structures but with the conditions of communicative (inter)action and the needs and expectations of receivers, giving due consideration to the culture-specific forms of verbal and nonverbal behaviour involved in translation. *Skopostheorie* claims to establish a coherent theoretical and methodological framework for the justification of the translator's decisions in any type or form of translation task. The ethical aspect of its application is covered by the concept of loyalty. Therefore, functionalism fulfils the demands of professional practice with regard to responsible, competent translators, establishing the groundwork for a new and more positive image of the translating profession (for a detailed discussion of the most important criticisms regarding *Skopostheorie* see Nord 1997a).

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Gender in translation

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“Gender” as a concept and term that refers to the way different sexes are culturally constructed depending on the time, place and group in which women and men live, entered the field of Translation Studies as an analytical category in the late 1980s. A number of substantial books appeared (Simon 1996, Flotow 1997) and many articles. This came in the wake of the many different manifestations of feminism that had developed during the 1960s and 1970s. The term “gender” acquired broader meanings over the course of the 1990s, integrating issues raised by gay activism, queer theory, and ideas about the discursive performativity of gender. These aspects are now being explored in translation research as well.

1. Genders and language use

The fact that there is a relationship between gender and *language use* was established in numerous studies carried out since the 1970s in the humanities and the social sciences, which also examined relationships between gender and literary or historical fame, and the gendered content of philosophical, sociological, or political tracts (where, for example, many languages use the term “man” to include “woman”).

When the narrow focus on female and male as the major gender categories broadened with the arrival of gay activism and queer theory, ideas about contingent, discursively performative gender with similarly contingent meaning entered the discussion. Approaches that recognize more than two genders as well as discursive identity politics are currently moving the field of Translation Studies.

Gender questions apply to research on translation in different ways:

- by focusing on gender as a sociopolitical category in macro-analyses of translation phenomena, such as the production, criticism, exchange, and fame of works, authors and translators;
- by examining gender issues as the site of political or literary/aesthetic engagement through micro-analyses of translated texts; and
- by shaping related, more theoretical questions applied to or derived from translation praxis.

2. Gender in macro-analyses of translation

In macro-analyses of translated texts a focus on gender leads to largely revisionist work, starting from the finding that women and other “gender minorities” have essentially been excluded from or presented negatively in the linguistic and literary histories of the world’s cultures. The perspective of gender allows researchers to re-evaluate historical texts, their translations, authors, translators, socio-political contexts and influences or effects. Macro-analytic studies explore topics such as women writers and translators in Renaissance England, or the translation of homosexual materials in 18th century Russia, or women translators of science texts in the 1700s in order to examine the effects of gender and/in translation across a wide swath of society

One important area of research has been the revision of translations of “key cultural texts” such as the Bible or the Quran (see Religious translation*) with an eye to contemporary gender-awareness: feminist critiques and re-translations of parts of the Bible appeared in several European languages from the late 1970s, focusing on “inclusive language” that directly addresses women in the congregation and recognizes them in the texts themselves. The Quran is now attracting attention (Dib 2009). Studies of the Bible as a translated text have shown that translations generally hardened Christian attitudes against women over the centuries, interpreting these ancient texts to define women as the root of evil (Korsak 1992) or as untrustworthy and incapable (Stanton 1985), and consistently casting the human male in the image of a male God. Late 20th century re-translations of the Bible initiated turbulent discussions and changes in certain churches and congregations, and also caused a backlash from the Vatican, which published its *Liturgiam Authenticam* (2001) that spelled out rules about how to translate biblical texts.

Gender-focused studies of other translated literature have covered wide territory: from tracing the work of *invisible women translators* in post-Renaissance England, France or Germany or in colonial and modern-day Korea and China, to unearthing and translating the works of numerous *neglected or forgotten women writers* from the past, or from many other cultures. Examples include abolitionist women writers of 18th and 19th century France (Kadish & Massardier-Kenney 1994), and women translators (Delisle 2002). Feminist literary historiography underlies such work showing how literary and academic institutions have neglected female writers and translators, thus depriving cultures and societies of the ideas of an important yet marginalized sector of the population. Similar work is currently underway with regard to gay and queer genders in translation.

The struggle over meaning that takes place in translation is always informed by gender. This is sometimes even more pronounced when translation occurs between developing countries and the West, where power differentials and colonial histories are also involved. Work incorporating gender in this domain has addressed the “imperialist” attitudes of

Western feminisms which apply their categories and judgments in translating the texts of writers from developing countries (Spivak 1992).

3. Gender in micro-analyses of translation

Gender used as a lens for the micro-analysis of individual translations focuses on the minute details of language that may reflect or conceal gendered aspects of language use. Translations can be extremely challenged by such discursive manifestations of gender, and micro-analytic studies provide clues about the literary climate of the translating culture, offering valuable re-readings of “key” writers, exploring the connections between a writer and their translators, and positioning writers, translators and researchers in a triangular struggle over the power to interpret and assign meaning. Translation analyses of “key” writers have examined work by a number of women writers viewed as important for the feminist movement. These include but are not limited to Sappho in English, Mary Wollstonecraft in German, and Simone de Beauvoir. The case of Beauvoir in English translation, for instance, provides many examples of deliberate intellectual and literary censorship (Simons 1983) that have truncated and misrepresented her thought, making her work appear confused, conventionally patriarchal, and unpalatable.

Studies of the connections between one specific writer and her translators have had a noteworthy impact on theorizing the connections between gender and translation: Nicole Brossard, a Quebec writer of experimental avant-garde poetry and prose whose work has foregrounded gender in language since the late 1970s, triggered work on *feminist translation* in the 1980s and 1990s. Her writing has been translated into dozens of languages, thus posing and re-posing the problem that every woman writer must face: namely, the nefarious aspects of gender in the conventional language, which work against her as a *woman* writer. Brossard’s work like that of many other experimental 20th century women writers undermines this conventional language and develops experimental forms for preferred use by women writers. The translations of these new forms as well as the commentaries and theoretical approaches developed by translators in response to the challenges posed of translating such work now make up a substantial corpus (Godard 1983, De Lotbinière-Harwood 1992, Flotow 2004), furthering thought and research on a translator’s deliberate intervention for reasons of personal identity politics.

Such ideas have also marked work on gay writing and translating, where, for example, a certain type of language use identified as “camp” in English writing and described as “extrasexual performative gestures” (Harvey 1998) both denotes and generates gay self-identificatory activity. Studies of the translation of this coded neologistic language into another socio-cultural and political context and time have revealed the contingency

of gay identity in language, and the extent to which it is negotiated within different communities.

4. Related questions

Questions about meaning, (mis)representation, and appropriation are not only political and cultural, but also theoretical; the focus on gender in translation has given rise to many related concerns, some of which include:

- The relationship between gender affiliations of the writer and the translator: can men translate women's texts or women men's? Does a translator need to be gay in order to successfully translate a gay writer's work? How have women translators in the past fared with the male authors they translated; how have gender issues affected the work of male writers and translators?
- Feminist translation as a particular mode and approach to a text (Godard 1990, Flotow 1991): to what extent do/should the literary and cultural politics of the moment offer translators the freedom and the political justification to view and present themselves as creatively interventionist; what are the ethics of interventionist translation in the name of gender politics?
- Gendered metaphors about translation: how do the gendered aspects of languages reflect and structure a society's conception of gender relations, tie in with its understanding of translation, and reveal the powerplays involved in both the operations of text transfer and relations between and among the sexes? (Chamberlain 1988/2000). How do these metaphors mold translators', writers', publishers' and readers' experiences and uses of translation?
- Gender and psychoanalysis as a way to understand and formulate translation theories: how have Freudian/Lacanian theories that posit male heterosexuality as the norm affected the conceptualization of translation, and how can feminist revision of these theories by psychoanalysts such as Luce Irigaray or Bracha Ettinger revise the understanding of translation? (Flotow 2009).
- The differences within so-called "gender minorities" – i.e., women, or GBLT [gay, bi-sexual, lesbian, transsexual] affiliations: where are the conceptual and actual limits of considering such groups homogeneous entities who can be (mis)represented by certain texts in translation? How much intersectional difference within such groups – due to class, race, ethnicity, ideology and other factors – is accounted for in the identity-forming discourses around gender and translation?
- Gender has been theorized as a performative act, and translation has often been described as a "performance:" how can this parallelism be exploited and further developed in the constant overlap of "trans" terms (transgender, transnational, translation)?

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Globalization and translation

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Globalization is generally held to be the defining feature of late modernity (Friedman 2005). In a widely quoted definition of globalization Anthony Giddens claims that globalization is “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (1990: 64). The ‘intensification’ can only take place, of course, if there is some way of ‘linking the distant localities’.

1. Economy

There are two dimensions to linkage in a global age, the first spatial and the second, linguistic. Spatial linkage is the outcome of time-space compression where the amount of time required to move people, objects or information from point A to point B is constantly diminishing. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the primary agents of time-space compression were the railroad, car transport and the telegraph. The convergence of time and space occurred primarily, though not exclusively, at national level. In the second half of the twentieth century, time-space compression with the advent of air transport and informatics occurred increasingly at a global level. However, spatial linkages are not sufficient in and of themselves to bring distant localities together. There must be some means by which localities can communicate with each other. The linguistic linkage is what is commonly understood to be translation, the attempt to bridge the distance of language difference through the agency of the translator. In this respect, then, the phenomenon of globalization is literally unthinkable without according a central role to the fact and functions of translation.

In understanding why translation is inextricably bound up with the phenomenon of globalization it is necessary to acknowledge the specific nature of economic practice in late modernity, namely that the economy is informational and global. The economy is said to be informational because the productivity of firms, regions, nations depends largely on their ability to create, process and apply effectively knowledge-based information (Castells 1996: 21). As information becomes an omnipresent part of the lives of citizens and consumers, the goal of technological development becomes both the accumulation of knowledge and the move towards higher levels of complexity in information processing. The economy is said to be global because the core activities of production, consumption and

distribution as well as components (capital, labour, raw materials, management, information, technology, markets) are organized on a global scale, either directly or through a network of connections between different economic agents. Information technology links the informational and the global aspects of the world economy in that IT provides the tools or material basis for the global management of economic activities. Although international trade is nothing new, "A global economy is something different: it is an economy with the capacity to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale" (Castells 1996: 92). For the economy to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale there must be a way of managing and understanding the information which circulates in greater volumes at higher and higher speeds on a multilingual planet.

Software localization* is one explicit manifestation of the role of translation in a global, informational economy and began to emerge as a significant area of economic activity in the 1980s. Covering everything from the translation, engineering and testing of software applications to the management of complex, multilingual translation projects taking place simultaneously, localization directly relates to the translation needs generated by the informational economy in an era of global markets. The exponential growth in the Internet throughout the 1990s and into the 21st century has seen a change in the nature of localization where web-site localization, for example, is program-based rather than project-based. Time pressures drive the development and use of translation technologies such as translation memories, computer-assisted translation software or web-based machine translation services. Time-space compression thus both generates translation needs and shapes the ways or forms in which these needs are met.

In order to appreciate the special significance of translation for globalization, it is worth pointing to certain specific connections between translation and the economy in the global age. Producing a localized version of a product means that new markets are opened up for an existing or potential product. A domestic market may be stagnant or in decline, while foreign markets may be buoyant or support higher price levels. One of the effects of increased sales is to allow research and development monies to be spread over a broader base and the life cycle of the product can be extended. If translation is often in what is called the 'critical path' for the sales of specific products, it is because time-to-market is a central feature of economic life in late modernity. In a world of global information flows, whether through the media or the web, consumers are readily aware of new product offerings. For many digital products, such as cameras, the crucial sales period is the first four weeks. If product information is not available in the customer's language at the time of the release of the product, the potential sales loss can be significant. The objective then becomes the simultaneous availability of the product in all the languages of the product's target markets.

The translation demands in a globalised economy are not only to do with the need for the global dissemination of information. They are also related to the changing natures of goods themselves in post-industrial societies. As Scott Lash and John Urry (1994: 4) point out, "Either they [goods] have a primarily cognitive content and are post-industrial

or informational goods. Or they have primarily an aesthetic content and are what can be termed postmodern goods". Informational goods increasingly imply the integration of information into the product (online help, 'wizard' that solves users' problems) or a greater information-intensity in the products themselves, for example, a car with a navigation system or a pocket scanner. If information is the basic raw material of the new post-industrial economy, it is no surprise that accessing that information in a way that is intelligible to users in a multilingual world will involve translation in one form or another. In terms of the production of 'aesthetic goods' whose value lies in their aesthetic or cultural resonance it is clear that translators are needed to ensure that appropriate cultural signals are sent whether that be in terms of translated web content or target-culture sensitive sub-titles.

2. Technology

In addition to the clear integration of translation into global economic practices as instanced by various forms of localization, it is important to draw attention to emerging forms of collaborative, community translation which are facilitated by global information technology. Second Life is an online social network where translation plays a key role. Almost 70% of the monthly population of 900,000 users are non-English native speakers. By November 2008, the site had been localized by volunteers into German, French, Japanese, simplified Chinese, Turkish, Polish, Danish, Hungarian, Czech, Korean and Brazilian Portuguese (TAUS 2008). The 'translation crowd' approved by Linden Lab, the owners of Second Life, has now reached over 200 contributors (Ray 2009: 37). The volunteer translators are involved not only in the translation but in terminology management and in editing and testing localized versions. Facebook has similarly used crowdsourcing models to translate contents into languages other than English and fan translation has been used to considerable effect in the translation of Japanese anime and Korean soap operas (O'Hagan 2009: 94–121). What this 'wiki-translation' indicates is that the rapid dissemination of new online social networking practices that are a more recent feature of globalization not only generate translation needs but in turn have profound consequences for the profession of translator. In other words, interactive, user-generated content which is a core feature of Web 2.0 (e.g., wikipedia) is now informing translation practice where translation consumers are now becoming translation producers. If this development is coupled with the growing use of web-based machine translation* services such as Google Translate, it is evident that the status of the translator is itself beginning to change, the former norm of individual, professional training giving way to collective forms of translation practice mediated by new translation technologies. Thus, both traditional expectations as to what constitutes acceptable translation and who is to be accepted as translator are being altered by new configurations in the virtual reality of the global web. In respect of the visibility of the translator, the move towards web-based MT services can appear to make invisible the

labour of translation whereas the advent of wiki-translation points to the making visible of the demands of translation for larger groups of users.

3. Migration

Globalization may entail the removal of barriers to the free movement of goods and services but the free movement of people has proven to be much more problematic. Two main contributory factors to increased migration are of course ageing populations in wealthier countries and the huge labour demands of service-intensive economies (Sassen 1999). As many migrants are brought in initially, at any rate, to perform poorly-paid, relatively unskilled jobs, the sense of social distance can be relatively acute as the affluent diners in the upmarket restaurant will have little in common with the migrant kitchen help working fifty metres away behind closed doors.

The distance can of course be even more marked in that what the increasingly global search for migrant workers has done is to alter the linguistic composition of workforces. Bischoff and Loutan, for example, reporting on the interpreting situation in Swiss hospitals noted the consequences for translation and language awareness of a shift in migration patterns. In earlier decades, migrants had largely come from countries that spoke a Romance language such as Portuguese, Spanish and Italian. Towards the end of the last century, the situation began to change and they found in a nationwide survey of interpreter services in Swiss hospitals that the languages requiring interpreters were amongst others, Albanian, South Slavic (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Bulgarian), Turkish, Tamil, Kurdish, Arabic and Russian (Bischoff & Loutan 2004: 191). This is the sense of 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' invoked by Stuart Hall (2002: 30) where it is no longer necessary to travel to distant or exotic locations to meet the Other. One consequence of extended networks of migration in a global age has been the exponential increase in interest in Translation Studies in the practice of community interpreting*, in sites such as schools, hospitals, the courts, police stations, construction sites. Two issues are posed by these predominantly urban migratory developments, one synchronic and the other diachronic. The synchronic issue is how do people live together and communicate with each other in multilingual spaces while at the same time retaining important elements of their identity, including most significantly language? The diachronic question is what can the historic and cultural past of cities tell us about the impact of interlingual and intercultural contact and translation practice on the formation of place? Thinking about the city as a translation zone in the context of globalization helps scholars to reflect on how cities currently function as spaces of translation, how they have functioned in this way in the past and how they might evolve in the future. Construing the global city as translation zone offers in conceptual terms a 'third way' between on the one hand an idea of the city as the co-existence of linguistic solitudes and on the other, the 'melting

pot' paradigm of assimilation to dominant host languages. Translation operating from the dual perspective of the universal (talking to others) and the particular (having something to talk about) means that it is possible to be attentive to the need for urban communities to be arenas for dialogue and exchange while at the same time seeing how the richness of specific identities can be cultivated and developed. Central to any discussion of the city as translation zone is the status of English as a global lingua franca. Does English as a vehicular language eliminate the perceived need for translation or is it more the case that English exerts translation pressures that oblige individuals or communities to translate themselves into English (Holborow 1999; Philipson 2003)? Furthermore, given the global spread of English, is there an argument to be made that intralingual translation between varieties of English is as pressing an issue as translation between English and other minoritized languages (Crystal 2003)?

4. Anti-globalization

Globalization has, of course, been a much contested phenomenon and has been seen by many commentators as the executive arm of neo-liberal hegemony (Klein 2000). The emergence of the anti-globalisation movement (also known as the Global Justice Movement), which came to worldwide prominence during demonstrations surrounding the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations in Seattle in 1999, has provided a focus for the critics of market-based and shareholder-driven economic systems. The World Social Forum (WSF), which held its first meeting in Brazil in 2001, has become the principal platform for the articulation of critiques of the dominant economic order. As both the movement and the WSF were committed to the value of cultural diversity and democratic participation, translation soon came to the fore as an important issue to be addressed if the multilingual composition of the forces contesting forms of globalization was to be acknowledged and respected. To this end, a group of voluntary translators and interpreters known as Babels provide translation support to the work of the WSF and Social Forum meetings in different parts of the world. Babels does not see itself as simply the purveyor of translation and interpreting services but as actively involved in shaping the projects in which the members are involved. They are part of what has been identified as a new kind of activist translator and interpreter who eschew traditional notions of neutrality for a more engaged stance on global political issues (Boéri 2008: 21–50).

Global issues are almost, by definition, presented or debated in the global media. For the issues to have global dissemination, however, translation must intervene and the role of translation in everything from major global news organizations (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009) to the global impact of Hollywood cinema (Cronin 2009) has been an object of research for Translation Studies scholars. However, an aspect of globalization and translation which should not be overlooked is the globalization of the discipline of Translation

Studies itself. For many years, the discipline was dominated by the historical experiences and preoccupations of scholars from Western Europe and North America but in recent decades there has been a dramatic change in the involvement of scholars from across the globe in translation research (Wakabayashi & Kothari 2009). Maria Tymoczko has argued that, "When translators remain oblivious of the Eurocentric pretheoretical assumptions built into the discipline of Translation Studies, they not only play out hegemonic roles in their work, they willingly limit their own agency as translators" (Tymoczko 2007: 8). Bringing to the fore the many different ways in which translation has been conceptualised and practiced in languages and cultures across the globe not only broadens understandings of translation but helps to further demonstrate its centrality to the dynamics of cultural change. Translating locally and thinking globally are now becoming two sides of the same global coin.

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Hermeneutics and translation

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The relationship between translation and hermeneutics is evident. When a person is given the task of translating a text from one language into another one, the goal of this task is to facilitate communication between people of different cultures. The issue of comprehension will be involved. The translator expresses content understood from a source text and becomes a co-author for the target text, but before translating the source text he or she has to grasp the message. The main factor in this process is the translator with his/her knowledge of languages, cultures, technical features and writing strategies. The focus is on translation competence as a deeply subjective phenomenon as regards comprehension and writing, and this situation is best analyzed against the background of hermeneutics.

Hermeneutics as a modern language philosophy has often been described as a theory of comprehension. However, it does not explain “how we understand”, or “what we understand”, it rather tackles the question of “whether we can understand at all”. Hermeneutics is asking about the conditions of understanding, and the personal act of comprehension, then, is seen as an event that happens (or not). The point of departure in the hermeneutical philosophy is the individual as a historical and social person who wants to orient him/herself in the surrounding world, understand others, and act in the society. This is relevant for translation.

1. The dual character of language

The German Protestant theologian and philosopher F.D.E. Schleiermacher (1768–1834) is seen as the father of Hermeneutics as a language philosophy. He had offered new insight as he reflected on the role of language in the interpretation of texts, with a view to Bible translation (see Religious translation*). He argued that neither the logical inference of reason, nor the individualistic evidence of Idealism in their ahistoric absolutism can be a proof for the certainty of truth in talking about language. Schleiermacher never saw interpretation in empathetic terms. Understanding, for him, was never a matter of fact.

Language includes aspects of both objective features in grammar and lexicon uniting all humans in a speakers' community, and subjective features because language is also created and evolves by individual utterances within a culture. This subjectivity is later on emphasized by Steiner (1975: 10). Both aspects shall never be separated from each other, says Schleiermacher, they are only seen alternately, in a more or less clear emergence,

depending on the individual case of reading. On the one hand, any contrastive grammar or stylistics or text analysis will only grasp one half of the language reality, and, on the other hand, an individual assurance of having interpreted rightly may be prone to the relativism of a naïve subjectivity.

Hermeneutics distinguishes – from a personalized world view – between objects/facts with their analysis/cognition and human activity with its inner motivation, i.e., between objectivity and subjectivity, analysis and evidence, strategy and impulse, rationale and intuition, inference and impression, proof and argumentation. Schleiermacher stressed that thought and volition do refer to each other in the acting person, but are also ineluctably separate. Any conviction can be contestable.

2. The conditions of understanding

Schleiermacher in his book *Hermeneutics and Criticism* (1838) gave some hints on how to get firm ground for understanding. He mainly designated four factors of a “hermeneutical process”: grasping a text passage, its conditions of origination, its situational background, and its placement within a larger text type entity. This produces a dynamism of the textual “object”. Schleiermacher calls here for a combination of “grammatical analysis” with genre comparison within the language, and a “divinatory understanding” of the individual text as a psychological explication of the passage in its context. The divinatory and the comparative method are closely interlinked, and there is an interplay between rules and intuition. There will be phases of understanding more driven by methodology, and others where intuition is the leading strength.

For the purpose of backing-up one’s interpretation of a text to expound its meaning, Schleiermacher established several alternating antinomies of analysis as a method. There is, among others, a circle of comprehension or “interpretive circle” between the whole of the text and the single element in it, or a circle between the constitution and the actual effect of the text, when the author might have had other intentions than are now visible from the written text to the present reader. This methodological approach corresponds to well-known aspects of text analysis via lexis, semantics and pragmatics usually applied for strengthening one’s interpretation (Thiselton 2006: 191). But Schleiermacher maintains that there is always an additional aspect of intuition, since understanding is an art. Truth reveals itself intuitively in a person’s mind.

The basis for this to happen is an awareness of the topics treated and of the language concerned. Without any uniting bond no understanding will be possible. The art is based on relevant knowledge, since a naïve interpretation cannot be acceptable, e.g., for responsible translation. This means that the translator has to be aware of his personal horizon of experience and knowledge and must open it phenomenologically by learning and entering into unfamiliar horizons, e.g., to foreign cultures and scientific disciplines.

This is the place of the so-called “hermeneutical circle”: I will only understand something if I already know a part of it, when there is a common basis. This observation is not trivial because it means that a merely linguistic analysis of a text does not lead to its meaning, just as the pure perception of a strange phenomenon does not result in its adequate interpretation. The “difficulty” of a text is a relative concept, not to be described as a textual quality. It depends on the reader’s capacity.

There is the historical context in which the strange text was written, and there is the context in which the interpreter stands. It is impossible for the interpreter to eliminate his or her own context by means of a pure objectivism. Precisely by becoming aware of the modern context and its influence on the way one reads the text, one may come to a fresher, more accurate, and deeper understanding of the text.

The hermeneutical circle as the interpretive horizon is a bond between the reader and the text, and we cannot get away from it. But it does not fence us in, because we may always learn new things and thus transcend the circle first given. That is what happens in understanding: an enlargement of our horizon, and at the same time this prepares the basis for further understanding. The truth of a text thus revealed is historically determined (Thiselton 2006: 747). There is no quasi objective, ever unchanged truth in social communities. Truth is only found dialectically, in a discussion process within a group, valid for a certain period of time, ever remaining open for new interpretation.

When we have enlarged our own horizon of knowledge, we will be able to grasp a text’s message that was written against another horizon. Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002) in his work *Truth and method* (1960) speaks of a “fusion of horizons” when comprehension happens. And this process is ever dynamic, as individuals are placed in a historical situation, and their conscience is continuously growing. Fritz Paepcke (1918–1990) in his collection of articles *Im Übersetzen leben* (1986) (living translation) first introduced hermeneutical thinking into Translation Studies, focusing mainly on the aspects of comprehension. The adequate comprehension of a text, i.e., when a fusion of horizons has happened to the reader’s satisfaction, will create a cognitive representation of that text’s message. And all what is carried in mind can also to some extent be expressed in another language.

Outside the German speaking world, the hermeneutical approach is mainly represented by George Steiner (1975) in his seminal work *After Babel*. He uses (1975: 296–300) a very metaphorical language in describing the “hermeneutic motion” when a translator with an “initiative trust” in the meaningfulness of a text “as a yet untried, unmapped alterity of statement” comes to a “manoeuvre of comprehension explicitly invasive and exhaustive leaving the shell smashed”. The sense, in comprehension, is incorporated “in a complete domestication” and abducted into another language. His description of the process of understanding neglects the self-critical reflection underlined by Schleiermacher and soon changes into a description of its effects. The assimilation of the foreign sense has an effect both on the translator himself and on the target language which is being transformed by the importation of the strange sense.

This idea gives rise to interpreting translation as a creative act that changes the words and not seldom the original meaning via translation. It has been seen both in literary translation (see Literary Studies and Translation Studies*) and in postmodern translation theories as the privilege of creativity. Translations are new creations rather than a representation of the text first given in the source language. Leighton (1991) extensively describes the “art of translation” (Steiner 1975: 293) and its different concepts, for instance in Russia and in America.

However, Steiner’s ideal of translating is a sort of interlinear version oriented towards the single word (1975: 307). This discourse reflects in Walter Benjamin’s *The task of the translator* (1923). He even had denied the mere possibility of a “true” translation thinking that a piece of art is only valid for itself. Steiner saw an unreachable ideal of the translation as a full mimesis (1975: 367).

Steiner’s periodical history of translation, consisting of four stages where most translations are inadequate, was taken up by Kelly (1979). The hermeneutical approach, particularly in literary translation, emphasizes the creative energy of language. Kelly sees this as a shortfall in translation, no less than merely structural approaches, as it goes beyond the text’s message.

3. Expressing messages as the translator’s task

The real difficulty in translation, seen from the hermeneutical translator’s point of view and not descriptively from the outside like in Steiner (1975), is the problem of formulating. We will have to try several times until we find the adequate words for what we want to say. The wish does not lead in a logically compelling and fully guaranteed way to the respective action, neither does command. The translator will identify with the message understood in empathy, in order to re-express it as if it were his/her own opinion. Translation does not inform about a text, but presents that text in an intelligible way. An authentic text will be created in the other language, for which the translator can accept responsibility.

Translation expresses messages and is not a reaction to language structures or a linguistic derivation from the source text. Maybe one should better give up the traditional terms of “source” and “target” texts. The message understood from the original – now being cognitively present – finds a new expression in the translation. The usual linguistic approach has always been the analysis of *morphemes – semes – lexemes – in texts – as a genre – situated – in a culture*. This should be reversed. The translator does not analyze linguistic objects, he or she is confronted with *the voice of an author – in a culture – in a discourse field – as texts – with words – carrying sense*.

Translators are individual human beings having gathered their own culture and an awareness of the other culture or scientific domain (through language acquisition, social experience, practical work, travels, specialist studies, learning of facts). Different cultures

as systems of knowledge get into contact within the translator's mind, in a "fusion of horizons". In other words: the translator has a share in those cultures or domains and may even be part of them, rather than standing *in between* the cultures doing a transfer or working *on* them.

The translators – in an hermeneutical approach – have to critically distinguish between their own opinion and what the text is actually saying. As R. Stolze (2003) has shown in *Hermeneutik und Translation*, translators will look at the situational background, the discourse field, the conceptual world of key words and the predicative mode of a text, in order to adequately interpret it. In following Schleiermacher's holistic approach, interpreted in a modern way by Thiselton (2006), one may apply the instruments of applied linguistics. But understanding is not all, formulating is the crucial issue. So the translator will use the available techniques in a holistic view regarding the medium, stylistics, coherence and function to be realized for the translated text in order to formulate adequately. Not all translations are necessarily inadequate, as Steiner affirms (1975: 368). Language proficiency, style awareness and confidence in one's own creativity are decisive. This is what original authors are doing also when they think about their intended addressees. In authors this process often is unconscious, whereas translators reflect on it critically.

The hermeneutical approach to translation presented here includes the idea that the translational dealing with texts is basically the same for all text genres in literature and in specialist communication – only the required knowledge base and language proficiency is different. For any translating person some literary styles or cultural specificities are as strange as functional styles and technical terms. The relevant knowledge in both areas has to be acquired first and be used in a self-critical manner.

The idea of translation being merely a subjective mood, however, is not part of the hermeneutical theory of translation, which also comprises precision and methodology. In this sense, with regard to the translator's approach to texts, hermeneutics proves to be a background of orientation in reading and writing.

4. Hermeneutics as a research paradigm

Hermeneutics may even work as a research paradigm, when the question is tackled, which kind of learning content is adequate for the future translators, or which are the factors of translation competence. Even Cognitive Science (see Cognitive approach*) may offer links to Hermeneutics concerning the multifarious outreach of the human mind, or the constructive process of knowledge creation, with regard to translation. Different translation results in relationship to different precedent learning steps, or cultural education may become visible and could be tested. The question remains unsolved so far whether there is an infallible cause-effect relationship in human translation. A different subjectivity seems to have a major effect on the translational work as a way of writing.

It is questionable whether the analysis and comparison of given translations is of any pedagogical use in the training of translators. The description of facts has not necessarily a dramatic impact for questions of social activity, such as translation. We can distinguish between the validity of *formulating* rules and *observing* such rules. Any exact description of rules and methods, for instance of translation universals, does not offer an absolute guarantee for the fact that the person will act accordingly in the future. Translation, rather, is dependent on one's text interpretation and language proficiency. As a conclusion, we may state that hermeneutics and translation stand in a natural correlation.

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Humor in translation

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1. Humor

At first glance, humor is easy to define. Humor is what causes amusement, mirth, a spontaneous smile and laughter. And humor, it seems, is a distinctly human phenomenon “pour ce que rire est le propre de l’homme” [because to laugh is proper to man], in François Rabelais’ phrase. Yet modern research does not confirm this *prima facie* simplicity. While humor is intimately related to laughter, it is not true that humor and laughter are equally proper to man. One short way to elucidate the concept of humor is precisely by analyzing its relation to laughter.

Note, first, that laughter – unlike humor – does not require a developed human mind that thinks in symbols. “Developmentally, laughter is one of the first social vocalizations (after crying) emitted by human infants” (Martin 2007: 2). And there is evidence, *pace* Rabelais, that some primates also know forms of laughing (Martin 2007; Deacon 1997). They emit laughter-like signals which invite for social play. Deacon (1997) adds that laughter is originally a primitive, contagious animal call associated with social play. If one animal of a group produces such a call, others will repeat it automatically (by contagion), inducing a collective response and mood. Thus, laughter must have played “an important role in the maintenance of group cohesion and identity during a major phase of hominid evolution,” “promoting shared emotional experience” (Deacon 1997: 419). It is obvious that humor is also a form of social play. In full-blown humans, Deacon hypothesizes, laughter has somehow been “captured” by the symbolic mind (and the human brain’s prefrontal cortex) to produce the phenomenon of humor:

A call [i.e., laughter] that may primarily have been [evolutionarily] selected for its role as a symptom of “recoding” potentially aggressive actions as friendly social play seems to have been “captured” by the similar recoding process implicit in [symbol-dependent] humor [...]. In both conditions, insight, surprise, and removal of uncertainty are critical components. (1997: 421)

In animals (and hominids), laughter relates to surprise, uncertainty and play in a world not (or barely) articulated by symbols. In humans, laughter relates to symbolically created and mediated surprises, uncertainties and insights – to humor.

These findings and hypotheses show that humor ties in with many aspects of the human being. One the one hand, humor has links with primitive parts of the brain

(Deacon 1997: 419): parts associated with socialization, (shared) emotions and (reduction of) danger or hostility. On the other hand, humor is not just laughter. It is laughter that has been captured as a useful response to uncertainty, surprises, and insights constructed by our symbolic mind (and the enabling prefrontal cortex). Humor is therefore without doubt a distinctly human thing: our symbolic mind can turn uncertainty, surprise and danger into what we call humor. Although higher animals know social play, it is obvious that humans are best at it (Goffman 1974), and humor is a case in point. The many-sidedness of humor is reflected in the huge variety of existing humor theories (for an oversight, see Raskin 1985: 1–44; Vandaele 2002a; Martin 2007).

Social theories of humor are often inspired by the philosophies of Thomas Hobbes and Henri Bergson. These theories usually define humor in terms of “superiority,” “hostility,” “aggression,” “disparagement,” “derision,” etc., and are therefore often called “superiority theories.” They insist that humor often ridicules a victim or target – the so-called butt of the joke – and produces a heightened self-esteem in those who appreciate the humor. Humor indeed fosters a peculiar sort of socialization: it exploits, confirms or creates inclusion (or in-groups), exclusion (out-groups), and hierarchies between persons (between comprehenders and non-comprehenders, between “normal” and “abnormal” persons, etc.). On the other hand, it has been argued that humor is a *mitigated* form of aggression (Freud 1905). Deacon (1997), for instance, also points out that uncertainty and *its removal* are critical in humor production and appreciation.

So-called “incongruity theories” have less interest in the social aspects of humor and tend to focus on its “cognitive” features. However, an exact and single definition of comical incongruity is a difficult matter. One may perhaps say, in general terms, that incongruity happens when cognitive rules are not being followed. In *Fawlty Towers*, for instance, the staff and management (Manuel, Basil) do not behave in congruous ways and are therefore comical. The concept of expectation is often included in definitions of incongruity: comical incongruities flout expectations which are set up through well-known or constructed cognitive rules (see Shultz 1976). As Deacon (1997) indicated, surprise is indeed an important component of humor.

Incongruity theories often note that there is a special, alternative logic to the incongruity of humor (cf. Deacon’s observation that insight is also a critical aspect of humor). Besides a setting-up of expectations and a flouting, there is a “solution” to the unexpected situation or message. This means that, despite its perceived incongruity, the humor is also congruous (understandable) in a different way. An example taken from Antonopoulou (2002) may illustrate this. In *Trouble is my Business* (1939), Raymond Chandler’s first sentence is “Anna Halsey was about two hundred and forty pounds of middle-aged putty-faced woman”. As Antonopoulou (2002) notes, there resides an obvious incongruity in this funny “count-mass noun reversal,” that is, in the expression “*x* pounds of woman.” There is a cognitive rule which says that *x pounds of* is not usually combined with a count noun such as *woman*. Yet the incongruity obviously has a meaningful solution: readers are invited

to conceptualize the woman as a mass. As another example illustrates, the solution to the incongruity is often cognitively farfetched (yet locally relevant in a given discourse): “Is the doctor home?” the patient asked in his bronchial whisper. “No,” the doctor’s young and pretty wife whispered in reply. “Come right in.” (quoted by Raskin 1985: 100). In the context of a doctor’s visit (the set-up), the behavior of the wife is farfetched yet understandable via a radical reframing of the action situation.

Note, finally, that the examples of comical incongruity also contain elements of “superiority.” Hotel manager Basil of *Fawlty Towers* does not just flout management rules, he is also inferior to a certain standard. With his count-mass noun reversal, Chandler’s narrator places himself above his character and invites the reader to join him in this superior stance. And Raskin’s joke creates social pressure on the cognitive capacities of the hearer: the hearer has to regain superiority after having been fooled. This goes to show that all instances of humor always contain many related aspects – social, emotional, and cognitive ones (Vandaele 2002a).

2. The translation of humor

Humor is known to challenge translators. It is often seen as a paradigm case of “untranslatability”: “When it comes to translating humor, the operation proves to be as desperate as that of translating poetry” (Diot 1989: 84). The relative or absolute untranslatability is generally related to cultural and linguistic aspects.

To understand cultural untranslatability, we should think of our above-mentioned characterizations of humor. Humor occurs when a rule has not been followed, when an expectation is set-up and not confirmed, when the incongruity is resolved in an alternative way. Humor thereby produces superiority feelings which may be mitigated if participants agree that the humor is essentially a form of social play rather than outright aggression. And the humor event is very visible due to physiological correlates: laughter, smiling, arousal. On the one hand, any translation failure will therefore be very visible: it is obvious that the translator has failed when no one laughs at translated humor. On the other hand, the translator of humor has to cope with the fact that the “rules,” “expectations,” “solutions,” and agreements on “social play” are often group- or culture-specific. Parody, for instance, is only accessible to those who are at least vaguely acquainted with the parodied discourse. Imitations of accents are only imitations for those who know the original. More generally,

[c]ommunication breaks down when the levels of prior knowledge held by the speaker/writer and by the listener/reader are not similar. While this is true of any communication, the breakdown is particularly obvious in the case of translated humor, whose perception depends directly on the concurrence of facts and impressions available to both speaker/writer and listener/reader. (Del Corral 1988: 25)

The particular problem with humor translation is that humor relies on implicit knowledge. Moreover, groups may have different agreements on what or whom can be targeted in social play. In other words, humor depends on *implicit* cultural schemes (to be breached for incongruous purposes; to be known for the purpose of comical “solution”) and has its rules and taboos for targeting (telling what or whom may be laughed at). Tymoczko (1987) claims, therefore, that one has to be part of a “comical paradigm” to even appreciate – let alone translate – certain paradigm-specific humor. The cultural problem may be thus become ethical and political: a translator may be confronted with what s/he finds or assumes is culturally “inadequate” humor; a regime or institution may censor or forbid certain types of humor.

As for the linguistic untranslatability of humor, scholars point at problems rooted in linguistic denotation and connotation (e.g., Laurian 1989), so-called “lectal” varieties of language (dialects, sociolects, idiolects; see e.g., Del Corral 1988), and metalinguistic or metalingual communication in which the linguistic form matters (“wordplay,” “puns”). Many of these problems cannot be strictly separated from cultural untranslatability and they pose translation problems outside humor too. The specific trouble with humor translation, however, is that humor has a clear *penchant* for (socio)linguistic particularities (group-specific terms and “lects”) and for metalinguistic communication. As a form of play, indeed, metalinguistic communication suits humorous purposes; and (socio)linguistic particularities can also strengthen humor because both phenomena regard, in Deacon’s phrase, “the maintenance of group cohesion.”

Regarding (socio)linguistic particularities, linguistic “denotation” poses translation problems when humor builds on a concept or reality which is specific to a certain language. In the next comically intended communication, for instance, the concepts *Oxbridge* and *dons* – which automatically appeal to insiders and co-build humor – may make the translation of the humor more difficult:

There has been some concern recently that female undergraduates will not be treated fairly by the *dons* at St Lucius, Oxbridge’s latest college to become “mixed.” In reply Professor Garfunklestein, Emeritus Professor of Wessex Studies, argued candidly that there would be no discrimination. He said: “The *dons* will treat the girls just as they treat the boys: they will molest them.”

(www.netfunny.com/rhf/jokes/90q2/molest.html)

“Connotation” causes trouble if a concept in the source language has a different “lectal” value than its usual equivalent in the target language. Eco, e.g., points out the possible ironical effects of such imperfect equivalences:

Polite French people still address cab drivers as *Monsieur*, while it would seem exaggerated to use *Sir* in a similar circumstance in, say, New York. *Sir* would have to be kept if in the original text [*Monsieur*] is intended to represent a very formal relationship, between two strangers, or between a subaltern and his superior, while [*Sir*] seems improper (or even ironical) in more intimate circumstances. (Eco 2001: 18)

Inversely, irony and comedy that stems from register incongruities (someone who *does* say “Sir” in a New York cab) is not readily available in French (in the form of someone who says “Monsieur” in a Paris taxi). On a broader discursive level, a comical source text may contain (clashes between) registers, dialects, sociolects and idiolects which have no straightforward equivalent in the target language. Indeed, what could be the French equivalent of the Queen’s English? How should the French dubbing translator of *A Fish Called Wanda* tackle the comedy derived from this and other English sociolects?

These problems mean different things for translators and the various translation research traditions. Firstly, translators and prescriptive researchers tend to ask: “How to translate well?” “Well,” here, is usually determined by a faithful reading on the target text. “The question is,” says von Stackelberg (1988: 12), “should the translator be allowed to make us laugh at his own ideas rather than at those of the author?” “We do not think so,” he replies to himself. This puts considerable pressure on the translator, and often leads to pessimism, that is, to the acceptance of untranslatability. Secondly, Descriptive Translation Studies* tends to ask: “Is it translated?” and “How is it translated?” The answer to these questions then informs the researcher about relations between cultures, groups, systems, translators. When translation is difficult, descriptive studies will be interested in solutions that tell something about the contact between these cultures, groups and agents. They will note, for instance, that humor may have various textual and ideological functions which all deserve to be taken into account. A descriptive comparison between a source and target text will not see humor as a homogeneous category (“that what caused laughter”) but will study its specific cognitive, emotional, social and interpersonal aspects (Vandaele 2002b). Small linguistic changes may e.g., keep “the laughter” but change the specific emotional or interpersonal dynamics of the humor. Thirdly, there are studies which focus more on linguistic translatability than on cultural issues (e.g., Antonopoulou 2002).

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Interpreting

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The concept of interpreting refers to a particular form of translational activity and is therefore at once subsumed under the broader notion of translation and set apart by its unique features.

1. Terms and definitions

The dual conceptual status of interpreting is also reflected in its linguistic designation in various languages. In Russian and other Slavic languages, a separate term for interpreting does not exist, and interpreting is denoted by qualifying the generic term for translation, in this case *perevod*, usually as “oral”. Similarly, classical Chinese had only one expression, *yi* (譯), to refer to translation and interpreting as well as translators and interpreters, and it was only in twentieth-century Modern Standard Chinese that the term *kouyi* (口譯) was coined to refer to interpreting as “oral translation” (Lung 2009: 119).

Conversely, in many European languages the concept of interpreting, or interpreter, is expressed by words whose etymology is largely autonomous and can be traced to the Assyro-Babylonian root *targumanu* as far back as 1900 BCE. This is also the origin of the Arabic term *tarjumān* ترجمان and Turkish *tercüman* and of the etymological branching leading to *dragoman*. Significantly, the terms for interpreter in Germanic, Scandinavian and Slavic languages as well as in Hungarian go back to this ancient lineage and serve to make an explicit terminological distinction vis-à-vis written translation.

In English and in Romance languages, the word for interpreter goes back to Latin *interpres*, which may in turn be derived from either *inter partes* or *inter pretium* and at any rate denotes a human mediator positioned between different parties or values (Hermann 1956/2002: 18). The fact that “to interpret” and “interpretation” are equally used in the more fundamental, hermeneutic sense of determining or assigning the meaning(s) of something exposes these expressions to considerable ambiguity. This is reflected, for instance, in the assumption, often made by legal professionals, that an interpreter’s task is not to interpret, but merely to translate (cf. Morris 1998: 4). At the same time, interpreting scholars such as Danica Seleskovitch (e.g., 1976) have capitalized on the conceptual common ground between interpretation in the translational and in the hermeneutic sense to propose an “interpretive theory” of translation and interpreting.

This terminological issue relates to the principal challenge of how the concept of interpreting is to be defined. Here, the linkage between interpreting and translation is of great advantage, for once it is accepted that interpreting is best conceived of as a form of translation, in the wider sense, the definition of interpreting can be based on the definition of translation in general plus an identification of its distinctive features.

The most common, rough-and-ready generic definition of interpreting, which some languages capture in the linguistic label itself, is “oral translation”. However, the single qualifier may not be sufficiently distinctive, as in the case of a written translation of an audiorecorded message, an interpreter producing a sight translation* or a translator dictating the translation using a speech recognition program. A more advanced definitional approach therefore goes beyond the medium or modality of source and target messages to focus on the distinctive nature of the interpreting process. This was done by Otto Kade as early as the 1960s, when he defined interpreting as a form of translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language (cf. Kade 1968: 35). Kade’s definition relies on two criteria, specifying that the source message in interpreting cannot be repeated (replayed, reviewed) and that the interpretation (target text) is produced under time pressure, with little chance for correction and revision.

This conception of interpreting as essentially a real-time (live) performance elegantly accommodates signed-language interpreting* as well as sight translation and possibly even the real-time translation of online chats. The focus is on immediacy, with neither the interpreter nor the other participants being able to look (listen) ahead or refer back. In contrast to translation, interpreting is ephemeral and based on memory. On the other hand, interpreting is usually set in a live context, and interpreters (should) have access to a range of situational cues regarding the communicative event and its participants. The externally paced input is typically multi-semiotic, including a variety of nonverbal signals, and the interpreter likewise relies on prosody as well as verbal production.

2. Types and distinctions

Though interpreting is only one of many different manifestations or genres of translational activity, it is itself a multi-faceted concept that allows for a number of typological distinctions. What makes these rather complicated is the fact that the conceptual system of interpreting eludes a single taxonomic classification. Rather, relevant distinctions can be made with reference to a number of different criteria.

For most of the twentieth century, when interpreting emerged as a widely recognized, full-fledged profession, the principal conceptual distinction was that between consecutive* and simultaneous interpreting*. Mastery of both of these modes of interpreting was considered constitutive of international (spoken-language) conference interpreting, which

dominated the professional scene – and the research literature – until well into the 1990s. Despite important roots in the 1970s and 1980s, interpreting in other settings and modalities only came to the attention of scholars in the final decade of the twentieth century.

The late-twentieth-century diversification of professional domains suggested the need to complement the main mode-based distinction with a typology according to social settings. The most frequent concepts in this regard are court interpreting and community interpreting*, which are, in turn, open to some significant internal distinctions and even stand in a highly uncertain mutual relation toward each other.

On the broadest level, interpreting in international settings (between diplomats, politicians, scientists, business representatives, etc.) can be contrasted with interpreting that takes place within an institution of a given society, typically between a service provider or institutional authority and individuals speaking on their own behalf. In the former, international sphere, the communicating parties are typically on an equal footing as representatives of a nation, party, company or other organization, whereas communication in the latter, intra-social (community-based) scenario is characterized by an unequal distribution of knowledge and power, as in the case of a police interrogation, a witness's testimony in court, an asylum hearing or a doctor–patient interview.

In intra-social institutional settings the format of interaction is typically dialogic, as opposed to conference-like, which is considered typical of the international, multilateral sphere. Aligning these two distinctions yields two broad prototypical domains, that is, “international conference interpreting” and “community-based dialogue interpreting”, but the two-fold distinction also allows for other forms, such as dialogue interpreting in international contacts (e.g., diplomatic talks) and conference interpreting in intra-social settings (e.g., involving deaf participants).

The line between the two ends of the spectrum cannot always be clearly drawn, with media interpreting as a case in point. Nevertheless, the conceptual model (Pöchhacker 2004: 17) is useful in accommodating less common types of interpreting while matching the two major professional domains that are often referred to more succinctly as “conference interpreting” and “community interpreting” (Hale 2007). The notion of “liaison interpreting” (in diplomatic, military or business settings) is sometimes posited as an intermediate mode or domain, as liaison interpreters may also use whispering, a variant of the simultaneous mode.

Another reason not to equate simultaneous interpreting with conference interpreting has to do with the modality of the languages involved. In the typical case of interpreting from a spoken into a signed language, but also vice versa and between two visual languages (e.g., by deaf interpreters), the mode is usually simultaneous, though the consecutive mode can be used as well (cf. Russell 2005). Therefore, signed-language interpreting should neither be subsumed under community-based interpreting nor linked to a given mode; rather, the basic modality-based distinction cuts across the range of additional typologies.

Of particular significance among these further distinctions is the notion of directionality, which refers to the direction of translation (source-to-target) within an interpreter's language combination. Most sign language interpreters, for instance, work from their native (spoken) language into their acquired signed language. For spoken-language conference interpreters, in contrast, whose working languages are classified as A (native), B (active, non-native) and C (passive), the preference is for working into the A language. Even so, some language pairs in particular settings (e.g., involving Arabic and Chinese in the UN context, or the Baltic languages in the EU) often need to be covered by interpreters working into their B language (usually English or French), with other team members taking relay from the into-B interpreter as a *pivot*. In this regard, the criterion of directionality (which essentially distinguishes "into-A" from "A-to-B" interpreting) is linked with the directness of the interpreting process, contrasting "direct" with "relay interpreting"*.

Yet another cross-cutting criterion that serves to categorize different forms of interpreting is the use of technology, which has recently become crucially linked with the distinction between on-site and remote interpreting. While the emergence of conference interpreting as a high-profile profession – and much of the research interest in interpreting in the second half of the twentieth century – originated from the practice of simultaneous interpreting with electro-acoustic transmission equipment as developed in the late 1920s, a second, ongoing wave of technological innovation has led to the emergence of various types of remote interpreting (Mouzourakis 1996). Far beyond spoken-language conference interpreting, videoconference interpreting arrangements have been tested and introduced in legal as well as medical settings, and proved particularly revolutionary in the field of signed-language interpreting.

Finally, but perhaps most fundamentally, interpreters can be categorized with regard to skill levels and professional status. While the focus has traditionally been on (conference) interpreting as a professional skill, acquired through an extended course of university-level training, interpreting in less professionalized (community-based) domains frequently involves untrained or lay interpreters, whose role was first highlighted by Brian Harris (Harris & Sherwood 1978) under the heading of "natural translation".

3. Conceptions of interpreting

However one wishes to structure the conceptual system of interpreting, the task of the interpreting scholar is not only to categorize but to describe and explain the phenomenon under study. With definitions serving as a first step, different approaches to understanding and theorizing interpreting have been adopted. In addition to a translation-theoretical perspective, which might view interpreting (and translation in general) as a norm-governed social practice or a functionally constrained target-text production task, and aside from the more rudimentary view of interpreting as a linguistic transfer process,

two main theoretical frameworks have shaped the study of interpreting: the conception of interpreting as a cognitive process, or rather, a complex set of cognitive processing operations, and the conception of interpreting as an interactive discourse process. While these different ways of seeing the phenomenon are not mutually exclusive, they tend to draw on different interdisciplinary sources, such as cognitive psychology (e.g., Moser-Mercer 1997) and interactional sociolinguistics (e.g., Wadensjö 1998). In the latter framework, in particular, the issue of the interpreter's role, in the interaction and between representatives of different cultural systems, has been a focal point of study, with notions such as neutrality, agency and visibility generating considerable debate.

The various theoretical perspectives ultimately testify to the complexity of the concept of interpreting, which may be construed and modeled, for instance, as a profession, a text-processing task, an interactional skill or a cognitive and neurolinguistic process (cf. Pöchhacker 2004), and make for the theoretical (and methodological) diversity that characterizes the field of Interpreting Studies*.

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Interpreting Studies

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Interpreting Studies is the academic discipline that has interpreting as its object of study. In name and nature, it is closely related with Translation Studies*, and since interpreting is essentially regarded as a form of translational activity, Interpreting Studies can be viewed as a subdiscipline of the wider field of Translation Studies. At the same time, the evolution of the field and its interdisciplinary sources and ramifications give Interpreting Studies a distinct disciplinary profile of its own, as reflected in its models and methodological approaches and its underlying professional orientation.

1. Name and nature

Research on interpreting dates back to the 1950s, with one significant outlier as early as 1930, but it was not perceived as forming part of an academic field of study in its own right until the early 1990s. While Interpreting Studies evolved along different pathways, as described in more detail below, its emergence as a (sub)disciplinary entity owed much to developments in the field of Translation Studies. Most importantly, though with a delay of nearly two decades, the naming and mapping effort of translation scholar James S Holmes provided the template on which Interpreting Studies came to be based. In his original scheme of Translation Studies, Holmes (1972/2000) accounted for interpreting under the heading of “medium-restricted” forms of the object of study, classifying it as “human” (versus machine) “oral” (versus written) translation. He viewed interpreting as one among many other manifestations of translation, with no need for a separate disciplinary framework.

That need was perceived in the early 1990s by translation scholars such as Heidemarie Salevsky, who first used the term “Interpreting Studies” in a major international publication (Salevsky 1993). Salevsky (1993) not only adopts the disciplinary label in analogy with the name proposed in Holmes’ seminal essay, but also draws up an adaptation of his map of the discipline with a set of “partial theories” according to “language combination”, “area/institution/community”, etc. (1993: 154).

In a previous publication in German, Salevsky had explicitly raised the question whether interpreting should be seen as the object of Translation Studies or of Interpreting Studies (“Dolmetschen – Objekt der Übersetzungs- oder Dolmetschwissenschaft?”), and wondered why the German term *Dolmetschwissenschaft* had not come into widespread use even though scholars at Leipzig (e.g., Kade 1968) had conceived of translation and

interpreting as two distinct subforms since the 1960s. Indeed, where the German expression was used, in the early 1970s, it referred especially to developments at the École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs in Paris, where Danica Seleskovitch had managed to launch a doctoral studies program entitled “Science et technique de l'interprétation et de la traduction”, or *traductologie*. Even though the Paris School's efforts were initially focused on interpreting, *science de l'interprétation* did not come into use as a disciplinary label.

The emergence of an English designation for Interpreting Studies as a (sub)discipline is particularly significant as it coincided with the shift, in the late 1980s, from interpreting (studies) as a French-dominated field to one using English as its worldwide lingua franca.

2. Evolution

2.1 Professionalization

Notwithstanding some interesting historical precedents of institutionalized interpreting services, interpreting is usually said to have become a profession only in the twentieth century, following the political settlement after World War I and the founding of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization (ILO) as its affiliate. It was in the context of these organizations, which had English as well as French as official languages and permitted conference delegates to use other languages as well, that the very first scientific study on interpreting was carried out. Jesús Sanz (1930), a Spanish educator, surveyed some 20 interpreters in Geneva about the nature of their work and skills and presented his findings at an international conference of applied psychology in Barcelona.

While the study by Sanz also dealt with simultaneous interpreting (SI), as developed at the initiative of Edward Filene and trialed at the ILO in the late 1920s, subsequent decades show no record of research activities. Where new initiatives were taken in the 1940s, these were essentially devoted to training. A significant milestone in this respect was the founding, in 1941, of the interpreter school at the University of Geneva, preceded by a training program initiated in Mannheim as early as 1930. It was at the Geneva school that the first major publications on interpreting appeared in the 1950s. They include *The Interpreter's Handbook*, by Jean Herbert (1952), Chief Interpreter at the United Nations.

In addition to the launching of conference interpreter training programs and educational publications, another major milestone in the twentieth-century professionlization of interpreting was the founding of AIIC, the International Association of Conference Interpreters, in 1953. While the role of AIIC in shaping the professional practice of (conference) interpreting can hardly be overestimated, some of its most active early representatives also played a key role in theorizing the activity and promoting interpreting as an academic field of study. As early as 1962, Danica Seleskovitch, then Executive Secretary of AIIC, published a paper in which she described not only how conference interpreting is practiced but also,

however briefly, how the mental process of interpreting is to be conceived. Her assumption that interpreting was not a process of linguistic transfer, or “transcoding”, but a mental process based on grasping the “sense” of a speaker’s message, underpinned her 1968 French monograph on international conference interpreting, which remains one of the most influential and illustrative texts on interpreting to this day (Seleskovitch 1968/1978).

2.2 Interdisciplinary interest

The successful use of SI at the Nuremberg Trials and its subsequent adoption by the United Nations sparked off research interest among psychologists, whose theories at the time suggested that it was not possible to carry out two demanding tasks, such as speaking and listening, at the same time. Early studies hence suggested that simultaneous interpreters made use of pauses in the original speech so as to avoid having to listen while speaking, and focused on the measurement of temporal variables such as pause ratios and the time lag between input and output (e.g., Oléron & Nanpon 1965; Barik 1973). Early psycholinguistic experiments also compared SI to shadowing (i.e., repeating back a message in the same language with minimal delay) and attributed the longer latencies in SI to the increased “decision load” in the interpreting task. David Gerver, the most influential figure among psychologists with an interest in interpreting, examined the impact of input rate, noise, and prosody on simultaneous interpreters’ performance, and proposed a process model that included a short-term buffer memory for input and output as well as the linguistic resources available in long-term memory (Gerver 1971). Gerver’s experiments left a lasting imprint on the field, and his initiative to organize the first international interdisciplinary conference on interpreting, in Venice in 1977, resulted in a landmark event reflected in a landmark publication (Gerver & Sinaiko 1978).

2.3 Academization

Several of the field’s pioneering figures, though largely self-taught, rose to academic positions from which they promoted interpreting (and translation) as a field of inquiry. One of them was Otto Kade, a teacher of Czech and Russian and self-taught interpreter who did groundbreaking work in translation (and interpreting) studies at what was then Karl Marx University in Leipzig, East Germany (e.g., Kade 1968).

Kade and his colleagues had links with the Soviet School of interpreting research, as chiefly represented by Ghelly V. Chernov, who spent a dozen years as a conference interpreter at the United Nations in New York and was then appointed professor of interpreting at the Maurice Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow. Chernov’s model of the interpreting process (Chernov 2004) centered on the psycholinguistic mechanism of “probability prediction”, as investigated in experiments with manipulated input material.

Neither Chernov nor his colleagues at Leipzig had as much impact on the field of Interpreting Studies as their Paris-based contemporary Danica Seleskovitch and her

associates. Most significantly, the launching, in 1974, of a doctoral studies program in interpreting (and translation) at the University of Paris III/Sorbonne Nouvelle marked the beginning of an autonomous research tradition that set itself apart from the psychological experiments that had given the field its first doctoral theses around 1970. Founded on Seleskovitch' *théorie du sens* and the use of authentic observational data, the Paris School paradigm held sway in matters of research on (conference) interpreting until the late 1980s, and remains highly influential for its didactic approach (Seleskovitch & Lederer 1989/2002).

2.4 Integration and diversification

In the course of the 1980s, research-minded conference interpreters dissatisfied with the established truths about their profession explored new, interdisciplinary lines of inquiry, aspiring in particular to greater scientific rigor. A case in point were the neurolinguistic experiments carried out by specialists in neurophysiology in collaboration with members of the Interpreters' School at the University of Trieste. And it was there, at an international symposium on conference interpreter education in late 1986, that a "Renaissance" of scientific research on interpreting (Gile 1994) was ushered in. This renewal period was characterized by increased international networking, as promoted in particular by Daniel Gile, and by efforts to forge closer interdisciplinary ties, not least with researchers in the cognitive sciences. Most active in this regard was Barbara Moser-Mercer, who also co-founded the field's first international peer-reviewed journal, *Interpreting*, together with cognitive psychologist Dominic Massaro.

In parallel with international community-building and efforts to investigate the interpreting process with greater depth and scientific rigor, the 1990s also saw the emergence, or growing recognition, of interpreting beyond international conferences and organizations. Under the broad – and ill-defined – heading of "community interpreting"*, new developments in professional practice as well as academic research burst onto the scene, epitomized by the first international conference on interpreting in legal, health and social service settings ("The Critical Link") held near Toronto in 1995. In addition to drawing together practitioners, client representatives and researchers from a diversity of institutional settings, the triennial Critical Link conferences also attracted many signed-language interpreters, whose work is typically, though not exclusively, done in community settings.

The resulting diversification of interpreting domains greatly extended the scope of Interpreting Studies as a discipline and fueled new interdisciplinary exchanges with such fields as law, medicine, public health, psychotherapy, sociology, pragmatics and discourse studies. Thus, a field which, decades earlier, might have seemed like a research specialization of cognitive psychologists (similar to, say, the psychology of bilingualism or of expertise) came into its own by the turn of the millennium as a highly diverse and dynamic discipline at the interface between linguistic, cognitive and social scientific approaches.

3. Memes, models, methods

If Interpreting Studies could be described at the end of the twentieth century as “an independent, self-respecting research community”, it was nevertheless seen as “still based on a number of different paradigms” (Garzone & Viezzi 2002: 11). While the notion of “paradigm” is not without problems, it can be used here to highlight the existence of several conceptually and methodologically distinct research traditions in Interpreting Studies. In the Kuhnian sense, a paradigm implies, among other things, a particular way of seeing, a framing of the object of study that cannot easily be switched for another. Therefore, one way of characterizing the different research traditions is in terms of their conceptions of interpreting. These will often form the core around which more elaborate models are developed. And based on a given model, or partial theory of the phenomenon under study, researchers will choose from a range of available methods to pursue a given purpose of inquiry, all of which would position the scientific endeavor in a certain paradigm.

3.1 Memes of interpreting

In analogy with Andrew Chesterman’s account of *Memes of translation* (1997) as the main conceptual reference points in past and present thinking about translation, a number of fundamental ideas about interpreting can be identified in the literature to date. Some of these appear to be inherent in the concept of interpreting itself, such as the assumptions that interpreting is a form of translation, in the wider sense, that it is a process, and that it is a communicative activity. These principal interpretive hypotheses are largely taken for granted, whereas other ideas and formulations reflect a more specific perspective on the phenomenon.

A crucial but nevertheless limited idea about interpreting is that it is a *linguistic transfer* operation in which units of a source language are substituted by corresponding units, whether lexical or syntactic, in the target language. Rooted in the assumption that language is a code, and inspired by information-theoretical models of communication, the view of interpreting as “transcoding” would have shaped in particular how scholars in the 1960s, when research on machine translation flourished, conceived of the segment-by-segment process of simultaneous interpreting. The fact that psycholinguists saw the task as rather similar to shadowing is a case in point.

It was in this context, in the 1960s, that the idea propounded by Seleskovitch, of interpreting as a process based on (nonlinguistic) sense rather than words, marked a radical departure from the narrow linguistic conceptions of the time. The idea of interpreting as *making sense* by drawing on both verbal input and prior knowledge became the basic theoretical tenet that informed teaching as well as research in the field of interpreting, not least by members of the Paris School (see Interpretive approach*).

In the 1970s, the role of memory-based knowledge resources in language processing moved center-stage also in the cognitive sciences. This so-called “top-down” processing

was acknowledged as a crucial complement to input-driven (“bottom-up”) linguistic information processing, as reflected also in the model of the interpreting process developed by Barbara Moser (1978). Early cognitive psychologists thus viewed (simultaneous) interpreting as a “complex form of human information processing involving the reception, storage, transformation, and transmission of verbal information” (Gerver 1971: viii), and the focus on *cognitive information processing skills* has shaped much of the process-oriented research on (conference) interpreting ever since.

Advances in cognitive science also underpinned developments in text linguistics and discourse studies in the 1980s, and these, in turn, came to be reflected in a conception of interpreting as a combined process of text comprehension and *text production* (e.g., Mackintosh 1985; Kohn & Kalina 1996), as foregrounded also in translation theories of the day. In the same vein, interpreting in dialogic encounters was viewed through the prism of discourse, often within sociolinguistic and sociological frameworks for the study of *discourse processing* in interaction (e.g., Roy 2000).

Finally, the focus on discourse in (dialogic) interaction also gave fresh momentum to the fundamental notion of interpreting as *mediation* – not only between different languages, but also between representatives of different sociocultural backgrounds and value systems, and between two or more individuals and their respective social positions, roles and communicative intentions. This essentially sociological perspective on interpreting seeks to account for the role of interpreters in society as well as their behavior in interaction, adding the social to the underlying cognitive dimension in a more comprehensive sense of interpreting as a process.

3.2 Models of interpreting

Based on the various ways of seeing their object of study, interpreting scholars have devised a variety of models to capture what they regard as essential features of the phenomenon. Though some of these may aspire to the status of a “theory”, most models of interpreting are of a descriptive nature, foregrounding significant components and relationships with little claim to predictive power.

As evident from the radically different conceptions reviewed above, it would be unrealistic to hope for an all-encompassing model of interpreting. Rather, a number of dimensions, or levels, of modeling can be discerned. These range from an account of interpreting and interpreters in the history of human civilization (in such fields as trade, diplomacy, conquest and missionary work) and the status of the interpreting profession in a given institution or in society at large, to the focus on discourse in interpreter-mediated interactions and on the cognitive and neurolinguistic processes underlying the communicative practice. While a detailed review is beyond the scope of this essay (see Pöchhacker 2004, Chapter 5), a few examples can serve to illustrate the breadth of modeling efforts to date. In the broader sociological dimension, Moira Inghilleri (2005) models the (asylum)

interpreter's habitus in "zones of uncertainty" within a Bourdieusian framework in conjunction with Toury's norms*. Similarly, the recognition of interpreting as a professional occupation, or the lack thereof, has been analyzed in models of the professionalization process for various countries and domains, from conference interpreting in Taiwan to community interpreting* in the US and signed-language interpreting in the UK. These models of interpreting reflect the principal stakeholders (e.g., training institutions, professional bodies, legislative authorities) and the various mechanisms for influencing the occupation's professional status and autonomy.

Rather than the socio-professional and institutional levels, however, most models of interpreting foreground the micro-social process of interaction and, even more so, the cognitive processes involved in the task.

Interaction models, in their most basic form, seek to reflect the constellation of interactants and the communicative signals exchanged between them. Where the focus is on dialogue interpreting, this usually yields a tripartite, or triadic, arrangement, whereas accounts of conference-like forms of interaction may include speakers and listeners in the source and target languages as well as the interpreter, other team members and the client. In either case, the constellation models can be enriched by specifying, for instance, the contextual roles, sociocultural backgrounds and intentional orientations of the various agents.

Most prominently, Cecilia Wadensjö (1998) used Erving Goffman's analysis of the participation framework in interaction to propose different kinds of listenership for an interpreter (reporter, recapitulator, responder), combined with Goffman's notion of "footing", that is, a speaker's (or listener's) different choices for aligning with a given utterance, such as the speaker roles of animator, author and principal. Other modeling efforts have sought to account more fully for contextual and situational variables, for instance by characterizing the nature of the interaction by such criteria as the degree of social distance, formality, equality or shared goals.

Another set of interaction models can be identified by their focus on communication, that is, the use of language in interpersonal interaction. Some of these, in the 1960s and 1970s, were inspired by the information-theoretical model of communication, with encoding and decoding and transmission via a noise-prone channel. As a more cognitive conception of language use emerged in the 1970s, the emphasis shifted toward text-based (or discourse-based) comprehension and production processes, often including also the dimensions of contextual and sociocultural background knowledge (e.g., Kohn & Kalina 1996). With communicative interaction thus conceived as a dynamic, cognitively based process, these models of interpreting could also be classified as processing models. The latter, however, typically foreground mental operations rather than human agents in their situational environment.

One of the most basic – and at the same time most powerful – *processing models* of interpreting is that of the *théorie du sens* (Seleskovitch 1978), which posits "deverbalized sense" as the pinnacle of a triangular process leading from one language to another. Rather

than direct verbal “transcoding” (between languages), interpreting proper, according to this model, or theory, has a cognitive foundation and requires the interpreter to grasp a speaker’s intended message (*vouloir dire*) before re-expressing it in another language.

This core model of the interpreting (and translation) process, which is now largely regarded as axiomatic, has been elaborated on by various authors, mainly on the basis of psycholinguistic and psychological insights into the processes of language comprehension and production. Among the latest and most comprehensive such models is that by Robin Setton (1999), who draws on the state of the art in language processing and mental models for a cognitive pragmatic account centered on the notions of context and relevance. Like in earlier models that envisage a series of processing steps and procedures (e.g., Moser 1978), the phenomenon of interest here is simultaneous interpreting*, even though the principal stages of reception and production would apply also to the consecutive mode.

Distinctly mode-specific processing models were proposed in particular by Daniel Gile (1997), whose Effort Models focus on the concurrency and coordination of receptive, productive and short-term memory operations within the limits of available “processing capacity”, or attentional resources. Going back to Gerver’s (1971) idea of a “fixed-capacity central processor” whose activity can be distributed over several tasks, these multiple-task models can draw support from recent advances in research on working memory.

3.3 Methods of research

As evident from the interdisciplinary affinities which have shaped the conception and modeling of interpreting as an object of study, research in the field of Interpreting Studies is open to a broad range of methodological approaches. As a result of the special interest in simultaneous interpreting on the part of experimental psychologists, process-oriented studies have long been based on controlled experiments, as epitomized by the work of Gerver (1971). The impact of various input conditions or problem triggers, the use of strategies and the role of memory, among many other topics, have all been investigated using experimental designs.

In contrast, and with the exception of some of the empirical research done by members of the Paris School, descriptive studies of interpreting “in the field” were few and far between until the mid-1990s, when the transcription and analysis of discourse recorded in authentic interactions became the method of choice for the study of interpreting in community-based settings (e.g., Wadensjö 1998). Such “fieldwork” has increasingly been enriched by ethnographic and other observational approaches, which have tended to give priority to qualitative data analysis rather than quantification-based hypothesis testing. Indeed, the multitude of contextual and psycho-social parameters and the high variability of interpreters’ performance caution against the reliance on experimental designs when the number of available subjects is limited, as is usually the case in a given location and language combination. In this regard, the compilation and analysis of larger corpora

of professional interpreting done “in the field” (e.g., in the European Parliament) holds particular promise as an avenue of empirical research.

One way of gaining more broadly based insights into interpreting-related phenomena is survey research, which has become highly popular over the past one or two decades. Pioneering small-scale studies since the 1980s (e.g., Bühler 1986) as well as large-scale projects carried out by social scientists (e.g., AIIC 2002) have typically involved members of AIIC, the largest clearly defined population of professional interpreters in the world. Increasingly, such studies are done also in various national contexts, and by taking advantage of online survey techniques such as web-based questionnaires. Surveys addressed to users were pioneered by Kurz (1993) for conference interpreting settings and have been carried out in considerable numbers also for community-based interpreting. Many of these have canvassed responses from interpreters’ “institutional clients”, that is, service providers such as doctors, nurses, judges and social workers. Surveys of individual clients, on the other hand, are fraught with greater methodological – and not least linguistic – difficulties; nevertheless, large-scale studies among patients in clinical settings and many smaller interview studies among various stakeholders, for instance regarding their satisfaction with the services received, have also been carried out.

The three broad strategic approaches reviewed above – fieldwork, surveys and experiments – do not cover all the methodological options, let alone the many different data collection techniques in the interpreting researcher’s toolbox. Some of the other research designs that have been used to good effect include simulations (which could be regarded as a cross between fieldwork and experiment), retrospective think-aloud protocols, corpus-linguistic analyses, and action research. Indeed, the diversity of methods in Interpreting Studies constitutes a significant challenge, not only to the individual scholar expected to command the necessary research skills, but also to the discipline at large, which might be seen as lacking a distinct methodological profile – or even a coherent paradigm.

3.4 Paradigm(s)?

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the Kuhnian notion of paradigm can be used to highlight different ways of seeing but also to identify shared ground within a given scientific community. The broad conceptual range of interpreting, from profession to text-processing task and interactional skill to cognitive and neurolinguistic processes, seems to make it difficult for interpreting scholars to embrace a single view of their object of study. Moreover, the various conceptual perspectives give rise to different types of models, and hence to different mini-theories aimed at describing and explaining the phenomenon. Adding to this diversity the wide choice of methods to conduct empirical research, from controlled experiments in the cognitive science lab to the analysis of discourse corpora and to ethnographic fieldwork (see Ethnographic approaches*), large-scale surveys and other social science approaches, a uniform paradigm is hardly in sight. But nor does it need to

be, as long as there is a distinct focus on interpreting, in all its shapes and forms, as the object of study, and the acknowledgement that this multi-faceted object allows for, and indeed requires, multiple, complementary theoretical and methodological approaches, all of which together make up the field of Interpreting Studies.

4. Topics

If diversity is characteristic of the models and methods used in Interpreting Studies, it is even more so when it comes to the topics in the interpreting researcher's purview. A comprehensive account of these is clearly beyond the scope of the present essay, so this section will be limited to an overview of some of the main themes of research, largely following my more detailed presentation of the state of the art in Pöchhacker (2004).

4.1 Process

Early research into the interpreting process centered on the simultaneity of listening and speaking in the technology-assisted mode of simultaneous conference interpreting. Temporal parameters such as pause ratios and the time lag between input and output, also referred to as the "ear-voice span", constituted the end-points of early studies (e.g., Oléron & Nanpon 1965; Barik 1973). But the potential of synchronicity patterns to serve as a window on the simultaneous interpreting process proved limited, and subsequent studies were put on a more cognitive foundation, aiming to account for the interplay between short-term and long-term memory operations and other strategic processes in comprehension and production (see Shlesinger 2000). This line of research, which can be traced to Chernov's experiments in the 1960s (Chernov 2004) as well as to Gerver's (1971) work, has been a mainstay of cognitive process research ever since.

Although memory processes are at the heart of interpreting also in the consecutive mode, few authors have conducted in-depth studies of consecutive interpreting* as such. Rather, most attention has been given to note-taking processes and techniques.

Founded on the assumption of complex working memory operations and limited attentional resources (e.g., Gile 1997), much research into the (simultaneous) interpreting process has sought to gauge the effect of various input parameters on the interpreter's product. Going back to the seminal work of Gerver (1971), such variables as input speed, noise, accent, syntactic complexity and visual access have been built into experimental designs, often with the quality of the interpreters' performance as the dependent variable. Closely linked to this are studies aimed at ascertaining the use of processing strategies (see Translation strategies and tactics*) such as anticipation, inferencing, restructuring, compression and omission (e.g., Kohn & Kalina 1996; Chernov 2004). While particularly valuable for their potential didactic application, the findings from such studies are often fraught

with uncertainty. As highlighted by the crucial work of Shlesinger (2000), an interpreter's strategies are not only a response to input load (i.e., coping strategies) but also shaped by professional norms regarding the appropriateness of the interpreter's product for a given communicative purpose. Distinguishing between the two poses a major methodological challenge, as the need to elicit retrospective comments from experimental subjects clashes with the need to conduct such studies in a realistic communicative environment.

Compared to the focus on cognitive processing operations and skills (see Competence*), the linguistic aspects of interpreting as a bilingual process have attracted relatively little research interest. Aside from early comparisons with the performance of untrained bilinguals (e.g., Barik 1973) and studies on the role of syntactic differences between source and target languages, it is the notion of directionality (i.e., the direction of translation in terms of an interpreter's language combination) that has garnered most attention. While this issue is again inextricably linked with the underlying cognitive processes of comprehension and production, it has also been a focal point in the neurolinguistic experimental paradigm of Interpreting Studies, which dates back to the interdisciplinary work at the University of Trieste in the 1980s and has recently been given a strong impetus by the use of neuro-imaging techniques for the study of cerebral activity patterns in bilingual processing (e.g., Tommola et al. 2000).

4.2 Product and performance

As the study of interpreting is essentially rooted in its conception as a professional service, the quality and effectiveness of the interpreter's product and performance can be assumed to be an overriding concern of professionals and researchers alike. Nevertheless, it was not until the 1980s that conference interpreting researchers started to probe the concept of quality*. Before that, seminal work was done on the effectiveness of interpreting services in signed languages, mainly in educational settings – a significant line of research that has gained fresh momentum in recent years.

Earliest product-oriented analyses include the examination of experimentally generated speech data for source–target correspondence based on the identification of “deviations” such as omissions and other phenomena regarded as errors of translation. As acknowledged even by experimental psychologists, such largely word-based measurements did not necessarily reflect the overall quality of an interpreter's performance, though it was unclear what quality in this broader sense would entail. The pioneering survey on professional conference interpreters' quality criteria by Bühler (1986), and the user expectation surveys it inspired (e.g., Kurz 1993), led to a more differentiated view of quality which comprised not only the degree of semantic correspondence between source speech and interpretation but also target-text characteristics such as cohesion, correct grammar and correct terminology and delivery features such as fluency and voice quality.

Beyond eliciting interpreting users' expectation patterns, subsequent experimental research sought to determine the relative weight given to the various components of performance quality when a given interpretation was to be judged. It emerged from these studies that parameters that are rated as relatively unimportant in expectation surveys – such as intonation, may nevertheless have a significant negative effect on overall quality judgements, and also on listeners' assessment of the interpreter's professionalism and reliability.

Experimental studies of the effect of an interpreter's speech style on listener judgements have also been carried out in legal settings (e.g., Hale 2004), drawing attention to the impact of linguistic and paralinguistic parameters on the interpersonal dynamics of communication. Even so, discourse-based descriptions of interpretation corpora in terms of prosodic features and other characteristics of spontaneous speech production are still few and far between. Such work has been greatly facilitated by recent advances in audio-processing software but remains much more challenging than analyses of the verbal component, which have received a significant boost from the application of sophisticated corpus-linguistic techniques.

The topic of linguistic and paralinguistic features intersects, to a great extent, with the fundamental issue of the interpreter's role, as investigated in the large-scale survey by Angelelli (2004) across professional domains. Such notions as the interpreter's visibility and agency in shaping the communicative product and process are among the main focal points of research on interpreting in conference as well as community-based settings. And the topic of role, in turn, is closely related with basic principles of interpreters' professional ethics*, like neutrality and impartiality, thus reaffirming the linkage noted at the outset between quality and professional practice.

4.3 Practice and profession

Over and above the cognitive and linguistic intricacies of the interpreting process and product, the study of interpreting as a professional practice has constituted a major field of research. Beginning with the study of interpreting in history, and the ways in which this millennial human activity gained recognition as a professional occupation, interpreting scholars face an enormous task, not only because of the diversity of settings and the many different national contexts to be examined, but also and mainly because the evanescence of the spoken word, or of signing, for that matter, leaves the researcher with little trace of the activity, and little evidence on which to base a theoretical account. What is more, interpreting has often been regarded, or disregarded, as a necessary evil, or an ancillary service at best, so that few efforts have been made to ensure its documentation and description.

Even so, the present-day profession(s) are wide open to research on a broad range of issues, such as the standards required for access to the profession, in terms of both ethics and skills, and aspects of the profession like job satisfaction, self-image and social prestige. Even where professional services for intercultural communication are underdeveloped or

entirely lacking, interpreting scholars have an interest in studies of cross-language communicative practices within particular institutional settings, which may include parliaments, courtrooms, hospitals, schools and police stations, among others.

An overriding concern in any professional context are interpreters' working conditions, as investigated, for instance, in the Workload Study commissioned by AIIC (2002). These include the physical environment in which the interpreters work, and any occupational hazards arising from it, as well as the task demands as such, which may engender a variety of physiological and psychological stress responses and even result in interpreter burnout. One major factor in this connection is technology, which can be seen as both a powerful force of professional innovation and growth and a major threat to interpreters' professional ecology. The use of digital technology to implement various forms of remote interpreting, in conference as well as community-based institutional settings, is a case in point, and is certain to become an ever more significant area of research within Interpreting Studies (see *Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology**).

4.4 Pedagogy

One of the foremost topics in Interpreting Studies past and present is training, and many researchers have conceived their work as serving to advance the standards and practices of interpreter education. The connection between theoretical explanation and pedagogical application is most obvious for the Paris School (e.g., Seleskovitch & Lederer 1989/2002) but can also be gleaned from many process-oriented modeling and research efforts with a focus on coping tactics, skills and strategies (e.g., Gile 1997; Kohn & Kalina 1996).

Nevertheless, relatively little research has been done on educational issues as such, and both curricular models and teaching methods continue to be shaped by tradition as much as by research-based evidence. Indeed, some basic questions have yet to be resolved. These include the assessment of aptitude for interpreting at the time of admission, the role of translation in the interpreting curriculum and the prerequisite of consecutive for simultaneous interpreting. For the latter, the value of preliminary exercises and drills to practice component skills remains to be established, though there have been some research efforts to that effect. Finally, assessment methods continue to pose a significant challenge, not only for future conference interpreters but also and especially in dialogue interpreting, for which a coherent framework of instructional practices for the effective development of interactional as well as cognitive skills has yet to be formulated and submitted to systematic study.

5. Trends

Though the scope of research on interpreting has been extended beyond the realm of distinctly professional services to include the translational behavior of nonprofessional

mediators, present and future trends in the field of Interpreting Studies will presumably be shaped by developments in the profession(s). Most fundamentally, these include emerging patterns of professionalization in different national and institutional contexts and thus the study of interpreting in previously neglected language pairs. For East Asian languages (e.g., Chinese–Japanese, Chinese–Korean) this development is long under way, with a focus on conference and liaison settings; for African languages, on the other hand, most of the potential remains untapped, and this also applies to most of the vast cultural spaces in between.

As the largest employer of interpreters worldwide, the European Union is likely to remain the center of multilingual conferencing, while the market elsewhere will increasingly become geared to bilingual and bilateral interpreting needs involving English as the international lingua franca. In all and any of these settings, the introduction of new technologies to enable remote interpreting from anywhere anytime promises to transform professional service delivery in ways that may be hard to imagine.

The research needs arising from these developments in the profession are evident; less so are their methodological implications. The emergence of new working languages will call for an emphasis on linguistic models and methods for corpus-based analyses; the transformation of professional realities, on the other hand, whether by changing institutional practices or the implementation of new technological solutions, may lead interpreting scholars to embrace the research methods of the social sciences more readily than ever before. From large-scale quantitative surveys to case studies using multiple sources of – mainly qualitative – data, a broad range of empirical research strategies and techniques will be required to do justice to the increasingly complex and evolving object of Interpreting Studies.

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Interpretive approach

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The Interpretive Theory of Translation (ITT) is a coherent construct with high explanatory power, based on practical experience of both interpreting and translation. It was built up little by little, starting from the middle of the 1960s, both to answer the need to know more about the translation process (oral and written) and to meet the requirements of teaching the skills of T&I.

1. The inception¹

It started with the seminal intuitions of Danica Seleskovitch reflecting on what went on in her mind as she interpreted and how she would explain the process to her interpreting students. Very soon, she began to reflect on the insights the process at work in interpretation could bring to language in use. As an interpreter, she realized that interpretation offered an interesting vantage point from which one could observe language in action, particularly the process of comprehension, more easily identified through the interpreter's rendition of speeches in another language than in monolingual communication.

Before pragmatics, before interactional linguistics, she recognized the limitations of behaviorism and generative grammar which refused to deal with sense. In the same way, she fought experimental psychology, which at the time concentrated on how the human mind understood de-contextualized syllables, words and sentences. Her experience as an interpreter and translator had convinced her that the brain did not build sense by first grasping the meaning of separate words, then putting them together, but rather worked top-down. In other words, right from the beginning, she concentrated on the interaction of language and mind rather than on Interpreting Studies proper.

In the 1970s, she found support for her ideas in developmental psychology (represented by Piaget 1967, 1970, 1972, 1975) which stressed the assimilation/accommodation phases of learning and understanding. Neuropsychology, the study of aphasia and various brain lesions suggesting that language and thought were located in different areas in the brain (Barbiset 1968: 56–7) also supported her reasoning. At the time, the pioneering

1. See also Laplace 2005.

contribution of the ITT was to draw TS away from mere linguistic and contrastive studies of translation-as-product. Instead, the ITT put translators center-stage, focusing on translation as a cognitive process.

The main tenet of the ITT is that translating is an act of communication. Basically, in monolingual communication, speakers' thoughts are expressed through the specific linguistic structures of a given language; their interlocutors (assuming they know the language in question) understand their meaning and retain it, without necessarily retaining the words. Thus, interpreters/translators play a dual communicative role: first, they act as listeners/readers, understanding the speakers/writers' meaning. And second, they express their thoughts as if they were their own. In this ideal situation, there is no contact between the two languages.

While other researchers emphasize the difficulties and efforts involved in the translating task, the ITT studies the process of successful oral and written translation. In practice, there are numerous obstacles to translation, though some of them (such as lack of mastery of the foreign or native language, insufficient knowledge of the subject matter, inadequate preparation or unsatisfactory working conditions) are not theoretical problems but stumbling blocks to be overcome by each individual translator on an *ad hoc* basis. As for the theoretical obstacles to translation, most of them are covered by the methodology proposed by the ITT.

Given that the theory originated in interpreting, at first it concentrated on the comprehension phase, since interpreters need to have an immediate grasp of speakers' meanings. Hence, the emphasis put on the intervention of extra-linguistic knowledge in understanding, an element ignored by behaviorism, only introduced by experimental psychology in the late 70s. Two empirical studies based on situated corpora, one on consecutive (Seleskovitch 1975), the second on simultaneous interpreting (Lederer 1981) aimed at establishing not only how interpreters understood spontaneous speeches but also the reasons why they rendered them as they did in the other language.

Soon, practicing translators and translation scholars recognized the similarity of the process at work, even though its practical implementation differed somewhat in translation and in interpretation. In applying the principles of ITT to the study of written translation, they investigated the reformulation phase. This was a turning point for the theory which, from then on, was less concerned with interpreting than with written translation. At first limited to 'pragmatic' and technical texts (Delisle 1980; Durieux 1988), the theory was then extended to literary translation (Israël 1990, 1998; Henry 2003; Roux-Fauvard 2008).

The innumerable examples of authentic interpretations and translations which feed this theory highlight the clear distinction that exists between language as a system and language in use. Polysemy and ambiguity, for instance, only arise in language as a system. Abundantly revealed by machine translation, they are often mentioned as obstacles to translation. The ITT dispels this illusion. Except when an author intentionally plays on words, polysemy is only detected when words are translated in isolation. Contextualized words usually have one and only one meaning (Lederer 2003: 194). Similarly, ambiguity

usually arises only when the writer remains deliberately vague, or when the text is badly written (which frequently occurs with texts drafted in a non-native language) or in the case of a reader's inadequate knowledge of the language or subject matter. When translating texts and relying on context, situation and relevant extra-linguistic knowledge (Seleskovitch 1975: 33–7), translators seldom encounter any ambiguity.

ITT is not aimed at a restricted circle of specialized scholars alone, it remains deliberately simple in its formulation, in the hope of giving useful guidelines to practicing interpreters and translators. To this end, its terminology distinguishes between the 'sense' (*sens*) of texts or parts of texts and the 'meaning' of words (*signification*), and between 'word correspondences' and 'text equivalences'.

2. Understanding sense

A distorted or superficial reading of ITT's publications has it that sense is given in the text. Quite to the contrary, this theory, based on observational studies of interpreters at work, has been a pioneer within TS in stating that sense is made of linguistic meanings plus the relevant extra-linguistic knowledge supplied by hearers/readers. Sense is a conscious mental representation not to be mistakenly identified with the specific linguistic meanings of any given language (Seleskovitch 1992: 3).

Another assertion of the ITT that has been criticized is that sense can be grasped with a high degree of certainty. Since sense derives in part from the cognitive inputs of individual readers or translators, it is to some degree an individual matter; its depth will also vary according to the knowledge and world experience of each individual. Nevertheless, the sense understood by each of the interlocutors overlaps to a great extent so that communication is generally pretty well established. Translators operate in this area of overlap, between authors who want to communicate and readers who want to understand. Sense is intersubjective: just as there is a general consensus on the meaning of words, so there is, most of the time, a consensus on what a text intends to convey. Admittedly, sense may be submitted to various personal interpretations but these rank as a second phase to the establishment of sense and should not be mistaken for the latter.

3. Deverbalizing

As soon as there is understanding, deverbalization takes place, i.e., most of the words disappear. In everyday conversation, we understand and keep in mind what is being said without remembering each word and each sentence. Psychologists call this 'mental representation'; ITT could have called it 'conceptualization'. The term 'deverbalization' was used because it was first observed with consecutive interpreters who obviously cannot retain nor jot down

all the words of a speech. Later, translators also felt that internalizing sense rather than retaining words improved the end result of their translations. For Andrew Chesterman (in Chesterman & Wagner 2002: 9–10), ‘deverbalization’ is used to “get away from the surface structure of the source text, to arrive at the intended meaning” and “avoid unwanted formal interference”.

There are probably two reasons that account for a number of translation scholars’ reluctance to admit that sense is to be transmitted but the original language should be left behind:

The first reason is the lingering influence of the Saussurean assertion that signifier and signified (symbol and concept), are like the two sides of a sheet of paper and cannot be dissociated; but Saussure was speaking of language as a system, not acts of speech, not texts. Among TS scholars, Nida (1975: 187) notes that it would be wrong to assume that language determines thought. The neurologist Andrew Kertesz (1988: 461) gives clinical evidence in favor of the duality of language and high-level thought; he concurs in this with one of the early supporters of ITT, the neuropsychologist Jacques Barbizet and a number of others since. The cognitive psychologist Steven Pinker (1994: 57) sums up: “The idea that thought is the same thing as language is an example of what can be called a conventional absurdity”. However, the dynamic relationship between thought and language, the role of language in fine-tuning thoughts was never underestimated by ITT (Seleskovitch 1978: 38).

A second reason may be that most TS so far have dealt with literary translation, where style is of primary importance. But sense for the ITT does not mean referential, notional sense alone. As early as 1988, Seleskovitch wrote

[...] style stems from sense as much as it contributes to sense; whatever the style of an oral or written utterance, as long as it is meant as a message, the style will be part of the sense to be conveyed. It will be reflected in the other language by style that is not a conversion of the original style but the expression of the translator’s understanding of sense
(1988: 87).

For Fortunato Israël (1998: 253–4), the more style is important in a text, the more translators should stay away from the original form. Sense feeds on form just as form feeds on sense; formal elements do play a role in the building of sense. However, the original form is to be interpreted, rather than reproduced as such. According to this approach, in order to create a similar impact on the readers of the translation, the notional elements and formal values are to be extracted from the original linguistic envelope and re-expressed differently in the other language.

4. Reformulating

No text is ever entirely explicit. Its verbal components are but the explicit part, a synecdoche (Lederer 2003: 53–59), pointing to a larger whole (sense). But the explicit part used in

one language to designate the whole seldom corresponds to the explicit part with which another language points to the same whole: "Assurez-vous de ne rien oublier dans l'avion" = "Please make sure you have all your belongings with you". In the two languages, different synecdoches, different partial formulations are used to give the same instruction.

Sense is built out of both the explicit textual part, and the inferred implicit part (not to be confused with authors' intentionality). Because of this property of sense, and of the structural differences between languages, the balance between the explicit and implicit parts is different from the original in the reformulation phase, although sense as a whole is transmitted. To achieve this new balance, translators take into account speakers' meanings (explicit and implicit) and their readers' assumed relevant knowledge. They create text equivalences through spontaneously expressing appropriate synecdoches in their target languages.

Translation is not a matter of transcoding words and phrases but of expressing what speakers/writers mean in a way that does not sound strange to hearers/readers. It is a truism to say that languages are not isomorphic (not even languages sharing a common origin, like for instance French and Italian). But shifts are not only due to morphological and syntactic differences: since ideas and thoughts are not expressed in the same way in different languages, translators have to create equivalences between texts or text segments. However, texts also offer correspondences between words and set phrases. Seleskovitch's empirical study (1975) established that some lexical items (names, numbers and mainly technical terms) call for obligatory correspondences. Other words, in particular those pointing to universal things or notions, may also call for correspondences: humans have in common a number of physical and psychological attributes, and texts in different languages address similar subjects. It is, therefore, only natural that word correspondences should be found between all languages. However, no text can ever be translated by using only word correspondences or only text equivalences:

Although the interpreter's rendering [and for that matter the translator's] is primarily derived from deverbalized sense, it is not altogether free from the original language.

It is actually a mixture of a spontaneous expression of ideas and feelings that create speech equivalences and of verbal elements corresponding to individual terms of the original language, creating word correspondences. (Seleskovitch 2004: 787)

5. The ITT and the teaching of T&I

The ITT is successfully applied to teaching. The EU, the world's largest employer of interpreters, commissioned Seleskovitch and Lederer to write a *Pédagogie raisonnée de l'interprétation* based on the ITT, published in 1989, revised and augmented in 2002 (English version 1995), as a teaching tool for interpreting trainers in the new EU member countries. Its deverbalization part, in particular, is recognized by most TS scholars as a useful pedagogical tool for keeping trainees away from literal renderings.

The ITT model as a whole (understanding, deverbalizing, re-formulating idiomatically through conceptual understanding) applies to all language pairs: a number of Ph.D. dissertations have demonstrated its validity for various Western, Asian and African languages paired to French or English. This does not mean that languages do not each have their specificities. Indeed, when teaching T&I from language X to language Y, instructors will naturally draw the attention of trainees to the differing stylistics of the SL and TL.

6. The ITT is open to contributions

The ITT is a rational theoretical model. It describes and explains the various components of the translation process in their broad outlines. A number of theories or models have dealt more in depth with some parts of the process: Reiss and Vermeer's Skopos Theory, enlarged by Nord, focuses on "the function (or set of functions) the target text is to achieve in the target culture" (Nord 1992: 39). Gile's model of attention allocation (1995) stresses the cognitive load of SI, expanding on the ITT's account of the various stages of the interpreting process. Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory applied to translation (Gutt 1991; Setton 1999) describes the workings of inference, elaborating on the comprehension part put forward by the ITT. Chernov's empirical study of anticipation in SI (2004) validates the ITT's findings in this field.

None of these models contradicts the theory. They add a number of welcome points. The ITT is open to new findings in the sciences and humanities. Take for example, two recently published studies based on the ITT, one by Roux-Faucard (2008) that integrates the latest findings of narratology; another by Plassard (2007) which relies on the recent developments of cognitive psychology, and opens new avenues by stressing the importance of intertextuality and the interdependence of the reading and writing stages of translation. Thus, the basic model, on which there is a large consensus, can bear deepening and expanding. Empirical research on some specific aspects of the theory, in particular, would be a welcome contribution to the Interpretive Approach.

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Journalism and translation

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Particularly with regard to foreign news gathering and foreign news production, the relationship between language (knowledge) and journalism has often been stressed and described in the margins of linguistic (discursive, stylistic, pragmatic) or communication-oriented research. However, the interest for the specific position of translation, both as a process and a product in this interaction, is relatively new. Within the broader research field on translation and/in the media, various subfields can be discerned. Referring to several recent publications and making use of quantitative data, van Doorslaer 2009 shows that this research domain largely focuses on the subfields of audiovisual translation*, voiceover and dubbing* and subtitling*. The journalistic aspects of media translation as well as the position of translation in day to day journalistic work are not an explicit object of study in those subfields. In the wake of the Warwick project on 'Translation in Global News', however, more and more interest has arisen for news translation and other aspects related to news and translation. The most prominent publications of the Warwick project itself are the conference proceedings in Conway & Bassnett 2006 and above all Bielsa & Bassnett 2009, the final publication to issue from the project. It explores in particular the role of translation in so-called global news agencies (mainly AP, Reuters and AFP) as well as concrete translated news texts. Despite tendencies towards globalization and harmonization, the increasing role played by English language and even the dominance of Anglophone writing models (shorter and more direct texts), there still is an important variety in the use of different framing and translation practices, strategies and values. This variety can sometimes be traced back to the national/regional origins of the news agency or to marked choices with regard to content, for instance in the case of the 'alternative' IPS news agency. Since the publication of the famous MacBride report criticizing the very imbalanced news circulation in the world and the media exposure of the 'elite countries' (MacBride 1980), new balances were established. Nevertheless, a complex mixture of power relationships (continental, national, linguistic, political and ideological) determines important decisions and choices regarding news selection, news translation and news editing. Christina Schäffner (2008) analyzes a corpus of translated journalistic texts and political quotes that were recontextualized for the home audience (without any reference to the translation act). She shows that institutional and ideological conditions of translation production are of decisive importance in these cases of political journalism and political communication. In his case study on the Spanish BBCMundo, Roberto Valdeón (2008) discovers an underlying difference in status between Anglophone and Spanish-speaking cultures, where the

importance of the former over the latter is often accentuated in the news coverage. The journalistic selectivity visible in the appropriation, translating and editing of certain materials influences the framing of world perception. Luc van Doorslaer (2009) reveals a clear correlation between the news agencies used as main sources and the countries dealt with in international news coverage. Newsrooms in Belgium mainly using AP for example, write more about the USA. Those who mainly use AFP, write much more about France. Though world news agencies may present themselves as 'global' nowadays, they obviously do not deny their roots. News agencies inevitably include norms linked to their national origins and this fact is reflected in their selection and de-selection principles as well as in their framing approach. So it remains an unsolved question "whether they have sufficiently disengaged themselves from their national and/or regional base in their news production" (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 49).

1. Transediting and the various media

Various aspects of translation can thus be found at several levels in the news process: during the initial news gathering stage (correspondents, news agencies), but also during the handling stage (editing and writing) at news agencies, (national or local) news organizations and newsrooms. Particularly the selection and de-selection principles adopted at the different stages are considerably influenced by language knowledge and (non-)translation. In many newsrooms all over the world, translation is not done by translators. But translation forms an integral part of journalistic work: a complex, integrated combination of information gathering, translating, selecting, reinterpreting, contextualizing and editing. Karen Stetting (1989) coined a term for such journalistic writing activities that include both translating and editing and that had often been referred to in later research as 'transediting'. From this perspective, it seems legitimate that a lot of research has mainly focused on the person of the journalist-translator as the crucial actor in this process of meaning-making or meaning-remaking. However, Kyle Conway (2008) suggests that we should no longer concentrate on the journalist himself, but rather on the larger social system in which he functions, including such aspects as the political role of journalists, or the influence of degrees of national identity on the journalists' institutional roles.

Most of the existing research on news translation concentrates on printed and online news materials. The most important reason for this is very practical: audiovisual news items are spoken and, as a consequence, not immediately available for written textual analysis or comparison. It is usually not easy to retrieve them from the media themselves, not even for scholarly research. Contributions on the position of translation and translators in TV newsrooms have focused on the pressure, the stress and the hectic circumstances of news production with hardly any specific attention being paid to language transfer or subtitling in the news. Claire Tsai (2006), for instance, deals with TV news translators in

Taiwan working under extreme time pressure. Under such circumstances, translation is a very uncomfortable activity to carry out. Such translation products are often the result of high levels of simplification or manipulation in news texts. One of the rare examples that combine and compare broadcasting and newspaper news translation can be found in Lee (2006) for the language pair Korean-English. The contribution analyzes differences in lead structures between broadcasting and newspapers. Whereas broadcast news translation prefers the use of shorter leads, this reduction in leads is not clearly identifiable in newspaper translation, where lead expansion seems to be a frequent phenomenon. Although translators fulfill their traditional roles as cultural mediators and decision makers in both contexts, newspaper translators (or newspaper journalist-translators) act more clearly as gatekeepers, taking advantage of their greater freedom compared to broadcast translation.

2. Both a creative and a re-creative practice

Except for the few cases where 'real' translators work in a newsroom environment, translation in journalism is hardly ever seen as 'translation proper' or 'translation-as-generally-understood'. More than fifty years ago Roman Jakobson (1959) published his seminal article distinguishing between intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic translation. Although the interest in transfer processes in a globalized world is huge and still increasing, in many of these publications translation is still considered mainly or purely linguistic transfer. Jakobson's explicit enlargement of the object of Translation Studies is clearly present in everyday translation and editing practices in newsrooms. An internet based English telex message from a source in India that is rewritten for tomorrow's edition of *The Independent*, is an example of an intralingual translation. An Italian news article in *La Repubblica* that is adapted for an item on the news of German public TV station ZDF, is an example of an intersemiotic translation. Despite this intralingual or intersemiotic transfer, there are a considerable number of cases outside the media in which a source text and a target text or product can be clearly identified. Most rewriting in the journalistic field is more problematic, however, as far as the status of a(n) (identifiable) source text is concerned. In many cases, several sources, or more particularly, several source texts are used when producing a new target text. Let us re-visit the last example. When ZDF wants to prepare an item on Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's policy, it would not only be based on the article in *La Repubblica*, but almost certainly also on earlier news items, other national and international media coverage of the topic, as well as on information or feedback from experts. Source texts are multiplied in such working procedures, and combined with information processing, various transformation, reworking and rewriting stages in order to produce one new target text. This multiplication of texts problematizes the presence and status of the source text in a 'normal' translational relationship. Such a situation is not unique, but rather typical of translation in journalism: the combination of a

(hardly reconstructable) multi-source situation with a highly pragmatic use of translation in potentially all three object fields as described by Jakobson. Whereas Jakobson's extension of 'translation' was exclusively target-text and target-situation-bound, this additional extension refers to aspects of the source-text and the source-situation. As a result of this complex combination of factors, studying the position and role of 'translation proper' in the day-to-day journalistic practice of text production can be seen as very challenging, but it is not necessarily rewarding. Media translation researchers are often confronted with this obstacle: in many concrete cases, it is not realistic to deconstruct a news message in order to determine which parts have been edited and which parts are likely to be the result of an interlingual translation act.

Translation in the journalistic field not only has to take into account the disintegrating status of the source text, it also has to problematize the concept of authorship. In journalistic text production, translating and writing are brought together in one process that is both creative and re-creative at the same time. In most cases it is impossible to distinguish the two activities involved in this integrated process. The same goes for the two functions in a newsroom: journalists writing 'original' reports or journalists translating and rewriting on the basis of existing sources. This practice explains the absence of 'real' translators in newsrooms, a situation that is highly paradoxical: because translation is everywhere, there are no formal translator positions. The relativity of both the status of source text and authorship creates a situation that is opposite in many respects to the position of translation in traditional research on literary translation for example, where the author and the 'sacred original' are of central importance. This specificity is what makes the relationship between journalism and translation highly interesting for Translation Studies.

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Language learning and translation

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While language learning or acquisition¹ is an obvious prerequisite for translation, the part that translation might play in language learning and acquisition has been the subject of debate in both Translation Studies and language pedagogy in the West.² Here, after the dismissal by proponents of so-called “natural methods” of language teaching and learning of the grammar-translation method, very few experts in language pedagogy have felt inclined to recommend translation as a fruitful method of or aid in language pedagogy, particularly at the primary and secondary levels of the education system – even though many teachers have continued to find it beneficial. For example, Harvey (1996: 46) describes the situation in France as follows:

Until a few years ago, the use of L1, whether for the purposes of translation or grammar explanations, was officially outlawed in the classroom, although a number of teachers continued to engage in “undercover” translation ... The so-called *méthode directe* was made compulsory by ministerial guidelines back in 1950, but was not actually applied until many years later. The fact that the ban on translation was condemned back in 1987 by the *APLV* (*Association des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes*) in a special issue of *Les langues modernes* points to ... [a] gap ... between teachers faced with the day-to-day reality of the classroom, and official policy makers.

In many university language programmes, translation also forms a part; translation into the language being learnt is used to test the learners’ productive ability in the language being learnt, while translation out of the language being learnt is used to test their comprehension of the language being learnt, but it is rare that either bears any resemblance to what goes on in translation classrooms, where people practice and study translation as a

1. I mean by language learning, learning of one or more additional languages, aided by instruction in more or less formal contexts, by an individual who has already progressed a good way along the process of acquiring their first language(s). I mean by language acquisition, the learning of one or more languages from birth or from an individual’s very early life. In this article, I concentrate on the role translation might play in language learning only, for reasons of space limitations.

2. Or, rather, in language pedagogic contexts influenced by Applied Linguistics as developed in English speaking countries. For example, while translation is excluded from language teaching and learning contexts in most of India and Pakistan, it is widely used in language teaching and learning in much of China.

skill in its own right, to be used in conveying meaning to people unable to derive this from a text in its original language (see in particular, Vienne 1994).

1. The dismissal of translation from the European modern foreign language classroom

1.1 The grammar-translation method

A number of scholars have rehearsed the reasons for the dismissal of translation from the language classroom by the Reformists, pointing out that what was being dismissed was the grammar-translation method of language teaching, which bears no resemblance to translation ‘proper’, concentrating, as it does, on practice in the translation of individual sentences constructed to illustrate clearly and progressively particular features of grammar. As Howatt (1984: 131) explains, the grammar translation method was developed in Prussia in the early eighteenth century and became the standard European method of modern foreign language teaching for secondary school pupils, for whose group-based lessons the scholastic method of individual study of full foreign language texts aided by a grammar book and a dictionary was inappropriate. The reasons are discussed here, nevertheless, since some of the arguments are relevant to other forms of translation too, when employed in the language classroom.

1.2 Arguments against using translation in language pedagogy

The arguments raised against the use of translation in modern foreign language teaching and learning need to be seen against the background of three features which characterised the Europe-wide Reform Movement, which can be said to have begun with the publication of Viëtor (1882), and which also included, among others, Henry Sweet and William Henry Widgery in Britain, Felix Franke and Hermann Klinghardt in Silesia, and Otto Jespersen in Denmark, namely, as Howatt (1984: 171) expresses them, ‘the primacy of speech, the centrality of the connected text as the kernel of the teaching-learning process, and the absolute priority of an oral methodology in the classroom’. Individual, specially constructed sentences for written translation were never going to be a hit in such a context.

Drawing on Berlitz (1907), Lado (1964) and Gatenby (1967), Malmkjær (1998: 6) lists the arguments made against translation in language teaching as follows: Translation is independent of and radically different from the four skills which define language competence: reading, writing, speaking and listening, and it takes up time which could have been spent learning them. Translation is also unnatural, and it misleads students into thinking that there is one-to-one correspondence between languages. Translation encourages students to keep their native language in mind, so it produces interference and interrupts thinking in the language being learnt. Translation is a very bad way to test language

skills (see Section 1 above), because you cannot compose freely and naturally in L2 if L1 is constantly there in the form of an ST. In fact, translation exercises ought to be confined to the translation teaching classroom.

2. Are the arguments against translation in language teaching sound?

Clearly, these contentions, if true, would be good arguments against the use of any form of translation in language teaching. Malmkjaer (1998: 8) argues that they are not true of (simulations of) properly briefed, functional translation for a purpose: It is not possible to produce a translation that is fit for purpose unless much reading and writing has taken place, and often also speaking and listening to commissioners and clients; so translation is not independent of the four skills, and is not necessarily a waste of time. Nor is it obvious that translation is unnatural. Harris and Sherwood (1978), for example, have argued that it is a skill innate in bilinguals, and since more people in the world are bi-lingual than are monolingual, an innate skill of theirs can hardly be classified as unnatural. Translation, properly understood, will soon illustrate to its practitioners that there are few simple one-to-one relationships between their languages, so far from misleading them in this regard, it is likely to heighten their awareness of it. There is no doubt that translation produces interference, but learning to cope with interference is extremely valuable for language learners; and since a number of language learners end up as translators, there is no reason why the skill of translating (properly understood) should not have a place in the language learning classroom. In recent years, very many scholars have argued in favour of translation, of various forms, in language classrooms (see for example Cook 2010 and the papers collected in Witte, Harden & Harden 2009). However, there has been little empirical testing of any uses of translation in language teaching; in particular, tests of the use of properly situated translation tasks are sorely wanted.

3. Tests of the arguments

Carreres (2006) undertook a survey of thirty one Spanish language students at the University of Cambridge. They all thought that translation should be taught as part of a modern languages undergraduate degree, and on a scale of 0 (lowest) to 5 (highest), the average score was 4.6 in response to the question, 'How useful is translation from English into a foreign language as a means of learning the foreign language' (Carreres 2006: 8). Over half of the students (54%) thought that translation was a more effective method than other methods, although it was not uniformly popular among them.

The feeling of the Cambridge students that translation is the best way of learning a foreign language is not, however, unequivocally confirmed by empirical studies such as that

by Källkvist (2008), who undertook a longitudinal study over thirteen weeks ‘in which two groups of randomly assigned advanced-level [Swedish] learners of English were given two different types of form-focused exercises, only one of which involved translation’ (Källkvist 2008: 183). The course taught was a grammar course with a focus on individual forms, so the translation exercises employed were not of the situated types discussed in the previous section. Rather, the students who were exposed to translation exercises translated whole or parts of sentences, while the other group of students carried out gap filling and transformation exercises on the same sentences. A third group of learners was also studied, who received only meaning focused instruction (reading fiction, discussing it, and writing essays on which they were given feedback), but these were high-school students, not randomised, and taking other subjects as well as English, and Källkvist (2008: 189) points out that therefore ‘any differences in results between [this group] and the two experimental groups give rise to further hypotheses rather than conclusions’. There were three research questions: (Källkvist 2008: 186 and 188):

1. Do students who have been exposed to translation exercises for a substantial period of time perform equally well on morphosyntactic accuracy in English as students who have done exercises in the L2 only (but targeting the same structures) when (a) *translating writing* from Swedish into English and (b) [sic] *writing directly* in English?
2. Are some learners able to do equally well in both types of task, regardless of exercise type?
3. Do students who have had input through extensive reading and writing in English as an L2, but no explicit instruction in the use of morphosyntactic structures, perform equally well as students who have had “translation exercises” or “target-language-only exercises” on morphosyntactic accuracy when (a) *translating writing* from Swedish into English, and (b) *writing directly* in English?

All the students were pre- and post-tested using a multiple choice test, a translation test (Swedish into English) and a written re-telling task, in that order (Källkvist 2008: 190). The two groups that had been exposed to form-focused exercises showed greater accuracy gains in the post-tests than the third group did, which suggests that form-focused exercises, including translation exercises, are more effective means of teaching grammatical accuracy than meaning based work alone (Källkvist 2008: 197). For the other two groups there were no statistically significant differences between their accuracy gains from pre- to post-test in the multiple choice and translation tests, and ‘a portion of learners are capable of performing well in form-focused tests regardless of exercise type’ (Källkvist 2008: 198). The study, therefore, ‘does not provide support for form-focused courses for advanced learners that involve translation only’ (Källkvist 2008: 199). The learners who had been exposed to form-focused exercises involving no translation did better in the re-writing task than the students who had been exposed to translation exercises, whereas the translating students

did better than the non-translating students on the translation task. Källkvist therefore concludes that (2008: 199):

If we expect and aim for our learners to be able to use the L2 well when communicating in situations in which they are required to translate and in situations in which they need to express themselves directly in L2, it seems fully reasonable that we provide them with exercises and rich, varied, and enhanced input of either kind.

It would be valuable to have results of studies examining the use of properly situated translation and even interpreting tasks in language classrooms, since the translation and interpreting professions are a major destination point for language learners,³ and it would be an advantage if some of their classroom time could be spent preparing them for that destination. The issue of whether a special form of language pedagogy should be used with trainee translators is not addressed in this article, but readers can consult the papers collected in Malmkjær (1998 and 2004) for a selection of views.

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Legal translation

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Legal translation is a type of specialist or technical translation*, a translational activity that involves language of and related to law and legal process. Legal translation refers to the rendering of legal texts from the Source Language (SL) into the Target Language (TL).

Legal translation can be classified according to different criteria. For instance, legal translation can be categorised into the following classes according to the subject matter of the SL texts: (1) translating domestic statutes and international treaties; (2) translating private legal documents; (3) translating legal scholarly works, and (4) translating case law. Legal translation can also be divided according to the status of the SL texts: (1) translating enforceable law, e.g., statutes; and (2) translating non-enforceable law, e.g., legal scholarly works. As well, legal translation can be classified according to the functions of legal texts in the SL: (1) primarily prescriptive, e.g., laws, regulations, codes, contracts, treaties, and conventions; (2) primarily descriptive and also prescriptive, e.g., judicial decisions and legal instruments that are used to carry on judicial and administrative proceedings such as actions, pleadings, briefs, appeals, requests, petitions etc; and (3) purely descriptive, e.g., scholarly works written by legal scholars such as legal opinions, law textbooks, and articles, the authority of which varies in different legal systems (Sarcevic 1997: 11). Legal translation can also be classified in the light of the purposes of the TL texts: (1) normative purpose, i.e., the production of equally authentic legal texts in bilingual and multilingual jurisdictions of domestic laws and international legal instruments and other laws; (2) informative purpose, e.g., the translation of statutes, court decisions, scholarly works and other types of legal documents if the purpose of the translation is to provide information to the target readers; and (3) general legal or judicial purpose (see Cao 2007). In short, legal translation is used as a generic term to cover both the translation of law and other communications in legal settings.

1. Sources of difficulty in legal translation

It is often said that legal translation is difficult and complex. In essence, the nature of law and legal language contributes to the complexity and difficulty in legal translation. This is compounded by complications arising from crossing two languages and legal systems in translation. Accordingly, sources of legal translation difficulty include the systemic differences in law, linguistic as well as cultural differences. All these are closely related (see Cao 2007).

First of all, legal language is a technical language, but legal language is not a universal technical language but one that is tied to a national legal system (Weisflog 1987: 203), different from the language used in pure science, say mathematics or physics. Law and legal language are system bound, that is, they reflect the history, evolution and culture, and above all, the law of a specific legal system. Law as an abstract concept is universal as it is reflected in written laws and customary norms of conduct in different countries. However, legal systems are peculiar to the societies in which they have been formulated. Each society has different cultural, social and linguistic structures developed separately according to its own conditioning. Legal concepts, legal norms and application of laws differ in each individual society reflecting the differences in that society. Legal translation involves translation from one legal system into another. Unlike pure science, law remains a national phenomenon. Each national law constitutes an independent legal system with its own terminological apparatus, underlying conceptual structure, rules of classification, sources of law, methodological approaches and socio-economic principles (Sarcevic 1997: 13). This has implications for legal translation when communication is channelled across different languages, cultures and legal systems.

Law is culturally and jurisdictionally specific. There are different legal systems or families, such as the Romano-Germanic Law (Continental Civil Law) and the Common Law, the two most influential legal families in the world. As David and Brierley (1985: 19) state, each legal system or family has its own characteristics and “a vocabulary used to express concepts, its rules are arranged into categories, it has techniques for expressing rules and interpreting them, it is linked to a view of the social order itself which determines the way in which the law is applied and shapes the very function of law in that society”. Due to the differences in historical and cultural development, the elements of the source legal system cannot be simply transposed into the target legal system (Sarcevic 1997: 13). Thus, the main challenge to the legal translator is the incongruency of legal systems in the SL and TL. As a result, the systemic differences between different legal families are a major source of difficulty in translation.

In addition, linguistic difficulties also arise in translation from the differences found in the different legal cultures and legal systems. Legal translation is distinguished from other types of technical translation* that convey universal information. In this sense, legal translation is *sui generis*. Each legal language is the product of a special history and culture. It follows, for example, that the characteristics of *la langue de droit* in French do not necessarily apply to legal English. Nor do those of the English language of the law necessarily apply to French.

A basic linguistic difficulty in legal translation is the absence of equivalent terminology* across different languages. This requires constant comparison between the legal systems of the SL and TL. In terms of legal style, legal language is a highly specialised language use with its own style. The languages of the Common Law and Civil Law systems are fundamentally different in style. Legal traditions and legal culture have had a lasting impact

on the way law is written. Written legal language thus reflects the essential elements of a legal culture and confronts the legal translator with its multi-faceted implications (Smith 1995: 190–191).

Lastly, cultural differences present another source of difficulty in legal translation. Law is an expression of the culture, and it is expressed through legal language. As pointed out, “[e]ach country has its own legal language representing the social reality of its specific legal order” (Sarcevic 1985: 127). Legal translators must overcome cultural barriers between the SL and TL societies when reproducing a TL version of a law originally written for the SL reader. In this connection, Weston (1983: 207) writes that the most important general characteristic of any legal translation is that an unusually large proportion of the text is culture-specific. The existence of different legal cultures and traditions is a major reason why legal languages are different from one another, and will remain so. It is also a reason why legal language within each national legal order is not and will not be the same as ordinary language.

2. Translating different legal texts

Legal translation involves different legal text types. The common legal text types include private legal documents, domestic legislation, and international legal instruments.

2.1 Translating private legal documents

Private legal documents are those that are drafted and used by lawyers in their daily practice on behalf of their clients. They may include deeds, contracts and other agreements, leases, wills and other legal texts such as statutory declaration, power of attorney, statements of claims or pleadings and other court documents and advice from lawyers to clients. The translation of these documents constitutes the bulk of actual translation work for many legal translation practitioners.

Private legal documents often follow certain established patterns and rules in a particular jurisdiction. Agreements and contracts, which are among the most commonly translated private legal documents from and into English, are often written in similar styles. Such documents, for instance, drafted in English, often contain old or archaic words and expressions reflecting the old drafting style, where one frequently finds words such as ‘aforementioned’, ‘hereinafter’, ‘hereinabove’, ‘hereunder’, ‘said’, ‘such’, etc. Another common usage is word strings, for instance, ‘restriction, restraint, prohibition or intervention’, ‘change, modification or alteration’, ‘document or agreement as amended, annotated, supplemented, varied or replaced’, ‘arrangements, agreements, representations or undertakings’. Some describe these collocations as wordiness or verbosity. Still another common linguistic feature found in private legal documents is that sentences are typically long and complex, and passive structures are often extensively used.

2.2 Translating domestic legislation

Under this category, there are two types of situation where municipal statutes are translated. The first type is found in bilingual and multilingual jurisdictions (see *Multilingualism and translation*⁴) where two or more languages are the official legal languages. Examples include Canada, Switzerland, Hong Kong, and South Africa. The second type of translated legislation is found in any monolingual country where its laws are translated into a foreign language or languages for information purpose, for instance, the US and China.

Generally speaking, modern statutes consist of a generic structure and standard form with the following common elements:

- title
- date
- preamble
- the enacting words
- substantive body: the parts, articles and sections
- schedules or forms

One prominent linguistic feature of legislative texts is the illocutionary force. A legislative text as a rule-enacting document is a speech act with illocutionary forces (see Kurzon 1986). This pragmatic feature is a crucial and prominent linguistic aspect of statutes, for both domestic or municipal statutory instruments and multilateral legal instruments. It is universally important as the basic function of law is regulating human behaviour and relations by setting out obligation, permission and prohibition in society. These are expressed in language through the use of words such as 'may' for conferring a right, privilege or power, 'shall' for imposing an obligation to do an act, and 'shall not' or 'may not' for imposing an obligation to abstain from doing an act.

2.3 Translating international legal instruments

The translation of legal instruments in international or supranational bodies such as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) forms a special area of legal translation practice (see Cao 2007). Such translational activities can entail translating multilingual documents such as international instruments of the UN involving several languages, and translating bilateral treaties involving two languages. The translation of such legal documents of international nature as opposed to domestic laws has its own idiosyncrasy as well as sharing the characteristics of translating law in general.

One important principle in the practice of multilingual law is the principle of equal authenticity, that is, all the official language texts of an international treaty, whether translated or not, are equally authentic, having equal legal force. As pointed out, the importance attached to the principle of equal authenticity was intended to confer undisputable authority

on each of the authentic texts, de facto eliminating the inferior status of authoritative translations (Sarcevic 1997: 199). This also carries with it the high level requirements for accuracy on the part of the legal translator.

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Literary studies and translation studies

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1. “Literature” and “translation”

Is hip-hop music a form of oral “literature”? Are the *belles infidèles* in neoclassical France to be regarded as “translations” or should we perhaps treat them as a form of “adaptation”*? Do, say, the Portuguese or the Dutch subtitles of Polanski’s 2005 film adaptation of *Oliver Twist* amount to something that could qualify as “literary translation”? To be sure, the two concepts conjoined by the title of this entry, “literature” and “translation”, are notoriously difficult to define. Somewhat like Pirandello’s *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, the disciplines of Literary Studies and Translation Studies have both in their own ways, and occasionally along the same paths, spent much energy trying to find and delineate the subjects that are supposed to be their *raison d’être*.

It is worth noting incidentally that some translation scholars have used literary concepts to try and define translation. For example, especially from Barbara Folkart’s book *Le conflit des énonciations. Traduction et discours rapporté* (1991) onwards, several efforts have been undertaken to describe the nature of translation in terms of the stylistic and narratological concept of reported speech, the idea being that translation is somewhat like quoting someone else in a different language. Conversely, translation may be used in fixing the borderlines of literature. This happens, albeit negatively and quite dramatically, in the frequently expressed conviction that “poetry is what gets lost in translation” (Robert Frost).

There have been countless attempts to identify the *differentia specifica* of translation as well as of literature, but none turn out to be free from serious problems on closer inspection. This might lead us to give up on the idea of accurately defined descriptive categories; we may even decide to let our terms and concepts follow the free play of language. But that is not really an option which is available to scholars. The scholar’s best bet seems to be to aim for more flexible types of definition and for historical contextualisation, as these can offer ways of dealing with fluid boundaries, variation and historical difference.

Within Translation Studies the most decisive steps towards such a flexible approach to translation were taken by Gideon Toury, who aptly summarised the historical variability of translation as “*difference* across cultures, *variation* within a culture and *change* over time” (Toury 1995: 31). Toury notoriously “undefined” (Hermans 1999: 46) translation as “any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds” (Toury 1985: 20). The concept of norms* was the cornerstone of this way of thinking from the beginning, as may be illustrated by his landmark

paper “The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation”, delivered in 1976 at the Leuven conference on “Literature and Translation” where Toury made his international débüt. In the same year he completed his Ph.D. research.

As it happens, in 1976 too, the journal *PTL: a Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* published a major paper by the Russian semiotician Yuri Lotman entitled “The Content and Structure of the Concept of ‘Literature’”. In a spirit of cultural relativism and functionalism which recalls Toury’s critical manoeuvre just referred to, Lotman (1976: 339) writes that “any verbal text which is capable, within the limits of the culture in question, of fulfilling an aesthetic function can be counted as literature”, adding that “there is no simple, automatic relationship between the function of a text and its internal organization: the formula of the relationship between these two structural principles takes shape differently in each type of culture”.

It is a central idea to the arguments of both Toury and Lotman that the cultures under study should be left to decide themselves and for reasons which are proper to them what constitutes “literature” and “translation” and what they can be expected to do within the total range of discursive options. Rather than imposing their own definitions, the task of scholars becomes to try to understand the functional principles that underlie the culture’s own definitions and practices. Static “one-size-fits-all” definitions are rejected, and probably rightly so. How could they ever help us get a grip on the countless cases of categories shifting in translation? Think of the many “literary translations” which turn out upon closer inspection to be largely original compositions (pseudotranslation) or, conversely, the cases where “original” literary works can be shown to involve tacit translation. Or take the cases in which a “sacred text” comes out in translation as a “lyrical poem” or as a “historical document”, or vice versa. It stands to reason that for both Literary Studies and Translation Studies (and for the massive area where the two should overlap) the functional line of thinking gives a strong “descriptive” or “empirical” orientation to the scholar’s enterprise. It should be clear though that such a project also requires hypothesis-building and theoretical scrutiny.

2. Functional models for the study of “literary translation”

Both Lotman and Toury have roots in the work of Russian Formalism and Prague Structuralism. This becomes evident in their shared semiotic outlook (see Semiotics and translation*), their functionalist approach*, their interest in norms and systems as concepts to model the historical complexity of cultural realities, their interest in stylistic issues, and their ambition to develop Literary Studies and Translation Studies respectively as rigorous and research-based disciplines. Itamar Even-Zohar, who supervised Toury’s Ph.D. research and who became famous in his own name for his development of polysystem theory*, belongs to the same sphere of influence.

A much earlier exponent – indeed one of the pioneers – of the same intellectual tradition was Roman Jakobson (1896–1982). In the late 1950s Jakobson wrote seminal papers on both translation (“On Linguistic Aspects of Translation”, 1959) and literature (“Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics”, 1960). They have both become classic pieces in their own right but are rarely quoted together.

The same tradition went on to inform the literary translation research of the Czech scholar Jiří Levý (1926–1967) and the Slovak Anton Popovič (1933–1984), but unfortunately the international impact of their work remained rather restricted as a result of their untimely deaths and, quite ironically, by the fact that their main monographs on literary translation (Levý 1963; Popovič 1975) were never published in English. However, some of their ideas were picked up from behind the Iron Curtain and transmitted in the West mainly in the 1970s by the American-Dutch translation scholar James S Holmes (1924–1986), whose small but highly readable and stimulating scholarly output was posthumously collected in *Translated!* (1988).

Toury’s, Even-Zohar’s and Holmes’s associates included José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck. Lambert’s Ph.D. thesis on *Ludwig Tieck dans les lettres françaises* – defended at the KU Leuven in 1972 (and published in 1976, that year when so many things seemed to be coming together) – moved forward from within Comparative Literature and French Studies to address issues of translation theory and history. For an account of his subsequent career and a sampling of his work, see Lambert (2006). Raymond van den Broeck defended his KU Leuven Ph.D. thesis on literary translation (*De problematiek van de literaire vertaling*) as early as 1970, but it never reached print as a book. Literary scholars such as Rik van Gorp, André Lefevere (1945–1996), Susan Bassnett and Theo Hermans were also involved in this cluster of scholarly activities. The last three went on to become widely published authors in English with successful academic careers in the U.K. or the States, which very much enhanced the visibility and standing of the kind of translation research they stood for.

There is much that differentiates the achievements of all the scholars we have mentioned, even in the early stages when they were still sharing the same platforms. It would therefore be a mistake to indiscriminately lump their work together and perhaps even to refer to them as forming a “group”, let alone a “school”. It would similarly be a gross oversimplification to mythologize them into the Founding Fathers of modern Translation Studies (with the exception of Susan Bassnett no *women* were initially involved). Among other things, such a move would diminish the important contribution of more linguistically oriented pioneers from the 1950s–1970s such as Vinay & Darbelnet, Fedorov, Mounin, Catford, Nida, Kade, Reiß, Koller and several others (whose work incidentally was duly noted – albeit often in a critical spirit – by scholars with literary interests). But it can safely be maintained that the temporary association of Holmes, Lambert, Toury and their fellows in a range of projects (conferences, books) in the 1970s and early 1980s had an electrifying effect which contributed to putting Translation Studies on the academic agenda as a “new” discipline to be reckoned with. It gave the field an energy boost that allegedly turned it

into “a success story of the 1980s” (André Lefevere) and then “one of the success stories of the 1990s” (Susan Bassnett). One should beware of promotional pep-talk in Academia as much as anywhere else, but there is no denying that from the 1980s onwards Translation Studies did undergo a significant process of expansion and diversification and that it also managed to strengthen its institutional infrastructure with the establishment of new journals, publishers, series, associations, and so on. However, it is not within the remit of this entry to chart these further developments in detail (see *Descriptive Translation Studies**; *Translation Studies**).

3. Literary translation within translation studies

The previous paragraphs may be taken to suggest that in the recent history of the discipline there is little to differentiate the study of *literary* translation from the study of translation *tout court*. Simplistic and wrong as it is, such a conclusion would be in line with the widespread perception that a majority of the trendsetting scholars in the history’s discipline have literary backgrounds and affiliations. Isn’t it telling that one of the most influential books in the discipline’s modern history is entitled *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985)? The very title puts literary translation central and by the use of the term “manipulation” it takes a swipe at the concept of equivalence so dear to the linguistic paradigms in Translation Studies. A more recent instance is Lawrence Venuti’s *The Translator’s Invisibility* (2008/1995). Whereas the subtitle of this book – “a history of translation” – announces a general type of study, its thematic range is in reality confined to literary translation, with media translation, technical forms of translation and interpreting basically all going under the rug. What are we to make of this shortcut which in the minds of many enables literary translation to stand for translation as a general category?

Inasmuch as the primacy of literary translation within the field of Translation Studies was or perhaps still is a perceived reality, it reflects a conviction that literary writers are highly creative and gifted users of their language. The best writers are language experts working in the laboratory of verbal experimentation, or so conventional wisdom has it. Literature is a particularly intense and heightened form of discourse which exploits to the hilt all the potentialities of language both structurally (sound, vocabulary, grammar ...) and in terms of stylistic and sociolinguistic differentiation. This results in literary language becoming implicitly or even overtly self-referential. Not surprisingly, this kind of language constitutes a particularly difficult challenge not only for those who have to translate it, but also, at the meta-level, for those who study these translations. Literary language can thus present itself as an ultimate testing ground for the validity and relevance of any translation theory or set of descriptive parameters. According to this argument, if a theory about (say) metaphor translation is equal to dealing with Shakespeare and Shakespearean translations, one may assume it can be applied successfully to any other kind of text as well.

An added advantage of studying literary translation as a prototype of translation generally is that acknowledged literary “masterpieces” enjoy almost by definition a considerable stability in the textual repertoires of cultures. Canonized texts are usually there to stay and they will often be found in other cultures as well. This is a feature that they share with sacred texts (see *Religious translation**) and which makes them eminently suitable for interesting comparisons to be made between retranslations and even between translations across the centuries and in totally different languages and target cultures. By the same token, they offer first-rate evidence documenting the changing value schemes within cultures and changing relationships between cultures.

Even though the two arguments just given are still worth considering, there is no denying they sound a bit old-fashioned today. The complex structure of the literary text is no longer the hot topic it used to be in literary research and the idea of the literary canon has become very suspect too. This last point usefully reminds us that something else is at stake too. The assumed primacy and the alleged representativeness of literary translation also rest on an established (but questionable) hierarchy of values in society which regards canonised literature as a superior form of culture. Along with classical music, wine connoisseurship, the theatre, museums, and so on, the literary canon constitutes an important component of Western elite culture. Part of that high “cultural capital” (Bourdieu) is conferred on those who study literature and even on those who study its translation. Soap operas, instruction manuals or commercials do not have the same prestige as Virgil, Goethe or Kundera, and this scale of values applies also to those who spend their time investigating their respective translations. Through their effect on funding policies, career prospects, social standing, self-esteem and so on, such valuations have a real impact on the overall research priorities in a culture. All other things being equal, they will push Virgil, Goethe and Kundera up the ladder of academic respectability while making research into the translation of more “popular”, “technical” or “commercial” texts less attractive.

Fortunately, such effects are far less strong now than they used to be, largely as a result of culture itself being less strictly hierarchical than it was until one or two generations ago. Postmodern taste has greatly enhanced the cultural acceptability and legitimacy of popular culture and it sets a high value on all kinds of genre-bending, genre-blending and intermediality. This has opened a space in which research into the translation of advertising*, children’s literature*, comics*, science fiction and all manner of audiovisual* texts and media-based communication (see *Journalism and translation**; *Subtitling**; *Voiceover and dubbing**) has been able to develop and thrive. While these categories of texts may variously share some of literature’s conventional modes (e.g., fictionality, narrativity), functions (e.g., entertainment, defamiliarisation) or textual strategies (e.g., complexity, ambiguity, self-reference), none of them belong to the canonised strata of literature. But the borderlines are less firm than before and the canon has increasingly come under fire anyway, so that the exclusionary effects of social status on our research priorities have become much less significant.

Thus, just as Literary Studies itself has recently been challenged, influenced or complemented by Cultural Studies, research into “literary” translation has become far less elitist, more comprehensive and more sensitive to broader cultural, social and political contexts. Following Snell-Hornby, Lefevere and Bassnett it has become customary to say that in the late 1980s and early 1990s the discipline as a whole took a “cultural turn” (see *Turns of Translation Studies**). It would take us too far afield to discuss the whys and the hows of this alleged cultural turn, but those who might want to take credit for it should recall that the tradition of Prague structuralism to which we have traced back the work of several influential literary translation scholars of the 1970s already had a particularly broad and multidisciplinary semiotic agenda (language, literature, theatre, music, film ...), making it at least potentially into a theory of cultural semiotics* from the beginning. No postmodern philosopher or neo-Marxist cultural theorist has had to twist the arm of descriptively oriented “literary” translation scholars like José Lambert and several others to make them realize the need to open up the field and to turn their attention to the study of multilingualism* and translation in the wider social context (e.g., in the media, in didactic settings and academic policies, in legal contexts, in a range of professional situations). Among other things, only such a broader view makes it possible to examine how stylistic and other conventions may have influenced each other through translation across the traditional divisions of genre and medium (Lambert 2009).

There is another reason why translation scholars in the 1970s and 1980s with a literary background and affiliation could easily believe to be in the driving seat of the overall discipline and become part of the widespread perception that they were providing the momentum and deciding the future directions for it. Until then, linguistics had on the whole tended to concentrate on structural relationships in language, with a special emphasis on lower ranks of analysis such as sounds, words, phrases and sentences. This had also influenced linguistic types of translation research, which tried to model and control translation with the help of equivalence models and transfer protocols that were in fact so neat that the old dream of machine translation* could turn into a burning ambition. Truth be said, this tendency seriously handicapped the potential of linguistic approaches to translation for being *historically* relevant. After all, the ideal kinds of linguistic equivalence modelled or prescribed on the basis of sentence-based linguistic theory are not always found in the real world, where things have a way of being messier and more complicated. In this manner the emphasis on real translations (rather than ideally constructed ones) and on texts and larger bodies of texts (rather than small units of translation*) gave the literary translation scholars just referred to the edge, at least temporarily, over their linguistically inspired colleagues and predecessors.

But this last argument has definitely been overtaken by developments in linguistics over the past quarter of a century. Many linguists today, including scholars coming to translation from a linguistic background, would readily appreciate the importance of studying full texts or at least longer and contextualised fragments rather than isolated sentences;

they would be all in favour of looking at real-life material (“discourse”) rather than abstract constructions or linguistic artefacts (see *Corpora**); they would recognize the need to integrate “linguistic” knowledge and “cultural” knowledge (see *Cognitive approaches**); and they would not shy away from taking on board genre conventions, situational contexts, social contexts, power differentials and ideology (as is shown by the growing prominence of text linguistics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis). This means that the gap between “literary” and “cultural” approaches on the one hand and the “linguistic” approaches on the other has narrowed considerably. One sees many “linguistic” translation scholars working on literary corpora, and with a fine sense of nuance too, as well as “literary” translation scholars having recourse to the methodologies of modern stylistics and linguistics. Such a mutual rapprochement casts doubt on any compartmentalization and recalls the vision of an integrated model for poetics and linguistics projected by Roman Jakobson (1960) more than half a century ago, even though the theoretical terms have obviously changed since the heyday of structuralism.

Nevertheless, there is also a large group of translation scholars with a cultural, literary, philosophical, humanistic... orientation who would definitely exclude themselves from any such rapprochement or “integrated approach” (to use Mary Snell-Hornby’s phrase), arguing that linguistically and empirically inspired models aiming at description and explanation are bound to remain far too “positivistic” or “formalistic”. They might accuse these models of clinging to naive notions of scientific objectivity and/or of being insufficiently alive to the ideological and political effects of language. Such a critique of descriptive paradigms will typically be formulated by some – not all – of those who adopt a gender approach (see *Gender in translation**) or who study the role of language and translation in post-colonial literatures*. The same scholars are likely to believe that totally different methodologies or reading strategies are required to do justice somehow to the elusive workings of language, literature and translation. In that respect they have natural allies in translation scholars who have been inspired by hermeneutics* or by deconstruction (see *Philosophy and translation**).

The influence of deconstruction on translation theory is not extensively discussed in this article. Let me simply make the point that Derridean translation criticism presents readings of originals, of translations, of translation processes and indeed of translation theories in a way which emphasises the indeterminacy of meaning. It does so on the basis of an epistemology of radical uncertainty and in a discursive style which embodies and conveys that uncertainty by its playful rhetoric. Many scholars feel alienated by the radicalism of deconstruction, but that leaves them with the task of finding their own analytical response to the semantic elusiveness and instabilities of the text – and of the literary text especially. Literary texts tend to show a complex structure. Thus, a single word or phrase in a poem can participate *simultaneously* in a sound structure, a grammatical pattern, a prosodic pattern, a semantic opposition, and so on. It is both the strength and the weakness of structuralist text analysis that it can highlight the complexity of such patterning in a spatial

kind of manner, revealing the text's many overlapping and conflicting internal structures as if they all existed together in a timeless moment. Various reader-oriented theories from the 1960s onwards have made us aware of the crucial role of the reader and of the intrinsically temporal and sequential nature of the reading process. I believe that the awareness of the text's structural complexities remains useful within this new reading-oriented perspective inasmuch as it can help us understand why in the linearity of the reading process individual text items will strangely resonate with a semantic charge that goes far beyond anything that a standard linguistic analysis could account for. But even such a sophisticated reading will have difficulty accounting for the wayward play of cognitive and emotional association, which can bring to the reading act all kinds of non-linear intratextual cross-references, verbal echoes and ironies, as well as intertextual associations, residues of memory and personal experience, and all the shapeless *non-dit* of the world knowledge that feeds into the hermeneutic act. These associative processes will, moreover, work out differently in every single reader and in every single reading act. And that is not even to mention the subtle semiotic effects to which neither the reader nor the literary critic nor the translator or the translation scholar has access because they reflect unconscious impulses and ideological motives. No one can reasonably claim to control this complex alchemy of textual meaning. Whatever the other virtues or flaws one may wish to attribute to Derrida and his followers, their work presents a salutary challenge to any undue optimism that the descriptively oriented scholar may have in this respect.

4. Translation within literary studies

As we have just explained, literary translation is often seen as a privileged area of investigation within Translation Studies. It is therefore an interesting and bizarre paradox that translation has on the whole remained a much neglected area within Literary Studies. The effect of social prestige provides the obvious solution for the paradox. *Literary* translation has quite enough prestige to stand out strongly within Translation Studies but, being literary *translation*, it remains the poor relative within Literary Studies.

There is actually no awareness or acknowledgment whatsoever of the importance of translation in books like *Literary Theory: the Basics* (Bertens 2008) or *The English Handbook: a Guide to Literary Studies* (Whitla 2010), or in comparable works which pretend to give a survey of the most important theories, models and concepts in the field of Literary Studies. Inasmuch as these books are anything to go by, they force upon us the sobering conclusion that translation (as a theoretical notion, a textual operation, a historical reality ...) appears to be a totally irrelevant issue to Literary Studies. The universally admired gurus of modern Translation Studies, including the specialists of literary translation, don't even make it to the endnote sections! The exceptions one is happy to record in other publications occur in subfields such as Comparative Literature and

Postcolonial Studies but even in those we cannot take for granted sustained scholarly attention to translation per se.

One of the reasons for this large-scale neglect has to do with the translators themselves. We know that many literary translators keep a low profile. To a greater or smaller extent they usually adapt their versions of the original to the dominant linguistic, aesthetic and ideological norms of the receiving culture. This renders them “invisible” (Venuti), which in turn makes it easy for the student of literature to overlook their contribution to culture. There are countless cases where the translation is positively hidden in the text. An example is this:

(1) If no love is, O God, what fele I so?
 And if love is, what thing and which is he?
 If love be good, from whennes cometh my woo?
 If it be wikkē, a wonder thynketh me,
 When every torment and adversite
 That cometh of hym may to me savory thinke,
 For ay thurst I, the more that ich it drynke.

This is the first of the three stanzas which make up what has come to be known as Troilus's Song, which is incorporated into *Troilus and Criseyde*, Geoffrey Chaucer's famous romance from the 1380s. The story of Troilus and Cressida was well-known; Chaucer's most important source seems to have been Boccaccio's *Il Filistrato*, which he translated freely, adding much other material of his own making or from other sources. This particular song was directly based on sonnet 132 from Petrarch's *Rime*, from which this is the first quatrain:

(2) S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento?
 Ma s'egli è amor, per Dio, che cosa e quale?
 Se buona, ond'è l'effettó aspro mortale?
 Se ria, ond' è sì dolce ogni tormento?

This is covert, unacknowledged translation of the kind that might today land its author in court on charges of copyright infringement. The case confronts Chaucerian scholarship with several enigmas. How well did Chaucer know Petrarch's work? Why did he never acknowledge the poetic interest of the genre by translating sonnets *as sonnets* (here he restructures the poem as three seven-line stanzas to be seamlessly and namelessly embedded within the larger whole)? This is a fairly spectacular case because it involves two of the greatest poetic stars of the European Middle Ages. So it was eventually seized upon by literary historians and Chaucer's failure or refusal to translate Petrarch's sonnets as sonnets came to be seen as one of the most striking non-events in the history of the genre. Literary scholarship has noticed that other great authors besides Chaucer (Wyatt, Dryden, Pope,

Pound, Heaney, to name but a few from the English tradition) have “also” been important figures in the history of translation. But “also” remains the operative word and the lion’s share of critical attention is given to these authors’ “original” output, while near-total oblivion has been the dismal fate of the hordes of literary translators who have no works of their own to their name.

Two further reasons why translations usually remain under the radar of literary scholarship can be traced back to the nineteenth century, which is the period when many of the national philologies as we still know them today came into their own. True, many facts of literary history are much older than the nineteenth century, but that was the era which shaped the discipline and thus the way in which we construct our knowledge and understanding of the facts. It happened to be a period when individual and creative authorship was valued very highly. This emphasis on authorship and originality may be attributed to the literary norms of the day (romantic poetic theory) or to the period’s philosophical concepts (individualism, positivism), social-political tendencies (liberalism) or economic realities (the commodification of art), or indeed to a combination of all these, but it definitely added to a negative general perception of translation as a derivative and hence inferior form of text production. Translators are somehow failed writers, lacking in creative vision and in expressive energies of their own; critical attention should focus on more gifted writers.

There was a second factor. The national philologies within whose framework expert literary knowledge was developed and fostered were meant to play an active part in the construction of national identities on the permanently changing map of post-Napoleonic Europe. The formation and consecration of a national pantheon of “great” writers with firm roots in the local past and in the “national language” was one of its main tasks; it was definitely a bigger priority than the acknowledgment of just how much the nation’s language and literature had really depended on importation. This nationalistic kind of bias is beautifully illustrated by Isabel Hofmeyr’s *The Portable Bunyan: A Translational History of “The Pilgrim’s Progress”* (2004). Bunyan’s famous allegory from 1678 (part 1) and 1684 (part 2) soon became an international book. Many English Puritans took it with them, together with their Bible, when they fled to America or Protestant Europe to escape repression at home. In the nineteenth century the book went on to become a powerful instrument helping evangelical missionaries in Africa to spread their creed. Thus *The Pilgrim’s Progress* was translated into no fewer than two hundred languages. But, as Hofmeyr indicates, when the discipline of English Studies emerged in the nineteenth century, Bunyan was reclaimed and reconfigured as an English writer through and through. England needed him as an icon of Englishness and so Bunyan became the father of the English novel and a key figure in the “Great Tradition” of a proudly self-sufficient English literature.

Examples like these could be multiplied. Nation states need national writers using the national language; whether it focuses on import (the Chaucer example) or export (the Bunyan example), too much emphasis on translation spoils the picture. The reluctance of

Literary Studies (and of the other language disciplines, for that matter) to take translation more seriously may therefore be interpreted as a measure of the discipline's complicity with the interests of the national State (and let us remember that it is the State which provides much of the funding for the universities).

From the beginning it was the task of Comparative Literature to complement or even correct the often blinkered view of national philologies by investigating cross-national contacts, dependencies and movements. When and where those beginnings of "Comp Lit" have to be situated remains open to debate, but Goethe's ideas about *Weltliteratur* certainly played a part in its development. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards we see scholarly works appearing such as Albert Lacroix' *Histoire de l'influence de Shakspeare sur le théâtre français jusqu'à nos jours* (1856), an early but impressively documented work in which translation is given considerable attention among other forms of reception as a vector of intercultural influence, even if it is viewed from the fairly narrow and binary perspectives of national traditions meeting (France/England) and individual writers entering into dialogue or conflict (Shakespeare/Voltaire).

The debacle of two World Wars heightened the general awareness of the dangers of unbridled nationalism and the need for greater intercultural understanding. This political context, along with the availability of new theoretical and methodological models, was favourable to the development of Comparative Literature in the post-war years, as may be shown by the official foundation of the International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA) in 1955. ICLA later created a Translation Committee and its international conferences have offered an important forum to many of the literary translation scholars we have mentioned so far. Yet, many comparatists have continued to regard translation in a purely instrumental and quite negative manner – as a necessary evil and a poor substitute for the "real thing" when direct access to it is barred by the foreignness of its language – and not as an essential cultural mechanism worthy of serious scholarly attention in its own right.

The globalisation of economies, of politics, of the media and cultures has more recently had a major internationalizing impact on literature but also on Literary Studies, and so has the general shift from colonial to postcolonial relationships in large parts of the world. This has furthered the transnational study of literature, be it under the heading of Postcolonial Studies, under new names such as "World Literature", "Global Literature", "Transcultural Literary Studies" or "Area Studies", or indeed under its traditional name of "Comparative Literature". The continuing expansion and ensuing contestation of English as a world language has thereby combined with the linguistic dilemmas of postcolonial subjects (*write in the local language, or in the former occupier's Western tongue, or in a self-created linguistic hybrid?*) to strengthen recognition of the language factor in processes involving cultural identities and intercultural transfers. Susan Bassnett (1993: 161) has actually argued that Comparative Literature could now be considered as a subdivision of Translation Studies rather than the other way round, and Emily Apter (2006) has argued the centrality of multilingualism and translation for the "new comparative literature" that the post 9/11

world needs. Successful writers in Comparative Literature today like Pascale Casanova, David Damrosch and Franco Moretti are certainly aware of the embeddedness of culture in language and of the global dimensions of literary markets and hence of the importance of translation. But the question remains how much of this awareness is trickling down to the broad base of Literary Studies, where, despite the range and interest of issues associated with literary translation*, books such as *Literary Theory: the Basics* and *The English Handbook: a Guide to Literary Studies* continue to set a frustratingly monolingual agenda.

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Localization and translation

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1. Perspectives

Localization is the linguistic and cultural adaptation of digital content to the requirements and the *locale* of a foreign market; it includes the provision of services and technologies for the management of multilingualism across the digital global information flow. Thus, localization activities include translation (of *digital* material as diverse as user assistance, websites and videogames) and a wide range of additional activities. Contrary to definitions provided by the Localization Industry Standards Association, LISA (2010), or Dunne (2006), this definition explicitly focuses on *digital* content and includes the *management* of multilingualism as one of the important localization activities.

The localization industry as it is known today emerged in the mid 1980s with the advent of personal computing. North American multinational software publishers were scouting for new markets for products that had already been proven highly successful in the USA. They identified these new markets in Europe, concentrating their efforts initially on the richest countries in the region: France, Italy, Germany and Spain – the so-called *FIGS* countries. The localization service industry subsequently organised itself into Single Language Vendors (SLVs) and Multi Language Vendors (MLVs). In the mid 1990s, a dedicated localization tools industry emerged. Following a continued period of growth, Beninatto and Kelly (2009) estimate the language services market worldwide to be worth US\$25 billion by 2013. Many digital publishers, including companies such as Microsoft and Oracle, now generate more than 60% of their overall revenues from their international business divisions. Localization is an instrument for the unlocking of global market opportunities for these companies and an instrument of their globalization efforts. It is, therefore, not surprising that their localization decision is never based on the number of speakers of a particular language, but on the Gross National Product (GNP) of the market they target. While publishers localize their digital content into Danish (5m speakers approx.) they do not so for Amharic (17m speaker approx.) and rarely if ever for Bengali (100m speakers approx.).

Translators working in the localization industry are among the most innovative in their profession. In the early 1990s, they were the first to use computer assisted translation tools (see Computer-aided translation*) for large-scale projects as both, the characteristics of the material to be translated (very repetitive, large volumes, often of a technical nature) and the environment in which it was translated (highly computerised, experimenting with new technologies as they emerged), were highly conducive for the progressive introduction of advanced technologies such as electronic terminology databases and translation memories.

In more recent years, Central Europe, China and India have become the central hubs for the world wide localization industry mainly because of the lower cost of employment in these regions (Niode 2009). It can reasonably be expected that India and China will become more than just cheap localization hubs for large foreign multinationals; they will very soon become major publishers of digital content in their own right. According to a report by Barboza (2008) for the New York Times, China surpassed the USA in internet use. With a penetration rate of under 20%, the number of Chinese internet users was with 253 million already bigger than that of the USA which had already reached saturation point (with 70%). This development will soon lead to fundamental changes in the localization industry, which today still works with English as the default source language.

2. Localization: More than just interlingual translation

In an attempt to make the concept more accessible to the lay person, localization is often defined as “like translation, but more than that”. As translation technologies and digital content have become almost ubiquitous, the difference between translation and localization has become clouded and somewhat difficult to define.

2.1 Characteristics

Today's localization projects are far from being homogeneous. They can deal with anything from relatively static, large-scale enterprise applications such as database systems and applications, to rapidly changing web-based content such as customer support information and relatively small size but very frequent, ad hoc personal and perishable consumer-type content.

A typical enterprise localization project, for example, can involve the translation of three million words, stored in 10,000 files to be translated into up to one hundred languages, all to be made available within a very short period of time (Schäler 2004). Content is often multimodal, it can come as text, graphics, audio, or video, and can be stored in a large variety of file formats. Content can be highly repetitive and is often leveraged from previous versions of the same core product.

As digital publishers struggle with the ever increasing demand on their capacities, they focus on standards, interoperability and process improvements, introducing sophisticated translation management systems (TMS). They also resort to internationalization and reuse of previously translated material to achieve the required increase in efficiencies.

2.2 Internationalization and reuse: Prerequisites for on-time localization

Publishers approached localization often as an afterthought. *Deltas*, i.e., the time period between the release of the original version of the software and that of its localized version, of nine months were the norm. As the type of digital content published changed

(from applications to multimedia to web content) so did its distribution to consumers and, subsequently, the demands for on-time localization: customers now demand this content become available in their own language without delay.

The two developments that made on-time localization or *simship*, the simultaneous shipment (release) of digital content, in a number of different languages and locales possible for the first time in the early 1990s were *internationalization* and the *re-use* of previously localized material.

Internationalization, meaning the preparation of digital content for use in different languages as well as for easy localization, dramatically reduced the localization effort which publishers ideally wanted to reduce to translation, eliminating as much as possible costly software re-engineering, re-building and testing activities. Digital publishers had learned the hard way about the high cost of “localization as an afterthought”, so the most advanced of them decided to take localization “upstream”, closer to the design and development teams, starting with a “smart” localization-friendly design and development of that content. Typical localization issues, such as the restricted or inappropriate encoding of characters, hard-coded strings or concatenated strings, or ill-advised programmatic dependencies on specified strings – such as the infamous “Y” in many a software’s message “Press ‘Y’ to continue” – could thus be eliminated, not just for one but for all language versions of that product and ahead of localization.

Reuse of previous translations became the main strategy to cut down on translation cost and time. Repetition processing, both within one single version as well as across versions of the same core content, started in the early 1990s when translation memory technologies were first introduced to large-scale enterprise localization projects (Schäler 1994). In some projects, reuse rates of 60% and higher can now be achieved, significantly cutting down on translation cost and time.

2.3 Generic enterprise localization process

While each localization project represents its own, particular challenges requiring a fine tuning of the localization process to be adapted, most processes have core aspects in common.

Analysis

Prior to localization, a number of key questions need to be answered in relation to the project on hand: Can the digital content be localized? – Some digital content is so specific to its original market that localization would require significant re-development that would make it financially not viable. Is the content internationalized? – Some digital content does not support the features of other language and writing systems. Is the content to be localized accessible? – If localizable strings are hard-coded, i.e., embedded in the original code or in an image, they cannot be accessed by standard localization tools.

It is standard practice as part of the analysis to carry out a so-called pseudo translation, i.e., the automatic replacement of strings within digital content with strings containing

characters of the target language. Pseudo translation can demonstrate in an easy, low-cost way the effect localization will have on the digital content in hand. The outcome of this phase is a report summarizing the results of the analysis and containing recommendations to the project teams on how to proceed.

Preparation

Following the successful completion of the analysis phase, project managers, engineers and language leads prepare the localization kit for translators and engineers containing all the original source material, reference material such as terminology databases, translation memories, style guides, and test scripts, as well as a task outline, milestones, and financial plans. The localization kit includes a description of all the deliverables, the responsibilities of the stakeholders, and all contact details.

Translation

While translation is at the centre of this activity, not all of the translation is necessarily done by translators. Some, or indeed all of it can be delivered (semi-) automatically by sophisticated computer aided translation technologies, including terminology database, translation memory (TM), and machine translation* (MT) systems. In cases where all of the source material is pre-translated using, for example, a hybrid automated translation system, it is not translation but post-editing that is required.

Translators also need to support computer assisted translation tools and their associated language resources involving the maintenance of large size and multiple terminology databases and TMs across products, versions and clients, and the tuning and use of MT systems. While some platforms and localization tools provide a visual translation environment allowing translators to see the context and appearance of the strings that are being translated, this is not always the case. Strings might have to be translated out of context. Combined with a significant pressure to produce high-quality translations within short time frames, this is a very stressful, “alienated”, highly automated and technical translation* environment for which specialised training is required (Schäler 2007).

Engineering and testing

Following translation, digital content must always be re-assembled and tested (or *quality assured*) for functionality, layout and linguistic correctness. While properly internationalized digital content significantly helps to cut down on the engineering and testing (QA) effort necessary, translation can have an unexpected effect on the functionality and appearance of the content (Jiménez-Crespo 2009). Even strings that have been translated correctly can be corrupted when used by an application or a browser for reasons not always apparent to translators, localization engineers and testers, and can require significant efforts to be rectified before the final product can be released.

Review

Following each localization project, a thorough review is conducted by the localization teams involving both the client and the vendor site. The aim of this review is to reinforce successful strategies and to avoid mistakes when dealing with similar projects in the future.

3. The future of localization and translation

Discussions about localization and translation have for a long time orbited around a rather predictable set of issues with the role of technology, automation, standards, interoperability and efficiencies in translation and localization featuring prominently (Genabith 2009). This is so because the discussion about as well as the research into localization-related issues has been dominated by the pragmatic, commercial agenda of the localization industry, an industry driven almost exclusively by the desire to maximise the short-term financial return on investment of multinational digital publishers in the development of their digital content. This rather narrow focus of current mainstream localization activities is beginning to expand. This development is driven by people and organisations who have recognised that localization and translation are important not just for commercial, but also for social, cultural and political reasons; they can keep people out of prison, enhance their standards of living, improve their health and, in extreme cases, even save their lives.

A recent, though rather short-lived, example of such activity was the reaction to the Haiti disaster in early 2010 when a large number of localization service providers as well as an even larger number of individuals volunteered their services to help the people of Haiti. The reaction to this catastrophe drove truly innovative efforts in disaster relief involving translation and localization, such as the 4636 multilingual emergency text service reported by Ushahidi and Envisiongood. Still, there is a clear urgency to explore more sustainable and long term alternatives to current mainstream localization and translations, going beyond those that react in an immediate and often uncoordinated and unsustainable way to disasters.

Access to information and knowledge in your language using media such as the world wide web is not a “nice to have” anymore, not an option; it is a human right and should be recognised as such as De Varennes (2001) points out. Initiatives to make localization and translation technologies and services available to all, including to those who currently do not have access to them because of geographical, social or financial reasons, have shown very promising results. One of the most prominent examples is that of the IDRC, the Canadian Government’s Development agency which has been funding both the South East Asian (IDRC 2003) and the African (IDRC 2008) networks for localization. Another is the more recent *The Rosetta Foundation*.

Perhaps it is not surprising and should have been expected that the hottest and most promising topics in the current localization debate – crowdsourcing, collaborative

translation and wikification – are again about to be taken over by industry interests rather than by those of society, at a time when they could start to support the educational, health, justice, and financial information requirements of those most in need.

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Machine translation today

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Machine translation (MT) is the translation, by means of a computer using suitable software, of a text written in the *source language* (SL) which produces another text in the *target language* (TL) which may be called its *raw translation*. This definition seems to imply that the resulting TL *translation* may be used as a professional product would, but machine translation and professional translation, even if closely related in purpose, are not interchangeable products (Sager 1994: 261).

Machine translation should be clearly distinguished from other translation technologies such as computer-aided translation*. In MT, translation is performed by the computer, with no human intervention in the process (although, as will be seen, there may be need for human intervention before or after it); in computer-aided translation, translation is performed by a professional with the aid of a range of translation tools* to help them.

1. Challenges and limitations of MT

Raw translations produced by an MT system are usually very different to those produced by translation professionals. This does not mean that MT is not useful in many areas; it only means that one has to be aware that it has some specific applications. What one needs is to identify the contexts in which one can use MT effectively and to know what can be expected of it.

Arnold (2003) classifies the obstacles faced by machine translation in four groups:

1. Form does not completely determine content. A text can have different interpretations. This refers, therefore, to the *ambiguity* of language. Sentences in a text can be ambiguous:
 - because one or more of its words have more than an interpretation (*lexical ambiguity*),
 - because the sentence has more than one possible syntactic structure (*structural or syntactic ambiguity*), or,
 - in some cases, because of both things at the same time.

Here are some examples:

- If we read “I saw John walk by the bank”, it could be the case that we speak of a financial institution or of one of the edges of the river (lexical ambiguity of the word *bank*).

- If we read “I saw the girl with the telescope”, it is not clear whether I used the telescope to see the girl or the girl had a telescope when I saw her (structural ambiguity: we do not know if the prepositional phrase “with the telescope” attaches to the noun phrase “the girl”, i.e., she had the telescope, or to the verb phrase “saw the girl”, where I have the telescope).

In most cases, ambiguity is a problem because the MT system has to choose the correct interpretation of a sentence in order to produce a suitable translation.

Automatic resolution of ambiguity is far from being an easy task. While people can use context and their knowledge, their expectations, and their beliefs about the world to safely discard many interpretations (ideally, all but one), MT systems have to make these decisions using only programmable and computable processes which take a reasonable time and use a reasonable amount of memory to process the (often incomplete) information that may be extracted from the text surrounding the ambiguous element.

2. Content does not completely determine form. There exist many ways to express in a language a given content. Following Arnold’s (2003) example, only the last two of the following expressions genuinely express in English that we want to know the time of the day: “How late is it?” (German “Wie spät ist es?”), “Which hours are they?” (Portuguese “Que horas são?”), “How many o’clock is it?” (German “Wieviel Uhr ist es?”), “What time is it?”, “What’s the time?”.
3. Different languages use different structures to convey the same interpretation. Let’s consider the sentence “I like bicycles”. Its Catalan translation is “M’agraden les bicicletes” where one can see that the direct object in the English sentence (“bicycles”) has been turned into the subject of the sentence in Catalan (“les bicicletes”) which requires a 3rd person plural verb (“agraden”) and that the English subject pronoun (“I”) has turned into a proclitic object pronoun (“M’”). Although this is a relatively simple example, in general, the structures used by different languages can be so divergent that a simple, word-for-word translation would be unintelligible or even wrong.
4. The above three problems may be said to be the manifestation of intrinsic features of translation; there is also what Arnold (1993) calls the *description* problem. Current translation theories cannot formally express, either all the mechanisms underlying natural language translation or the mental processes involved. The intrinsic problems described above are tackled using methods that, in general, have to make radical simplifications (or even complete reformulations) of the professional translation process.

On the one hand, these problems are noticeably reduced when the languages involved in the translation are related: morphological, syntactic and semantic affinities simplify the design of these systems and allow one to easily obtain translations which are both easy to understand and correct. On the other hand, there are text types that can be

more easily translated, such as commercial letters, technical* texts or economic texts, and others for which machine translation may be completely inapplicable such as advertising* texts or poetry.

2. Applications of machine translation

Machine translation has basically found two main purposes, which are conventionally called *assimilation* and *dissemination*.

2.1 Assimilation

In assimilation, texts are machine-translated when one does not understand the SL and wants to have an approximate idea of the content of the text, its *gist*. One example might be browsing Internet pages through a machine translation system that translates them instantly to the chosen TL. In this application, translation errors are not too important if the system manages to convey the general sense of the text (the level of detail achieved depends on the machine translation system and the languages involved, but also on the user, who can indeed learn to use this new type of text quite profitably).

2.2 Dissemination

In dissemination, texts are machine-translated as an intermediate step in the production of a document in the TL that will be published (disseminated); raw MT results have to be *post-edited* (Allen 2003; Hutchins & Somers 1992: 152), that is, revised and corrected by a skilled professional. Indeed, replacing a human-translation-only environment by one that utilizes MT as a key component may bring about savings, and may be done in different stages, depending on the particular situation at hand:

1. *Machine translation followed by post-editing*: professional post-editors (ideally specially trained translators) edit the raw MT output into adequate text. This may apparently be advantageous if the joint cost of post-editing and MT is lower than the cost of human translation, but one should also consider additional costs arising from training and any required changes in the translation workflow.
2. *Pre-editing*: When several TLs are involved, it may be advantageous to *pre-edit* (Hutchins & Somers 1992: 151) the source text: each well-chosen edit to the source text may avoid several edits in more than one language (note that, in general, post-editing cannot be avoided altogether). However, pre-editors have to be trained to anticipate MT problems and this adds extra costs.
3. *Controlled languages*: Finally, repetitive pre-editing may be avoided by defining a *controlled language* (Nyberg et al. 2003; Arnold et al. 1993: 147; Hutchins & Somers

1992: 151; Lockwood 2000) to be used by authors, a variant of the human SL with lexical and syntactic restrictions designed to avoid problems in MT. Designing or adapting a controlled language to the task at hand is costly, and tools have to be provided for effective authoring. Therefore, it will only be profitable if heavy repetitive pre-editing would otherwise occur.

3. Approaches to machine translation

3.1 Two main approaches

At present there are two main approaches to machine translation. Until the nineties the dominant approach was *rule-based* or *knowledge-based* machine translation: teams comprising computer and translation experts programmed the morphological analysers, the parsers, etc. in the MT engine and compiled dictionaries and grammatical rules to transform sentence structures, etc. in formats that could be processed by that MT engine. However, since the beginning of the nineties we have witnessed a growth of what can be called *corpus-based* machine translation: MT programs “learn to translate” from enormous corpora of bilingual texts where millions of sentences in one language have been aligned with their counterparts in the other language (these corpora are not unlike huge *translation memories*: see Computer-aided translation*). There is also room for hybrid approaches (a very active field of current research) such as statistical MT systems (see 4.3.2) incorporating some type of linguistic knowledge (such as morphological dictionaries: Koehn 2009: 314) or statistical MT techniques for domain-targeted “automatic post-editing” of rule-based MT output (Simard et al. 2007).

Rule-based systems take longer to build (it is necessary to encode explicitly the linguistic information that the system will use) whereas corpus-based systems can be constructed more quickly but only provided that a large volume of sentence-aligned bilingual text is already available. Therefore, corpus-based systems are difficult to apply, for instance, to minority or less-resourced languages without extensive bilingual corpora.

3.2 Rule-based machine translation

Among rule-based MT systems, the most usual are *transfer* systems. An ideal transfer system (Hutchins & Somers 1992: 75) has three well-defined stages:

1. *Analysis* produces, from the sentence in SL, an abstract intermediate representation, in which linguistic classifications and groupings are established to allow for the application of general rules of translation. For example, in English – Spanish translation, if the analysis indicates to us that the English segment “a comfortable cushion” consists of a determiner, an adjective and a noun, it is possible to later apply a general rule that reorders this sequence into a determiner – noun – adjective sequence.

2. *Transfer* converts the intermediate representation delivered by analysis into a new intermediate representation for the TL, looking words up in the bilingual dictionary (*lexical transfer*) and for instance, applying rules such as the one just mentioned (*structural transfer*).
3. *Generation* produces a concrete TL sentence from this abstract intermediate representation.

The fact that only the transfer stage is bilingual induces some *modularity* in the system: analysis for language pair $A - B$ may be used, say, for language pair $A - C$, and generation for language pair $A - B$ may be used, say, for language pair $D - B$.

The intermediate representations can be more or less complex: analysis may indeed be deeper, leading to a complete syntactic parsing of the sentence, or even to a subsequent semantic representation of it.

Indeed, analysis may be so deep that a language-neutral intermediate representation needing no transfer is obtained: only analysis towards it and generation from it are necessary. Such systems are called *interlingua* systems (for instance, the Kant system: Mitamura et al. 1993). They have the advantage that no bilingual knowledge is needed to add a new language to an existing system, and that just two modules (analysis and generation of the new language) have to be added, but designing a general-purpose interlingua is tantamount to designing a complete model of the real world (and even hypothetical worlds), which restricts interlingua systems to limited-domain translation tasks.

3.3 Corpus-based machine translation

Corpus-based machine translation, also called *data-driven* machine translation, may be divided into two main paradigms: *example-based machine translation* and *statistical machine translation*. A corpus of sentence-aligned bilingual parallel text is a prerequisite for both approaches.

3.3.1 Example-based machine translation

Example-based machine translation (EBMT, Carl & Way 2003) was first formulated by Nagao (1984) as “translation by analogy” and is generally described as consisting of three distinct phases:

- *Matching*: the new sentence to be translated is segmented and the segments are matched against identical or similar segments in the SL side of the bilingual examples in the corpus.
- *Alignment*: the corresponding fragments in the TL side of the matched bilingual examples are determined, to build “translation units”.
- *Recombination*: the TL sides of these “translation units” are combined into a translation for the new sentence.

These three phases are usually seen as being parallel (Somers 2003b) to the analysis, transfer, and generation phases in the transfer approach of rule-based machine translation (see Section 4.2).

An important property of EBMT is that, when the new sentence is identical to a sentence in the corpus of examples, its translation is recovered and used, as it would in a translation memory system (see Computer-aided translation*); this is not the case with statistical machine translation (Section 4.3.2). EBMT systems differ with respect to the level of pre-processing of the corpus of bilingual examples before the translation process *per se*, which may involve the use of linguistic resources such as parsers or bilingual dictionaries. Each one of the three phases faces specific challenges which are still an open subject of research: the nature of segments and the segmentation process itself is crucial for successful matching, alignment is usually far from being trivial, especially when languages are not closely related, and successful recombination may be hampered by issues at segment boundaries (lack of agreement, repeated words, etc.).

3.3.2 Statistical machine translation

Statistical machine translation (SMT, Koehn 2009) developed independently of EBMT, as a result of the seminal paper of Brown et al. (1988), is currently the dominant paradigm in MT research and has a growing share of the MT market. In SMT, one says that a SL and a TL sentence are a translation of each other *with a certain probability*. Indeed, in principle, any TL sentence can be the translation of the SL sentence at hand, and the task becomes reduced to finding the TL sentence for which this probability is the highest possible. The approach assumes that a reasonable estimate of such a probability may be computed using a *probability model* inferred from the bilingual corpus. Additionally, the search is only approximate since the system cannot explore all possible translations of the sentence at hand.

The probability model is usually made of several components such as a *translation model* consisting itself of lexical probabilities (probabilities that a certain TL word and a certain SL word are mutual translations) and alignment probabilities (describing processes such as word reordering), a *TL probability model* describing how “natural” (how likely) a TL sentence is (independently of the SL sentence), as well as various other probability models or “features” of the SL and TL sentences. Note that no linguistic information is used in “pure” SMT: the two models are inferred or learned by using complex statistical estimation techniques on (usually very large) sentence-aligned bilingual corpora (the “training corpus”). Also, state-of-the-art SMT systems use segments longer than words, called *phrases* (Koehn 2009: 127) even if they are not syntactic units in the linguistic sense.

4. Evaluation of machine translation

Evaluation still is an open subject in the field of MT (Arnold et al. 1993: 157; Hutchins & Somers 1992: 161; Koehn 2009: 217). The profitability of any translation workflow including

MT depends strongly on the quality of the raw machine-translated text. However, defining MT quality in general terms has proven to be very difficult, and indeed, the adequacy of raw output may vary from one purpose to another purpose. For instance, a raw machine-translated text may be almost perfectly understandable to a native speaker of the TL, but may still need heavy post-editing to make it fit for publishing. And, conversely, MT errors that make a substantial part of the raw text unintelligible for that native speaker may be very easy to spot and correct by a skilled post-editor.

4.1 Manual evaluation

Traditional manual evaluation measures use human judges to score sentences according to two intendedly independent criteria: on the one hand, the *intelligibility* or *fluency* of the translation, independently of the original text, and, on the other hand, its *accuracy* or *adequacy*, that is, how much of the meaning of the original sentence is conveyed by the raw translation. Multiple judges are ideally used and their scores are averaged out to get a more stable indicator.

4.2 Automatic evaluation

Manual evaluation is clearly very expensive and cannot be performed repeatedly, for instance, when comparing the output of different MT systems or to adjust parameters during MT system development. As a result, a number of *automatic evaluation measures* have been proposed, which try to measure how close each raw machine-translated sentence is to one or more reference human translations. These measures may be very efficiently computed whenever they are needed, and can indeed be repeatedly used during the development of SMT systems. The most commonly used measure or “metric” is called BLEU (“Bi-Lingual Evaluation Understudy”, Koehn 2009: 226), and simply measures how many segments of one, two, three or four words the raw translation has in common with the references.

4.3 A critique

One problem that has been observed is that automatic evaluation measures do not always correlate with human evaluation results (Koehn 2009: 231). However, another important problem with both manual and automatic measures is that they are very indirect and tend to evaluate the quality of machine translation by comparing it with professional translation, even if they are not directly interchangeable in any real-world application (Sager 1994: 161). Indeed, they measure quality in ways that may not directly relate with real-life applications of machine translation. Consider MT output that is going to be post-edited for publication: subjective assessments of adequacy may not clearly correlate with post-editing effort, and fluency may not correlate at all (non-fluent translations with apparent, easy-to-correct errors may be preferred sometimes by post-editors). And objective assessments of how close the raw output is to one or more references may not give an idea of how much effort is needed to correct it to produce another adequate translation not in the reference set.

5. Conclusion

In view of the discussed challenges and limitations, it is quite clear that MT will never take the place of professional translators. On the contrary, in certain situations that should be clearly evaluated, one can expect a *good* MT system to free translators from the most mechanical part of the translation task, so that their productivity increases to match the increasing demand, but one should never expect the MT system – however *good* – to understand the text, to always solve ambiguities properly and to produce texts conforming to the TL norms or fit for the intended purpose of the translation. Research and development will keep on producing improved systems that will be available as a component to be integrated, where appropriate, in new translation workflows, to successfully address the growing demand for translation.

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Media interpreting

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Media interpreting, also known as broadcast interpreting, is a form of language transfer in the media (or audiovisual translation*, in the broader sense) used primarily for live mass media broadcasts. As a special domain of interpreting it has received increasing attention from interpreting scholars since the 1980s (e.g., Kurz 1990), though the practice itself dates back to the 1930s, when renowned conference interpreters such as André Kaminker and Hans Jacob interpreted speeches by Hitler simultaneously for French radio. This mode – live-broadcast simultaneous interpreting – is still regarded as the prototypical manifestation of media interpreting, which nevertheless includes other scenarios, modes and modalities as well.

While media interpreting, mainly on television, is often seen as a specialization of simultaneous conference interpreters, a high volume of media interpreting, also in the simultaneous mode, is done by signed-language interpreters* making audiovisual programs, mainly news and current affairs, accessible to the deaf and hard of hearing. In the spoken modality, international news have been interpreted regularly and on a large scale particularly in Japan (Mizuno 1997), where a special working mode allows interpreters to preview the recorded (mostly English) news stories before producing their simultaneous interpretation.

A major distinction can be made between media interpreting “on site”, with interpreters involved in a studio-based communicative event, with or without the presence of an audience, and interpreting for broadcasts of events occurring in a different, often faraway location (cf. Mack 2002). Scenarios of the former type include interviews with foreign-language speakers via satellite link, and talk shows or discussions involving participants speaking another language. In such studio-based productions, interpreters may be “on the set”, combining whispered interpreting into the other language with consecutive into the language of the program, or they may interpret simultaneously in both directions, working in a separate location from a monitor screen.

Less variation in working mode and interactional dynamics is found when broadcasters make events in a distant location available to their audiences in real time. Such live transmissions, of events ranging from political speeches and press conferences to royal weddings and funerals (Kurz 1997), are usually carried with simultaneous interpretation, in dual-channel or, more often than not, voice-over mode.

Much of the research literature on media interpreting to date concerns live-broadcast spoken-language interpreting on television and focuses in particular on setting-specific

constraints and various aspects of performance quality. Among the main challenges highlighted by a number of authors is the high degree of “exposure” compared to simultaneous interpreting* in conference settings. Knowing that their interpretation will be heard – and judged – by a mass audience in their country, interpreters may feel increased psychological pressure, especially since the standard to which their output will be held is that of news anchors and commentators whose fluent and flawless delivery owes much to scripts read from a prompting device (autocue). Measuring an interpreter’s heart rate and perspiration in a live-broadcast TV interpreting assignment and during a technical conference, Kurz (2002) demonstrated that the added stress factors of the media setting may be reflected in distinctly higher physiological response levels.

In addition to the pressure induced by the expectation of flawless performance, media interpreting assignments often involve unusual working hours (as in the case of broadcasts from different time zones) and recruitment at short notice (e.g., for live coverage of disasters and sudden crisis situations). Except in media companies for which the use of interpreters is an established practice, such as the Japanese national broadcaster NHK or the Franco-German channel ARTE, the equipment used for simultaneous interpreting may not conform to the standards laid down for conference interpreting. Special technical guidelines have therefore been issued by the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC), including the need for separate volume controls and the use of two monitors, one of them showing an image of the speaker.

No less relevant than the various environmental constraints affecting interpreting in the media are the challenges posed by the task as such. In dialogic studio-based scenarios, such as interviews with politicians, experts, athletes or artists, the interpreter, typically working in simultaneous and bidirectional mode, has to keep her time lag to a minimum so as not to detract from the real-time flow of conversation. At the same time, the speaker’s voice, accent or diction may be unfamiliar, and short interviews with highly spontaneous responses will not allow for a warm-up phase, as in the case of a conference speaker’s introductory remarks. As in any dialogue-interpreting situation, the interactional dynamics are unpredictable, and the interpreter, especially when working on the set of a talk show, may be exposed, in what is a highly exposed situation to begin with, to all the role-related and ethical quandaries associated with the dialogue interpreter’s discourse management function (Straniero Sergio 1999; Wadensjö 2008).

At the other end of the spectrum, live transmissions of distant events, or re-broadcasts of other stations, such as CNN, may require the interpreter to render anything that is heard on the program accessible to the local audience – from televised speeches and ceremonies to anchor talk and prerecorded news stories. More often than not, the source-language speeches in such settings are not designed for an international audience and may include cultural references and presuppositions that are difficult to communicate to the target-cultural audience under the time and processing constraints of simultaneous interpreting (e.g., Pöchhacker 2007). A case in point is the inauguration of US President Barack Obama

in January 2009, which was carried live with simultaneous interpretation by broadcasters in a number of countries. Where the program covered the entire ceremony, interpreters were faced with rendering the vice-presidential and presidential oaths as well as a poem and a lengthy prayer in addition to the inaugural speech itself. The latter, in turn, exemplifies one of the crucial challenges of simultaneous interpreting for live-broadcast high-level speeches, that is, the density and elaborateness of a carefully scripted source text which is rarely made available to the interpreter in advance. Quotations and various other rhetorical devices are likely to be lost, or lose their effectiveness, in translation, and only the best and most experienced interpreters could be expected to transmit the message with equivalent effect. As indicated by user expectation surveys (Kurz 1996), media interpreting in these scenarios may indeed imply a trade-off between completeness and smooth delivery, thus confirming the unique characteristics of media interpreting as a special domain.

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Multilingualism and translation

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If we consider multilingualism as “the co-presence of two or more languages” (in a text, individual or society) while translation is traditionally defined as the “substitution of one language for another” (Grutman 2009: 182), then translation and multilingualism are inextricably connected. At the heart of multilingualism, we find translation. Surprisingly however, until recently translation and multilingualism were seldom considered in relation with each other and Grutman 2009 continues to establish a clear dichotomy between the two. The last decade though the connections between multilingualism and translation have gained scholarly attention. Recent publications cover a vast array of fields and topics – literary translation, audiovisual translation, localization, language management, community interpreting, language policy etc. – and a wide range of geographical and institutional settings – Australia, South-Africa, Nigeria, Israel, the United Nations, the EU etc.

Research on multilingualism as the co-presence of two or more languages in a *text* is for the largest part associated with literary texts (Grutman 1997). Literary multilingualism takes on numerous forms according to the quantity (one single word vs. entire passages) and to the type of foreignisms used (dialects, sociolects, foreign languages etc.). It can fulfill various functions in terms of plot construction, character discourse, mimesis etc. (Stratford 2008). Although literary multilingualism is a historical reality, especially the romantic ideology of ‘one language and one literature for one nation’ made writers loyal to ‘their’ national language and gave a negative image to literary language mingling. Since the 1980s, mainly as a result of Postcolonial Studies it is appreciated as a source of innovation (Meylaerts 2006). The multilingual literary text is the locus of an inter-lingual creation procedure or ongoing translation process, leading to translation *effects* in the text (Bandia 1996). For the sake of the monolingual reader, the foreignisms are also often followed by in-text translations. Translation being *in* the text, not only *in between* texts, literary multilingualism thus challenges the traditional definition of translation as the substitution of one text in language A by another text in language B.

Research on the *translation* of multilingual literary texts has gained ample attention from Translation Studies (e.g., Delabastita & Grutman 2005). It has “blown apart the traditional dichotomy of source text versus target text, as well as many other structural notions such as fidelity and equivalence” (Suchet 2009: 151). It thus lies bare the blind spots of Translation Studies’ models. However, it remains often associated with translation *problems* or even *untranslatability*. Whatever may be the problems of translating multilingual texts (that it is problematic is beyond dispute), this approach fails to do justice to the specificity

of the phenomenon (basically *anything* can be a problem in translation and can be approached as such), and is, moreover, based on the questionable postulate of equivalence between 'original' and 'translation'. Eventually the translatable vs. untranslatable dichotomy revives illusions of fidelity, authenticity and understandability which have been discarded by postmodern philosophies of language. We do not fully understand texts, multilingual or not, translated or not.

The relations between translation and multilingualism are not confined to literary texts but are constitutive for the whole the domain of *international public and private institutions* in today's global world (Tosi 2003, Sprung 2000). Within these institutions, written and oral communication processes, both internal and external, are for the largest part multilingual and the object of multidirectional translation. Once translated, the target texts lose their translational status and function as a '(monolingual) original': they cease to be (seen as) a translation. The concepts of 'source' vs. 'target text', of 'original' vs. 'translation' appear insufficient, altogether misleading categories because every text is a collage of many texts in several languages in an often continuous translation chain. According to Pym 2008 international institutions have three options for their communication strategies: (1) the institution functions in one or two languages "obliging speakers of other languages to learn and operate in them" (Pym 2008). (2) multilateral translation: "all languages translated into all other languages" (Pym 2008) and (3) the institution functions in one or two languages within the professional interculture, whereas translation is limited to communication between the professional interculture and the client monocultures. The second strategy would be that of the European Union. The third one is the "trend not only of international non-profit organisations (...) but also of most multinational marketing" (Pym 2008). Translations are used here to keep the world multilingual, i.e., composed of monolingual clients/consumers who each are 'served in their own language'. As far as today's clients/consumers are mobile and multilingual, multinational marketing strategies remain inspired by the old romantic ideology of people sharing one (national) language within one (national) territory.

Translation and multilingualism are also inextricably connected at the level of *national language policies* (García González 2004; Cuvelier et al. 2007). What strategies national authorities deploy for communicating with their citizens is a key question for both the authorities and the citizens. Worldwide, national authorities are confronted with multilingual populations, whether these are historical minorities or new immigrants. Since democratic societies are based on the ideal of participating citizenship and since participating citizenship presupposes, among other things, the citizens' *right* to communicate with the authorities, a fair language and translation policy is a vital need for the survival of any democratic society. It is also an essential factor in minorities' and migrants' identity and integration. The institutionalised language(s) (commonly called national language(s)) give them the right to vote, to go to school, to receive official documents from the administration etc. National authorities have four options for communicating with their citizens (Meylaerts 2009 & 2011): (1) complete institutional monolingualism (one national language) and non-translation, often by means of a legal interdiction to translate into the minorities'

or migrants' languages.¹ This was e.g., the situation in early 19th century Belgium where French was the institutionalized language in administration, army, legal affairs whereas institutional translation into Dutch was legally forbidden. Non-translation obliges minorities or migrants to become (more) multilingual, i.e., to learn the national language and operate in it for communication with the authorities. After one or two generations the national language may have replaced the former minorities' or migrants' languages, thus reducing their multilingualism. Promoters of this policy consider it favourable for minorities' or migrants' emancipation and integration; adversaries claim it is discriminatory and leads to loss of identity (Schäffner 2008). Since radical non-translation is contradictory with the ideal of participatory citizenship, this first strategy is rather exceptional. (2) institutional monolingualism combined with occasional and temporary translation into the minorities' and migrants' languages. This strategy foresees limited translation rights for well-defined situations (official documents, interpreters in court, medical care etc.) in attendance of the minorities' or migrants' becoming (more) multilingual through national language learning. It is applied in many contemporary societies (e.g., the US) and is based on the idea that restricted translation furthers integration and emancipation of minorities and migrants. Limited institutional multilingualism prepares for individual multilingualism. (3) complete institutional multilingualism with obligatory multidirectional translation in all languages for all. This overall translation strategy allows citizens to be always and everywhere served in 'their own language' in their communication with the authorities. Obviously, especially in today's context of growing mobility and of increasing migration flows this communication strategy is rather utopian: it leads to a dead end, is a financial burden and impedes social cohesion and national identity (Van Parijs 2008). (4) institutional monolingualism at the local, lower level combined with institutional multilingualism and multidirectional obligatory translation at the superior (e.g., federal) level. This strategy creates monolingual institutional islands under a multilingual umbrella, preventing multilingualism to apply at all institutional levels. It applies to societies with important minority groups who can claim historical territorial rights (Belgium, Spain, Canada, Switzerland, South-Africa) and permits them to remain monolingual, to be served always and everywhere in 'their own' language. Conversely, immigrants like e.g., the Turkish or North-African minorities in Belgium or Spain fall under strategy two.

One of the biggest challenges for contemporary multilingual societies is thus the elaboration of a fair translation policy: there is no language policy without a translation policy. The exact relation between translation and multilingualism at the level of *national language policies* remains an unexplored research domain with important consequences for Translation Studies. From a methodological viewpoint, it illustrates that non-translation as much as translation is an important research object: consequences of a non-translation

1. The term 'monolingualism' is used here in connection with a 'national language': the language that is *institutionalized* in the various institutions of the nation-state.

policy may be indeed far-reaching for citizens' rights and identity. It also raises the need for a further exploration of the link between translation policy and political, ethnic and ethic questions within today's multilingual societies. It places Translation Studies in front of its ethical responsibilities, responsibilities which are shared with political and social sciences, anthropology, sociolinguistics etc.

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Networking and volunteer translators

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The sharing, exchanging and exploiting of information within networks of communication that relay interconnected groups of people is a social practice that has long been prevalent in human communities. This practice, or “networking,” acquired new and enhanced practical dimensions upon widespread introduction and adoption of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the late 20th century, most notably through computer, Web and mobile phone technologies. These technologies have played an active, multifarious role within the larger scope of phenomena referred to as contemporary “globalization”, operating both as promotional agents for global expansion and as advocacy agents for local practice and custom as well.

1. General trends in network studies research

Classical definitions of networks (Newman, Barabási & Watts 2006: 2) speak of elements, links, nodes and relationships, which ultimately depict modes of organization of complex systems in nature and society (Van Dijk 2006: 24). Networking entails actions or processes intrinsic to making use of network relationships, and of sharing and exchanging information within networks of communication, which are enhanced and reinforced currently by existing networks of computers and mobile phones. Scientific interest and investigation in the field of networks emerged during the 18th century (Euler’s proof), originating and developing predominantly within the areas of mathematics and graph theory. Since the mid-20th century, network theories and models have been widely adopted by researchers in the social sciences, providing certain disciplines with more quantitative methodologies and data-gathering techniques, and a more scientific and mathematical structural framework within which to articulate and analyze social and behavioral phenomena (Jackson 2008; Folaron & Buzelin 2007: 610). One noteworthy example is social network analysis (SNA). More recent areas of study like Web (or Internet) studies consider network phenomena in relation to the Web, in terms of complexity, connectivity and organizational dynamics. Through a sociological perspective, network concepts have materialized into conceptual frameworks such as the network economy and network society (Stalder 2006; Castells 2004, 2006; Musso 2003), most recently in terms of wireless communication technologies (Castells 2007). Given the vast amounts of data and digital traces left through user transactions on networks of all types, some network research scholars advocate

formally supporting a new discipline, computational social science, which has as its goal to compile and analyze network interaction patterns in the data in order to expand current knowledge on individual and group behavior, organizations and societies. At the same time, multiple languages and cultures increasingly characterize the globally connected network society. Representation on the Web of this linguistic, cultural diversity, and increased multilingual data exchange and communication, will become important factors in future network analysis research, rendered even more complex by diversifying practices of translation assisted by multiple technologies, including a more prominent role for machine translation*.

2. Contemporary networking as social practice

Societies, social groups and communities of all types are comprised of intricately complex, interwoven relationships (economic, political, social, cultural, etc.) extending throughout the diverse institutions, structures, associations and activities, i.e., networks, they represent. They are manifest in and embody different social practices. While networks of computer, Web and phone technologies are beholden to technical infrastructure, their capacities to enable and facilitate communication, and their dynamic, interactive features, have clearly been embraced socially for communicative purposes, thus transforming the “mere” technical apparatuses of technology into ones of vibrant social practice. The proliferation of social networking (Facebook, Twitter), blog, wiki, video-sharing (YouTube) and VoIP (Skype) applications, in addition to Web-based SMS messaging, IM, email, Web-based document sharing (Google Docs) and file transfer software all bear witness to the innovative appropriation of technologies. As the Web continues to be drawn in the direction of user-based content and collaborative features, linked progressively to new mobile technologies, the transfers and flows of data and knowledge will cause more innovative social practices to emerge and organize, as the world connects globally.

3. Networking, technologies and translation

Professional translation communities have shared, exploited, and benefited from contemporary network technologies. Individual translators accustomed to computer-assisted translation* (CAT) technologies in the desktop workstation environment have migrated with relative ease to Web-based environments deploying these tools. Translation-specific (language, technology, domain-based) discussion groups, which emerge and organize within groups of people bound by similar interests and concerns, abound (Lantra-L is an early example). Web portals, which link diverse sources of information and resources in relation to specific needs and interests together at a one-stop site platform, have also proven

valuable for translation communities, especially as more and more work is outsourced (for example, ProZ.com). Professional translators market their services through social networking applications and personal Web sites, and communicate with clients and resource sources by email, IM, and VoIP on a regular basis. Translation studies scholars as well have implemented video-sharing and Facebook to connect with one another and share research expertise. The professional localization sector, operating according to a top-bottom business model traditionally, is currently actively involved in discussions on when a bottom-up, distributed model of collaboration and crowdsourcing, as well as open standards, interfaces and protocols for translation and workflow management platforms, can be used and managed for multilingual localization projects.

4. Volunteer translation networks

“Globalization”, the Web and evolving technologies have contributed to the emergence of new types of networks which impact traditional translation and localization domains: volunteer and collaborative. These volunteer, collaborative networks, inspired and motivated by diverse causes and objectives, have contributed to producing multilingual translations that range from literary texts (Harry Potter) to multimedia content (subtitled films, video games, online games) to social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter) and open source software applications (OpenOffice). For language groups whose needs are not serviced by large commercial multilingual localization projects, these networks can prove invaluable. Volunteer translation, interpreting*, localization*, and machine translation networks are likewise active in humanitarian, crisis and emergency situations: Translators Without Borders, for example, and Global Voices Online which connects translators to blogs, podcasts and citizen media from around the world. The global demand for content to be translated and localized into multiple languages is growing exponentially. Professionally vetted networks of language service providers (LSPs) will play the predominant role in managing this need. However, given the collaborative, user-content based, open standards, and open source trends palpable on the Web, we can expect new niches and networks of providers to emerge. Furthermore, recently introduced platforms into Web browsers such as Google Translator Toolkit, the statistical MT-based Google Translate, Google Wave and its translation bots, indicate growing interest in translation by communities around the world for responding to current global communication needs. Ultimately, the decision to support or implement crowdsourced, volunteer or community translation and localization will need to be carefully based on criteria of quality* that take into account specific returns on investment (ROI), calculations of need, and the standards upheld by professionals. The networks of communities that emerge and coalesce around diverse media and technology practices online and across the world will challenge our concepts on translation for many years to come.

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Norms of translation

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Various labels have been used to describe the relationship between the source text and the target text, often in a binary opposition, such as literal translation vs. free translation, or word-for-word translation vs. sense-for-sense translation. With the development of more systematic, or 'scientific', reflections about translation in the second half of the 20th century, the concept of 'equivalence' was most frequently used to account for this relationship. What equivalence-based theories have in common is the attempt to define which texts are related to a source text by a translation relation and thus find criteria to set translation apart from other forms of secondary, or text-based text production (cf. Koller 1995).

1. Challenges to equivalence-based theories: Functionalist approaches and Descriptive Translation Studies

Equivalence-based theories were challenged in the 1970s with the emergence of both functionalist approaches and Descriptive Translation Studies. Functionalist views (e.g., Holz-Mänttäri, Reiss & Vermeer, Nord; see Functionalist approaches*) define translation as a purposeful activity with the structure of the target text to be determined by the purpose it will have to fulfil in the target culture for the target audience. A prospective, or target-oriented view for functionists thus means reflecting about the intended purpose (specified in a translation brief) for producing a target text, or evaluating a target text in order to see whether it is appropriate for the specified purpose. Since the relationship between source text and target text depends on the *skopos*, it cannot be pre-determined by any ready-made linguistic rules. Appropriateness for the purpose in a given context is described by norms and conventions which operate in a culture. Reiss and Vermeer (1991: 178f) prefer to speak of conventions instead of norms, with the argument that norms are usually associated with prescriptions, and non-adherence to them results in sanctions. Conventions, however, as a broader category embody preferences and can more easily change than norms. Reiss and Vermeer elaborate on conventions primarily with reference to text types and genres, illustrating culture-specific genre conventions which translators have to be aware of as part of their translation competence. Functionalist approaches are thus very much concerned with reflecting about the production of target texts, with the structure of translations as the end product, specifically for guiding students to produce appropriate target texts.

For Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), in particular product-oriented and function-oriented DTS, the translation as a product is the starting point for a researcher with an interest in describing the very shape of the actual target texts, or their function, position, status within the culture in which they exist (cf. Polysystem theory*, Even-Zohar 1978). This target-oriented view of DTS, which is different to the one propagated by functionalist approaches, can be illustrated with Toury's characterisation of translations as "facts of the target culture; on occasion facts of a special status, sometimes even constituting identifiable (sub)systems of their own, but of the target culture in any event" (Toury 1995: 29).

In line with Holmes' statement that the aim of Translation Studies is the description of the "phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience" (Holmes 1988: 71), a translation for Toury (1995: 20) is "any target language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture". There is thus no need for the discipline of Translation Studies to define its object in a specific normative way before any investigation starts, as equivalence-based translation theories usually do. Toury formulates three main postulates to guide the researcher in investigating such 'assumed' translations. The source text postulate states that if there is a translation, there must have been a source text. However, as Toury discovered in his empirical research, this is not always the case. The reasons for the existence of so-called pseudo-translations can vary, but very often they are related to the fact that translations occupy a central position in the polysystem. For example, if translations take a central position, it is easier for authors to have an innovative, or divergent, way of writing accepted by the audience if the text is labeled as translation. The transfer postulate states that the translation production process must have involved transfer of something. What precisely has been transferred is to be discovered by the researcher. The relationship postulate states that there is some relationship between source text and target text, the exact nature of which, however, has to be identified in each individual case. Toury uses the term 'equivalence' in this respect, but only as a label to denote the functional relationship that exists between source text and target text.

2. Translational norms

Both Toury's work and that of DTS in general have opened a view of translation as socially contexted behaviour, thus going beyond a more narrow view of translation as meaning transfer. Although there are overlaps to the functionalist view of translation as a purposeful activity, DTS is also going beyond this view by putting more emphasis on the socio-cultural and historical context (the translation event) in which the act of translation, i.e., the cognitive aspects of translating as a decision-making process is embedded (Toury 1995: 249ff). In this respect, the concept of norms plays a central role, but it is used in a different sense than in functionalist approaches. Translation being defined as socially contexted behaviour requires an explanation of the socio-cultural constraints which determine

translators' behaviour. These constraints can be absolute rules or pure idiosyncracies as the two extremes, with norms as a graded continuum in between. Some norms may be more forceful and closer to rules, whereas others only exert a rather weak influence. Moreover, norms are not fixed once and for all but can change in the course of time.

In general, norms express social notions of correctness or appropriateness, i.e., what a particular community regards as correct or proper at a particular time. They function intersubjectively as models for correct, or appropriate behaviour and thus regulate expectations concerning behaviour, and also concerning products of behaviour. As mentioned above, equivalence-based translation theories refer to norms mainly in respect of linguistic correctness, and translators are expected to produce a target text which is correct in the use of the target language and appropriate in view of text norms or genre conventions. Norms thus acquire a prescriptive force, which can also be seen in textbook formulations such as "a translator must (not) or should (not)". Violating linguistic norms and (genre) conventions can result in sanctions (e.g., a teacher counting errors in the target text and giving a translation student a poor mark).

For Toury, norms are a purely *descriptive* category, i.e., "a category for descriptive analysis of translation phenomena" (Toury 1980: 57). This means he is interested in discovering what kind of translation behaviour is considered to be correct and what kind of texts are accepted as translations in a particular culture at a particular period of time. This can be seen in the definition below:

Norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group – as to what is conventionally right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension. (Toury 1999: 14)

In this context, Toury refers to de Geest's 'square of normativity' (de Geest 1992), which sees norms in terms of obligation (what has to be said), prohibition (what must not be said), non-prohibition (what may be said) and non-obligation (what does not have to be said), with interrelations between all these four aspects. Bartsch (1987: 176) distinguishes between the norm content and a normative force. The norm content is a socially shared notion of what is correct or adequate, and the normative force concerns the question of who has the power to enforce norms. For Toury, the normative force is reflected in translators' behaviour. 'Performance instructions' in the quote above is thus not meant in a prescriptive way (i.e., not as some authority or textbook telling translators what they have to do). Instead, it indicates that translators have internalised behavioural constraints. This focus on description is in line with the agenda of developing (Descriptive) Translation Studies as a research-based and empirical academic discipline. The notion translational norm thus refers to regularities of translation behaviour within a specific sociocultural context. In short, translation is defined as norm-governed behaviour. All decisions in the translation

process are primarily governed by norms, and it is norms which determine the relationship between source text and target text. Or in Toury's words: "It is norms that determine the type and extent of equivalence manifested by actual translations" (Toury 1995: 61).

Hermans (1999: 60) criticizes this decision to hang on to the notion of equivalence despite having hollowed it out to such a significant extent. He argues that as an unfortunate consequence of this decision, the "aspect of non-equivalence, of manipulation, dislocation and displacement which the norms concept did so much to push into the foreground" becomes blurred (Hermans 1999: 60f).

Since the activity of translating always involves two languages and two cultures, this also means that a translator is faced with two sets of norms systems. Toury (1980: 53ff.) describes three kinds of norms: preliminary, initial, and operational norms. Preliminary norms decide the overall translation strategy and the choice of texts to be translated, they concern the existence and nature of a translation policy and directedness. They govern decisions as to which texts, genres, authors from which source languages are (not) translated in a particular society at a particular period of time. They also determine decisions concerning the provision (or not) of translator training and the choice of languages for such training. The issue of directedness is linked to the acceptance (or not) of indirect translations in a culture. That is: are translations produced on the basis of another translation? Is this a widespread and accepted phenomenon, and if yes, why? Initial norms govern the translator's decision to adhere primarily to the norms realized in the source text (which determines a translation's adequacy with respect to the source text) or to the norms prevalent in the target language and culture (which determines a translation's acceptability within the target culture, its appropriateness to circumstances of the context of reception). Operational norms control the actual decisions made during the act of translation. Operational norms consist of two types: (a) matricial norms mainly refer to completeness of translation and changes in segmentation (e.g., large scale omissions, restructuring of a text), and (b) textual-linguistic norms concern the selection of the specific textual material, i.e., lexical, syntactic, stylistic choices.

3. Regularities, norms, laws

In order to identify norms, both textual and extratextual sources are investigated. Textual sources are the translated texts themselves, including pseudo-translations. Researchers examine translations in order to identify regularities and patterns in the translators' choices. Since norms function intersubjectively, regularities in translational behaviour will have to be discovered in a number of texts translated by different translators. Such regularities in translators' choices are not purely micro-level decisions to translate, for example, the French preposition 'grâce à' automatically as 'thanks to', but they have an impact on the textual level as a whole and across individual texts (cf. the debate between Newmark & Toury in

Schäffner 1999: 47ff). For example, in his own research, Toury discovered that in translating novels into Hebrew translators systematically opted for solutions which resulted in an elevated style. In investigating translated children's literature into Hebrew, Ben-Ari (1992) identified the replacement of references to Christianity with those referring to Jewish religion and linguistic variation (use of synonyms, binomials) as regularities. She argues that these decisions are evidence that didactic and pedagogic norms operate in children's literature, i.e., literature has the function to enrich the child's language and teach good style. In other words, there are socially shared norms regarding the function and structure of literature, and translators respond to these expectations (and/or constraints in a social context) in their decision making.

Regularities which manifest themselves in translations by several translators are said to be the result of norms. This also implies that the majority of translators in a given culture at a given time indeed regularly opt for specific solutions because they assume this is what they are expected to do. The decisions a translator takes are thus always made in a historical and social context. Any choices for linguistic and textual solutions made also simultaneously highlight the excluded alternatives. The notion of norms thus implies that translators operate in situations which allow for different kinds of behaviour but that their preferred decisions are not made at random. Toury is careful to make a distinction between norms and regularities. Regularities can be identified in the products of behaviour, i.e., in the translated texts, whereas norms as psycho-social entities are not directly observable, cf.:

[...] whatever regularities are observed, they themselves are not the norms. They are only external evidence of the latter's activity, from which the norms themselves (that is, the 'instructions' which yielded those regularities) are still to be extracted.

(Toury 1999: 15)

The identification of regularities in translators' behaviour across languages, cultures, time, and text genres will make it possible to identify norms and even laws which are characteristic of translation in general. With this look 'beyond' the norms to laws, Toury indicated future possibilities for researching translations and translating in his 1995 book. As potential candidates for such universal laws, Toury presents a law of interference (translations tend to reflect the influence of the source language) and a law of growing standardization (translations tend to be more conventionalized than their source texts). Another candidate of a universal law is explicitation (translated texts tend to be more explicit than their source texts). Recent research in corpus-based Translation Studies has produced data that lend support to the existence of universals in translation but also data to the contrary (see Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004; Laviosa 2008), thus highlighting that translational behaviour is determined by multiple factors.

In addition to analyzing textual sources, insights into norms can also be gained by investigating extratextual sources, such as evaluative writing on translation (e.g., reviews,

essays) and paratexts (e.g., translators' notes, footnotes, prefaces). For example, if a translator feels a need to justify specific decisions taken, this can be seen as evidence of their awareness of the 'normal' expectations. Justifications are more frequently given in footnotes or prefaces if the translator opted for a decision which is not in line with the expectations, i.e., if they worked against the dominant norms and showed some kind of deviant behaviour. If, however, their translational decisions are praised as innovative, become accepted and are applied by other translators as well, a norm change can be identified. Some of these extratextual sources, in particular prescriptive textbooks or codes of conduct, although not being norms in their own right, may indeed be of a norm-setting and/or norm-enforcing nature. 'Extratextual' is strictly speaking not the most appropriate label here, since reviews, textbooks, codes of conduct are also texts. Other forms of extratextual sources would be interviews with translators or reviewers or observations of translators while they are translating. Data gained in this way can be corroborated with the data gained by identifying regularities in a corpus of translated texts (i.e., via triangulation).

The aim of studying norms for Toury is not primarily to find norms as such, but rather to account for translators' choices and thus to explore translation in terms of cultural expectations. Researchers' interest is in discovering why certain norms apply and not others and why translators stick to certain norms and not to others. They are interested in establishing which particular general concept of translation prevailed in a particular community at a particular time, how this concept compared to concepts of translation that were valid at another time and/or in another socio-cultural setting. For example, the very use or avoidance of the label translation and/or opting for a label such as adaptation or version instead (e.g., on the basis of analyzing different translations of the same source text), can tell us a lot about the status of translation in society. In short, researching translation as norm-governed behaviour is meant to study the cultural relevance of translations, the nature and role of translation within a society, and thus contribute to the study of cultural history.

4. Methodological reservations and criticisms

Describing translation as norm-governed behaviour in a social, cultural, and historical situation, however, has also been met with some criticism and reservations. From a methodological point of view, Chesterman (1999, 2006) asks what would count as evidence for norms. If regularities in translational behaviour are said to be governed by norms, a causal link between norms and regularities is established. Toury himself is cautious in establishing such a causal link, as can also be seen in the quote below:

[...] it is regularities in the observable results of a particular kind of behaviour, assumed to have been governed by norms, which are first noted. Only then does one go on to extract the norms themselves, on the (not all that straightforward)

assumption that observed regularities testify to recurrent underlying motives, and in a direct manner, at that. Norms thus emerge as *explanatory hypotheses* (of observed [results of] behaviour) rather than entities in their own right. (Toury 1999: 15f)

However, Toury himself does not reflect in more depth about alternative evidence for norms. Chesterman (2006: 16) rightly points out that “the cause of an observed regularity *may* be the existence of a norm, but it does not have to be. Other possible causes include cognitive constraints, time and task constraints, or factors concerning the translator’s background knowledge and proficiency – and of course chance.” He argues that the challenge of research into norms is to “show plausible links between observed regularities on the one hand and evidence of normative force on the other” (*ibid*), listing belief statements, explicit criticism, and norm statements as forms of evidence of normative force.

In his previous work, Chesterman (1997: 64f) introduced more specific types of norms in order to make the concept of norms more operational. He distinguishes professional norms as emerging from competent professional behaviour and expectancy norms which refer to what the target community expects a translation to look like. Professional norms thus govern the accepted methods and strategies of the translation process. They can be subdivided into (a) accountability norms, which are ethical in nature, linked to professional standards of integrity, (b) communication norms, which are social, focusing on the translator as a communicator, (c) relation norms, which are linguistic, referring to deciding on an appropriate relationship between source text and target texts. For Chesterman, these norms are governed by values: expectancy norms are governed by the value of clarity, relation norms by truth, accountability norms by trust, and the communication norms by the value of understanding.

Criticism both from within Translation Studies and also from other disciplines (e.g., postcolonial studies) has pointed to the fact that the norms concept has seen translation predominantly as a social space which restricts action and not as a space which allows creative (inter)action of translators. The intention to identify regularities and norms has ignored that non-compliance with dominant norms, deviations and exceptions in the choice of strategies is evidence of the role of the translator as an active agent (e.g., Baker 2007). In this context, norms-based theories have also been criticised for not having given sufficient attention to innovation which can be brought about by translation (e.g., Bhabha 1994). With the Cultural Turn (see Turns of Translation Studies*) in the 1990s, the role of translation and translators as active agents in the construction of cultures and as agents of social change have moved more into the centre of Translation Studies. This also means asking questions which purely descriptive research into norms has not answered, such as: How do translators actually acquire norms? Are they conscious of their norm-governed behaviour? Are translators themselves powerful enough to introduce and change norms? Is all behaviour governed by norms? What in fact drives a translator’s decisions in practice, how, and why? (cf. Simeoni 1998: 2).

5. Norms and habitus

More recently, theories and concepts from sociology* have been introduced to account for the social nature of translation as a communicative practice. In this respect, more consideration is given to the active role of translators as agents. In particular, Bourdieu's concept of habitus has been employed to move away from seeing translators as being subjected to norms, as their behaviour being controlled by translational norms. A habitus-governed account sees translators' behaviour as being governed by norms and at the same time revealing the "extent to which translators themselves play a role in the maintenance and perhaps the creation of norms" (Simeoni 1998: 26). The habitus is a set of durable dispositions which incline agents to act in certain ways in a particular field. A habitus is acquired and shaped through a gradual process of inculcation in the course of individual social lives. As Simeoni argues, the specific habitus of the translator is "the elaborate result of a personalized social and cultural history" (Simeoni 1998: 32), and "governed by the rules pertaining to the field in which the translation takes place" (Simeoni 1998: 19). A habitus is both structured, i.e., unavoidably reflecting the social conditions within which it was acquired, and structuring, contributing directly to the elaboration of norms and conventions, "thereby reinforcing their scope and power" (Simeoni 1998: 22).

In speaking about the role of translators, Toury defined translatorship as follows:

[...] 'translatorship' amounts first and foremost to being able to play a social role, i.e., to fulfil a function allotted by a community – to the activity, its practitioners and/or their products – in a way which is deemed appropriate in its own terms of reference. The acquisition of a set of norms for determining the suitability of that kind of behaviour, and for manoeuvering between all the factors which may constrain it, is therefore a prerequisite for becoming a translator within a cultural environment.

(Toury 1995: 53)

It is this cultural environment of translation as a socially regulated practice which socio-logical approaches are now researching in more depth. In investigating translators as a cultural-professional group, Sela-Sheffy (2005) linked the habitus of translators "in the sense of shared socially acquired tendencies" (Sela-Sheffy 2005: 9) to norms. She argues that

[...] the variability of norms [...] depends on the different strategies translators employ while playing either conservative or innovative roles, as custodians or cultural importers, in specific historical context.

(Sela-Sheffy 2005: 20)

Meylaerts (2008) has shown how the concept of habitus can be used to explain how the specific individual and social circumstances of translators resulted in specific translational behaviour and decisions. Her comparative analysis of two Belgian translators leads her to redefine translatorship in terms of habitus as follows:

[...] translatorship amounts to an individuation of collective schemes related to personal history, the collective history of the source culture, the collective history of the target culture, and their intersections. Given the interplay of constraints to which translators as social agents are subjected, a subject-grounded category is required if we are to understand which influences are active, to what extent and when.

(Meylaerts 2008: 100f)

More detailed studies into processes of translators' socialization, into the processes of habitus acquisition, and into processes of normativisation will bring more insights into the relationship between an individual translator's habitus and socially shared translational norms. In this respect, the role of social contexts and constraints as well as the relationship between translators' behaviour and their position in the social environment and as agents in a network of power relations can be investigated. Studying translation as a socially determined phenomenon thus also requires studying it within the larger social context and in interaction with other social (sub-)fields. It can justifiably be said that Toury with his concept of norms prepared the ground for opening translation research to such wider social aspects.

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Overt and covert translation

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In translating, a text in one language is replaced by a functionally equivalent text in another language. Whether and how functional equivalence can be achieved critically depends on two empirically derived (House 1981) types of translation, *overt* and *covert* translation. This distinction is tied to a theory of translation (House 1997, 2009).

An *overt* translation is, as the name suggests, quite overtly a translation, not as it were a second original. The language in overt translation may be interspersed with foreign elements from the original, which is “shining through”. An overt translation is embedded in a new speech event in the target culture. It is a case of “language mention” resembling a quotation. Examples are documents of historical events and texts considered sacrosanct. Functional equivalence is only achievable at a “second level”, it is of a “removed” nature: While the new addressees are enabled to access the function which the original has in its discourse world, this access is realized in the target lingua-culture via the translation, which then operates both in the original’s and its own discourse world. It is through this co-activation of discourse worlds that the translation’s addressees can “eavesdrop”, as it were, i.e., being able to appreciate the original’s function, albeit at a lingua-cultural distance. Genuine cultural transfer occurs as a result of a contact situation that results in deviations from the norm of the target lingua-culture through the influence of the source lingua-culture. Linguistic-cultural transfer is often noticeable as a (deliberately) jarring deviation of the translation from target norms. An overt translation is thus both from a linguistic and a psycholinguistic perspective a distinctly hybrid entity.

The situation is very different in the case of *covert* translation. A covert translation is a translation which enjoys the status of an original text in the receiving lingua-culture. The translation is covert because it is not marked pragmatically as a translation at all, but may, conceivably, have been created in its own right. An original and its covert translation might be said to differ “only” accidentally in their respective languages. Examples are transitory texts designed for “ready consumption”: instructions, commercial circulars, advertisements, journalistic and scientific texts. Covert translations often require subtle lingua-cultural translation problems. To solve these in order to meet the needs of the new addressees, the translator must take different cultural presuppositions into account. He will re-create an equivalent speech event in the target culture reproducing in the translation the original’s function, i.e., “real” functional equivalence is the goal. A covert translation operates quite “overtly” in the target discourse world without co-activating the original’s discourse world. Due to the fact that covert translations operate exclusively in the new

target culture, they are psycho-linguistically less complex than overt translation and also more deceptive. There is often a very real cultural distance from the original. Readers of covert translations often do not know that they are reading a translation, they receive it as though it were an original text. In aiming at “originality”, the translator will employ a “cultural filter” to compensate for culture specificity. With this filter, the translator makes allowances for culture specificity accommodating for differences in socio-cultural conventions and communicative preferences. It is recommended that the use of a cultural filter be based on empirical research into language pair-specific cultural differences, and not left entirely to unverified assumptions.

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Philosophy and translation

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In the overall history of Western philosophy, hardly any attention has been paid either to the practice of translation or to the philosophical questions it raises. In fact, until quite recently, the relationship between institutionalized philosophy and the study of translation was considered to be clearly asymmetrical: translators and translation specialists seemed to have been far more interested in philosophy than philosophers had explicitly pondered on the conundrums of translation (Pym 2007: 25). The dynamics of this relationship began to change in the last few decades of the twentieth century as contemporary thought became increasingly aware of the inextricable connections that bind together philosophy and translation. It has been argued, for example, that contemporary thought is not simply interested but actually “fascinated” by translation as it provides the “concept” in terms of which “the possibility, if not the actual practice, of philosophy is discussed” (Benjamin 1989: 9).

This intimate relationship between the very possibility of philosophy and deeply ingrained assumptions about language and translation has been addressed by Jacques Derrida, the French philosopher associated with deconstruction, one of the most influential and productive trends of post-Nietzschean thought. As he argues, in order for philosophy to establish itself as the area that should have the privilege of systematically investigating truth, it had to rely on the possibility of univocal meanings that could evade the alleged limits of any one language and, thus, remain the same as they cross linguistic frontiers. Consequently, the belief in the possibility of translatability necessarily implies the “fixation” of the idea of translation as “the transportation of a meaning or of a truth from one language to another” (1988: 140), a conception that has dominated the ways in which translation is conceived and theorized in the West for more than two millennia, from Cicero to the present.

1. Translation as transportation: The essentialist tradition

This widespread conception of translation is perfectly compatible with one of the foundational assumptions of Western metaphysics and the Judeo-Christian tradition, i.e., the belief that form and content (or language and thought, signifier and signified, word and meaning in similar oppositions) are not only separable but even independent from one another. Viewed as a mere instrument for the expression or communication of stable meaning, language would function as an outer layer that is supposed to protect what it allegedly carries so that it could be safely taken or delivered elsewhere.

The basic arguments that support these notions can be found in the exemplary essentialism of the Platonic tradition. As Socrates reasons in the *Cratylus*, since things “do not equally belong to all at the same moment and always,” they must be independent from us, and “supposed to have their own proper and permanent essence” (Hamilton & Cairns 1961: 424–425). Consequently, if “things are not influenced by us,” and if “names have by nature [an enduring] truth” (idem) that represents the things to which they refer, one could argue that this “truth” should indeed transcend the formal constraints of any one linguistic system and be ideally repeatable whenever or wherever there is a change of words, contexts, even languages.

Those who believe in the possibility of separating themselves from things and meanings from words tend to view translation as the impersonal transference of essential meaning across languages and must condemn or repress the translator’s interventionist role in the process. Actually, the resistance to the translator’s agency is one of the most recurrent issues in the discourse about translation that has dominated the Western tradition, a discourse that has been generally prescriptive in its attempt to safeguard the limits that should clearly oppose translators to authors, and translations to originals.

The ethical guidelines implied by this conception can be illustrated by the recurrent metaphor of clothing, which imagines words as the clothes designed to protect and style the naked bodies of their meaning. As it is usually employed to suggest that translators should refrain from improperly touching the bodies of the texts whose clothes they are expected to carefully change, this metaphor is also efficient in portraying the translator’s task as a serving, mechanical activity that needs to be undertaken in respectful neutrality (Van Wyke 2010). In their refusal to accept the productive character of the translator’s activity, essentialist conceptions must disregard the political role of translation and its impact on the construction of identities and cultural relations, and are, also, largely responsible for the age-old prejudices that have often considered translation a secondary, derivative form of writing, reducing the translator’s task to an impossible exercise in invisibility.

2. Translation as regulated transformation: The post-Nietzschean intervention

The inextricable association between translation and philosophy pointed out by Derrida is closely related to the critique of Western metaphysics undertaken by Friedrich Nietzsche, “the first to connect the philosophical task with a radical reflection upon language” (Foucault 1973: 305), a critique that has been pivotal in the development of anti-foundationalist trends in contemporary philosophy such as postmodern, poststructuralist thinking, deconstruction, and neopragmatism, opening up new paths of inquiry as the ones represented by gender and postcolonial studies.

In an essay written in 1873, “On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense,” Nietzsche outlines the basis of a conception of language that is first and foremost anti-Platonic. As he argues, because languages are undoubtedly human creations, there can be no essential meaning or concept that could be clearly separated from its linguistic fabric and, therefore, be fully transportable elsewhere. As part of an arbitrary, conventional system, every concept is necessarily human-made and “arises from the equation of unequal things,” a conclusion that can be supported by the fact that even though we shall never find in nature, let’s say, the ideal “leaf,” that is, “the original model according to which all the leaves were perhaps woven, sketched, measured, colored, curled, and painted” (1999: 83), we still manage to use it as a concept. In short, language works precisely because the conventions that make it possible teach us to forget certain differences so that we can sustain the illusion that the same could actually be repeated.

Concepts and meanings are not discovered, but constructed, and because the circumstances of their construction are never the same, they can never be fully reproduced. Just as every leaf is different and cannot faithfully repeat one ideal, original leaf that could exist apart from our conventional concept of “leaf,” every reproduction of a text into any other language or medium will not give us the integrity of the alleged original, but, rather, constitute a different text that carries the history and the circumstances of its (re)composition. This “different” text may or may not be acceptable or even recognized as a reliable reproduction of the original because the very opposition between “translation” and “original” is not something that exists before or above context and conventionality, “but must be constructed and institutionalized,” and is, thus, “always subject to revision” (Davis 2002: 16).

In the wake of Nietzsche’s critique of Platonic thought, translation can no longer be conceived in terms of a transportation of essential meaning across languages and cultures. Rather, for this notion of translation, “we would have to substitute a notion of *transformation*: a regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another” (Derrida 1978: 20). An early illustration of some of the far-reaching consequences of this conception can be found in Jorge Luis Borges’s “The Translators of the *Thousand and One Nights*,” first published in Argentina in 1935, which treats translation as a legitimate form of writing in its own right. In his examination of a few nineteenth-century translations of the Arabic text, Borges shows that even though their translators explicitly pledge fidelity to the original, their work constitutes a historical testimony of their own views about the text, in which the foreign and the domestic are fused in different versions that both construct and reconstruct the original, revealing the authorial thrust of translation as a mirror of each translator’s interests and circumstances (2004: 94–108). Instead of criticizing the translators of the *Nights* for their “infidelities,” Borges reflects on them as constitutive elements of the process, offering us a dazzling introduction to some of the issues that have become central for Translation Studies today: the role of translation in the construction of cultures and identities, the asymmetries in the relationship between the domestic and the foreign,

and, most of all, the translator's agency and the complexities it brings to traditional notions of original writing.

As an unavoidable, productive element of the relationship between originals and their reproductions, difference has been recognized as a key issue by contemporary approaches that implicitly or explicitly explore the consequences of post-Nietzschean philosophy for the translator's activity. The acceptance of the insight according to which translators cannot avoid making decisions and are, thus, necessarily visible in their rewriting of the foreign within the limits and the constraints of the domestic has allowed Translation Studies to move beyond the usual stalemates that for at least two thousand years have underestimated the translator's authorial role in the writing of translated texts (cf. for example, Venuti 1995).

3. The translational turn in the humanities

Nietzsche's reevaluation of the role of language in the production of meaning, which has rearticulated the relationship between truth and conventionality and, therefore, also between truth and power, has had far-ranging consequences not just for contemporary philosophy and Translation Studies, but for the humanities in general. One might even argue that this renewed interest in language and the fundamental role it has played in contemporary thought has actually blurred the limits between the different disciplines whose objects revolve around issues of culture and the subject.

In this context, translation – understood as a form of regulated transformation – has become central in redefining not only the ways in which cultures are actually constructed and relate to one another, but also the very notion of culture itself, now often understood as a form of translation (Bhabha 1994). In the field of comparative literature, translation-related issues are being used to reformulate the scope and the goals of the discipline (Apter 2006). Similarly, questions of translation have been critical in interdisciplinary projects that shed important light on the impact of language policies for colonization (cf. for example, Rafael 1988), as well as on the parallels between gender* and translation issues (cf. for example, Simon 1996).

This deep awareness of the intimate connection between language and power has brought increasing attention to the ways in which we construct and relate to the foreign and how this relationship transforms and redefines the domestic. Consequently, we can also associate the increasing visibility of translation – both in the usual sense and as a concept – to an overall interest in issues of transnationality and globalization*, an association that has led specialists to speak not only of a “translational turn” in the humanities, but actually to redefine the humanities as “Translation Studies” (Bachmann-Medick 2009: 11).

The exciting new possibilities opened up by the interface of contemporary philosophy and the study of translation seem to be reliable evidence that the move away from the stalemates imposed by essentialist thinking has empowered the discipline and brought needed

attention to the essentially political character of the translator's craft. Perhaps our next challenge should focus on the effort to translate the insights learned from this productive interface into the professional world of translators and interpreters.

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Political translation

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When studying political translation, two different objects of study are to be considered: translation of political texts and translation as a political statement. In both cases, the meaning of the adjective “political” is central to the analysis. With Chilton and Schäffner (1997: 212), we posit that a text or an action is likely to be political if it involves power or resistance. Hence, texts are political when produced by a politician, but also when they contain some form of power struggle. The translations of a political speech, of a controversial play and of a newspaper editorial are good examples of translated political texts. Translation as a political behaviour also covers a wide range of items, including activist translation, feminist translation and cannibalistic translation. Further, Translation Studies itself can be political, in the sense that the analysis is trying to engage in a debate. For reasons of space, the present piece will mainly deal with the analysis of translated political texts. But Gender in translation*, Committed approaches and activism* or Post-colonial literatures and translation* are also all related to translation as a political statement.

1. Strategic functions (categories of political translation)

The theoretical notion “strategic function” is quite useful to understand political translation in general. Strategic functions (Chilton & Schäffner 1997: 212–213; Schäffner 2004: 119) can be divided in four categories: coercion, resistance, dissimulation and legitimisation/delegitimisation. In fact, these four functions could very well be considered as categories of political translation. For instance, coercion relates to power and control, such as passing a law or setting an agenda. In Translation Studies, the translation of Hitler’s autobiography *Mein Kampf* is a case in point of censorship (Baumgarten 2009). National language planning could also be seen as a good example of coercion, since national governments often enforce one or many language(s) to the detriment of others (Lambert 1991). Resistance is generally used by marginal groups to reshape the balance of power. Feminist translation enters that particular category, since it is seen as a creative approach to fight and resist patriarchal language and its institutions. Dissimulation involves information control and secrecy. The following would be a good example of dissimulation: a top-secret translation kept in a government’s archive and unavailable to the public for a long period of time. Sometimes, the secret around a translation lies not only with the content, but also with the translator himself/herself. For example, in 2007, the identity of Iraq interpreters working for the British Forces in Iraq

had to be kept secret because these interpreters were seen as spies who deserved to die by local militia (Haynes 2007). Legitimization pertains to helping a particular audience to understand and/or comply with an institution's request and objectives, whereas delegitimization belittles the political project of an opponent. Using manga (the Japanese cartoon) as a medium for Bible translation is a fine example of legitimisation, where the retranslation targets teenagers who generally do not read traditional Bible translations.

2. Discourse, ideology and institution

Discursive practices contribute to social order by delimiting what it is possible (and not possible) to say about a given topic in a given society (Kress 1989: 7). Specifically, a discourse can be defined as an organized set of statements which reflect the values of an institution (*Ibid.*). Because discourse is an important site of ideological struggle (Fairclough 1992), the ideological aspect is of utmost importance in analysing translated political texts. Ideologies represent who we are, what we believe in and the values we share with a particular group (van Dijk 1998). Studying how ideologies are translated on the linguistic level helps to understand the relationship between power and language. Hence, an important number of political translation analyses use discourse analysis as a research method, using particular types of discourse analysis such as sociocritique of translation (e.g., Brisset 1990/1996) or critical discourse analysis (e.g., Calzada Pérez 2007).

The analytical toolkit used in political Translation Studies quite often relates to text linguistics and functional grammar. For instance, transitivity (Calzada Pérez 2007; Hatim & Mason 1997), cohesion (Hatim & Mason 1997) and lexical choice (Baumgarten 2009; Schäffner 2003) have been particularly used when describing political texts in translation. Furthermore, paratextual features such as book covers or title information also help to identify ideologies in translation (Brisset 1990/1996; Gagnon 2006). Munday (2007: 200ff) reminds us that although translation scholars tend to focus on manipulation when working with political texts, these manipulations do not take place every time or not necessarily as expected. In fact, when dealing with ideologies and translation shifts, Munday advises not to jump to conclusion too quickly: translation choices may not be ideologically motivated. Indeed, not all translation shifts are related to a conscious strategy (see Translation strategies and tactics*). This leads him to have reservations about tools such as critical discourse analysis, since it has a monolingual tradition and does not necessarily account for the input of the translator.

Translating institutions have played an important role in shaping societies' beliefs and values. These institutions also produce a substantial part of societies' political translations. There are many categories of translating institutions, supra-national institutions (e.g., international organisations such as the United Nations or international business corporations such as Nestlé), multilingual and bilingual administration and public services

(e.g., community interpreting* for immigrants' official contacts with the police or the health care system). All types of institutions have an impact on discourse, since they reproduce their own ideologies through translation. Institutions are sometimes also producers of the original texts, giving them even tighter control of what and how texts are translated. These are cases of self-translation* and it can be safely assumed that these translations faithfully reproduce their institution's ideologies. The notion of self-translation also accounts for the context of production in institutional translation: in multilingual settings, the source and target text sometimes influence one another, resulting in bilingual rewriting (e.g., Schäffner 2003). Furthermore, in political and institutional context, translation is not often recognised as such (Gagnon 2006; Munday 2007: 197), meaning that the translated texts are presented and read as originals. To a point, translation invisibility can increase the influence of an institutional text, since translation shifts are likely to go unnoticed. For this reason, Schäffner (2004) has called for closer interdisciplinary cooperation between political discourse analysts and translation scholars.

3. Short example of a political translation analysis

In this section, a Canadian political translation will be analysed as an example of textual analysis.

The selection below was taken from a televised speech delivered in 2008 by Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper. The Canadian leader was facing a vote of non-confidence in the parliament and decided to address the issue directly to Canadian citizens. At the time, the opposition had signed a deal in order to form a coalition government. The speech was delivered simultaneously in French and in English (bold emphasis and English captions ours):

(1)

Let me be very clear: Canada's Government cannot enter into a power-sharing coalition with a **separatist party**. Je vais être très clair sur ce point: notre Gouvernement du Canada ne peut pas former une coalition en partageant le pouvoir avec un **parti souverainiste** [sovereignist party].
 (Canada. Prime Minister 2008)

(2)

At a time like this, a coalition with **the separatists** cannot help Canada. Une coalition avec **les souverainistes** [the sovereignists] ne peut pas aider le Canada.
 (Canada. Prime Minister 2008)

In the excerpts above, the Prime Minister referred to the fact that one member of the coalition was the Bloc Québécois, a party which believes in the political independence of the (French-speaking) province of Quebec. In English, the word used to describe the Bloc,

“separatist party,” is loaded and pejorative. In French, Harper’s translator made use of a neutral term. *Termium*, the standardisation tool of the Canadian government, suggests using “sovereignist” or the linguistic borrowing “indépendantiste” to speak in English of the members of the nationalist movement. When using “separatist,” Harper’s government went against the standard norm.

Without asking the translator, it is difficult to state with certainty whether the translation choices above were made consciously. However, conscious or not, these translation shifts have had an impact on the target society: the French version of Harper’s speech was much commented upon in the French-Canadian media, and much attention was paid to the differences between the English and the French versions. The combined analysis of translation effect and translation shifts helps to determine that Harper’s strategy was delegitimisation, since his government was trying to diminish the Québec sovereignist movement. In fact, this speech was seen by many as the starting point of an anti-Quebec discourse in English-Canada.

To sum up, translation choices are linked in many ways to institutional discourse. By investigating the context of a political translation, as well as its textual and paratextual features, it is possible to come up with a better understanding of hegemonic power processes involved in a text, including the intricacies of audience/speaker relationship.

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Polysystem theory and translation

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Polysystem theory was developed in the early 1970s by Itamar Even-Zohar, an Israeli scholar, for the study of language, literature and translation, and in his later writings it expanded into a general theory of culture.

1. Aims

What Even-Zohar proposes is an objective, descriptive and “scientific” line of research that refuses to select its objects according to taste or to pass value judgments (such as good or bad, right or wrong) on them. Even-Zohar and his colleague Gideon Toury, who developed a model for descriptive translation studies based on polysystem theory, distinguish between research and criticism, arguing that the former is a purely academic activity aiming at the explanation and prediction of phenomena whereas the latter is an application-oriented, norm-setting endeavour aiming to effect changes in its objects of study.

Traditional histories of literature have little theoretical basis, and they look only at official cultural products and ignore other components of (literary) culture such as translated and popular literature. The problem with such an elitist approach is twofold. Firstly, it excludes a large number of legitimate objects. Secondly, it fails to acknowledge that official products, such as standard language or canonised literature, can only be adequately understood in the context of unofficial ones, because all varieties are interdependent, forming a structured whole in which different constraints are placed on each member according to its position in that whole. Researchers who overlook the connection between the position of cultural products and the norms* governing their production can only resort to local explanations, such as “mistakes” or “poor imitation”.

Even-Zohar proposed polysystem theory so as to improve the methodology of research into literature and translation and to modify the very concepts of literature and translation. He warns against the “reverse high-brow” approach, which he considers no better than traditional elitism. Rather than providing “a pseudo-rational justification” for academics to challenge central (sub-)cultures and promote peripheral ones, polysystem theory is intended to “eliminate *all* sorts of biases” (Even-Zohar 1979: 292–293) and to serve as a framework for seeking less simplistic explanations to the complicated questions of how literature or translation is correlated with other sociocultural factors such as economics, politics and ideology.

2. Basic tenets

Further developing on a number of concepts borrowed from Russian formalism, polysystem theory views constituents of culture (such as language, literature and technology) as systems rather than conglomerates of disparate elements. It hypothesises that these elements are inter-related and that their relations are not haphazard but largely determined by their position in the whole to which they belong. Such a system is conceived of as a heterogeneous, open structure, “a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole” (Even-Zohar 1990: 11). Even-Zohar coined the term “polysystem” to counter the traditional notion that a system is a closed, single set of relations, and he noted that the prefix “poly” is superfluous if “system” does not connote rigidity and homogeneity (Huang 2006: 58).

On the one hand, each cultural system consists of various sub-systems that are themselves polysystems. On the other hand, each is a part of a larger polysystem – the whole culture, and thus related to all other co-systems within that whole. In other words, a system is simultaneously autonomous and heteronomous, as the activities within the system are governed by the norms originating from that particular system and others. At the same time, a particular system and its counterparts in other cultures may form another larger polysystem, which Even-Zohar calls a mega- or macro-polysystem. Consequently, phenomena in a system can rarely be fully accounted for by aspects of that system alone, but must often be placed in the context of the whole culture, and sometimes even of world culture, the largest polysystem in human society.

Cultural polysystems are not equal. Some have a more central position and others a more peripheral one, with the former being more autonomous (or less heteronomous) than the latter. The relative position of co-systems is not static. As a result of struggles among the various strata, some systems may be driven from the centre towards the periphery, whereas others may push their way in the opposite direction.

Take, for example, the literary polysystem. While a literary macro-polysystem may be assumed to exist when there is frequent interaction between the literatures of two or more cultures, the literary polysystem of each culture may be viewed as consisting of sub-systems including literature for adults and children’s literature, or indigenous and translated literature, or poetry, fiction and drama, and so forth, depending on the perspective of the observer. The norms that are found to be operative in a particular sub-system, such as translated children’s literature, may include not only the individual norms that originate from the sub-system in question but also those of other literary sub-systems, other polysystems of the same culture (such as the economic and the moral polysystem) and even another culture. That which assumes a central position in the polysystem may change over time, such as when fiction drives out poetry, or when translated literature replaces indigenous literature.

One of the key concepts in polysystem theory is that of repertoire, which is described as “the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product”, or, in traditional linguistic terms, “a combination of ‘grammar’ and ‘lexicon’ of a given ‘language’” (Even-Zohar 1990: 39). The repertoire of any cultural polysystem is a polysystem itself, consisting of canonised and non-canonical strata. The word “canonised” is used instead of “canonical” to indicate that canonicity is not an inherent feature of the product but a state resulting from the endorsement of the group that dominates the polysystem. Therefore, the centre of the polysystem is identical with the most prestigious canonised repertoire.

A further distinction is made between conservative and innovative repertoires. A repertoire is said to be “secondary” when products are made highly predictable by strict adherence to rules, and it is said to be “primary” when new elements are introduced to augment and restructure the repertoire, turning out increasingly less predictable products. In Even-Zohar’s early writings, primary repertoires were assumed to be the canonised ones, but in his later writings he corrected this assumption, noting that “canonicity does not necessarily overlap with primariness” and that any primary model will become secondary if it is perpetuated long enough (Even-Zohar 1990: 21–22).

3. Hypotheses on translated literature

Even-Zohar posited a series of hypotheses on translated literature. First, translated works are not simply a bundle of individual foreign texts as they have been treated in traditional translation studies. Rather, they can be considered to constitute a system of the target culture for at least two reasons: the selection of source texts follows principles that are correlatable with conditions in the target culture, and the selection of translation strategies depends very much on their relations with the home co-systems.

Second, while constituting a polysystem with its own central and peripheral elements, translated literature normally occupies a peripheral position in the literary polysystem. Nevertheless, translated literature, or its central strata, may become a part of the centre if it acts as a vehicle for introducing new repertoire into a certain target literature. There are three typical cases in which this may happen: when a literature is “young”, that is, in the process of being developed into a full-fledged polysystem; when a literature is either peripheral (in the macro-polysystem of a group of correlated literatures) or weak; and when there are turning points, crises or vacuums in a literature (Even-Zohar 1990: 46–49).

Some clarification is necessary regarding what some of the terms used to describe these situations actually mean and what indicators or criteria are available for identifying these situations.

Whether or not a literature is young can be ascertained only in comparative terms, but the comparison may be made fairly objectively by measuring not just the years of its

development but also the volume and diversity of its repertoires (of both texts and models), the latter of which being the more important indicator. Similarly, there are a number of objective indicators for assessing the position of a literature or culture relative to another, such as their economic and political power relations, the “balance of trade” in products and repertoires through either direct import/export or translation, and the types of norms adopted in translation in each direction. These assessments are not value judgments, as they are based on facts rather than opinion.

The word “weak” is not used as a synonym for “peripheral” as it is generally mistaken to be. According to Even-Zohar, “weakness” means the inability of a system to cope with a situation by confining itself to its home repertoire (Even-Zohar 1990: 80–81). Thus weakness or strength refers mainly to an entity’s internal cultural conditions.

“Vacuum” is just a figure of speech that describes the lack of a repertoire to handle a certain situation or to satisfy a certain need. In fact, one might say that there are always vacuums in a culture, otherwise it will stagnate. It is big and perfect vacuums that cause crises in a culture, just as they cause strong wind in nature. There should be nothing “puzzling” in the use of the word even if it is intended to imply “a culture with a disability”, as has been suggested (Hermans 1999: 109). As individuals may have disabilities, so may a collective composed of individuals. The relativist tenet that cultures are equally valid may have got the upper hand in translation studies, but polysystemists see that their task is to describe rather than validate or invalidate cultures.

Weakness or the existence of a vacuum or a crisis is not objectively identifiable, because such an assessment is based on cultural values with regard to what is desirable and what is not. In Even-Zohar’s hypothesis this is a matter not for others to judge but for the people or the central strata of the culture concerned to perceive. Such self-perception can be detected by an observer. If a large-scale transfer of repertoires from one culture into another has occurred, there must have been a feeling of weakness in the latter culture, and if a new repertoire – foreign or indigenous – has been accepted into a culture, there must have been a vacuum to accommodate it.

The third hypothesis concerns the relationship between the position and behaviour of translated literature. When translated literature assumes a central position, taking part in the shaping of the centre of the literary polysystem, translators might regard as their main task the introduction of new models and repertoires, rather than the preservation of those existing in the home system. Under such special circumstances, “the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy [...] are greater than otherwise”. When translated literature occupies a peripheral position, the translator tends to find ready-made secondary models for the foreign text, and “the result often turns out to be a non-adequate translation” (Even-Zohar 1990: 50–51).

“Adequacy” was originally defined by Even-Zohar as the “reproduction of the dominant textual relations of the original” (Even-Zohar 1990: 50). Toury seems to have been the first to use the term “acceptability” to replace “non-adequacy” as the opposite of “adequacy”.

He was also the first to extend the meaning of the two concepts to cover norms that are not linguistic-textual ones, by redefining acceptability and adequacy as the “subscription to norms originating in the target culture” and “[subscription] to the norms of the source text, and through them also to the norms of the source language and culture”, respectively (Toury 1995: 56–57).

This hypothesis must not be understood and applied in a mechanistic manner. Sociocultural phenomena such as translation can be very complex. As Even-Zohar points out, a systems theory, or any theory, is designed to explain general tendencies rather than subjective decisions or individual behaviour (Huang 2006: 58). By assuming that systems are heterogeneous and dynamic, polysystem theory allows for the existence of rival systems and conflicting norms and for their changing relations. It is not justified to suppose, as Wang (2008) does, that the hypothesis is invalidated simply because various kinds of translation strategies exist in the same period. Nor does the existence of conflicting norms in each period necessarily mean that there has been no change over time, because the middle ground might have shifted.

Toury’s concept of acceptability may have been widely accepted by polysystem theorists and proved useful in many case studies, but not all translations can be located along the adequacy–acceptability continuum. Some researchers might believe that a translation that is not adequate must be acceptable, or vice versa. However, translations can be neither adequate nor acceptable to different degrees, because there exist sources of norms operative in the translation process in addition to the source and target cultures – notably the translators themselves, who might not only make use of existing repertoires but also invent new ones. These inventions may result from creativity or an insufficient grasp of the norms involved.

4. Impact, reception and prospects

Polysystem theory has changed the landscape of translation studies. It has yielded fruitful results, led to the expansion of the field and paved the way for the cultural turn. These developments have enabled translation studies to gain recognition as an academic discipline and to attract greater scholarly attention than ever before. Functioning as a primary model in translation and cultural studies, the theory became canonised in the West in the 1980s. It spread to China and other non-Western countries in the 1990s, and even assumed a central position in a few of them.

In recent years polysystem theory has been edged aside by postcolonialism and other politically committed theories on the ground that its terminology is too abstract and sanitised for “discussions of ideology, power and engagement” (Tymoczko 2000: 40), which have become the order of the day. The problem is, however, that some terms from polysystem theory give offence, which is evidence that they are insufficiently sanitised. The word “weakness”, for example, which is generally taken to be derogatory, could be replaced by

“(a sense of) self-insufficiency” so as to avoid misunderstanding. An abstract and sanitised terminology is essential for a theory striving for universality and descriptivism, and it has the added advantage of enabling scholars in highly centralised societies to discuss sensitive issues in a safer way.

Another oft-heard charge against polysystem theory is that it legitimises the status of mainstream norms by calling them norms and studying them as such. Yet to describe something as a norm is not to endorse it. Whereas some readers might accept what is described as a norm, others might feel encouraged to rebel against it, as they are told that it is only a norm upheld by the dominant group in a certain place and time, not an eternal truth. Neither effect is intended by polysystem theory.

Despite the advances that polysystem theory has made possible in the field of translation studies, the theory needs to be made more sophisticated in a number of areas if its vitality is to be maintained. Even-Zohar has attempted to explain how norms for translating (what Toury calls “initial norms”) are related to the position of translated literature, but he left unanswered the question of how norms for the selection of source texts correlate with conditions in the target culture (part of what Toury calls “preliminary norms”). Even-Zohar’s explanation, which is confined to the textual and literary levels, might be inadequate for some cases. It may be found, for example, that the positions of the literary, political and other polysystems in the culture have all played a part in determining translation norms. If the ideological and other features of a translated text (including the textual features) are investigated, the translator might be seen to lean towards the target culture norms in some domains but towards the source culture norms in others. These complicated phenomena are beyond the scope of Even-Zohar’s hypotheses. In addition, some of his assumptions remain to be tested. Two possible queries are: Is translated literature necessarily innovative when it is in a central position? Does adequacy-oriented translation always have an innovative function? Attempts have been made to modify and refine polysystem theory to provide more adequate answers to these questions (e.g., Hermans 1996, 1999; Chang 2000, 2001).

A continuously updated polysystem theory would be a valuable research tool, because there are still very few theories that provide a comprehensive framework for the descriptive study of the relations between translation and other cultural domains, including power and ideology.

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Post-colonial literatures and translation

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It is now generally acknowledged that the “cultural turn” in the social sciences and the humanities that occurred in the 1990s changed Translation Studies (TS) forever. Culture had come to take center stage in translation analyses and discourses, rather than language viewed mainly in term of a system of linguistic exchange and communication. Language became subordinate to culture, both intertwined and often fused together in any serious discussion or analysis of translation. The ramifications were numerous for Translation Studies, as age-old notions and concepts such as equivalency, pure or standard language, distinctive binarisms and their implied hierarchy (original/translation; source-text/target text; word-for-word/sense-for-sense, etc.) were thrown into disarray. The study of post-colonial literatures is one of the fundamental areas through which the “cultural turn” made inroads into Translation Studies. By the very nature of this literature, written in colonial languages by post-colonial subjects, a host of issues often overlooked in the past, namely gender, ethnicity, sociology, linguistic alterity, identity, politics and ideology became prominent in translation research.

The intersection between postcolonial studies and Translation Studies has rested primarily on literature, which has had the double effect of expanding the purview of literary criticism and translation criticism. Although postcolonial studies often includes the colonial era, postcolonial Translation Studies has dealt mainly with pre- and post-independence literatures, i.e., literature dealing with the period immediately before and after independence. It is worth pointing out that, as a research paradigm, postcolonial theory is also being applied to contexts without an obvious (post)colonial relationship, such as between Quebec and Canada (Shamma 2009). Post-colonial literatures are now understood to include literatures dealing specifically with neocolonialism and metropolitan, migrant and diaspora literatures, which can be grouped under the label post-postcolonial literature. These literatures have opened up translation research to include non-western cultures from Africa, India, Latin America, and the Caribbean, as well as non-hegemonic cultures such as the Irish and those from settler colonies like Australia, Canada and South Africa.

1. Writing as translation

The inter-play of translation and post-colonial literatures is two-pronged. It occurs when postcolonial writing in its materiality overlaps with the act of translating (see Bandia

2008; Tymoczko 2000), and also in the interlingual translation of post-colonial literature (Bandia 2008; Tymoczko 1999a). The first instance, also known as “writing as translation,” is related to the fact that although postcolonial writing is different from translation, they both employ similar strategies for linguistic and cultural representations. Based on this assumption, postcolonial literature is understood metaphorically as a form of translation, whereby the language of colonization is bent, twisted or plied to capture and convey the sociocultural reality or worldview of an alien dominated language culture. The very fact of writing about the experiences of formerly colonized societies by postcolonial subjects in the language of the colonizer is thus likened to translation as a metaphor for the representation of Otherness. It is in this vein that Salman Rushdie has been known to refer to postcolonial writing as translated literature and to the colonized subject or migrant as “translated men” (Rushdie 1991: 17).

The metaphorical equation of post-colonial literature with translation has been enhanced by empirical studies that have described postcolonial fictionalization in terms of translation processes and strategies (Bandia 2008; Tymoczko 1999b; Zabus 1991). The rationale for these studies and the claim to translation are grounded in what Bandia (2008) has referred to as the orality/writing interface. In other words, the representation of cultures of orality in colonial language writing is viewed as a double transposition process involving translating oral narrative cultures into written form and translating between distant or alien language cultures. This in itself does not imply wholesale translating as fictionalizing, but rather explains the traces of indigenous languages and oral artistry in colonial language fiction in terms of translation. Without making specific reference to translation, the seminal book *The Empire Writes Back* (Ashcroft et al. 1989) had established colonial language use and practices as a defining attribute of postcolonial literatures. The attempt by postcolonial writers to mould and shape the colonial language into a medium for expressing non-western thought and literature resulted in non-western varieties of the colonial language, challenging its hegemony and imperialist-universalist pretensions, and disrupting the classic notion of a standard language. Linguistic experimentation and innovation within the matrix of the colonial language became a writing device resulting in the hybridization and vernacularization of colonial languages.

Besides lexical innovations and syntactic (de-) formation, the colonial language was infused with alien dialectal formations and in many instances forced to share space with related but locally-derived hybrid languages such as pidgins, creoles and other lingua franca through the mechanism of code-switching and mixing. This contributed to the perception of postcolonial fictionalizing as inherently involving the practice of polylingualism and literary heteroglossia. The linguistic transformation of colonial languages, as well as the hybridization and multilayering of languages (Mehrez 1992) within the postcolonial text, are conceptualized in terms of translation either pragmatically with respect to processes of linguistic transfer or metaphorically in regard to the implicit role of translation in the reading of multilingual discourse. Although generally understood as strategies of linguistic and

cultural representation, postcolonial fictionalizing also raises some ontological issues that have become research paradigms in Translation Studies. For instance, the issues of identity, ideology and power relations are inherent to the writing of subaltern discourse in dominant or hegemonic languages, and these issues have become paramount in the relation between post-colonial literature and translation. Postcoloniality has raised serious questions regarding some long-held views in Translation Studies, particularly with respect to the nature of an “original” and its relation to the translated text, the notion of equivalency or transfer between stable monolithic linguistic entities, and ultimately the purely linguistic and non-ideological conceptualization of translation practice. Postcolonial research, as a subfield, has stripped Translation Studies of its innocence, as it were, by establishing parallels between postcolonial writing as resistance to hegemony and the translation of subaltern cultures as resistance to imperialism or subversion of dominant linguistic and cultural practices.

2. Translating post-colonial literatures

Postcolonial literature enters the world through translation either as the product of inventive fictionalizing as discussed above or the actual translating of postcolonial fiction from one global language into another. Translation as a praxis is therefore pivotal in the writing and dissemination of postcolonial literatures. It plays a central role in the struggle of marginalized cultures for acceptance and recognition in the global literary space. This in effect casts translation in a role fraught with political and ideological concerns due to the centrality of power relations in the rapport between postcolonial theory and Translation Studies.

In “The Politics of Translation” (1993) Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak discusses the ideological ramifications of translating Third World literature into colonizing or hegemonic languages. She points out that the asymmetrical power relationships in a postcolonial context often lead to colonizing translation practices that seek to minimize the difference of minority cultures for the benefit of the target majority culture. In this regard, translation continues to play an active role in the colonialist and ideologically motivated construction of colonized peoples as mimetic and inferior clones of their ex-colonizers. To counter this perspective, Spivak proposes a translation strategy based on a kind of “positive or strategic essentialism” (1993) calling on the translator, much like the field anthropologist, to seek an intimate knowledge of the language, culture and history of the colonized.

Given the centrality of power differential in postcolonial theory, Tejaswini Niranjana (1992) also views translation with great suspicion owing to the way colonialist historiography has used translation to further its agenda of colonial domination. Niranjana therefore calls on Translation Studies to cast aside its flawed and naïve image of a discipline concerned mainly with issues of linguistic representation, and confront the political and ideological underpinnings of an intercultural exchange essentially based on unequal power relations. To redress the power imbalance, the postcolonial translator must be

interventionist and, through the practice of re-translation, deconstruct colonizing translation strategies and resist colonialist ideological impositions. It is generally in the light of such theoretical musings that the intersection of postcolonial literatures and translation can be understood.

In reference to the African context, Bandia (2008) has posited that the translation of post-colonial literature is a tripartite process involving the writing of orality from a mainly analphabetic culture into an alien and dominant written culture and subsequently the transfer or conversion of a discourse of interculturality and intermediality from one national language into another. There are of course many literate minority cultures for whom translation into languages with global literary capital provides the sole means to recognition. This unfortunate fact enhances the perception of postcolonial fiction as a translated literature, and its subsequent translation into other languages as translating a translated original. Hence, as “translated men” (Rushdie 1991), postcolonial writers must translate themselves into global languages in order to afford some literary capital in the global marketplace. Therefore, the translation of post-colonial literature has been described variously as “re-translation” (Niranjana 1992), re-creation, rewriting, or reparation (Bandia 2008), as it involves the representation of marginalized cultures in dominant languages, with an underlying intent to set the historical record straight, as it were. It is translation as reparation insofar as its overriding purpose is one of restitution or restoration, of redress of the inanities of the past, and resistance to linguistic, social and cultural misrepresentation. Far from being a mere linguistic transfer, postcoloniality imposes a praxis of translation as negotiation between cultures in an unequal power relationship.

Translating post-colonial literature involves a rejection of the mainstream representational theory of language in Translation Studies, which elides politics and ideology, and the subversion of dominant linguistic and aesthetic practices. Given its status as a ‘translated text’, as well as its characteristic hybridity and polylingualism, postcolonial fiction disrupts the relation between the original and translation often conceived in terms of a uniform and monolithic entity easily defined or circumscribed and transferable from one language into another. The postcolonial text is linguistically multilayered and culturally multifaceted, and calls for translation strategies that can account for its innate plurality.

3. Conclusion

Postcolonial fiction is therefore disseminated through a poetics of translation as relation, as it is transposed and re-created in global languages of power and universal appeal that were once instruments of oppression of the very postcolonial reality. It is a problematic relation in which the postcolonial subject translates himself into the language of the colonizer. The intersection of postcolonial literature and translation has reset the button of an ethics of translation, raising questions about the relation between writer-translator and

language, about who translates postcolonial literature and for whom, about publishers and editorial policies regarding minority literatures written in major languages, about the location of power and the relation between centre and periphery, and ultimately about the teaching of post-colonial literatures in translation. With respect to translation practice, other ethical issues arise regarding the degree of fluency or transparency of the target text, the vexed question of the assimilation of minority language cultures, the manipulation or subversion of language, an ethics of sameness or difference, reception and readability of translation, and the role of translation as an agent of decolonization. Central to the intersection of post-colonial literatures and translation is the issue of literature and identity in our contemporary world characterized by hybrid and translational cultures in a context of unequal power differential that had ensued in the aftermath of colonization.

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Quality in translation

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Quality in translation is both the quality of an end-product (the translated material) and the quality of the transaction (the service provided).

1. Quality standards and good practices

So far, only the quality of the service provision transaction has been benchmarked though a number of standards, of which EN 15038 – a quality standard, specifically written for the translation industry – is probably the best known. The basic idea is that the quality of the transaction is “good” if and when both the provider and providee are satisfied with the translation provision process and, of course, its result. The stronger assumption is that, if the translator follows strict relevant procedures, this will reduce the risk of non-quality. And the wishful thinking part of it is that the work provider will also be party to the process by providing all necessary material, help, raw material (by way of terminology), validation, confirmation, guidelines, briefs and specifications.

In most professional settings, the quality of the translation provision transaction depends on one’s viewpoint. From the translator’s (or project manager’s) point of view, “quality in service provision” means, to all practical purposes, that the client provided a clear and complete brief and a “clean” document for translation, was prepared to listen to his or her points of view and proposals, afforded enough time to complete the job and to check the translation, did not interfere unduly in the process, offered whatever information, advice, help, confirmation and resources (s)he could reasonably be expected to provide and paid a fair price when payment became due.

From the purchaser’s (client’s) point of view, the same concept means that the transaction satisfies his/her needs in terms of efficiency and suitability of the translated material to purpose, type, medium, and public – and, therefore, implicitly satisfies any applicable requirement of accuracy and reliability of the translation. It also means, in a different but very important way, that the translator had the required competences and skills, followed whatever guidelines and specifications applied, put in the required effort to document the subject, finished on time, did all quality checks, and charged the right price.

So, the prerequisites for quality in providing the commercial service of delivering a translation – assuming the translator is competent and puts up a “normal” performance – are quite easily listed. They concern all partners that may become involved: the work

provider or his agent, the project manager, the translator, the quality controller or reviser, the terminologist, and any number of professional players in the fields of infographics, desktop publishing, or Web mastering, whose contribution might become necessary within the scope of the entire transaction (and not only the translation part of it, strictly speaking). Without deciding who would be responsible for any of the following items, what is needed, then, to “assure” quality from upstream is:

- Clear and fully detailed specifications
- Constructive negotiation of price and time fences
- Certified (if possible) quality of the material to be translated
 - either intrinsically or as the result of upgrading
- Availability of all required resources
- Availability of all skills required, possibly from the same person, by the various operations that make up the service: commercial transacting, data-retrieval, terminology, translating, plus, as the case may be, revising or doing the infographics
- Availability and validity of any material for re-use in the translation (translation memory, in-house terminology, and related documents)
- Adequacy of the process work flow (covering planning and management, lot allocation, resource allocation, skills requirements, time fences, float and overlap, and critical paths)
- Adequacy of the translation service provision model underlying performance and assessment at all stages
- Adequacy of task-fulfillment procedures with respect to productivity/quality ratios
- Adequacy of communication/interaction between provider and providee as well as between provider and specialist correspondents and partners
- Relevance, thoroughness and efficiency of quality checks and quality control
- Application, by both partners, of a rolling wave process of validation plus feedback and analysis feeding into an ongoing review process.

The list could be extended to itemize the principles and tasks making up the set of *quality assurance* objectives, tools and procedures pertaining to translating services. Hence the insistence on all kinds of specifications, rules, style guides, and, more broadly, procedure-based standards or, more precisely, procedure-based codes of good practice. As a matter of fact, EN 15038 is no more than a compendium of what the prime contractor or work provider, on the one hand, and the translator or translation company, on the other hand, should do to contribute to quality assurance in translation, on the assumption that, if the conditions for quality assurance are met, the end-product will be of good quality.

In fact, good practices undoubtedly reduce the risk of poor quality but do not suffice by themselves to guarantee quality for two reasons. The first reason is that accidents happen even in the most highly “quality-assured” environments. The second reason is that fulfilling

all of the quality requirements would make the cost of translation unbearable to many work providers. No wonder quality assurance nearly always comes second to economic considerations. Still, the insistence on *a priori* quality assurance requirements is a welcome evolution of the translation professions and has undoubtedly contributed greatly to the improvement of the overall competencies of translators and of the overall quality of translations.

2. Extrinsic and intrinsic quality

In defining the quality of translations, it is first important to note that the quality of the product that goes by the name of translation is both extrinsic and intrinsic. Extrinsic quality relates to the way a translation satisfies the requirements of the applicable situation in terms of public (readers, viewers, browsers, listeners, etc.), objectives and purposes, medium or media, code, and such external parameters that are relevant. Basically, this means that the translation must be adequate from the point of view of economics (cost), functionality (performance), accessibility (readability, usability, ergonomics) and efficiency (sometimes extending beyond what the original provided). The consequence is that a quality translation, which we assume could not pretend to be such unless the translator knowingly or unwittingly worked by the code of best practice, must be adequate in terms of (a) content and (b) form of content. Adequate means that the translator translated whatever content satisfied the particular needs of the particular “users” and put it in a perfectly satisfactory form (and format, and medium). Specifically, the translator made two choices. The first one concerns the basic function of the translation. There is a choice of four options: (1) to inform the user on what the document is about – so-called “translation for indexing purposes”; (2) to give the user access to whatever information pertains to one particular item – so-called “selective translation”; (3) to give the user a fair idea of what the document is about and what it “says” – so-called “abstracting or synthetic-synoptic translation”; (4) to give the user access to the full content (so-called “translation”). A second choice is superimposed on that first one in that the translator has to choose a variety of language. He may use one variety that is fully compliant with that of the original (with any shift accounting for the shift in readership or viewers, for instance) or, on the contrary, to use a more standard, general, undifferentiated variety of language and mode of expression. It may also be that the translator uses a ‘general’ variety of language for the simple reason that s/he does not have the skills to use the relevant (and presumably required) specialist variety and, in that case, we move from the idea of choice for better quality to that of non-quality for reasons of insufficient skills.

Once the translator has decided on the kind and quantity of content and the variety of language, the degree of finish or polish comes into play. A given translation may be “as translated”, meaning it is rather rough cut or has not been reviewed. It may be of “fair average quality”, meaning it is correct, readable, and maybe even pleasant to read. Or it may

be of “top quality”: fluent, efficient, most readable, and ergonomic in that both contents and form are more than adequate on two counts, the first one being that the translator “improved on the original” and the second one being that s/he adapted form and content to the particular public and destination within the particular conceptual-linguistic-cultural context of the reception and use of the translation by that public and destination.

3. Quality grades

All in all, the best way to describe the various quality grades is to refer to the market and return to the idea of service provision. The simplest way is to distinguish three grades: (1) rough-cut, (2) fit-for-delivery (but still requiring minor improvements or not yet fit for its broadcast medium), and (3) fit-for-broadcast translation (accurate, efficient, and ergonomic). These are perfectly understandable for all parties concerned by translation service provision transactions. And, to be exhaustive, one might include a ‘fit-for-revision’ grade to describe translations that can be revised within a reasonable time at a reasonable cost.

When it comes to characterizing the grades, we must consider four domains, which are domains to which quality/non-quality relates. The first three domains are relevant to any type of material (text/voice/image/video/web content/etc.) being created, received, used and assessed in its own right. They are:

- the linguistic-stylistic-rhetorical-communicative domain,
- the factual-technical-semantic-cultural domain,
- the functional-ergonomic domain.

The fourth domain is that of congruence of the translated material with an original, filtered through any change in the applicable situation in terms of cultural gaps and shifts, obvious differences in medium, and possible shifts in public and destination – even to the point that there remains very little parallelism between the original and the end product of the translating process.

There is room here for a sub-domain that would probably cut across the first four or, alternatively, be paramount. That would be the type and mode of translation as characterized above in terms of adaptation of content (and, inevitably, form) to the specific needs of the user or constraints of the situation. This could then either be considered as a sub-domain of translation congruence, but it seems wiser to keep treating it as an overall or basic quality indicator on the assumption that, if the type and mode of translation are not suited, quality is at risk – meaning quality of the service provision episode and not quality of the end product: a “good translation” may not be the “right” one.

This means that the definitions of our quality grades are combinations of elements relating to the four domains. Clearly, a translation that is *fit for delivery* complies with a set

of linguistic-stylistic-rhetorical criteria (it must have full readability and basic usability), with a set of factual-technical-semantic criteria (it must be true, accurate, in conformity with the relevant cultural-technical grammar) and with a set of functional criteria (with a yes/no system of deciding whether it 'works' or not). As for the translational component of quality, the overall notion is that there must be no translation mistakes or errors* or even that not even the slightest approximation will be tolerated.

The most convenient and reliable way to discuss quality grades in translation is to determine which domains are concerned and what level of quality is required for each of those domains – knowing that a given quality grade would normally call for the same quality level in all domains. It would seem reasonable to consider three quality levels per domain (non-quality being, by definition, absent from the discussion at this stage) as (1) acceptable, (2) good, (3) excellent. These can then be converted into 'correct', 'readable', 'efficient' or any other labels relevant to the specific translation project.

Consideration must also be taken of quality of translation at lower levels. For the linguistics-stylistic domain, the parameters include items such as: grammar, punctuation, syntax, style, format, register, coherence, cohesion, fluency. Each of those parameters can be subdivided down to the lowest level of granularity applicable. Thus, for instance, punctuation could include hyphenation.

Working from the top down, a full quality grid or tree can be devised extending to the finest level of detail. By superimposing levels of quality in all quality domains, quality grades having sufficient justification and authority from a professional (service provision) point of view can be defined. It is then possible to look back on the procedures and link them with the quality grades, given that such quality grades are very rarely made explicit as such in specifications and standards. The model and procedures of quality assurance in the performance of translation service transactions and the quality grid or quality tree jointly make up a model of quality, underlie a quality plan, and serve as a basis for all forms of quality control, quality assessment, and quality reviewing. They must be made interdependent in both directions since each of them feeds into the other.

At this stage, no mention has been made of the overwhelming preoccupation of all concerned with translation, namely, assessing the quality of translations. This is so because the answers are quite simple. Once the grades have been set and characterized, they may be used as a system for assessing quality. In a professional setting, no one goes into intricacies: the translator's performance is 'rotten/lousy', 'poor', 'satisfactory', 'good' or 'excellent' (for instance), and people and businesses have any number of criteria to judge and justify their judgement, ranging from 'punctuality' to 'proactivity' through 'compliance with the style guide' and 'initiative in upgrading the terminology'. The same should hold true when it comes to assessing the quality of the end product, along the lines we have described. However, in training translators the question of the quality of the end product is not so clear cut.

Basically, trainees should be subjected to the same kind of assessment as professionals. This would have the merit of clarifying everything from teaching objectives to teaching

methods. If the fact of assessing students along the same lines as professionals seems too hard on the students, there is plenty of room for a system that would work by thresholds and tolerances – which are not necessarily the mirror image of each other. All that needs to be done is to tick or untick any particular subdivision of any parameter within the context of any level, domain, or grade. Sub-grades might also be envisaged, but they must be coherent and, above all, grounded in professional practices (and procedures). Parameter weighting might also be an alternative.

Any quality management system requires a very clear view of “product” quality grades and levels, overall, per domain, per parameter, and per sub-parameters. Working backwards, this becomes a very useful tool for the definition and review of quality assurance procedures, provided the system includes tracking instruments that make it possible to pinpoint the causes of possible faults and deficiencies, to determine where, when, and why, the procedures went wrong, and to amend them. This, after all, is one of the basic requirements of quality standards and goes by the name of quality control, the last stage of the quality management system, which includes upgrading the translation if need be.

The foregoing very broad survey of quality in translation gives no more than a few directions to be explored further. To conclude, three points must be emphasised: (1) it is important to view quality in the light and context of the translating profession’s activities; (2) it is essential to make the quality-efficiency-relevance in service provision and the quality of the end-product interdependent; (3) it is crucial to build up a model of quality in translation and translating.

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Relay interpreting

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Relay interpreting (RI) is the practice of interpreting from one language to another through a third language. Thus, for example, when a conference delegate is speaking Arabic and is to be interpreted into English and German where no Arabic-German interpreter is available, the German output may be mediated via the English “pivot” (or “relayer”). In some cases, the pivot may even be occupying a “dummy booth”; i.e., in the above example, it may be the case that no English interpreting is required, and the English is produced solely for the sake of enabling the German interpretation. RI is most often used for languages of limited diffusion, and is particularly common in multilingual conferences in countries where most interpreters have only two working languages or in those with several official languages; e.g., South Africa, where one language (most often English) mediates between several others. RI was also standard practice in what used to be the Eastern Bloc countries, with Russian as the pivot language. Whereas direct interpreting – and interpreting into one’s A language – had once been considered the only acceptable option, the new reality created by the expansion of the major international organizations and by other geopolitical changes has led to a rise in RI, despite its being regarded as “a second-best solution [...]” (Gebhard 2001), and despite its frequent reliance on interpreters working into their B language (i.e., doing *retour*).

Research on the effects of relay interpreting has been sparse. Mackintosh (1983), found no significant difference in message loss between direct and relay interpreting, although some items – e.g., figures – were more often omitted or distorted in the latter. Seleskovitch and Lederer, while pointing out the many pitfalls of RI, also cite an advantage of taking relay, since the pivot interpreter “will be providing a clear and coherent interpretation” (1989: 178). From the standpoint of the pivot, however, the task is particularly stressful, since she bears responsibility not only for her own performance but also for that of her relay-dependent colleagues (Gebhard 2001). She is advised to avoid abstruse, idiomatic language and to bear in mind that the relay-taker’s knowledge of the relay language may be limited. She is also expected to adjust for very fast speakers (e.g., by compressing the text or adding cohesive devices), and in the case of SI with text, she must compensate for the fact that the relay-taker has no access to the text. The pressure on both the pivot and the relay-taker is bound to be even greater when synchronicity is of the essence (e.g., as more and more speakers resort to carefully orchestrated presentations with slides), as any lag will be compounded by the relay process.

Though usually used in simultaneous conference interpreting (see Simultaneous interpreting*), RI may be used in other modes and other settings as well. In Malaysian

courts, for example, where English figures as a *lingua franca*, the words of the accused may be interpreted from one dialect into English by one interpreter, and then from English into a second dialect by another (Wong 1990: 112). Along similar lines, Mikkelsen (1999) has described the need to address the shortage of indigenous language interpreters for the non-Spanish-speaking indigenous people from Mexico and Guatemala living in California, by training selected speakers of these languages to work in a relay situation with certified Spanish-English interpreters (cf. McDonnell 1997). Interpreters working at centers for refugees or asylum seekers frequently find themselves in a relay situation; at the clinic of Physicians for Human Rights in Tel Aviv, for example, Tigrinya speakers from Eritrea who know some Arabic serve as ad hoc Arabic interpreters for other Tigrinya speakers – and are then interpreted from Arabic into Hebrew for the benefit of the physicians (see Community interpreting*).

In the signed-language context, a Deaf relay interpreter (DRI) may be added to the interpreting team – whether for the sake of a foreign sign language user, a linguistically and/or socially isolated deaf person whose sign language proficiency is limited, a deaf-blind person, a signer in situations where trust and cultural sensitivity are paramount (e.g., trauma counseling), or International Sign users (Bontempo & Levitzke-Gray 2009). Thus, for example, a Deaf bilingual with skills in at least one written and one signed language may mediate between another Deaf person and a hearing person who is unable to convey her ideas clearly and grammatically in a visual and spatial medium (Boudreault 2005). Notwithstanding the tenuous status of Deaf relay interpreters, they are often regarded as intrinsically beneficial, since “[They] are interpreting into their first language and for their own community” (Stone 2009: 174; See Sign language interpreting*).

RI is rarely included in interpreter training programs, and few trainees have the opportunity to practice serving either as pivots or as relay-takers. If training institutions are to keep pace with the shifts in professional practice, however, this will have to change, and RI will have to be incorporated into the curriculum.

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Relevance and translation

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We assume that people have intuitions of relevance: that they can consistently distinguish relevant from irrelevant information, or in some cases more relevant from less relevant information. However, these intuitions are not very easy to elicit or use as evidence. The fact that there is an ordinary language notion of relevance with a fuzzy and variable meaning is a hindrance rather than a help.

(Sperber & Wilson 1995: 119)

The quotation above shows that, when approached intuitively, the notion of relevance can sometimes be considered a fuzzy term. However, besides this ordinary, common-sense use of the notion of relevance, one can find at least two other (more technical) definitions: (a) the Gricean definition of relevance (included in the maxim of relation), which states that a communicator must be relevant or at least must indicate when s/he is not (Grice 1975); and (b) the relevance-theoretic definition proper, which amalgamates a linguistic-pragmatic approach with a cognitive approach aimed at the investigation of inferential processing.

The linguistic-pragmatic approach proposes that “[a]n assumption is relevant in a context if and only if it has some contextual effect in that context” (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 122). This is related to the Principle of Relevance, which states that “[e]very act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance” (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 158)

As regards the cognitive approach, relevance can be seen as a balance or economy principle, where any inferential process, to be successfully accomplished, is expected to spend the minimum (necessary) amount of processing effort to obtain the maximum (possible) of cognitive (contextual) effects. Whenever either processing effort exceeds certain limits or when cognitive (contextual) effects are not sufficient, the inferential stimulus being processed is to be considered less relevant or irrelevant.

1. The relevance-theoretic paradigm

According to Relevance Theory, human inferential processes are geared to the maximization of relevance. The notion of relevance is defined in terms of effort and effects involved in ostensive-inferential communication, i.e., a type of behaviour in which the communicator

ostensively manifests his communicative intention, whereas the audience makes an effort to infer what was ostensively communicated.

In order to understand the definitions above, it is necessary to mention some key concepts postulated by Relevance Theory. Ostensive-inferential behaviour, for instance, is required to accomplish any communicative interaction – it is expected that the communicator adopts an ostensive behaviour (i.e., s/he makes it manifest to his/her addressee the intention to communicate something) and that the addressee adopts an inferential behaviour (i.e., s/he is ready to process the communicator's ostensive stimulus). This is different from Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle, which requires cooperation (coincidence of objectives and a certain type of participants' "good will") in order to accomplish successful communication.

Another important concept in the relevance-theoretic framework is Mutual Manifestness which presupposes a certain amount of information (and not all the information) being shared by communicator and addressee in a communicative exchange, what contrasts with the Gricean notion of Mutual Knowledge, that requires the coincidence between communicator's and addressee's previous knowledge in order to achieve success in communication.

Also differently from the Gricean inferential model, which works with the notion of Previous Knowledge, the relevance-theoretic framework uses the concept of Cognitive Environment, which is a much more dynamic and realistic construct for memory/knowledge, where information is being reorganized, modified, amplified and deleted all the time according to the individual's experiences.

2. Translation and relevance: Cognition and context

Drawing on these presuppositions and questioning the so called descriptive-classificatory, mainly hierarchical translation theories and models developed by that time, Ernst-August Gutt proposed the first application of Relevance Theory to Translation Studies, spearheaded by the publication of *Translation and Relevance: cognition and context* by Blackwell in 1991, followed by a second edition by St. Jerome in 2000. In his proposal, Gutt develops an account of translation as interpretive language use and suggests that translations can be accounted for in terms of interpretive resemblance. In its framework, Relevance Theory presupposes two types of use for mental representations – descriptive and interpretive; each of them refers to a corresponding type of resemblance. Descriptive resemblance establishes a correlation between an object or state of affairs in the world and a mental representation, while interpretive resemblance does this between two mental representations. According to Gutt, translation is a case of interpretive resemblance and that "any instance of human (ostensive) communication necessarily involves an element of inferential interpretation" (Gutt 2000: 166).

As some utterances do not have propositional form, to make the concept of interpretive resemblance more consistent with translational phenomena, Gutt expanded it:

Since the set of assumptions an utterance is intended to convey consists of explicatures and implicatures, we can say that two utterances, or even more generally, two ostensive stimuli, interpretively resemble one another to the extent that they share their explicatures and implicatures.

This notion of interpretive resemblance is independent of whether or not the utterances in question have a propositional form, but at the same time it is context-dependent, since the explicatures and implicatures of utterances are context-dependent.

(Gutt 2000: 46)

Two other important constructs mentioned above and extensively applied by works approaching translation within the relevance-theoretic framework are *explicature* and *implicature*. The former results from the explicit and logical processing of an utterance, which must include a propositional form. In fact, an explicature is the first inferential development of that propositional form, i.e., the explicit meaning of an utterance. Implicatures, on the other hand, are inferential enrichments that take place using the assumptions available in the inferential context, and their production follow the Principle of Relevance. In other words, they are the (more or less) implicit contents of an utterance that are derived by the addressee.

Building on Gutt (1991), Alves (1995) developed a cognitive model of the translation process also adopting relevance-theoretic concepts. Alves postulates that, while translating, a translator recurrently searches for optimal interpretive resemblance between propositional forms, each one in the respective working language. Alves's (1995) research was empirically-based and his model was designed drawing on data obtained from think-aloud protocols of Portuguese and Brazilian translators and tested for the language pair German-Portuguese. Later on, it was also tested for other language pairs, thus corroborating its validity.

Returning to the tenets postulated by Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995), Relevance Theory presupposes encoding/decoding stages during communication processes, generally occurring before and as input for the inferential stage. Blakemore (1987), building on Sperber and Wilson (1986), postulated two types of encoding/decoding for linguistic processing: conceptual and procedural. The former is responsible for the semantic representation construction and the further inferential enrichment in any linguistic processing; the latter gives the direction and the limits for that processing. Alves and Gonçalves (2003) applied these two concepts in an empirical-exploratory project carried out with four novice translators, translating from English into Portuguese. They concluded that "it becomes difficult to arrive at any instance of interpretive resemblance, if procedurally and conceptually encoded information is not handled adequately by translators" (Alves & Gonçalves 2003: 21). Thus, they showed the importance of the decoding/encoding stage in translation processes, demonstrating, on the other hand, the primacy of the inferential enrichments for the success of the translation.

Expanding the application of Relevance Theory to Translation Studies, Gutt (2000) claimed that research in translation could benefit enormously from a competence-oriented research of translation (henceforth CORT). According to Gutt, CORT can provide a basis for research in translation which focuses on the competence of human beings to communicate with each other and, thus, contribute to understand and explicate the mental faculties that enable human beings to translate in the sense of expressing in one language what has been expressed in another. Gutt argues that once these faculties are understood, it is possible to understand not only the relation between input and output, but also, and perhaps more importantly, the communicative effects they have on the audience. Empirical-experimental research has put Gutt's claims to the test and has successfully corroborated his theoretical findings (see Alves & Gonçalves 2003; Alves & Gonçalves 2007; among others).

Additionally, in his application of the relevance-theoretic framework to Translation Studies, Gutt (2004) has taken up the challenge to investigate translations as a higher order act of communication (henceforth HOAC). According to Gutt, HOACs are instances where one act of communication is about another act of communication. From this standpoint, it becomes possible to differentiate between stimulus and intended meaning through two distinct modes of higher-order communication, namely a stimulus-oriented mode (s-mode for short), and an interpretation-oriented mode (i-mode for short). HOACs can, therefore, help translators with problem solving and decision making by providing them with strategies to choose whether s-mode or i-mode should be employed in a given situation.

Further, Gutt (2005) expands the application of Relevance Theory to translation postulating that CORT and HOACs operate in situations where communicator and audience do not share a mutual cognitive environment. In such cases, called secondary communication, Gutt suggests that additional sophistication is needed for communication to succeed, namely the capacity of human beings to metarepresent what has been communicated to them. According to Wilson (2000: 411), "metarepresentation is a representation of a representation: a higher-order representation with a lower-order representation embedded within it". Gutt (2005) claims that the capacity to generate metarepresentations is, therefore, a cognitive prerequisite for the capacity of human beings to translate.

Following this theoretical trend, Alves and Gonçalves (2007) improved Gonçalves's (2003) cognitive model of translator's competence*, which emphasizes the importance of metarepresentation and metacognition in the development of that competence. Besides describing the components of translator's competence, that model embeds them in a more comprehensive cognitive account, which highlights that translating is expect to demand highly metacognitive, complex processing.

3. Developments and criticisms

Discussing the contribution of Relevance Theory to Translation Studies, Pym (2010) highlights that the relevance-theoretic approach shows equivalence to be something

that operates more on the levels of beliefs, of fictions, or of possible thought processes activated in the reception of a translation. According to Pym, this is a very profound shift of focus, allowing the concept of interpretive resemblance to be seen as an operative concept within the sub-paradigm of directional equivalence, since it depends heavily on directionality.

However, despite its explanatory power, the application of Relevance Theory to translation is not received without criticism. Tirkkonen-Condit (1992), for instance, severely contests its applicability as too vague and not illuminating. Almazán-García (2001), also applying Relevance Theory to intertextuality in translation, considers Gutt's proposal insightful, but still incipient.

As far as other sub-areas of Translation Studies are concerned, Setton (1999) is an important reference applying relevance-theoretic concepts to the study of simultaneous interpreting* as well as Martínez Sierra (2005) to the study of audiovisual translation*. Finally, important works applying Relevance Theory to translation are listed in the *Relevance Theory Online Bibliography Service* (Yus 2010).

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Religious translation

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According to Robinson (2000: 103–107) religious translation is problematic in terms of the status of translation (Can or should religious texts be translated? How, when, for whom, and with what safeguards or controls should religious texts be translated?), sacredness (Is a translated religious text still sacred, or is it a mere ‘copy’ of the sacred text? What is sacrality, in what does it lodge or reside or inhere, and can it be transported across cultural boundaries?) and text (What is a religious text in an oral culture? What are the limits of a religious text in a literate culture? Do liturgical uses of a translated text count?). These core issues serve to contextualize the nature of the translation activity with respect to the three main monotheistic religions – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – and three of their central religious texts, the Bible, the Qur’ān, and the Talmud.

Religious translation practice tends to focus on the actual source text although many diverse, yet interrelated, contextual factors may also interfere. This complex process of intercultural, interlinguistic communication involves sociocultural, organisational and situational factors (see Wendland 2008 and Wilt 2003).

1. Assumptions for the translation of religious texts

Naudé (2002, 2006, 2008) provides the following assumptions for the translation of religious texts.

1.1 Translation of religious texts as normal translation

The translation of religious texts is an activity not substantially different from the translation of other texts belonging to a culture remote from the target readers in time and space. This implies that the best translation approach available should be employed by the translators of religious texts. It also implies that the translators of religious texts should have translation competence; in short they have to be trained translators. Since translators rarely manage to achieve expertise in the complex field of sacred texts and theologians seldom combine their factual knowledge with sound translation competence, teamwork is eminently advisable.

1.2 Translation of sacred texts as opening up of a foreign culture

There are two situations that result in an intense gap between cultures. Firstly, when the lack of culture-specific background knowledge makes it impossible to establish coherence

between what is said and what is known. Secondly, when nonverbal and verbal behaviour do not match, due to the fact that the nonverbal behaviour cannot be interpreted correctly. These two factors impede coherence, or even render it impossible, in the reception of sacred texts. These texts refer to a world that could not be more remote in time and space, yet their comprehension is vital for the identity and unity of their respective religious movements today. There may be situations in translation where it is essential to bridge the cultural gap and others where the translator is supposed to leave the gap open and insist on the cultural distance between source and target cultures and just try to assist people to peep across and understand the otherness of what is happening.

1.3 Translations of sacred texts for specific purposes

Sacred texts cannot fulfil the same communicative functions in modern societies as those for which they were intended in their original social and cultural setting. Therefore, the translation of these texts can by no means rely on equivalence standards. What is needed is a target-oriented strategy, where a new function or *skopos* is defined independently of the functions of the original.

From the point of view of the target literature, translation invariably implies a degree of manipulation of the source text in order to achieve a particular purpose. A translator makes a choice between adherence to the source text's structure and the source culture's norms*, and striving to meet the linguistic, literary and cultural norms of the prospective new readership of the sacred texts in the target culture. In practice, however, a religious translation will be either primarily (not totally) source-oriented or primarily (not totally) target-oriented.

1.4 Utilising translation strategies instead of striving towards equivalence

Translation consists of a series of decisions made by the translator in considering the conflicting requirements of the source text and source culture on the one hand and those of the target language and target culture on the other in the light of the purpose of the intercultural communication. A categorisation of strategies to describe the transfer of culture-specific terms might include transference, indigenisation/domestication, cultural substitution, generalisation, specification (intensification/explication), mutation (deletion and addition), etc.

1.5 A descriptive instead of a normative analysis of the translations of sacred texts

The early eighties onwards show a tendency in Translation Studies to move away from the normative approach to translation criticism which deems a religious translation as good/faithful, bad or indifferent in terms of what constitutes equivalence between two texts. The

focus is rather on a description and explanation of the translation in the light of the translator's ideology, strategies (see Translation strategies and tactics*), cultural norms, etc.

1.6 Cultural knowledge in the translation of sacred texts is shaped by the epistemology, hermeneutics and religious spirituality of the translators

Some of the translations seek to serve the needs of particular segments of the community: children, the youth, women, converts or speakers of various dialects. For these consumer audiences the reading of the translation of a sacred text should not be a disturbing or uncomfortable experience. As a result, there have been attempts to produce paraphrase translations, translations concerned primarily with translation meaning, translations reflecting contemporary religious scholarship, and translations using inclusive language to reduce the sexist language of the sacred text. Consequently, modern translations of the sacred texts are often based primarily on sensitivity towards the needs of their prospective reading audience to the detriment of the principle that sacred texts should be heard, read and understood as religious artifacts derived from their ancient world.

2. The dimensions of the translation of sacred texts

The translation of sacred texts, both within individual cultures and over the historical course of whole civilisations, can be reduced to four dimensions which reflect the reality of religious translation (adapted from Robinson 2000: 103–107).

- i. The translation of sacred texts for personal usage requires very little control and translation is unregulated.
- ii. Regulated translation involves strict controls on who translates, what is translated, how it is translated, for whom it is translated, and whether and with whom the translation is shared and discussed. This stage entails either forbidding all translation or restricting the translation to a small group of insiders, in one or more of the following ways:
 - a. the original (untranslated) texts are kept from the 'profane' (outsiders) and are therefore not available for translation;
 - b. the texts are protected against discovery, through the use of ciphers or keeping it in ancient scripts;
 - c. the texts are 'translated' (interpreted) orally, to selected receivers (initiates), by members of the priesthood and only within the ritual space.
- iii. The third dimension is a transitional phase from a rigidly enforced ban on vernacular translation (dimension two) to open translation (dimension four). The regulation of the comprehensibility of actual translation is typical of this dimension. It results in

literal translation, which serves the purpose of keeping the sacred text largely incomprehensible to the masses. Examples of this include the Latina for Latin-speaking Christians of the fourth and fifth century.

- iv. In the fourth dimension the belief is that the text was originally written for the masses and should not be kept from them. This openness, however, does not mean absolute freedom. Open translation seeks to control the reader's mental preparation for translation to ensure that free interpretations will be viewed as orthodox.

Metatexts have been used as mediating tools for religious conflict arising from the translation of sacred texts (Naudé 2008). For example, Martin Luther was accused of altering the Holy Scriptures in his translation into East Central German, especially in his addition of the word *allein* (alone/only) in the translation of Paul's words in Romans 3: 28. Luther followed St Jerome in rejecting a word-for-word translation strategy. The charge was that the German implied that the individual's belief was sufficient for a good life, making 'the work of the law' (i.e., religious law) redundant. He defended himself in his famous *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (Circular Letter on Translation) of 1530 as necessary for clarity in German.

3. The nature of Bible translation

Lamin O. Sanneh (1990) has emphasised the centrality of translation to the Christian religion. Key concepts of the faith had to be conveyed in many different languages to a multitude of cultures, otherwise Christianity would never have spread beyond Palestine.

The developmental history of Bible translation can be divided into four Great Ages. The First Great Age (about 200 BCE to the fourth century CE) has a Jewish setting (Alexandria and Western Asia) and the target languages involved were Greek (Septuagint) and Aramaic (Targums & Peshitta). The Second Great Age (fourth century CD to about 1500 or the Middle/Dark Ages) was Catholic in origin with its main centers in Palestine and the emerging Christian communities in the Roman Empire. The target language was Latin (Jerome's Vulgate). A salient feature of this age is the Christianising of the Hebrew source text; thus new meaning and nuances were read into Hebrew and Greek-Septuagint words and phrases. The Third Great Age (about 1500–1960) has an essentially Protestant setting. The target languages were English, German, French, Dutch, Spanish, etc. The main centers of activity were located in those regions where the (essentially Protestant) trade communities were developing at the expense of the old (essentially Catholic) feudalist establishments. In the process of translation there was a noticeable adherence to the word-for-word philosophy of translation and to old-fashioned vocabulary and style. The nature of the products of translation was transference as much as possible of the forms and structure of the source text, both at the macro- and micro-level. The pragmatic functions of the source text were not taken very seriously. Famous translations of this era are the

King James Version or Authorised Version, the American Standard Version, the Dutch Authorised Version, etc.

The Fourth Great Age/Epoch/Phase in Bible translation introduces a significant change in the overall philosophy of Bible translation. It shows the unprecedented attempt on the part of the Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant communities in the United States and Great Britain to cooperate interconfessionally. Secondly, the focus is to make accessible to readers the plain meaning intended in the source texts. Amongst those who played a pivotal role in the development of the theory and practice of Bible translation at this stage are Eugene A. Nida and his colleagues of the American Bible Society and the United Bible Societies. Nida and Taber (1974) view translation as reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source text, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style. A translation is dynamic equivalent to the source text if the message of the source text has been transported into the receptor language in such a way that the response of the receptor is essentially that of the original receptors.

The explosive expansion of Christianity in Africa and Asia during the last two centuries constitutes one of the most remarkable cultural transformations in the history of mankind. Because it coincided with the spread of European economic and political hegemony, it tends to be taken for granted that Christian missions went hand-in-hand with imperialism and colonial conquest. However, the precise connections between religion and empire have yet to be fully delineated by historians (Etherington 2005: 1–18). While utilitarian theorists argued strenuously for English as the language of education in the British colonies, missionaries argued that it would be easier to get their sacred texts into the hands of their converts by translating them into indigenous languages. In this regard Bible translation was conceptualised and executed by either missionary societies or Bible societies.

4. The nature of the translation of the Qur'an

It was only after Islam spread outside Arabia that the problem of the comprehension of the text by non-Arabic-speaking Muslims arose. Unlike Christianity, Islam did not encourage the production of translations of the Qur'an for the benefit of those who could not read it in the original. On the contrary, some Muslim authorities even condemned the attempt to make such translations as impious or even blasphemous. There are therefore no authorized translations of the Qur'an into Persian, Turkish, or other languages equivalent to the Greek Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate, the Syriac Peshitta, or the Luther or King James versions of the Bible. However, the Qur'an has been translated into most of the languages of Europe and Asia, and many African languages. Christian missionaries have been the most active non-Muslim translators of the Qur'an.

The first translator of Qur'an was Salmon the Persian during the seventh century. The first translation into a European language was by Robertus Ketenensis, who made a

translation into Latin in Spain in 1143, first printed in Basel in 1543 (Holes 2000: 142). There are many English translations of the Qur'ān. The first English translation, which appeared in 1649, was a retranslation of an earlier French version done by Alexander Ross, theologian, schoolmaster, and royal chaplain (Holes 2000: 142). The first English translation done directly from the Arabic, but influenced by Maracci's Latin version, was by George Sale and published in 1734. This version was reprinted 12 times between 1764 and 1844. Between 1882–6 it was reprinted with a new critical apparatus by E.M. Wherry, which was used in numerous reprints as recently as 1973. English translations by non-Muslims in the 19th century were done by JM Rodwell in 1861 (the third edition, issued in 1909, is provided with an introduction by Reverend G Margoliouth), and Edward Henry Palmer (1880). In the 20th century there have been translations by Richard Bell (1937), Arthur John Arberry (1955), and Thomas Ballantine Irving (1992). There have been more than 30 translations of the Qur'ān into English by Muslims, the first appearing in the 1860s, the most popular of which is by Abdullah Yusuf Ali. Almost all of these translations were done by Muslims from the Indian subcontinent, where the need for English translations was pressing (Holes 2000: 143). The major exceptions are the one by the English Muslim convert Marmaduke Pickthall, published in 1930 (with frequent reprints), and that by the Iraqi scholar NJ Dawood (1956) for Penguin Classics (with several revised editions).

As stated earlier, the translation of the Qur'ān by any mere human into another language would be blasphemous, because the text of the Qur'ān is considered by Muslims to be a miracle (*mu'jiza*), the literal word of God, revealed through his messenger (i.e., Muhammed). This difficulty was eventually circumvented by the device of describing translation of the Qur'ān as interpretation of its meanings (*ma'āni*), i.e., by treating the translation as a species of commentary or interpretation. Nowadays Muslim translators often bear witness to the doctrinal significance of the Arabic text by arranging it interlinearly or side by side in columns with their translation, for example the editions by Ali and Al-Hilālī & Khān. Al-Hilālī & Khān (1996) state in their introduction that the Qur'ān should be taught in the language of the Qur'ān (i.e., the Arabic language). Translations are mainly meant for informing the people who have not yet embraced Islam to make clear to them the principles of Islam.

Most of the translations are literal or word-for-word, by which is meant the reproduction in English of the phrasing and syntax of the Arabic. Dawood's translation is the only translation reflecting a functional equivalent character. The source orientated translation of Al-Hilālī & Khān (1996) transfers cultural aspects (for example names) into the English translation. However, explanations and commentary are added in brackets in the translated text and in footnotes.

To conclude, the Qur'ān (as the meaning of the word indicates) was not initially written as a book, but revealed as an oral recitation to a real audience (cf. the vocative, second person style of the source text). Much of the majesty and aesthetic appeal of the Qur'ān resides

in its sound. No existing translation in English reflects the language-dependent nature of the performance of the Qur'ān.

5. The nature of the translation of the Talmud

The Talmud is the central pillar of Jewish religion. Despite the complicated nature of the Talmud and its difficult language, no translations of the Talmud were composed for centuries. Having most often begun the study of Talmud in their youth, Jews were familiar with the language and they did not feel the need for such a study aid. They considered the vast literature of commentaries to be sufficient in cases where the language or the contents are obscured. It was not until the nineteenth century that vernacular translations of the Talmud were composed. The need for a translation to make the Talmud available to all of the Jewish people rose with the integration of Jews into Western secular society since the late eighteenth century. Attempts to translate this work began in Germany and continued in the United States and England, countries that inherited this yearning for greater integration. Each of these translations elicited opposition from more traditional elements in these countries, but ultimately the need to translate prevailed (Mintz 1994: 115–155).

6. Conclusion

Islam did not encourage the production of translations of the Qur'ān for the benefit of those who could not read it in the original. On the contrary, some Muslim authorities even condemned the attempt to make such translations as impious or even blasphemous. The translation of the Qur'ān is therefore *regulated translation*. According to Robinson (2000: 103–107), regulated translation involves strict controls on who translates, what is translated, how it is translated, for whom it is translated, and whether and with whom the translation is shared and discussed.

The recent translations of the Talmud reflect the exploitation of modern techniques for the purpose of transmitting the Talmud to the Jewish people. These translations reflect the third dimension, which is a transitional phase from a rigidly enforced ban on vernacular translation (dimension two) to open translation (dimension four).

Concerning Bible translation the history of religion shows that the masses demand and get vernacular translations of sacred texts. Examples of this include the Septuagint for the Hellenized Jewish community in Alexandria and the Latina for Latin-speaking Christians of the fourth and fifth century; etc. The regulation of the comprehensibility of actual translation is typical of the earlier Bible translations of the period of the missionary societies. It results in literal translation, which serves the purpose of keeping the sacred text

largely incomprehensible to the masses. During the period of the Bible societies the belief is that the Bible text was originally written for the masses and should be accessible.

The translation of the Bible is the one publishing success story in the third world. It seemed to have overcome the natural resistance of a primary oral culture to the written word. In the past the Bible and its translations into the indigenous languages of the colonised represented colonial empowerment. In recent years, however, the status quo seems to have changed. By means of a process of indigenisation of the translated versions of the bible, these translations have come to prescribe and dominate biblical dialogue, the nature of the colonial encounter between the source text and translations, and the target audiences, by commenting on the cultural mechanisms of ownership, resistance and indigenisation as vacillating media of oppression and liberation.

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Retranslation

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Retranslation (as a product) denotes a second or later translation of a single source text into the same target language. Retranslation (as a process) is thus prototypically a phenomenon that occurs over a period of time, but in practice, simultaneous or near-simultaneous translations also exist, making it sometimes hard or impossible to classify one as a first translation and the other as a second translation. Some scholars also discuss indirect or relay translations in the framework of retranslation, but this usage is likely to be more misleading than useful, and for the purposes of this article, we only refer to multiple translations into one language as retranslations.

Even when excluding indirect translations, numerous complexities arise in categorization. First, source texts also change over time (due to authorial, editorial or printing technological interventions or for political reasons) (see e.g., Brisset 2004). Second, the ‘same’ language is not a stable variable. For example, it is debatable whether a French translation produced for the Canadian market is a retranslation if a previous translation exists in France. To account for these differences, Anthony Pym (1998: 82) calls the simultaneous translations for different markets ‘passive retranslations’, while ‘active retranslations’ are those competing for the same audiences. Third, classification also needs to take a stand on adaptations*. Whereas retranslations are often a result of a need to address a new readership (e.g., creating a children’s version of a classic text), drawing the line between translation and adaptation is a thorny question.

The unstable nature of some source texts is a well-known fact in Translation Studies and the problematic relationship between adaptations and translations is an often discussed issue. However, a less discussed problem of classification concerns distinguishing between retranslation and revision. Revision, that is, editing, correcting or modernizing a previously existing translation for re-publication, is sometimes seen as a first step towards retranslation (Vanderschelden 2000: 1–2). Nevertheless, the issue is more complicated than that. A close reading of numerous case studies has revealed that versions may get labelled as revisions or retranslations rather arbitrarily. This means that a version that has relied heavily on a previous translation and has initially been labelled as a revised edition in the publishing house may later be reprinted as a new translation. Furthermore, some texts are hybrids, containing chunks of revised earlier translation and chunks of retranslation (see Paloposki & Koskinen 2010). As a consequence, before any final classification of data a close textual comparison of the (re)translations is needed to determine whether they are indeed new translations or are modified older translations.

1. Research on retranslation

Most studies on retranslations have been conducted within the field of literary translation, and these studies typically take the form of a case study of the translations of a literary text that could be described as a 'classic'. Retranslating and literary canon formation are indeed mutually dependent: retranslations help texts in achieving the status of a classic, and the status of a classic often promotes further retranslations (Venuti 2004). In addition to 'world literature' and children's classics, some scholars have also studied non-fiction (see e.g., Brisset 2004 on the French translations of Darwin, Susam-Sarajevo 2006 on retranslating literary and feminist theory, and von Flotow 2009 on feminist retranslation of Simone Beauvoir), but the phenomenon of retranslation is seldom discussed outside the book publishing and literary genres. As a result, the findings and conclusions of retranslation research can therefore only be extended beyond literature with caution. For example, the regular practice of retranslating film subtitles for various technical mediums and distributors remains unresearched from a retranslation perspective, although theatre retranslation (an equally common phenomenon) has received some attention (e.g., Aaltonen 2003). Another interesting gap in the current research is the Bible; the numerous retranslations of the Bible are seldom discussed at length in the overall context of retranslation.

Retranslations of literature have proved to be useful data for a number of research questions in Translation Studies: with the source text and the target language being constant, the variable of time allows one to study issues such as the changing translation norms and strategies, the standardization of language, or the effects of the political or cultural context (e.g., DuNour 1995; Kujamäki 2001; Tymoczko 1999). Apart from studies where subsequent translations are used to address other issues than the phenomenon of retranslation itself, there is also a growing interest in studying what actually happens in retranslating. Brisset (2004: 41) laments the lack of attention given to a phenomenon as frequent as retranslation. Other calls for research have been expressed by Gambier (1994) and Susam-Sarajevo (2006). During the past decade, research on retranslation has indeed been fairly active (see, for example, the special issue of *Palimpsestes* on retranslation 2004, and Monti & Schnyder 2010).

One of the best-known attempts at explaining why retranslations are made is Antoine Berman's (1990) claim that first translations are somehow poor and lacking, whereas subsequent translations can make use of the first translation's paving the way and bringing the source text's true essence through to the target language. The first (domesticating) translation having introduced the text, the second (foreignizing) translation can be truly loyal to the spirit of the source text. According to Berman, first translations can never be great translations. This idea of first and second translations is often referred to as the Retranslation Hypothesis, possibly because the idea was operationalized in that way in Chesterman 2000.

Recent research has provided ample evidence both in support and in opposition to the Retranslation Hypothesis (e.g., Brisset 2004; Brownlie 2006; Paloposki & Koskinen 2004).

It is now generally agreed that Berman's scheme is not sufficient to explain retranslation. It has been shown that although one can find examples that fit the model, it is not in the nature of first translations to be domesticating and of the second and subsequent translations to be closer to the original. There are several other factors determining the textual profiles of the translations in question. A further complication of the study and/or comparison of first and subsequent translations is the difficulty of finding reliable methods for measuring the 'closeness' – let alone 'greatness' – of the translations. The units used to make this comparison have included, among others, syntax, lexical choices and culture-specific items, forms of address, units of measurement, spoken language, dialects and slang.

2. Multiple causes for retranslation

The definition of retranslation presented above already indicates that the passage of time and chronological sequence are of central relevance in retranslating. Indeed, common sense explanations for retranslating tend to focus on the ageing and alleged outdated features of the previous translation. In fact, this is one of the most common comments in newspaper reviews regarding the retranslations in Finland, and common stock elsewhere as well (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003). Another reason given to explain the need or urge to retranslate is the increased knowledge of the source text, author and culture. In other words, a contemporaneous, or 'hot' translation cannot take advantage of the reception and research knowledge that accumulates only gradually and that is available for later, 'cold' retranslations (see Vanderschelden 2000: 9).

Similar to the Retranslation Hypothesis, the ageing claim and the 'hot and cold' division are based on the premise that the cause for retranslation lies with a deficient previous translation. This view has recently been questioned in a number of publications that suggest alternative explanations such as the agency of the actors involved (Collombat 2004), the power struggles and conflicting interpretations (Susam-Sarajevo 2006), or the economic reasons such as the marketing potential of retranslations (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003). The idea of deficient first translations also tacitly assumes a view of linear progress, that is, a modernist world view which many commentators have found untenable (Brisset 2004; Susam-Sarajevo 2006; von Flotow 2009). Retranslations may actually capitalize on the status quo: preserving rather than improving or progressing on earlier translations of a canonized classic (Tahir Gürçaglar 2008: 296). Moreover, it is useful to realize that the claims of the inadequacy or insufficiency of a previous translation may be part of a strategic repositioning aimed at supporting the value of the new translation either by the retranslator, or by the others involved (Venuti 2004: 26).

There are multiple causes for retranslating, revising, reprinting and other kinds of recycling texts, and any case study is therefore likely to reveal a web of multiple causation. It is thus not surprising that two recent contributions attempting to grasp the phenomenon

beyond individual cases use the adjective 'rhizomatic' with respect to the manifold influences behind retranslations (Brownlie 2006: 155; Brisset 2004: 48). Even though research on retranslation has been active during the first decade of the 21st century, we still need extensive basic research before we can truly understand this complex phenomenon. In particular, research needs to extend beyond isolated case studies, and we also need to obtain comparable synchronic and diachronic data (Brisset 2004: 63). However, considering the difficulties in classification, and the related need for close textual analysis of large sets of data, this is not an easy task. But researching retranslation can also open new perspectives to a number of central issues in Translation Studies, ranging from the ethical to the aesthetic.

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Scientific translation

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Translation of science is as old as science itself. Due to its role both in collecting and disseminating knowledge, translation has been no less integral to scientific progress than teaching and research. By “scientific” is here meant rational study of the natural world, including the human body, thus medical knowledge also.

Viewed historically, natural science has enjoyed great flowerings in specific periods: ancient Greece, early Islam, Song China, late medieval and early modern Europe, and global science today, each of which has been directly fed by translation (Montgomery, 2002). In the 21st century, the transfer of scientific knowledge across linguistic boundaries has expanded to an unprecedented scale, due in part to globalization and economic development in many parts of the non-Western world. More nations, organizations, and institutions have become users of this knowledge, and thus translations of it, than ever before.

1. Historical discussion

Historically, scientific knowledge has proven to be a mobile form of culture. Translation is what has rendered this knowledge mobile. To show this, it helps to briefly review several major periods of scientific advance, including the present.

1.1 Major periods of scientific translation

In the eastern Mediterranean, Greek colonies that stretched from southern Italy to Turkey and North Africa provided points of entry for astronomical, astrological, medical, and other understanding that originated in Egypt and various parts of Asia Minor. This knowledge came into the Greek tongue between the 7th and 5th centuries B.C.E., providing a nourishing reservoir to draw upon, without which the major advances during the Classical and Hellenistic periods might not have been possible. Rome, meanwhile, had little use for Greek science, instead finding technology more helpful in building its empire. Latin thus did not replace Greek in the eastern empire and wasn't a primary language for science until much later. Arabic did, however. The preservation of Greek science in Asia Minor by Nestorian Christians allowed for a major episode of translation into Arabic with establishment of Islam. This era lasted from the 9th to the 11th centuries C.E. and was widely supported. During the early Abassid Dynasty, translation of works in Greek and

Syriac approached a form of government policy, supported by royalty, the nobility, rich merchants, and others (Gutas, 1998). Though Greek science was the main focus, material from Persia, India, and to some degree China, was also introduced (Gutas, 1998; Saliba, 2007). Islamic thinkers absorbed and enlarged this knowledge.

The entire body of writings was then transferred to Latin during the 12th Century Renaissance of the high Middle Ages. The uptake of Greco-Arabic science was part of a major “awakening” in Europe at this time, which also involved the arts and architecture, theological reform, and founding of the first universities. In this case, translations were not widely supported but were performed by individuals who appear to have been aware of the historical importance of their task. Arabic works were the main sources early on, with writings in Greek (available in Sicily and southern Italy) becoming important in the 13th century. Major portions of the new material were absorbed into the curriculum of the earliest universities. Thus was scientific translation a critical contributor to the founding of higher education in the West.

In China, the major period of technical translation spanned portions of the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, achieving several high points between the 11th and 16th centuries. The Song Dynasty (960–1279 C.E.) generated its own scientific and technological efflorescence, in part by rejuvenating ideas and older inventions, possibly aided by translated material from Hindu and Arabic sources. Reformists intent on strengthening the state allowed for development of scientific ideas and related technology, such as gunpowder, the compass, moveable type, new methods of agriculture, and much else (Sivin, 1995). The Yuan Dynasty as part of the Mongol empire opened vast areas of communication with Islamic lands. Arabic-speaking scholars were welcomed into the Yuan court, and translations of important works took place from the end of the 13th century until the Jesuits arrived in Ming times (Zhong, 2003).

The European Scientific Revolution of the 1600s and early 1700s depended upon translation in several ways. Despite what is often assumed, Latin did not routinely serve as a universal language at this time. Rise of the nation-state and rapid spread of literacy after 1500, due to the advent of printing and the Reformation, gave much new force to the vernaculars. Renaissance preference for classical (Ciceronian) Latin made learning the language more difficult, such that the market for Latin books declined by the early 17th century, with Latin losing the hegemony it once held in the scholarly world. By the late 1600s, scientific journals, monographs, and books were written in vernacular languages in most European nations. Thus a majority of works during the Scientific Revolution had to be translated from one nation to the next, a situation that persisted into the 19th century. Translation thus acted as an essential pollinator, spreading the discoveries and methods of research throughout the continent.

The present era, however, marks a unique time of scientific expansion. For the first time in history, the natural sciences have a global context, both in their endeavors and in language. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, economic advance and industrialization in non-Western nations have created a massive transfer of science and technology around

the globe, even as the English language has advanced to the level of a world lingua franca, in science perhaps more than anywhere. Scientific work is now shared among academic institutions, government departments, corporate research centers, and non-government organizations (NGOs) on every continent, as well as international institutions like the UN and World Bank. A growing number of global treaties directly involve scientific subjects, e.g., biodiversity, disease, nuclear non-proliferation, climate change. This has added new demands for access to scientific information by many publics and linguistic communities. The vast amount of new scientific information, along with the urge to put it into English while also transmitting much of it to non-English speaking publics, create a context for a large expansion in translation activity, especially as nations like China, India, and Brazil build up their scientific education and labor force systems.

1.2 Role of lingua franca

Translation's part in the advancement of science highlights the importance of lingua franca. Greek, Arabic, Chinese, Latin, and now English have all provided reservoir languages into which textual material from many different cultures has been translated and then re-disseminated. It is only the period of early and high modernity, from roughly 1680 to 1980, that science progressed without a truly dominant international tongue but instead relied on a scatter of competing vernaculars. Scientific translation during this period therefore involved a transfer among literally dozens of tongues, with a few major languages (especially German, French, English, later Russian) and a large number of secondary languages.

Since the 1980s, the rising global status of English in science has brought a change. Scientific translators worldwide increasingly require fluency or high level competence in English, or else access to intermediaries with such fluency. Given the continued trend of adopting English for international journals, conferences, corporate meetings, science policy negotiations, and more, this condition will only grow. This being said, the status of English as the global language of science is still quite new and its future is not yet written.

2. Methods and terminology

Translation of scientific material has over time employed a wide range of methods, many of which may remain in use today. Such conclusions are supported by close study of methods during the major historical episodes of translation noted above (Montgomery, 2002; Saliba, 2007). We know in some cases that translators worked alone, in others with mediators using both oral and written methods. In some instances, a third language was used, in which both mediator and translator were fluent. Information on individual translators (Endress, 1989) suggests some texts, particularly those with advanced mathematics, presented special challenges. Works like Ptolemy's *Almagest* (complex geometric analysis of planetary motions), Aryabhata's *Aryabhatiya* (plane and spherical trigonometry), or Newton's *Principia* would

have been especially difficult, which helps explain why they were often rendered multiple times into each target language. Predictably, translations that emerged from this diversity of approach were similarly diverse in utility.

Today it is most common for professional scientific translators to work one-on-one with a text, though mediators and advisors are still used, for example if a translator's knowledge of the target language or discipline is imperfect. Due to the evolving nature of technical language, a growing number of translators now have scientific training. Scientific translators must use specialized dictionaries and tend to work in a limited number of fields (e.g., areas of biology, but not physics), something less true in the 1970s and 80s. Since 2000, work has been aided by digital tools, a factor that will inevitably increase in depth and sophistication (see Translation tools*). Such tools, however, have not significantly reduced, let alone eliminated, the need for human interpretation and decision making. Precision and accuracy, critical demands in scientific translation, cannot be achieved without human agency.

Terminology* in science dictates the need for such precision. Prior to the 20th century, scientific language shared many elements with learned discourse in general, so overlap in translation methods and approaches with literature and other domains was inevitable. Today, science depends heavily upon highly specialized and ever expanding technical vocabularies, a challenge to every translator. Inaccurate rendering of even a few terms can mar a translation's usefulness significantly. The coining of new terms by researchers, moreover, is ongoing as a measure of scientific advance, involving new discoveries and development of new subdisciplines, thus presenting ever new demands upon translators.

The great majority of scientific terminology has been coined in English, beginning at least in the 1980s, and today occurs overwhelmingly in this language.

3. The question of “style” and culture

Scientific translation is not a purely denotative act (if it were, machines could have done it long ago). Works written in one linguistic-cultural setting must be adapted to another. There are many striking examples of such adaptation in modern times, such as the translation of “survival of the fittest” (coined by Herbert Spencer and adopted by Darwin), first rendered into Japanese as *yushoh reppai*, “victory of the superior over the inferior” (Watanabe, 1990). As in all translation, there is a degree of interpretation in transferring science between languages. Here is a brief example from a medical journal that includes published abstracts in both French and English (Minchella et al., 2010):

But de l'étude. – Surveiller l'évolution de la résistance (R) aux antibiotiques de Pseudomonas aeruginosa de 2002 à 2006 dans notre établissement afin d'optimiser l'antibiothérapie.

Aim of Study. – Monitor evolution of antibiotic resistance of Pseudomonas aeruginosa from 2002 to 2006 in our hospital to optimize antibiotherapy.

A more literal rendering of the original would be: “To monitor the evolution of resistance to antibiotics by *Pseudomonas aeruginosa* from 2002 to 2006 in our facility in order to optimize antibiotherapy.” Small though the difference in the two English versions may seem, the second is closer to ordinary speech, does not contain the inserted word “hospital,” and is truer to the original in style. The translator has decided to use English medical discourse as a standard to follow. Consciously or not, s/he has made the choice that every translator must face – whether to be more loyal to the host or the target language or to search for a hybrid. Choosing the target language, based on demand for utility of the translated result, is common in science but by no means universal. Factors such as a document’s purpose, audience, cost, and content can argue for other choices (e.g., being paid by the translated word can create an incentive to render more literally any prolix material).

Such realities show that theoretical issues are indeed involved. The common notion that translating science is a linguistically unsophisticated process, based on word-for-word rendering, is false as even the brief example above demonstrates. Technical language is not universal; there is no one-to-one correspondence among different tongues when they express scientific information. Yet the translator of science is not considered important enough as a creative, producing agent, to be discussed even by those who write on what has been called the translator’s “invisibility” (Venuti, 2008). Scientific translators, however, produce cultural products that qualify as originals in the target language. They are potent actors in the globalization of knowledge, a fact that suggests questions about cultural influence.

4. English as global language of science: Effects on translation

That English acts as a global language for science has only increased the overall volume and specific forms of translation (Montgomery, 2009). Technical translators who have been active since the 1970s and 80s attest to a veritable explosion in the market for their skills. Scientists from every cultural and linguistic background are now urged to communicate in the English language, and this alone has resulted in a huge if often problematic market for translating activity, both on an institutional and personal level (Meneghini & Packer, 2007). Today, in many of the world’s countries where English is not a first or second language, being a scientist means being engaged in translation. Experience shows that the specific forms of such translation are diverse and expanding and exist on a vernacular as well as professional level. Some forms of translation activity include:

- translation of a complete published text (article, report, etc.) from one language to another, either by the scientist, a paid individual, or professional translation agency.
- translation of sections of a published text for personal, professional, or classroom use.
- translation of portions of a website for either professional or classroom use.

- translation of one's own writing (draft of an article, conference presentation) into English, either by oneself (see Self-translation*), a paid individual, or translation agency.
- partial translation of one's own writing (as above), which is then sent to a colleague or editorial consultant for completion.
- translation of lab notes or experimental data or other infra-research material (likely into English) to be shared with co-authors or outside parties.
- reading and writing of emails and other correspondence in English, requiring mental translation or sometimes written translations.
- scripting or writing notes for a talk in one's mother tongue, which must then be translated into English for an international conference.

Growth in demand for translation of scientific material is thus related to the spread of English and its impact on changing social practices in science itself. Such practices are partly tied to the internet as a new core medium in science. Particularly significant is the increase in international research, involving teams with members from several or more countries.

Previously, few translation agencies specialized in technical material. A “scientific translator” was often expected to work on any kind of text, whether in applied physics or butterfly mating. Today, agencies carry lists of scientific translators and their specialities, with some companies focusing on particular fields, like biomedicine. There are also new tools available to translators – online dictionaries, support listservs, advanced grammar checking software, translation memory systems, and also auto-translation, both online and via new software.

Thus an old question has returned: what part can machine translation* (MT) play in this context? At present, the answer remains that it can be an aid but not a solution. MT is able to accurately render most individual terms and many phrases and can provide usable versions (to be re-written or edited) of unambiguous text, where no knowledge outside the immediate content is needed for comprehension. However, scientific writing is still natural language. It contains many words and expressions with multiple potential meanings. MT can help, but humans remain essential. This highlights a final truth: translation, in science as elsewhere, is not merely a linguistic process, but a form of personal engagement that depends on the application of understanding, language sensitivity, and experience.

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Self-translation

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Popović gives a basic definition of self-translation as “the translation of an original work into another language by the author himself” ([1976]: 19). Popović also argues that self-translation “cannot be regarded as a variant of the original text but as a true translation” ([1976]: 19). Most studies of the last decades on self-translations are not so positive in defining this practice. Koller distinguishes between what he defines “autotranslation” and “true” translation because of the difference in the issue of *faithfulness*, “as the author-translator will feel justified in introducing changes into the text where an “ordinary” translator might hesitate to do so” (1979/1992: 197). Of course, it is hard to apply *faithfulness* to translation, and today this concept is becoming obsolete and can’t be applied to self-translation either. What Koller suggests is that the difference between translation and self-translation is a matter of authority. Goldoni, the playwriter (1707–1793) who wrote both in Italian and French, practicing self-translation, confirms that: “I nevertheless had an advantage in this regard over others: a mere translator would not have dared, even in the face of difficulty, to sidestep the literal sense; but I, as the author of my own work, was able to change words, the better to conform to the taste and customs of my nation” (Goldoni, 2003: 257). Drawing on the difference in authorship between translation and self-translation, Jung emphasises an important advantage of self-translators in respect to the “original” text: “The main difference between ordinary translators and self-translators [...] is the fact that self-translators can access their original intention and the original cultural context or literary intertext of their original work better than ordinary translators” (Jung 2002: 30).

Because self-translation can’t be defined as an “ordinary” translation, it is still somewhat neglected in Translation Studies and theories. As Grutman points out: “A fairly common practice in scholarly publishing, auto-translation is frowned upon in literary studies. Translation scholars themselves have paid little attention to the phenomenon, perhaps because they thought it to be more akin to bilingualism than to translation proper” (Grutman 1997: 17). The difficulties in approaching self-translation from a more general viewpoint are explained by Hokenson and Munson. According to them, there seems to be at least two reasons for the West’s neglect of its self-translators: nationalistic monolingualism, and “the specific ways in which bilinguals rewrite a text in the second language and adapt it to a different sign system laden with its own literary and philosophical traditions, [which] escapes the categories of text theory, for the text is twinned” (Hokenson, Munson,

2007: 2). As a result, there are only very few comprehensive studies about self-translation, and most of the articles or monographies on the subject concern the following:

- a single (or a few) author(s) such as Nabokov, Beckett or Julien Green
- post-colonial studies (Jacobs, 2002)
- some writers issued from a linguistic minority such as Catalan, Yiddish, Chicano
- exiled or migrated subjects such as Hannah Arendt, Klaus Mann
- a personal account of the self-translator's experience
- self-translation from dialects (as in Italy).

Most of these studies focus on the differences between the first and the second text, sometimes tackling some general conclusions about self-translation as in Fitch's study on Beckett's prose, one of the first books on self-translation. Fitch proposes that both authorial texts constitute a whole, "once a writer produces a second linguistic version of a text, the first is incomplete without it." He insists on the fact that the bilingual reader has a completely different experience of the fictive universe so that "the imagination of the reader of the English text is stretched in different directions from that of the reader of his French predecessor" (Fitch, 1988: 123). According to Oustinoff, both texts from a bilingual author are consubstantial (Oustinoff, 2001: 253) and he concludes that the bilingual text is "*un problème typologique majeur*" (2001: 277), primarily because it is both writing and translating; thus he counsels to solve the problem by printing all the texts in bilingual format. Moreover, some critics propose a study of self-translation as a help in translating other languages (Osimo, 1999), a source of information to understand the process of literary translation (Tanqueiro, 1999), or a means "to understand the nature of self-translation and to view it as a means of approaching the question of translation and the problem of equivalence from a new perspective" (Jung, 2002: 30).

It becomes obvious that the practice of self-translation raises some fundamental questions to theorists today: "Is each part of the bilingual text a separate, original creation or is each incomplete without the other? Is self-translation a unique genre? Can either version be split off into a single language or literary tradition? How can two linguistic versions of a text be fitted into standard models of foreign and domestic texts and cultures?" (Hokeson, Munson 2007: III). Drawing on the multiple aspects of self-translation from a historical viewpoint, Hokeson and Munson try to answer these questions by offering: "a descriptive and analytical study of one neglected strand in translation history and theory" in order "to situate it conceptually within the ever widening field of Translation Studies." They thus investigate the multilingual world of medieval and early modern Europe, where self-translation was widely practised, through our time by demonstrating that self-translation "diminished during the consolidation of the nation-states, in the long era of nationalistic monolingualism, only to resurge in the postcolonial era." (2007: 1)

The bilingual Text. History and Theory of Literary Self-translation emphasises the status of today's bilingual writers as spanning "two literatures while refusing anchorage in either one." Moreover it focuses on their specificity: "Their practice of self-translation between languages, the specific ways in which they recreate a text in the second language and adapt it to a new sign system laden with its own literary and philosophical traditions, escapes the binary categories of text theory and diverges radically from literary norms: here the translator *is* the author, the translation is an original, the foreign is the domestic, and vice versa" (2007: 161). As self-translators' specificity doesn't fit to the by now solid national literary traditions and cultural resonance, they propose to approach self-translation by accepting "a large definition of bilingualism, in order to recreate "the ambient multilingual conditions of earlier periods, when writers routinely elected to write in adopted dialects and languages, ever widening the compass of the bilingual text and its audiences" (2007: 211).

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Semantic models and translation

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The academic study of translation has been concerned with meaning early on. Nida made use of structural semantics and componential analysis, especially with reference to bible translation (see *Religious translation**), in his pioneering work (e.g., Nida 1964: *passim*). Structural semantics is concerned with language as a system, and in those days it provided a strong theoretical basis for translation. One of the main insights, according to Nida, was that we do not translate words but bundles of semantic components. The word “forgiveness”, for example, has the components (1) a reprehensible action by one person, (2) a decision by an affected individual to overlook this action, and (3) a resulting state essentially equivalent to what existed before the reprehensible action occurred. In Navajo this bundle of features is represented by the paraphrase “to give him back his sin” (Nida 1974: 47).

1. *Bottom up and top down*

In the course of time, however, it was felt that something was missing in purely linguistic theories, since they did not take into account the mind of the language user. As a consequence, for the last two decades psycholinguistic models have increasingly found their way into translation research.

First of all, in psycholinguistic notions and theories there is the very basic concept of the interaction between *bottom-up* and *top-down* processes. The term *bottom-up* refers to “incoming” information, i.e., to what we hear or read, and *top-down* refers to knowledge stored in our memory. These notions have been adopted from artificial intelligence research, where they have been used in computer science. In comprehension there is an interaction of these two processes. When we hear or read something we have certain expectations which help us to construct the meaning of the “incoming” information. The notions *bottom-up* and *top-down* are featured in a number of works of translation research (for instance, Neubert 1988: *passim*; Kußmaul 1995: *passim*; Kußmaul 2000a: 63–67.)

2. *Prototypes and stereotypes*

Furthermore, some more specific models of comprehension have been adopted by translation research. Above all, these include *prototype theory* and *scenes-and-frames semantics*.

The notion of prototype is closely associated with the work of Eleanor Rosch (1973) and, later on, with that of George Lakoff (1987). It is based on the idea that when comprehending and producing utterances we do not have a checklist of semantic features in our minds, but we think in holistic notions (or categories) that are determined by our experiences. As a result, linguistic categories have a *core* and *blurred or fuzzy edges*. Rosch's examples have become classical. In Rosch's experiments, subjects judged certain members of a category to be more representative than other members. For instance, robins were judged to be more representative of the category "bird" than were chickens, penguins, and ostriches. The most representative members in Rosch's theory are called *prototypical* members. An ostrich is not a prototypical member, but belongs to the fuzzy edge of the category (Rosch quoted from Lakoff 1987: 41). Thus the core quality of the notion "bird" seems to be its ability to fly, and flying for birds is a fuzzy notion, too, since some birds can fly better than others.

The philosopher Hilary Putnam suggests a similar model. Instead of prototype he uses the term *stereotype*, and instead of core notions he speaks of *obligatory notions*. The example he uses is the tiger. The stereotypical tiger is yellow with black stripes, although in reality there are also white tigers (albinos) (Putnam 1975: 166–174).

The thing to notice is that both prototype and stereotype semantics are not directly based on reality, but on people's notions about it, and in translation these play an important part. Moreover, as people are part of a culture, their notions are to some extent determined by that culture (see below).

In translation research prototype theory has made a mark. It was first introduced by Vannerem and Snell-Hornby in the context of scenes-and-frames semantics (1986: 187f.), and further used by Snell-Hornby (1988: 27–37) to establish a prototypology of basic text-types that matter in translation. The common idea until then was that text-types, such as Bible translation, literary translation or technical translation*, formed clear-cut categories. When one adopts prototype theory as a model, however, there are no clear demarcations any more, but gradual transitions between text-types. This has the advantage that translators can focus more than they used to on individual features of texts such as rhetorical devices, alliteration, rhythm or specific terminology – all of which are found in various text-types. As a consequence, translation draws on many disciplines, for instance, on stylistics, linguistics, literary studies, technology or law.

3. Scenes and frames

More specifically, prototype theory in combination with scenes-and-frames semantics has been applied to the comprehension and translation of meaning. As it is based on prototype theory, scenes-and-frames semantics as developed by Fillmore (1977) relies very much on people's experiences of the world, but also on their experience of the text they read or hear. Words and phrases in a text (=frames in Fillmore's terminology) activate typical

representations (=scenes in Fillmore's terminology) in the minds of the readers, which are part of a scene or situation they have known for some time, or which they have previously activated by that text.

Snell-Hornby (1988: 82–86) presents an example of the use of the scenes-and-frames approach on the macro level. She shows that for the translation into English of a German news item about the rescue of two babies from hospital ruins in Mexico after an earthquake, the text can be neatly divided up into prototypical scenes. In the English translation, slight alterations (adding the precise point in time and location, and omitting the personal and national relationship of the German rescue team) have to be made for the scenes to function in an optimal way for the English reader.

Since the time that Snell-Hornby drew attention to scenes-and-frames semantics, quite a number of translation scholars, some with a didactic bias, have picked up this theory and used it in their own work (for instance, Vermeer/Witte 1990: *passim*; Höning 1995: 91–96; Kussmaul 1995: *passim*, 2000a: *passim*; Kadric et al. 2005: 82–87).

Scenes-and-frames semantics can not only be used for the analysis and translation on the macro level, but also, and perhaps more profitably, on the micro level. Snell-Hornby (2005: *passim*) discusses the translation of culture-bound conventional images. Cultural implications must also be expected of non-metaphorical words. The word “bedroom”, for instance, suggests different scenes in the German and British cultures (cf. Kussmaul 1995: 94–97). In Germany a bed, sleeping and night time are prototypical elements of this scene. In Britain there seems to be a core, as far as furniture is concerned, such as a bed or sofa bed, but at the fuzzy edges there seems to be a variety of additional furniture, such as a desk or book case. Moreover, the purposes of the room seem to differ. In Germany the room appears to be used predominantly for sleeping, but in Britain and the US it is also used for other activities such as studying, listening to music, etc. Translators will have to decide which aspects of the notion of this word should be translated, the core, or the core plus fuzzy edges, or the fuzzy edges alone. For instance, in Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of being Earnest* there is a scene in which Lady Bracknell has just received the surprising news that Jack wants to marry her niece Gwendolen. Lady Bracknell starts to interrogate him about his character and financial situation, and in the course of this, Jack mentions that he possesses a country house. Lady Bracknell's interest is instantly aroused and she exclaims:

(1) a. A country house! How many bedrooms? (Oscar Wilde. *Plays*. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1954: 267).

Lady Bracknell wants to know, of course, how big the house is, and a translation into German by *Schlafzimmer* would sound rather strange, if not frivolous, in this context. A good translation, which refers to the size of the house, is:

b. Ein Landhaus! Wieviele Zimmer? [...] How many rooms?] (Oscar Wilde. *Bunbury*. Übersetzung und Nachwort von Rainer Kohlmayer. Stuttgart: Reclam 1981: 23).

In his representative work on cognitive grammar, Langacker introduces some terms that have a certain affinity with the ones used by Fillmore. He speaks of *figure/ground alignment* in combination with *perspective* and *focal adjustment* (1987: 120f.). He writes:

Impressionistically, the **figure** within a scene is a substructure perceived as “standing out” from the remainder (**the ground**) and accorded special prominence as the pivotal entity around which the scene is organised and for which it provides a setting. Figure/ground organisation is not in general automatically determined for a given scene; it is normally possible to structure the same scene with alternate choices of figure. However, various factors do contribute to the naturalness and likelihood of a particular choice.

(Langacker 1987: 120)

“Pivotal entity around which the scene is organised” has an obvious similarity with core notions of a scene. What is new, however, is that Langacker sees the possibility of changing the scene structure by focussing on different elements. Translators sometimes do just this, and the result, if successful, can then be called a creative translation (cf. Kußmaul 2000a: 97–105). In the translation of “bedrooms” in the above example by *Zimmer* (rooms), the focus is rather vague, i.e., the figure is not very visible, but the translation certainly expresses very well what Lady Bracknell wants to know. In the next example the focus is more precise.

In T. S. Eliot’s *Old Possum’s Book of Practical Cats* (which served as the libretto for the musical *Cats*) one of the figures is Gus, the Theatre Cat, who tells everyone how famous he was as an actor. He is characterised in the lines:

(2) a. For he isn’t the cat that he was in his prime;
 Though his name was very famous, he says, in its time.
 (T.S. Eliot: *Old Possums Katzenbuch. Englisch und Deutsch*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1961, p. 72)

The German translation by Carl Zuckmayer runs:

b. *Nein, er ist nicht der Kater mehr, der er gewesen,*
Als man täglich von ihm in der Zeitung gelesen. [...] when one could daily read
 about him in the papers]
 (T.S. Eliot: op. cit., p. 74)

What happens here is that the focus is put on a specific element of the notion (scene) “famousness”. From the many elements of the famousness-scene – today one might think of famous actors being invited to talk shows, appearing in advertising, being talked about in glossy magazines and the like – Zuckmayer chose one that appeared relevant to him in his days. He replaced an abstract term with a concrete and vivid phrase. One may say that his translation is creative. It involves changes when compared with the source text, thereby bringing in something that is novel, and at the same time it is faithful to the source text. (For a detailed discussion of this example with respect to creativity cf. Kußmaul 2000a: 158ff. On creative translation in general see Kussmaul 2000a, 2000b: *passim*).

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Semiotics and translation

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1. The scope of semiotics

The term ‘semiotics’ denotes an array of intellectual investigations that take signs and sign systems as their main object of study. At present, there is no unifying theory of semiotics and the investigations are carried out in a variety of disciplines. Petrilli and Ponzio offer the following, partial list of approaches:

linguistic (Saussure, Hjelmslev); linguistic-anthropological-cultural (Jakobson, Lotman, Greimas, Barthes); psychological (Freud, Bühler, Vygotsky); philosophical (Peirce, Welby, Husserl, Ogden & Richards, Wittgenstein, Morris, Cassirer); literary critical (Bakhtin); biological (Romanes, Jakob & Thure von Uexküll, Jacob, Monod); mathematical-topological (Thom). (Petrilli & Ponzio 2007: n.p.)

They also list separately Sebeok’s ‘Global Semiotics’ or ‘Semiotics of life’ and the focus on modelling systems of the Moscow-Tartu school. This rich landscape can be divided for convenience into two broad traditions. One was initiated by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and is often referred to as *sémiologie* or ‘structural semiotics’; the other was initiated by Charles S. Peirce (1839–1914) and is known as ‘interpretive semiotics’. The main difference between the two is that the structural tradition regards signs as part of dyadic processes (e.g., signifier-signified), whereas the signs of interpretive semiotics operate in triadic processes (e.g., sign-object-interpretant). The present entry will focus on the nexus between interpretive semiotics and translation to the exclusion of the structural tradition. As a consequence, the term ‘semiotics’ and cognates will refer only to interpretive semiotics if not otherwise specified.

The triadic processes that characterise interpretive semiotics can be described as follows. According to Peirce, signs function thanks to two relationships; one links something called ‘sign’ to something else which exists independently of interpretation and is called ‘object’; the other relationship links the sign to an ‘interpretant’ – a disposition to act or another sign – which completes the meaning-making process. In this model, a sign is typically something that represents something else for an interpreting mind; but it is the process that counts. Sign-action is the fundamental notion in semiotics. Zooming out from the micro-level of sign-action, semiotics can be described as the discipline that studies how people make sense of their experience of the world and how cultures develop and give

currency to this understanding. On any level, semiotics is ultimately a theory of how we produce, interpret and negotiate meaning through signs.

2. Semiotics for translation

The possibilities semiotics opens to translation research have been noted by a number of authors starting with Roman Jakobson who, in his 1959 influential essay, styles Peirce “the deepest inquirer into the essence of signs” (Jakobson 1959: 233). Countless scholars have written about the classification of translation into intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic, but Jakobson’s short essay has a different focus. Jakobson tries to explain aspects of language and language use drawing on Peirce’s notion of the translatability of all signs into other signs. Thus, he writes: “equivalence in difference”, which he exemplifies using translation, “is the cardinal problem of language and the pivotal concern of linguistics” (Ibid.). Gideon Toury (1986) critiqued Jakobson’s three classes and proposed an alternative typology based on the more fundamental distinction between intrasemiotic and intersemiotic translation. Although Toury’s arguments do not move explicitly from interpretive semiotics, he stresses the semiotic nature of translation and his conclusions are largely compatible with it.

In metatheoretical terms, semiotics is useful to deal with the expanding scope of translation research and practice. Because semiotics is not centred on verbal language, adopting a semiotic approach can equip us to respond to the increasing interest in nonverbal signs both in the discipline and the profession. It should be noted in this context that the term ‘semiotics’ is sometimes used as shorthand for translation research that goes beyond verbal language (e.g., Gottlieb 2005) with scant reference to either structural or interpretive semiotics. For this reason, these strands of research will not be covered here.

A second benefit of semiotics is the fact that Peirce built his theory of signs on a radically innovative metaphysics which has frequently inspired original insights when applied to translation research. Many questions that feed the debates of translation scholars can find fresh answers if observed under a semiotic light. This is especially useful when dealing with perennial issues such as: source-target, untranslatability, free vs. literal, equivalence, and all-writing-is-translating. Semiotics can help us innovate the debate around these memes, which seems to be going stale. The last two memes in the list will be discussed below.

Finally, semiotics’ core notions are extremely parsimonious and can be applied recursively over several scales of complexity. Semiotics can thus power the creation of a robust theory of translation capable of dealing both with small-scale phenomena and larger issues. Strengthening the theoretical core is vital, because modern translation research is emerging as an interdiscipline. Strong, translation-internal core notions should avoid that the centrifugal forces that pull from neighbouring disciplines become

stronger than the centripetal forces that keep the field together. Peirce's theory of signs is strong enough to establish a barycentre around which foreign contributions can find their place.

3. Main focus of interest and problems

3.1 Nonverbal signs

As was noted earlier, semiotics can help translation research break free from its verbal shackles – oral or written. An early realisation of this potential can be found in Lawendowski, who asked whether the notion of translation should be limited to operations that involve verbal texts and natural languages (on intersemiotic translation, see also Petrilli 2003). Lawendowski takes Jakobson's argument to the limit: if there is such thing as intersemiotic translation, then modes of translation may exist that do not involve natural language at all: "A process closer to the intersemiotic exchange should embrace direct interaction of non-verbal elements, without the go-between of language" (Lawendowski 1978: 281). This statement shows the liberating power of semiotics which, once adopted as a theoretical framework, can release translation scholarship from its traditional focus on words. Several authors have followed this line of argument. Deledalle-Rhodes, for instance, maintains that the real problems of translation has little to do with verbal language: "the one and only problem of translation is that of the interpretant, which is essentially a semiotic problem and only incidentally a linguistic one" (Deledalle-Rhodes 1988–89: 221). In general, semiotic approaches advance the idea that translating is not something we do only with words, but to words and to other signs as well.

3.2 Equivalence

Equivalence – perhaps the single most debated topic in the literature – has been investigated by translation semiotics often and in interesting ways. Several scholars have analysed the notion of equivalence using Peirce's taxonomies. For example, Aloysius van Kesteren developed a "*typology of equivalence relationships* between a source text and a target text" (van Kesteren 1978: 48) using Peirce's classification of signs of 1903 (cf. CP 2.227–272)¹. Other insights into the issue of equivalence draw on Peirce's views on interpretation and meaning-making, which are based on hypothetical reasoning and inference. Because a target sign is the expression of the translator's understanding of other signs in the source environment, equivalence is re-defined as the product of inferential processes (cf. Gorlée

1. All references to the Collected Papers of Charles S. Peirce (Peirce 1931–1958) will be given in the customary two-part number. So, this reference is to volume 2, paragraphs 227–272).

1994: 179–195). Let us suppose that A is the source-environment sign which needs to be translated and B the new sign which will appear in the target environment. The first inferential process occurs as the translator interprets A to form his or her interpretant for it. When this interpretant stabilises, the translator makes a second inference as he or she wonders what B should look like to express it. Finally, the translator considers the alternatives and adopts a solution for B. The main implication of this chain of inferences is that it is the translator who pronounces B equivalent to A (for a fuller treatment of equivalence and inference, see Stecconi 2010). B had never been factually related to A before the translator established the equivalence; as Toury wrote: “translating as a type of semiotic activity does not require the existence of any relationships between the two respective (sub)systems and codes” (Toury 1986: 1115). Stressing translators’ creative powers is another important consequence of describing translating as a necessarily inferential form of sign-action. Dinda Gorlée, who authored the first book-length title entirely devoted to the nexus between semiotics and translation theory and has published extensively on translation semiotics, has often insisted on finding a larger place for creativity in our accounts of the translating process (cf. Gorlée 1994: 67–85).

3.3 Looking for translation

This final section is devoted to an important issue related to translation semiotics’ broadening scope. If the outer boundary of translation is to be moved, how far should it reach? A deliberate search would find very many similarities between translating and other types of semiotic activity. As a matter of fact, as noted earlier, semiotics has become a mere by-word for research in the nonverbal domains. This drift is also summarised in one of Chesterman’s (1997) supermemes: ‘all writing is translating’. This is embarrassing for translation scholarship, because if everything is translation nothing is. Eco proposes an elegant solution to this problem. Concluding a discussion of Peirce’s interpretant, he writes: “such a broad conception of interpretant implies that if a translation is certainly an interpretation, not always an interpretation is a translation” (Eco 2003: 87; my translation).

This should be a foregone conclusion among semioticians. Torop, among others, has often insisted that, whereas it is futile to look for the boundaries of the whole semiosphere, it is altogether possible to look for the boundaries of translation (cf. Torop 2000: 348 ff.). But how can one tell translation apart from other forms of sign-action? How can one describe translation in general and – a different question – identify the object of translation research? Translation semioticians have long been aware of this problem. For instance, Ludskanov asked: “Is a *science* of translation at all possible? Some deny it. If it is possible, what is its object of study? Where is its place?” (Ludskanov 1975: 6). The quest for this, the holy grail of translation research has often looked for translation as a *species* of a broader *genus*. But these approaches are problematic. Translation’s *differentia specifica* is supposed to be universal, which makes it difficult to account for the observed variability of the notion of translation.

The first issue to settle is the ontological status of the boundary of translation. Following Peirce, it can belong to one of three categories²: (i) vague features, (ii) objects, facts and relations, or (iii) normative concepts. The boundary cannot be made of norms, because they are not universal; the boundary cannot include facts or other particulars either, because they are not general. Therefore, one can only look for it in the realm of vague and potential characters. In other words, a general and universal description of translation can only include its existential conditions. Stecconi proposes three existential characters as constitutive of the foundation of translation: similarity, difference and mediation (cf. Stecconi 2004; 2009). Translating cannot occur if these conditions do not hold; however, when translations do appear, it is thanks to a series of events determined by historical contexts and regulated by the prevailing translation norms*. Telling a translation from a nontranslation, therefore, requires considering three levels at once: existential conditions, actual events, and socio-cultural norms.

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Sight translation

Prima vista

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Sight translation (ST), also known as *prima vista*, is one of the basic modes of interpreting, alongside consecutive interpreting* with/without notation and simultaneous interpreting* in a booth with/without text. Sight translation is a dichotomous process of language transfer from the source language (SL) into the target language (TL) as well as from a written into an oral form. The interpreter does not work in a booth and usually does not get to hear the original. The interpreter is provided with the original text and is expected to instantly and smoothly deliver the contents at a speed appropriate for natural oral production.

1. Use in practice

Sight translation comes into play in a wide range of work situations. Most frequently, these include meetings (especially bilateral meetings) which are usually conducted in consecutive mode. Written documentation (annual and financial reports, etc.) is then delivered in ST mode, either in full or in selected fragments. Sight translation is also often used at press conferences where statements or press releases are delivered by an interpreter in a language which the audience understands. Other documents which lend themselves to sight translation include press reports which may be of interest to a meeting, letters of apology for absence or congratulations. Sight translation saves time at presentations, private views and various ceremonies: only the first SL paragraph, which the speaker prepared and wrote down in his/her mother tongue, is delivered by the speaker and consecutively interpreted into the target language. The interpreter then proceeds to interpret the remaining text as provided by the speaker without hearing the original. Sight translation may also be used for drafts which have been worked out by a small group in one language, to be submitted to the plenary for finalising. It may also be employed at an international conference where someone wishes to speak in a non-working language for which simultaneous interpreting is not provided. ST output into a working language is then simultaneously delivered to other participants by interpreters working in booths. Sight translation may also be used to brief a client before an event if the client does not have the time or possibility to read all documents in the original language, or to save the need to translate all documents.

What are the principal strategies employed by an interpreter during sight translation (see Translation strategies and tactics*)?

On one hand, the use of sight translation is a benefit to the interpreter as he/she himself/herself sets the pace and does not have to follow the speaker as is the case during simultaneous interpreting. On the other hand, sight translation presents higher cognitive demands as the text is constantly in front of the interpreter which, in particular, increases the risk of lexical interference and imitation of the original text structure. Emphasis is therefore placed on the understanding, analysis and deverbalization of the SL text form, processing and storage of SL content in the working memory and its interpretation, and TL production (Agrifoglio 2004; Gile 2002). Unnecessary corrections and reformulations need to be avoided and eye-contact with the audience should be maintained. Delivery should come across as natural (Ondelli 1998). The SL message should be transmitted while respecting TL norms, usage, sentence structure and syntax. Sight translation is very economical in terms of time, but it is highly demanding on split-attention skills (simultaneous reading and speaking) in combination with transfer (Lambert 2004).

2. Research

Sight translation has enjoyed less attention from researchers than other modes of interpreting (for example, Seleskovitch, Lederer, Kalina, Viaggio, and others). In recent years, research has mostly focused on various types of information processing and attention split during sight translation (Lambert 2004: 5; Viezzi 1989) or has analysed factors which have a negative impact on the interpreter's performance during sight translation, such as saturation and individual deficit or cognitive modelling of ST (Gile's Effort Model 1995). Ondelli (1998: 186) speaks of communicative charity in sight translation and says that the task of the interpreter is to deliver the text in a way which is easily understandable to the listener. There have also been several Ph.D. dissertations on sight translation focusing, in particular, on differences between sight translation (double attention split between the written text and the interpreting process) and simultaneous interpreting with text (triple attention split between the written text, the speaker's delivery and the interpreting process, while what counts is delivery versus the interpreting output). Other topics include the dichotomous nature of sight translation (written versus spoken output) and the application and distribution of processing capacity in this mode of interpreting.

3. Use in training

In interpreter training, sight translation may be encountered as early as the admission stage where it is used to test the candidates' aptitude to quickly grasp the essentials of text,

to transfer the meaning and to extract vital information. Pedagogical use of sight translation (recommended and actual) varies in different schools. Sight translation training usually starts once students master the basics of consecutive interpreting and are able to pass the message, rather than words, based on the understanding and analysis of the SL text (Viaggio 1995; Weber 1990; Seleskovitch & Lederer 1989). Sight translation is practised without preparation or following a brief review of the text. Alternatively, students listen to oral delivery and then are provided with the text. Sight translation is a good exercise in "quick reading". It improves text orientation, non-linear approach to text and identification of core information. It helps to avoid linguistic interferences and to break free from the original form (Jiménez Ivars 2008). It is a useful tool for preparation for simultaneous interpreting, especially booth interpreting with text.

What are the main principles and strategies in sight translation training? Visually segment the text with vertical lines; highlight verbs, important terms and figures; number words to indicate their sequence in the target language for any major syntax changes; make notes in the SL text. Strategies for sight translation delivery, which is an exacting cognitive activity, are to learn to anticipate, generalise and filter out less important details under time and linguistic pressure; activate vocabulary and quick response in the target language; break up long and complex sentences; fluently communicate with the audience; and transmit the message without repetitions and unnecessary corrections.

4. Brief conclusions

Sight translation remains the poor cousin of other interpreting modes in terms of the attention devoted to it in research, in interpreter training as well as in practice. It is often confused with simultaneous interpreting with text. We have tried here to provide a brief overview of its main features, and to identify the areas of its application and its place in the training of interpreting skills.

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Sign language interpreting and translating

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Signed Language Interpreting (SLI) prototypically means interpreting to and from a signed language from either a spoken language or another signed language. However, the typical situation is interpreting between a spoken and a signed language. We note here that signed languages are naturally occurring languages that are independent from spoken languages. There is also a process known as transliteration, where a spoken language is literally encoded and transmitted on the hands, but this is different from interpreting to/ from a natural signed language.

Signed language interpreting occurs in a range of domains, including conference, community, educational and public service settings (see Conference interpreting*; Community interpreting*). Signed language interpreters are typically required where a d/Deaf¹ and a hearing person do not share a common language. However, a d/Deaf person may be fluent in the written form of the spoken language of his or her country but may not be able to or wish to use the spoken form in interactive settings.

1. Signed language interpreters

In most instances, signed language interpreters (SLIs) are 'hearing people' who have their signed language as their mother tongue or as a second language. In recent years, Deaf interpreters have become increasingly visible in the field. We may note here that within the Deaf community, there have always been Deaf people who have functioned as interpreters, for example, negotiating meaning between teachers and their peers. More recently, as an outcome of the professionalization of SLI, we see for example an increase in the presence of Deaf interpreters on television (e.g., Stone 2009).

In some countries, Deaf interpreters translate information related to state or other public services into their national signed language. Deaf interpreters also interpret for

1. Woodward (1972) first proposed using the term 'Deaf' (note the capitalisation of the D) to recognise those signed language users who form Deaf communities. The term 'Deaf' aims to distinguish between people who see themselves as a part of a linguistic and cultural minority (Deaf community) while 'deaf' refers to deafness as an audiological deficit, a hearing loss.

Deaf clients whose signed language knowledge and/or use differs from what is considered normative, for example because they are recent immigrants. In such situations, Deaf interpreters often work alongside a hearing signed language interpreter, relaying a message to the Deaf client/s. Deaf interpreters are also increasingly working in contexts where they present from a national signed language to so-called International Sign, a form of contact signing used by Deaf people in cross-linguistic contexts where no national signed language is shared (Leeson 2005).

2. The professionalisation of SLI and the position of SLIs vis-à-vis Deaf communities

With the evolution of a formalised interpreting profession (in the 1960s in the USA and Sweden, later in other parts of the world), the relationship between Deaf people and interpreters has shifted in many countries. Cokely (2005) presents a comprehensive overview of the way signed language interpreting evolved as a profession in the USA. He notes that SLIs were initially helpers and volunteers, closely aligned to the Deaf communities they served.

The idea of establishing training for signed language interpreters was originally proposed by Deaf communities but, over time, the level of direct input that Deaf communities have in selecting interpreters and in determining what (from a Deaf community perspective) constitutes quality interpreting was reduced. This process has been replicated in many Western countries, but in others, earlier models of interpreting still hold, in part, because of the lack of formalized training opportunities and the lack of legislation recognizing Deaf people's right to access information via interpretation.

3. SLI training today

In many countries across the world, SLI training is still not in place (Napier 2009). In Europe, the fundamental requirement for training has been recognized within the framework of the EU Resolution on Sign Languages (1988), and in some countries, training can be followed to bachelor and masters levels. However, in many other EU countries, SLI training is still ad-hoc in nature, or offered on a part-time basis at community college level. The under-development of adequate resources (material and human) hampers alignment of SLI training with spoken language interpreter training, even in the most advanced nations. The fact that in many countries, the national signed language/s remain under-described impacts significantly on what is taught and how it is taught.

In many countries where SLI training now exists, there is still a parallel set of people providing 'interpretation' who have not had any formal training. Those without training typically include Deaf interpreters, hearing children of Deaf parents, teachers of the deaf,

chaplains, etc, and this impacts on approaches to the SLI task. There are several reasons for the continued existence of untrained interpreters. These include the fact that in many countries, Deaf people are not guaranteed a right to free interpretation and cannot afford to hire professional interpreters. Also, there are a large number of ad-hoc contexts where interpreting is required (e.g., incidental meetings in offices, in family contexts, etc.) where it is not possible to plan for such events, so the default 'interpreter' might be a colleague with some signed language skill or a hearing relative (often including bilingual children). Further, in most countries a shortfall in the supply of professional interpreters vis-à-vis demand continues (e.g., De Witte & Callewier 2008; Conama 2008).

Professional signed language community interpreters typically have access to greater levels of training than their spoken language counterparts, but unlike spoken language community interpreters, SLIs are also expected to work in conference settings. Signed language conference interpreters in most countries do not have access to the same high level training as their spoken language interpreting peers for a range of reasons, some of which have been outlined earlier (see also Napier 2009). Much of the work of SLIs is in education (depending on the country, this is typically at secondary and/or tertiary levels), but SLIs do not typically receive specialist training to prepare them for interpreting in these (often specialist) domains.

4. Modality

Modality is a significant difference between signed and spoken languages. While spoken languages are received and expressed via the auditory-vocal channels, signers make use of their head, face, torso, arms and hands in order to express themselves in three-dimensional space.

Space may be used to represent space and motion to express motion. For example, in signed languages, information about what an object looks like, how it is handled, and the manner it moves/ is moved is often overtly coded and the interpreter then has to deal with the challenge of how to find this information which is not typically expressed in a spoken source language. Working from a signed language, the interpreter has to know which aspects are redundant when working into a spoken target language, and they have to know how to encode inferred information (for example, about agent-patient relationships) into a spoken target language. We note that when interpreting between any two typologically different languages, the same kinds of challenges occur, but these are compounded by the modality issue where signed languages are concerned. The modality effect is particularly crucial in legal contexts, as the accuracy of information relating to location, interaction and manner of interaction is perhaps even more important than in any other context (Brennan & Brown 1997).

The visual aspect of SLI differentiates it from some types of spoken language interpreting in other respects. SLIs are physically visible and must be seen in order to be 'heard' by signers (Leeson 2008). When working into a spoken language, the interpreter must be audible to ensure that their hearing audience can hear the interpretation of what the

Deaf person is signing. Modality allows for the potential for SLIs to work simultaneously without the need for equipment: this facilitates SLIs to produce simultaneous interpretations in contexts where spoken language interpreters would have to take a consecutive* approach or use chuchotage, and it is the case that many SLIs approach all tasks in community interpreting as requiring a simultaneous interpreting* method. This may be because of training norms, which have traditionally foregrounded simultaneous interpreting as the preferred mode which relates to expectations for practice in Deaf communities, although research has shown that this may not always be best practice (Debra Russell 2003, 2005).

Other issues to consider include the fact that signed languages do not have established written forms. Although many signed languages are going through a spontaneous standardization processes, widespread variation is reported for many signed languages (e.g., regional variation, gendered variation, gendered-generational variation, etc.). Given the atypical language acquisition paths experienced by many deaf children, language proficiency levels are quite diverse across Deaf communities. Further, the suppression of signed languages in modern history has resulted in both the exclusion of Deaf people from many aspects of professional life, and a parallel range of lexical gaps in signed languages. Generally, we see a lack of codification and documentation of signed languages and these things combined, complicate the situation further when considering the training and practice of SLIs.

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Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology

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Simultaneous Conference Interpreting (SI) (see Simultaneous interpreting*; Conference interpreting*) has always been intricately linked with technology since it emerged and developed as a technology-dependent solution to the ever increasing number of international meetings with multiple languages. The initial attempt with this mode was made as early as 1928 at the ILO Conference though it was undoubtedly during the Nuremberg Trials in 1944–45 that SI came to public attention (Gaiba 1998). Nevertheless, it took a number of years before reservations regarding this mode, particularly concerns over the level of accuracy attainable, were overcome. The first interpreting school founded in 1941 in Geneva only introduced SI in 1947.

With the spread of SI, related technology underwent rapid change. Oversized headsets were adjusted, wired systems gradually became wireless and booths were soundproofed. Today, SI systems as well as booths are regulated by international standards (ISO 2603, ISO 4043 and IEC 60914, see Hobart-Burela 2002).

Technological advances have made it much easier for interpreters to access information which is crucial in this profession. Laptops and the internet now enable interpreters to access a broad palette of electronic resources, ranging from online dictionaries, term banks to numerous websites relevant to professional assignments.

1. Remote interpreting

While making life easier in many ways, technological advances sometimes also challenge interpreters by introducing new types of interpreting environments and conditions. Videoconferencing, for instance, is spreading both in the professional world and as a training tool (Mouzourakis 1996; Braun 2003). From the use of videoconferencing as a complementary means of adding in one or two speakers to a conference, discussion has recently become more heated with remote interpreting. The ever increasing number of languages that need to be covered in the meetings of international organizations such as the UN and EU have placed remote interpreting on the agenda. While many interpreters seem reluctant to the idea, arguing that not being present in the same room with conference delegates and various other psychological and physiological factors have a negative

impact on their well being and performance, the ongoing debate has triggered a number of studies exploring the actual impact of situational, psychological and physiological factors associated with remote interpreting on interpreters and interpreting performance (Moser-Mercer 2005a, 2005b, see also Mouzourakis 2003 and 2006). As the debate on remote conference interpreting continues, this mode of interpreting is spreading in non-conference settings such as in medical interpreting (Angelelli 2003; see also <http://www.med.nyu.edu/cih/language/research.html>).

2. Training and technology

Conference interpreter training is also becoming highly technologized. Interpreting rooms which typically consist of booths, SI equipment and a few microphones are gradually turning into technology centers, housing integrated systems of special authoring programs, videoconferencing systems, connections to live webstreaming, online speech banks, speech repositories, TV screens, projectors, multi-track recorders, and virtual learning and interpreting environments.

Today, many training institutions host their own large or modest collection of speech databanks. Some of these are publicly accessible such as the ones of Heidelberg University at <http://fedora.iued.uni-heidelberg.de/digilab/dolmetschtag/> and University of Geneva at <http://live.eti.unige.ch/>. Within the scope of its *Marius* project, the University of Granada has recorded and categorized around 2.000 speeches (Sandrelli & de Manuel Jerez 2007, de Manuel Jerez (coord.) 2003). The European Commission, on the other hand, has set up a large speech repository consisting of 1250 real and simulated speeches in the 23 official and 3 accession languages, graded according to difficulty and with a recording function for the user that allows tutors to then listen to their students' performances (<http://www.multilingualspeeches.tv>).

Videoconferencing is also used more widely in training interpreters today. Within the EMCI (European Masters in Conference Interpreting), there are regular videoconferencing sessions between universities, equipped with such facilities, and the EU institutions. Videoconferencing brings the advantage of pooling in and sharing of resources. It allows students to interpret and receive feedback from native-speakers outside their own university. It also exposes them to diverse settings and experiences such as working as a pivot for other interpreters who are not their classmates (for instance, a German speech delivered in Geneva can be interpreted into French by French native-speaker students in France who can then be taken on relay by the Portuguese students in Portugal).

Dedicated authoring programs like the *Black Box*, on the other hand, allow the trainers to combine speech banks with a variety of other tools such as recording functions, textual aids, pitch trackers as well as sight translation and consecutive interpreting exercises. (Sandrelli & De Manuel Jerez 2007).

Virtual Learning Environments (VLEs) such as *moodle* and *Blackboard*, which have been used in the USA since 1990's, are becoming more widespread in all educational settings. Furthermore, the field is witnessing the emergence of VLEs specifically developed for interpreter training. The *Virtual Institute* of the University of Geneva operates on the basis of an interactive modular structure that facilitates blended learning (Class et al. 2004; Motta 2006). Used for training interpreting students, interpreter trainers, practicing interpreters, MA and Ph.D. students, one of the most interesting applications is in the distance training of interpreters working in zones of crisis and war (Moser-Mercer et al. 2005, Moser-Mercer & Bali 2008).

Given the pace of technological developments, much more can be expected on this front. One thing is however certain, be it in training or professional practice, simultaneous interpreting will always be closely intertwined with technology.

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Simultaneous interpreting

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In the early 1940s multilingual events such as the Nuremberg War Crime trials (1945–1946), plenary sessions of international organizations and international conferences all called for the least time-consuming mode of interpreting to allow verbal interaction among participants. After some previously successful trials (such as the International Labour Organization's assembly in 1927), simultaneous interpreting (SI) established itself as the most effective mode of interpreting in these kinds of interpreter-mediated events (see also *Consecutive interpreting**). It is also the most commonly used form of interpreting in other events, such as media interpreting*. SI requires step-by-step training, which is nowadays provided by academic Schools for Interpreters all over the world, and also suitable working conditions (see below).

SI is a complex cognitive ability used to serve communication between speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. It entails the oral transposition of a message from a source language (SL) into a target language (TL) while the message is being delivered (see *Interpreting**). The interpreter therefore has to listen to the speaker and produce her/his own speech at the same time. Basic prerequisites to perform this task include: good general knowledge, excellent comprehension and production of one or more foreign languages, in addition to one's mother tongue, and skills, such as the ability to coordinate listening and speaking at the same time, which can be developed through training.

SI is a predominantly meaning-based activity and does not involve a simple *transcodage* from the SL to the TL. The interpreter has to analyse and understand a message before s/he can convey it into the other language and does not simply look for a one-to-one equivalence between the two codes, even though sometimes, locally and briefly, some transcodage of fixed terms or before meaning is clear does occur (Seleskovitch & Lederer 2002; see *Interpretative approach**). Both professional and didactic experience (Setton 2008; among others), and neurolinguistic theories of SI (Paradis 1994) indicate that an interpreter has two available translation strategies* when going from the utterance in SL to its translation in TL: a conceptually mediated strategy and a structural or lexical-equivalence strategy. The former relies on the mental representation evocation route by quickly discarding the SL phonological form from short-term-memory, while the latter implies the application of rules from one linguistic element in SL to its equivalent in TL at the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical level (*ibidem*: 328–329). Professional simultaneous interpreters not only possess implicit linguistic knowledge (the automatic use of language unconsciously acquired in communicative settings), like any other language user, but also

extensive explicit metalinguistic knowledge in the form of translation equivalents acquired during training, which is a form of linguistic knowledge learned consciously and is available on recall (*ibidem*: 332). By virtue of repetition, these translation equivalents become automatisms which reduce the mental processing load.

An updated insight into the mental and contextual components involved in the SI process is offered by the two following neurolinguistic and cognitive-pragmatic models (see also *Interpreting Studies**).

The neurolinguistic model (Paradis 1994, 2000) hypothesises that the interpreter breaks down the incoming message into chunks. Early experiments by Goldman-Eisler (1972) suggested that the “segmentation of the input flow follows from propositional principles” (*ibidem*: 72), in other words before starting to translate interpreters wait for a minimal unit of meaning consisting of a noun phrase (NP) + verb phrase (VP) sequence and not just a word. The unit of meaning upon which interpreters “can act is not lexical but predicative” (*ibidem*). It would seem that predication is an essential piece of information. Lederer (1978) also observed that units of meaning differ from syntactic units; they are segments of sense that appear at irregular intervals in the interpreter’s mind. She analysed the time lag between speaker and interpreter (ear-voice span or *décalage*) and showed it to be very variable and dependent on individual and input factors. Later, Davidson (1992) found a difference between novice and experienced interpreters in relation to the sequence pattern as units of meaning. Meaning is construed also on the basis of the work the interpreter carries out prior to the conference to familiarise her/himself with the topic. This preparatory work enables her/him to make inferences and anticipate part of the speaker’s message (“subjective redundancy”, Chernov 2004). Furthermore, oral communication is characterised by lexical and/or semantic redundancy (“objective redundancy”, *ibidem*), which alleviates the interpreter’s effort to process the incoming message and allows for predictions and message compression. That is why literary or written texts read aloud (recited speech) are not suitable for SI, especially when delivered at high speed.

Each incoming chunk goes through eight processing steps (Paradis 1994, 2000), but since the input flow is continuous, each step of a specific chunk coincides with a different processing step of a previous one. According to Paradis (1994: 324) these steps are: (1) echoic memory for the incoming SL chunk (the acoustic input is preserved in the buffer memory to be recognised as a word in the following step), (2) linguistic decoding of this chunk to arrive at (3), the meaning of the chunk (schemas and scripts stored in the long-term memory relative to the source language, the topic in question and encyclopedic knowledge make sense attribution possible); this step is followed by (4), the encoding of the chunk in the TL, (5) output of the translation in TL, which (6) is picked up by the interpreter’s ear (echoic memory of her/his production) and is monitored for correctness, (7) decoding it to arrive at (8) the meaning of the TL chunk. If the TL meaning is deemed equivalent and adequate to that of the SL, the translation is successfully completed. Past neurolinguistic experiments showed that interpreters display a more symmetrical functional representation of language between the two brain hemispheres vs

monolingual controls (Fabbro & Gran 1997). A recent neurophysiological study on the brain centres responsible for language switching showed that SI training produces specific brain modifications (Krick et al. 2006). Data on the neuronal activity show that Brodmann area 46 (BA 46) in the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex actively supports selective activation of a given language. Interpreting would appear to involve explicit training of the BA 46 function, since increased grey matter density in BA 46 was found in professional interpreters.

The cognitive-pragmatic model (Setton 1999), based on the Relevance* Theory, provides an explanation for how sentence meaning is assembled and reproduced in SI. To be able to start translating before an incoming chunk is completed, a simultaneous interpreter develops an intermediate representation of the sentence meaning by on-line decoding, anticipation and inferential processes. These are based on clues offered by the speaker (syntactical, lexical, prosodical, conceptual, visual etc.), which evoke relevant context to complement the semantic representation of the sentence (i.e., its propositional content or set of logically structured concepts derived from lexicon and grammar). Communication is thus seen as an ostensive-inferential process, whereby the speaker encodes her/his communicative intention in a way that guides the hearer to a relevant interpretation. The model relies on four main operational units: the adaptive memory (situational and world knowledge), the compositional meaning assembler, the processing executive and the formulator (TL unit planner). As the simultaneous interpreter is both comprehender and speaker, s/he needs pragmatic sensitivity to both grasp and reproduce the SL on-line contributions to meaning.

A simultaneous interpreter must divide her/his attention among several processes and sources, which constantly threaten to overload her/his processing capacity and so impair performance. To help interpreting students and professionals understand the source of their output shortcomings, Gile (1988, 2009) has proposed the Effort Model as a diagnostic/pedagogical tool. It postulates that a successful SI results from achieving a balance between the four main cognitive operations (efforts) competing for limited processing capacity: listening, memorising, production and coordination. Careful self-monitoring makes a simultaneous interpreter aware of what needs to be improved through training: understanding, memory and knowledge, or target language competence.

In conclusion, SI presupposes great mental agility, pragmatic sensitivity and the flexibility to deal with a wide range of controllable and uncontrollable variables affecting the process, which Kalina (2002) usefully grouped into four categories: (1) pre-process prerequisites (i.e., skills and competences, conceptual and terminological preparation, etc.), (2) peri-process conditions (i.e., technical equipment, availability of documents, etc.), (3) in-process requirements (i.e., parameters of source speech production, such as read or improvised text delivery, speaker's speech rate and accent, knowledge and presuppositions, etc.) and (4) post-process efforts (specialisation, quality control, etc.).

Interpreter awareness of her/his crucial communicative role is emerging from recent investigations into SI from a sociolinguistic perspective which highlight the many interactional features in the linguistic output of interpreters (Straniero Sergio 1999;

Diriker 2004). This is a role that simultaneous interpreters always strive to perform well despite the many challenges, old and new, they encounter in managing the flow of communication, such as speed, recited papers or remote interpreting to name just a few of them.

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Sociology of translation

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Sociological approaches to translation have been developed on the basis of the insight that translation is an activity deeply affected by social configurations. The search for understanding of the mechanisms underlying translation viewed as a social practice has promoted the development of a number of analytical tools which have helped shed light on the various constituents accounting for the involvement of translation in larger social contexts in general and the social nature of translation in particular. The newly developed approaches have shifted attention to various research fields which so far have been partly under-researched and/or under-theorized: training institutions, working conditions, professional institutions and their social role, questions of ethics* in translation, (auto)biographies of translators and interpreters, larger accounts such as translation on the global market, sociopolitical aspects of translation, translation and its role in activism (see Committed approaches and activism*), and many more. The fields under investigation have been particularly broad: from literary translation to pragmatic translation, localization*, sign language interpreting*, court interpreting, and public service interpreting (see Community interpreting*).

1. Early approaches to “translation as a social practice”

The achievements we are witnessing in the development of a translation sociology draw on various approaches within Translation Studies. The majority of these approaches were elaborated in the wake of the “cultural turn” (see Turns of Translation Studies*), which anticipated many of the issues developed later in more explicitly social contexts and foregrounded concerns related to power, politics, ideology, ethics, or individual agency.

Descriptive Translation Studies*, especially, has produced a series of rewarding insights into the functioning of translated literature within the literary and historical systems of the target culture. Even-Zohar, for instance, in his polysystem theory*, stresses the systemic character of translation and defines system as “the network of relations that can be hypothesized for a certain set of assumed observables ([or]‘occurrences’/‘phenomena’)” (Even-Zohar 1990: 27); the systems involved are determined above all by a struggle for the primary position in the literary canon. Although the dynamics in the system/s are by and large the basis for the existence of polysystems, we need specifically sociological tools to draw attention to the driving forces behind these dynamics and to foreground

the nature of the social and political relations between the groups involved in such processes. Similarly, Gideon Toury's concept of norms* offers a solid basis for modelling a social framework for translation. When Toury claims that "translation is basically a socio-cultural, and hence norm-governed activity" and that any translation process "involves adjustments, and hence changes, of agreements, conventions and behavioural routines" (Toury 1999: 13–14), he stresses the nature of norms as social categories which are particularly crucial factors in the socialization process of translators. The view of translation as a social practice is also central to the work of André Lefevere (1992). In particular, the notion of rewriting denotes both the manipulative interventions on the level of the text and the cultural (literary) devices which direct and control the production procedure in the interplay of social forces. The patronage system at work within this interplay embraces individuals, collectives and institutions that are determined mainly by ideology. Lefevere's work can be regarded as vital for the conceptualization of a translation sociology, as it not only gives the patronage system a social dimension, but also extends that dimension by means of Bourdieu's "cultural capital" concept, which he sees as the driving force to distribute translations in a specific culture. Because they concentrate on the role of various participants in the translation enterprise (initiator, commissioner, text producer, user, receiver, etc.) aiming to accomplish the declared *skopos*, a good deal of the functional approaches can also be regarded as sociologically motivated, having shifted their focus from texts to the mediators of those texts. Holz-Mänttäri, for instance (see Functional approaches*), seeks to develop a framework that would allow for the cooperation of the subjects participating in the social production of translation. Her model's parameters are the specific qualification of the persons involved, the necessity of cooperation, and the agents' professionalism resulting from these requirements. All these factors reinforce the idea of translation as social practice.

2. Connecting sociology and Translation Studies

Major reflections on social perspectives of translation up to now have been largely inspired by the work of some sociologists, in particular by Pierre Bourdieu, Bernard Lahire, Bruno Latour, Niklas Luhmann, Anthony Giddens, Joachim Renn and Martin Fuchs (see in detail Wolf 2007 and the contributions in Wolf & Fukari 2007).

Questions like the kind of impact translation can have on social change or the relationship of social factors of dominance to the selection and ultimately the shaping of translations have, so far, best been discussed and theoretically conceptualized by means of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic forms. According to his sociological epistemology, social "reality" can be seen as the sum of relations that both reflect the mutual dynamics of individuals within society and reveal the mechanisms of how social agents are constructed. Bourdieu establishes an interrelation between these epistemological levels through the categories of field, habitus and capital, which, once they interact through their agents and

agencies, result in what Bourdieu calls “social practice”. A field is a structured system of social positions occupied by individuals and institutions, the nature of which defines the situation for their occupants (Bourdieu 1984: 113). Like all other categories, it is a sociological construction that allows for a view of society as being the outcome of the power relations between identity and difference. One of the first scholars to highlight the importance of Bourdieu and the various categories of his cultural sociology for the study of translation was Jean-Marc Gouanvic. He has pointed out that Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of cultural action can be widely applied to Translation Studies, as it is a “sociology of the text as a production in the process of being carried out, of the product itself and of its consumption in the social fields, the whole seen in a relational manner” (Gouanvic 2005: 148). In addition, the stakes of translation are strongly legitimized practices, endowed with power on the basis of which the terms of translation operating between the various social spaces are continually renegotiated and are thus the driving force of the social game (Gouanvic 2002: 167).

Inside social fields, agents struggle to maintain or change power relations on the basis of their habitus and the various types of capital they possess. Habitus, one of the central categories of Bourdieu’s cultural sociology, is acquired by individuals through experience and socialization in early life. As an abstract construction, it organizes the embodied systems of dispositions, those “durable and transposable set[s] of principles of perception, appreciation, and action, capable of generating practices and representation that are (usually) adapted to the situation [...] without being the product of an intentional search for adaptation” (Bourdieu 1991: 29). Capital as “accumulated labour” in the form of material and in an “incorporated” form is described as the sum of the social agent’s determinations, i.e., the qualities or distinctive features he or she develops, incorporates and represents. To distinguish between the agent’s different resources, Bourdieu assigns the various capitals to four different capital types: economic capital (material possessions), social capital (these are networks of family relationships, friends, colleagues etc.), cultural capital (education, knowledge, titles, etc.) and symbolic capital (prestige or social honour). The structure of distribution of these various capital types corresponds to the structure inherent in the social world and its forces, which are responsible for the permanent functioning of social reality. In Translation Studies we are currently witnessing a lively discussion on the concept of habitus. In his seminal article “The Pivotal Status of the Translator’s Habitus” (1998), Daniel Simeoni claims that over the centuries the translatorial habitus has contributed to the internalization of a submissive behaviour, thus generating low social prestige for translators. As a result of the continuous, historically conditioned acceptance of norms by translators, Simeoni argues, the translators’ willingness to accept these norms has had a decisive impact on the secondariness of their activity as such (*ibid.*: 6). The question of the translator’s alleged subservience is also discussed by Moira Inghilleri. She elaborates a theoretical model for the analysis of community interpreting* as a norm-driven activity and points to the interplay of the distinctive, conflictual and contradictory habitus of the

agents participating in the process of community interpreting, which eventually make up the dynamics of the interpreting situation and have the potential to change existing social relationships and social practices. Another scholar who draws on the concept of habitus is Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, who takes a critical view of Simeoni's definition and argues in favour of a notion that calls attention to the principles of divergence and conformity as constructed entities and their relevance for the practice of translation. Sela-Sheffy views this field as a space of stratified positions, regulated by its own internal repertoires and competitions, and equipped with an exclusive symbolic capital. The translation field's dynamics are detected in the "potential for perceiving the tension between the predictability and versatility of translators' preferences and choices, as determined by their group affiliation" (Sela-Sheffy 2005: 19).

The concept of habitus has also been criticized within the discipline of social sciences, and especially by Bernard Lahire, who pays particularly attention to the universalist stance of the notion as conceptualized by Bourdieu. When Lahire argues in favour of a sociology "at the level of the individual" (Lahire 2003), he stresses the view of individuals as being products of pluri-form social processes occurring in very different domains, and seeks to foreground the plurality of the individual's dispositions and the multiplicity of different situations in which agents interact. For the exploration of the translation process, a focus on the diverse modalities which generate the habitus may better explain the conditions underlying translation strategies and tactics*, and reconstruct both conscious and unconscious motives that trigger specific translation situations (Wolf 2007: 22).

Another French sociologist several Translation Studies scholars have recently drawn on is Bruno Latour. Together with Michel Callon, he developed a "sociologie de la traduction" (see Akrich/Callon/Latour 2006). His Actor-Network Theory (ANT), especially, describes the progressive constitution of a network of both human and non-human "actants" whose identities and qualities are defined according to prevailing strategies of interaction. One of the main elements in the formation of an actor-network is "translation", a process in which actors construct common meanings and apply continuous negotiation to achieve individual and collective objectives. Hélène Buzelin (2007) has applied ANT to the networks in which translators operate and has combined them with ethnographic* methods which allow her to follow each step in the translation process very closely.

Other recent publications focus on Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory. Luhmann conceives of social organization as made up of self-producing, self-regulating systems, which operate according to functional differentiation. Hans J. Vermeer (2006), for instance, interprets Luhmann's social system theory largely from a functionalist perspective and claims that the various entities involved in a translation "action" constitute a set of inter-dependent systems in the environment of the overall translation system. It is Theo Hermans's assumption that the constructivist outlook of social systems theory implies the general existence of systems (Hermans 2007). Another effort to apply Luhmann's social system theory to the translation context is made by Sergey Tyulenev (2009), who particularly

discusses translation as a system in itself, translation as a subsystem within a larger system, and translation as a boundary phenomenon.

An interesting approach which still awaits detailed application in Translation Studies is Martin Fuchs's work on social integration into society from a socio-anthropological perspective. Fuchs claims that social integration is based not on consensus but on difference, and that it takes place on the level of social interaction between integrative units by means of translation between their respective abstract or everyday languages or meanings, and between those meanings/languages and "concrete" practices (Fuchs 2009: 29). The different institutions, systems and milieus, discourses or social fields would not coexist and intersect if it were not for the mediation of translations. This "social translation" approach thus addresses in particular the translation dimensions of social praxis. Though following different lines of argument, Fuchs partly draws on Joachim Renn's social theory, which claims that the increasing fragmentation of postmodern societies demands implicit translation for communication between the different groups involved (Renn 2006: 156) and to secure authority.

3. Insights and potentials

The insights gained so far from the endeavours to construct a "sociology of translation" are manifold. First, they foreground the relations of power underlying the process of translation in its various stages, and emphasize the importance of translations' and translators' role in society. Second, they deliver important results in methodological terms: drawing mostly on analytical tools from social sciences has deepened both our understanding of the mechanisms that underlie the manifestations of translatorial invisibility and of the interactional relations that exist between the external conditions of a text's creation and the adoption of the various translation strategies. This ultimately helps to challenge those approaches claiming to hold a monopoly on text comprehension and those sustaining a sociological reduction to external factors. In addition, a sharpened attention to the processuality of translation and its constituencies ("sociology of agents", "sociology of the translation process", "sociology of the cultural product") has opened up an array of research fields which highlight the urgent need to foster interdisciplinary work. Andrew Chesterman's proposal (2009) to group such approaches under the term "Translator Studies" also testifies to the need to conceptualize the agencies and agents involved in an open system that depends on the negotiation of symbolic forms in a world of global societal changes. Last but not least, research is increasingly emphasizing self-reflexivity, which may open out into a "sociology of Translation Studies".

The often posed question of whether Translation Studies is presently working within a "social turn" or whether this is part of the "umbrella" paradigm of the "cultural turn" seems less relevant if we follow the perspective on translation elaborated during the last few

decades. We then see that cultural and social practices – and consequently their theoretical and methodological conceptualization – cannot be regarded as detached from one another. If we focus on “the social” but neglect the conditions that shape translation as a cultural practice in terms of power, ideology and similar issues, the creation of a new sub-discipline within Translation Studies called “sociology of translation” will simply outsource the problem of methodology. It is therefore important that the questions pertinent to translation viewed as a social practice be placed at the core of the discipline. Such a position has the potential to better conjoin existing approaches with a “sociology of translation”, as well as to discuss more effectively the interface of methodologies that have been developed in sociology and cultural studies.

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Subtitling

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In the context of today's multimedia society, audiovisual translation (AVT) is gaining great visibility and relevance as a means of fostering communication and dialogue in an increasingly multicultural and multilingual environment. AVT is the umbrella term used to refer to the translation of programmes in which the verbal dimension is only one of the many shaping the communication process. The concurrence of different semiotic layers through the visual (images, written text, gestures) and audio (music, noise, dialogue) channels makes the translator's task particularly challenging in this field. Of the several modes available to translate audiovisual programmes (Gambier 2003), subtitling is arguably the most commonly used because it is cheap and fast. Other professional practices are interpreting*, voiceover and dubbing*.

By way of definition, subtitling consists in rendering in writing the translation into a TL of the original dialogue exchanges uttered by the different speakers, as well as of all other verbal information that is transmitted visually (letters, banners, inserts) or aurally (lyrics, voices off). Subtitling can be seen as a supplement to the original programme, which, unlike in dubbing, remains intact in the target culture for all to watch and to hear. All subtitled programmes are therefore made up of three main components: the original spoken/written word, the original image and the added subtitles. Subtitlers are expected to come up with solutions that create the right interaction among these components and they must take into consideration the fact that viewers have to read the written text at a given speed whilst also watching the images at the same time. The constraining nature of the audiovisual environment has always been brought to the fore when discussing this type of translation, leading scholars in the past to label it as an example of 'constrained translation' (Titford 1982) or even 'a necessary evil' (Marleau 1982).

1. The technical dimension

Generally speaking, subtitles do not contain more than two lines, are displayed horizontally – usually at the bottom of the screen though in some countries like Japan they can also be vertical – and appear in synchrony with the image and dialogue. The synchronisation process is known as spotting, cueing, timing or originating and it may be carried out by the translators themselves or by technicians who know the subtitling program.

The time a subtitle stays on screen depends both on the speed at which the original exchange is delivered and on the viewers' assumed reading speed. Tradition had it that

the best practice should be based on the so-called '6 second rule' (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 96–99), whereby two full lines of around 35 characters each can be comfortably read in six seconds. For shorter periods of time, proportional values are automatically calculated by the subtitling software, bearing in mind that no subtitle should stay on screen for less than one second so as to guarantee that the eye of the viewer can register its presence.

Although these parameters still enjoy some currency in the industry, particularly on television, the viewers' increased exposure to reading text on screen and enormous technical advances in recent decades have brought considerable changes. The sacred rule of having a maximum of two lines in a subtitle so as to minimise their impact on the photography is being broken daily by the emergence of three, four and even five-liners, notably in the subtitling being done on the internet. The traditional positioning of subtitles at the bottom of the screen is also being challenged as they are beginning to be displayed on different parts of the screen.

Likewise, restricting the number of characters per line to 35, 39 or even 43 is not an important factor anymore. Most professional subtitling programs work now with pixels, allowing for proportional lettering, which means that subtitlers can write as much text as possible, depending on the font size being used and the actual space available on screen.

Perhaps surprisingly, viewers' reading patterns and abilities have not been thoroughly investigated in subtitling, and there is apparently a general consensus in the profession that the 6-second rule dictates a rather low reading speed. With the advent of DVD and mobile technology, the mushrooming of screens around us, and the proliferation of audiovisual programmes, it seems fair to accept that today's viewers are 'better/faster' audiovisual readers than those of previous generations. Besides the lengthening of lines, shorter exposure times and faster reading speeds are all a consequence of this belief. It is not uncommon to keep two-liners for a maximum of 5 seconds, and to apply reading speeds that hover around the 180 words per minute (wpm) or 15 to 17 characters per second (cps), as opposed to the traditional 140 wpm or 12 cps. As can be expected, all these technical changes have had a knock-on effect on the way the actual translation is carried out.

2. The linguistic dimension

Whilst respecting the technical specifications discussed above, subtitles must provide a semantically adequate account of the SL dialogue. The fact that viewers do not normally have the possibility of back-tracking to retrieve information has a great impact in the way subtitles are presented on screen. Ideally, if they are to be easily understood in the short time available, each subtitle ought to be semantically self-contained and come across as a coherent, logical and syntactical unit. To boost readability, both spotting and line-breaking ought to be carried out in such a way that words intimately connected by logic, semantics or grammar should be written on the same line or subtitle whenever possible.

Unless speakers deliver their utterances really slowly, reduction is arguably the main strategy in use by subtitlers. Reductions can be partial, where condensation of the original is paramount, and total, when part of the message is deleted. In both cases, decisions have to adhere to the principle of relevance and make sure that no information of vital diegetic value is deleted. Any solutions should take the iconic information into account and avoid translating what is explicitly conveyed through the image. Although subtitles cannot translate absolutely everything that is said, they must strive to capture the essence of what is said. As aptly put by Gottlieb (1998/2001: 247): "In subtitling, the speech act is always in focus; intentions and effects are more important than isolated lexical elements".

The transition from oral to written poses certain challenges and raises the question of whether non-standard speech, like accents and very colloquial traits, can be effectively rendered in writing. More often than not, this type of linguistic variation is neutralised in the subtitles. Swearwords and other taboo expressions are also particularly sensitive to this media migration as there is the tacit belief that they are more offensive when starkly reproduced in text than when verbalised, which in turn tends to lead to the indiscriminate deletion of most effing and blinding in the TL subtitles.

Because of the concurrent presence of the original soundtrack and the subtitles, and especially when translating from a well-known language like English or from one linguistically close to the TL, subtitling finds itself in a particularly vulnerable situation, open to the scrutiny of anyone with the slightest knowledge of the SL. One strategy used to deal with this is for subtitles to follow, as far as possible, the syntactic structure of the source text so as to reinforce the synchronisation and to preserve the same chronology of events as in the original utterances.

A worrying practice in the industry is the recourse to English as a pivot language to translate from some languages (Czech or Japanese) into others (French or German) following an English translation rather than the original soundtrack. Errors or misunderstandings in the English translation will most likely be replicated in the other languages, and nuances and interpretations will also be filtered through English.

The imperative of having to synchronise dialogue and subtitles, the need to stay within a maximum of two lines per subtitle, and the widespread belief that the best subtitles are the ones that are not noticed, have been frequently invoked to explain why subtitlers cannot make use of metatextual devices, such as footnotes or glosses, to justify their solutions. However, this assumption seems to be being challenged by new practices, where glosses inside the subtitles and explanatory notes on top of the screen are freely used (Díaz Cintas 2005).

3. Types of subtitling

From a technical perspective subtitles can be *open*, when they are delivered together with the image and cannot be turned off, as in the cinema, or *closed*, when they are optional and can be added to the programme at the viewer's will, as on most DVDs. The process of

merging the subtitles with the images has evolved considerably over the years (Ivarsson & Carroll 1998: 12–19) and today's main methods are *laser*, whereby the subtitles are burnt onto the celluloid, and *electronic*, whereby the subtitles are projected onto the film.

Subtitles can appear on screen as a block and off again, known as *pop-on* subtitles, *scroll* horizontally, or *roll-up*. According to the time available for preparation, subtitles can be *pre-prepared* ahead of the programme's release, or *(semi/real)live* if they are produced at the same time as the programme is being broadcast.

From a linguistic point of view we can distinguish between *intralingual* subtitles, also known as captions in American English, where the language of the subtitles and the programme coincide and *interlingual* subtitles, where the spoken/written message of the original programme is translated into a TL. *Bilingual* subtitles are part of the latter category and are produced in geographical areas where two or more languages are spoken, as in Finland (Finnish and Swedish) or Jordan (Arabic and Hebrew).

The best known type of intralingual subtitles is aimed at audiences with hearing impairment and is widely known as subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing (SDH). They are a step forward in guaranteeing greater democratic access to audiovisual programming and, in many countries, their output is regulated by legislation. Although they share many features with standard subtitling, they also make use of some unique attributes (de Linde & Kay 1999; Neves 2005). On television, they normally change colour depending on the person who is talking or the emphasis given to certain words within the same subtitle, whilst on DVD they resort to labels to identify speakers. It is not unusual to come across subtitles of up to three or even four lines, and accommodate more than one speaker in the same line. Crucially, not only do they reproduce the speaker's dialogue, but they also incorporate paralinguistic information that deaf people cannot access from the soundtrack, such as the revving of an engine, steps on a staircase, indications concerning music, laughter, or whispering. Their positioning is also important and they can be left or right justified so that speakers can be easily identified or to indicate where a given sound is coming from.

Thanks to greater social awareness, SDH is one of the forms of audiovisual communication which has undergone spectacular growth in recent years on all media. In addition to a higher turnover, with some TV stations subtitling 100% of their output, SDH has also crossed linguistic barriers and interlingual subtitling for hearing impaired audiences is now a reality on some DVDs.

4. New trends

Subtitling is so dependent on technology that any technical advances have the potential to encroach both on the subtitling process from the practitioner's perspective as well as on the perception that viewers have of subtitling as a product. In this sense, digitisation

and the availability of free subtitling software on the net have made possible the rise and consolidation of translation practices like fansubbing, which in turn are having an incidental effect on how formal conventions are applied. Subtitles have been traditionally rather humdrum in terms of positioning, font type and layout. This new way of approaching subtitles as part of a budding participatory culture is pushing the boundaries of creativity and shaking the foundations of traditional subtitling. Only time will tell whether these conventions put forward by the so-called 'collective intelligence' (Lévy 1997) are just a mere fleeting fashion or whether they are the prototype for future subtitling. The impetus provided by 3D technology may well open the door to more interactivity and cr3aTVty in subtitling.

Recent developments in voice and speech recognition have made possible the appearance and booming of respeaking as a professional practice to subtitle programmes that are broadcast (semi/real)live, such as the news or sports. The wider breadth and scope of genres being distributed audiovisually – corporate videos, scientific and technical documentaries with a high level of lexical repetition – makes the incipient use of translation memory systems and automated translation in subtitling a very promising development.

In terms of research, the didactic potential of subtitling to learn and consolidate a foreign language has been a particularly active line of enquiry in recent times (Díaz Cintas 2008). In an attempt to bolster their quantitative findings and gain an insight into the cognitive efforts presupposed by reading subtitles, some researchers are resorting to the application of new methodologies and tools, like corpus studies and eye-tracking.

Since the late 1990s subtitling has been a most inspiring field in which to conduct research and more recently also for netizens to communicate in cyberspace. Far from waning, this interest is still aflame and as strong as two decades ago, if not stronger.

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Technical translation

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Technical translation is a type of translation*. In this term, the word ‘technical’ refers to the content of the documents, not to the tools used. Due to the semantic ambiguity of the English adjective ‘technical’, the term can relate to content either from technology and engineering or from any specialized domain. In this article, the term is understood in the narrower sense. In the broader sense, the activity is also called ‘specialized translation’. Much of what is said here about technical translation equally holds for specialized translation and to some extent also for specialized communication in general.

1. Technical translation as an object of study

The features of technical translation are discussed here in the context of the Integrative Model of Specialized Communication suggested by the present author (Schubert 2007: 243–326). This model views technical translation (along with other forms of specialized communication) as an activity carried out by an agent in interaction with other agents. The activity consists of tasks that make up a process. The process has an internal and an external side. The internal side is a decision-making process (see Translation process*), that is, the translator’s mental and cognitive activity required for carrying out the assignment. The external side of the process is all that can be observed by an external witness, that is, all actions carried out by the agent, including all interaction with other persons. The external process can be roughly equated with the workflow. It comprises the influences that come from the outside and control the agent’s decisions.

In this model, the communicative act is analysed in four dimensions, viz. the dimensions of

- the technical content
- the linguistic form
- the technical medium
- the work processes.

The four dimensions account for features of the communicative act itself. Other concepts often discussed in connection with translation work such as the purpose (or *skopos* – see Functional approaches*) or the target audience are factors of the external process.

They can exert controlling influences (term to be discussed below) and thereby trigger certain features. Style guides, standards, corporate-wording handbooks, laws and legal regulations are some of the instruments of this control.

1.1 Technical content

Technical translators work with a broad range of documents. By far the largest volumes come from technical documentation and software localization*.

The content of technical documentation normally concerns technical products or services. The most typical documents include manuals for the installation, operation, maintenance, repair or disposal of technical products such as devices, engines or software systems. Other common documents are product data sheets, product specifications, proposals, parts lists and catalogues. Some document types share the features of the technical specialities and some of the neighbouring domains, such as law (see Legal translation*), advertising, science (see Scientific translation*), etc., for example patents, technical contract supplements, customer product presentations or journal articles.

Documentation focuses on a technical product and very often also on the use of the product, which means that it describes both objects and activities. Some documentation is concerned only with activities, in particular the documentation of services. The content of technical documentation is thus predominantly descriptive and instructive.

Technical documentation consists of documents *about* the product. In addition, devices, engines, etc. frequently contain product texts, that is, text elements contained within the product. Product texts are, for example, the short words on or near switches, buttons, as well as the somewhat longer pieces of text that appear on control panels, displays and the like.

Whereas, in the case of engines and similar technical products, the amount of product texts is normally very small compared to the volume of the documentation, in software systems the ratio is very different, since most software systems contain large volumes of product texts. In addition to the product texts, software systems normally come with documentation that can be translated much in the same way as in the case of technical products.

In the case of both technical products and software systems, the product texts are quoted verbatim in the documentation (text reflexes). For both types of products, the translation assignments frequently include a certain degree of adaptation* to the target market. Technical translations are covert translations (House 1977: 188; see Overt and covert translation*), which means that the necessities of the target situation override any equivalence requirements.

In the dimension of the technical content, the main characteristics of technical translation are the selection of the content (what is said), the sequencing (in which order it is said) and the access structure (how to find it). The typical recipients rarely read technical documents from cover to cover, but use them for reference. Therefore, these types of documents often include an elaborate access structure. This term denotes everything that

helps the recipients locate the required piece of information, e.g., a table of contents, an index, headers that repeat chapter or section titles, marginalia, plus, in the case of electronic documents, navigation tools, sitemaps and the hyperlink structure.

1.2 Linguistic form

In the dimension of the linguistic form, technical translation is concerned with documents in languages for special purposes (LSP). LSP texts, at least in European languages, are generally characterized by specific features at the lexical, morphological, word-formational, syntactic and text-linguistic levels. These include, for example, the use of specific, semantically thoroughly defined terms (lexical feature), morphological forms not common in general language (e.g., plurals of mass nouns; morphological feature), much longer compounds than in general language (e.g., names of chemical substances; word-formational feature), special verb valencies (syntactic feature) and recurrence of terms rather than stylistic variation (text-linguistic feature). Most of the LSP features exist in general language as well, but are used much more frequently and consistently in LSP, with the result that the specificity of LSP is predominantly stylistic rather than systematic.

1.3 Technical medium

The dimension of the technical medium contains the typography, layout and web design of the documents as well as the use of illustrations (pictures, graphics, photos, audio sequences, videos, computer programs, etc.). In present-day practice, virtually all documents, whether presented to the eventual recipients in electronic or printed form, are computer files while they are being created or edited by translators and other technical communicators. Thus, an essential feature in this dimension is the file format.

Common formats in technical translation are word-processing and desktop publishing formats, browser formats such as HTML and the formats of help systems. Viewer formats such as PDF are used in technical documentation, but since they are not designed for the further processing of the documents, they figure in technical translation work mainly as a target rather than source format, and they are also used in reference documentation provided to translators. Generic formats such as XML are very common in technical communication.

Software localization works with translatable text embedded in non-translatable program code. Especially the translation of the text elements in user interfaces has to cope with space restrictions. Localization therefore comprises an adaptation of the size of buttons, dialogue boxes and other elements to the length of the target text.

1.4 Work processes

In the dimension of the work processes, both the organization of the tasks and subtasks into a process and the tools are to be described.

If one disregards the business process and takes into consideration only the translational tasks themselves, a common list of tasks in technical translation is the following (Schubert 2009b: 22). The tasks are not necessarily carried out in a sequential order.

- receiving the source document
- receiving the job specifications
- researching information
- planning the workpiece
- translating
- formatting
- revising
- finalizing

The translation work itself is normally part of a longer chain of communicative processes. In this chain, the work of technical translators is often preceded by that of technical writers or other specialized authors, and it may be followed by the activities of documentation managers.

The tools mainly used in technical translation are word-processing systems, desktop publishing systems, web editors and help editors, and very frequently translation-memory systems (see Computer-aided translation*) and machine translation systems.

2. Optimized communication

Like all translation work, technical translation is a form of mediated communication in the sense that a translator carries out somebody else's communicative intention that is expressed in the source document. Especially in the technical field, the translation work is additionally controlled. The controlling influences can originate from any other agent directly or indirectly involved. These include the initiator (the agent who orders the translation to be made), the informants (agents from whom researched information is obtained or who authored it), members of the translation team, agents carrying out secondary tasks such as terminology* work, but also agents outside the translation process proper, such as the speciality community or industry whose best practice rules exert an influence, authors of textbooks and handbooks in technical translation, teaching staff in translator training, standardizing bodies, authorities and legislators.

The instruments of control comprise the job specifications, style guides, handbooks, standards and legal stipulations. They can also be implicit in resources or software systems provided by the initiator, such as termbanks, translation memories or parameter settings for machine translation systems. The influences expressed by these means can concern any of the four dimensions, that is, they can prescribe specific elements of content to be left

out, added or adapted for localization or audience design; they can prescribe terms and syntactic constructions to be used, rules of syntactic simplicity or linguistic consistency to be applied, formatting requirements to be met and procedures to be followed.

Many of the controlling influences in technical communication serve an optimizing purpose (Schubert 2009a). Some of them originate from the optimizing influences that apply to the work processes in which the source documents were created by technical writers or other authors. Among these, the techniques of controlled languages, information structuring, single-source publishing and cross-media publishing are especially noteworthy.

Controlled languages are languages that are restricted in lexicon and syntax. They are frequently used in technical documentation in order to achieve consistency, comprehensibility and translatability. In order to structure the content of technical documents, structured writing techniques such as Information Mapping or Funktionsdesign are frequently used in technical writing. There are specific software formats to accommodate structured information, a very common one at present being the Darwin Information Typing Architecture (DITA). Information-structuring techniques control the sequencing of the information, the linguistic form and in some cases the formatting. Translators may be instructed to preserve these features. Single-source and cross-media publishing are techniques normally carried out by means of content management systems in which texts are created and stored in small portions that may then be recombined to form various documents (single-sourcing). In addition, these systems separate the text from its formatting and layout, thus enabling the same or similar versions of a document to be automatically published in different formats such as print, web, help and viewer format (cross-media).

3. The study of technical translation

Technical translation has been among the objects investigated in Translation Studies right from the beginning. Translation Studies emerged as a discipline of its own as a response to the earliest research and development work in machine translation* in the mid-20th century. Three new ideas laid the ground for the young discipline: it adopted the new methods of structural linguistics (first dependency, then generative grammar), it inherited from machine translation a procedural view on its object and it began to take a serious interest in the genre for which machine translation was being developed, i.e., specialized and, in particular, technical texts.

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Terminology and translation

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The relationship between translation and terminology has been addressed by various authors both in the field of translation and terminology. From the point of view of translation, terminology is considered a tool to solve particular problems, while in terminology, translated documents may serve as a source for extracting terms when there are no original texts on the subject in the target language.

In this paper we present the relations between translation and terminology in detail from the perspective of specialized translation and analyze the terminological problems translators face and the most appropriate strategies and resources to solve them. Finally, we present the different degrees of terminology involvement translators may have.

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1. The relations between terminology and translation

Terminology and translation present a series of coincidences. Firstly, Terminology and translation are characterized by their long tradition as applied subjects, in contrast to their recently established character as disciplines. Terminology and translation arose from the practical activity caused by the need to express specialized thought or to solve comprehension problems.

Second, due to their relatively recent scientific recognition, both translation and terminology try to advance in the reaffirmation of their status as disciplines by placing emphasis on the features that distinguish them from other subjects and adhering to theories which sustain their autonomous nature as fields of knowledge.

Thirdly, terminology and translation are interdisciplinary fields having a cognitive, linguistic and communicative basis. As a result, their foundation principles come from the cognitive, language and communication sciences. Besides, both subjects are information and communication areas which have knowledge categories and units expressing them that are projected on communicative acts immersed in particular social contexts.

Last but not least, language is the essence of both disciplines. Language is the expression system that reflects speakers' conception of reality and allows individuals to interact and express their ideas and thoughts.

Despite their similarities, translation and terminology are different fields of knowledge that focus on two different objects: translation deals with the study of the translation process and the analysis of the translated text, and terminology focuses on the lexical form and content nodes representing knowledge as structured in the experts' mind.

Terminology and translation are also explicitly distinguished by their purposes. Translation is concerned with expressing in a language a semantic-pragmatic structure originally produced in another language. Terminology aims at collecting specialized terms to compile them and produce terminological resources (glossaries, dictionaries, vocabularies or databases) intended to be readily accessible and useful to translation experts, among other professionals.

Finally, translation and terminology bear an asymmetrical relationship. Specialized translation inevitably needs terminology to produce an adequate text. This is so because experts use terms for their texts. In practical terminological work terms are gathered from texts produced by specialists in *real* communicative situations. On the other hand, in the process of elaboration of glossaries, term extraction from original texts instead of translated texts is a priority. Only in situations where there is no discourse on a subject in a given language, are translated texts used as terminological source.

2. Terminology as a field of knowledge

Terminology, as a field of knowledge, deals with the study of terms. Like any subject, terminology has its applied side, which can be found basically in the collection, analysis and, in some cases, standardizing of terminological units in glossaries or databases.

Terminological units are the object of study of terminology as a field of knowledge and can be described from three different perspectives. Linguistically, terms are lexical units of language that activate a specialized value when used in certain pragmatic and discursive contexts. The special value results in a precise meaning recognized and stabilized within expert communities in each field.

From the cognitive point of view, terms constitute conceptual units representing nodes of knowledge which are necessary and relevant in the content structure of a field of specialty and which are projected linguistically through lexical units. All the conceptual nodes together constitute the conceptual structure of a field. For specialists, the concept is the starting point for terminology work, while for translators the concept is the intermediate point between the original term and its equivalent. The first function of terms, therefore, is the *representation* of specialized knowledge.

Thirdly, from the communicative perspective, terms are discourse units that identify individuals as members of a professional group and allow them not only to communicate and interact, but also to transfer their knowledge with a didactic purpose to train new experts, or simply spread special knowledge as information to the general public willing to

learn about a subject. The terminological density of texts varies according to their level of specialization: while more specialized the text, the more the terminology it will have. Thus, the second function of terms is the transfer of specialized knowledge.

The linguistic, cognitive and communicative perspectives are inseparable for a holistic description of terms; however, the three approaches are treated separately for scientific purposes.

The communication situations in which terms appear are essentially specialized situations pragmatically restricted as to the characteristics of the participants (mainly the emitter, who is an expert in the subject), the topic, purpose and language function.

Apart from the aspects that may be of interest to a particular professional group, terminology is a field of knowledge centred on terms. Its descriptive and theoretical perspectives aim at describing terms and the way they work, while its applied side deals with the collection of terms in order to develop glossaries as tools intended to be useful for professional needs.

Terminological units are all the lexicalized units used in special fields. Within these units, those of nominal category with referential and denominative value are the prototypical terms. But specialized knowledge can also be expressed by units of other lexical categories (verbs, adjectives and phrases) or other types of units: supralexical (specialized phraseology and fixed sequences) or infralexical (specialized formants).

3. The translation perspective on terminology

From the standpoint of translation as an activity, terminology is conceived as an instrument for translation. Terminology resources provide to translators the information needed to solve their doubts, that is, to find an equivalent in the target language, learn the meaning of a term in the source language or select the best option among several alternative terms.

But beyond its instrumental function, terminology also serves translators as a means for acquiring knowledge about a special domain. The terms of any specialty, interrelated by different types of relationships (generic-specific, cause-effect, part-whole, anterior-posterior, material-object, function-instrument, etc.), constitute knowledge structures. Thus, knowing the terminology of a field implies acquiring knowledge of it. In this sense, terminology has a metacognitive function as it helps translators to organize their knowledge on the subject, and provides them the lexical units (terms) to express the specialized knowledge units of the field adequately.

4. Terminological problems of translation

In the relationship between terminology and translation two situations, implying two different kinds of needs, can be distinguished. On the one hand, the terminology

requirements of any translation (terminology *in* translation) and, on the other, the translators' terminology needs (terminology *for* translation).

In the first case the terminology work to be carried out by the translator is *ad hoc terminology*, while in the second, the aim is to develop glossaries useful to translators, and the method is that of *systematic terminology work*.

When translating, translators face a diversity of problems posed either by the text to be translated or the different contexts of production and reception of the original and the translated text, among which only a few are terminological problems. Translators need to recognize when a problem is related to terminology in order to solve it with a terminological method.

A translation problem is terminological only when it affects terms, i.e. lexical units with a precise meaning in a given special field. A terminological problem may be related to term understanding and the term pragmatic properties in the original text, or to the search for equivalents. The following are situations all translators may acknowledge having been involved in:

- Not knowing all or part of a term, its meaning, its grammatical use or pragmatic value in the source language.
- Not knowing if in the target language there is a lexicalized unit semantically and pragmatically equivalent to the term used in the original text.
- Doubting whether a given unit of the target language is the most appropriate equivalent among the alternatives found.
- Ignoring or having doubts about the phraseology used in a particular field of speciality.

In order to solve the problems encountered in the understanding of the source text, translators use reference books to learn the meaning of units or their grammatical and pragmatic conditions of use. These reference works are often reduced to monolingual specialized dictionaries in the original language or bilingual and multilingual terminological databases. Translators expect to find the information they need to fully comprehend the text to translate, and may also consult experts with competence in the source language.

In the translation phase, translators must fundamentally solve equivalence problems, i.e. finding an equivalent or selecting the most appropriate equivalent. Unlike the logic of translation, solving terminological problems is not about finding a strategy to ensure equivalence, but finding an equivalent term.

In some cases terminological resources do not resolve translators' doubts. Sometimes this is due to the lack of reference terminology in the language of translation, but most of the time the cause is attributable to the lack of updated glossaries or their inadequacy for the specific needs of translation.

Among the problems caused by the inexistence of terminology which reference works left unresolved, we can find the following cases related to the target language:

- It is not possible to find a lexicalized unit (term) because specialists do not use this language to communicate on the subject.
- There is no lexicalized unit satisfactory from the linguistic point of view because specialists make systematic use of the loan.
- There is no standard unit agreed upon by the specialists or sanctioned by standardization or normalization bodies.

In the quest for equivalents, translators start, at least in principle, from the assumption that all terminological units in the source text will have an equivalent terminological unit in the target language. If the search is unsuccessful and no equivalent is found (a situation that only occurs when the topic at issue has never been dealt with in the target language) translators may propose a solution, i.e. a new term, which should be accordingly acknowledged with a footnote.

It is clear that to be able to propose a term translators must have acquired a sound knowledge of lexical morphology, lexicology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Besides, some degree of feasibility of use of the suggested term is required.

When confronted with different alternative terms, to decide between choosing one possibility or coining a new term is not an easy task. It implies considering all the possibilities and means of resolution for each type of problem and act accordingly. Broadly speaking, translators must consider other proposals and neological criteria established by standardization bodies, the general structure of language and lexical resources available (including loan and possible adaptations) and the grammatical possibilities to form new terms, the characteristics of the specialized area term system the new terminological unit will form part of and the linguistic viability of the proposed term, and the chances of being accepted and used by the expert group.

Once all the possibilities have been considered, the translator must make a decision and choose the term to be used in the translation. This term must be sufficiently documented so as to avoid the proliferation of terms coined by translators, as individual translators are not sources of consolidated reference terminology.

It is not always clear which position should be adopted before denominative variation. Given the presence of numerous equivalents, translators may consider the convenience and adequacy of formal diversity in the target text with respect to the original text, the relevance of formal diversity in relation to the area of knowledge, and the characteristics of each lexical variant in order to decide one of the following options:

- Respect the denominative variation of the original text and use all the variants indiscriminately, as if they all were completely interchangeable.
- Use the variants discriminately, selecting one or another for different uses.
- Select one or more variants as systematic forms of reference.

In any case, in order to maintain or reduce the variants the translator must take into account some general linguistic variation aspects related to the geographic scope of a language and its diversification, the levels of geolocal variation and willingness to maintain it, the pragmatic diversity of the lexical variants, the criteria for language and terminology planning, if applicable, the scope of the domain, its interdisciplinarity, its relation with the fields of technology and natural, social or human sciences, etc., and the level of precision of the text and its pragmatic context.

5. Terminology resources for translators

To solve the terminological problems that arise in the translation phase, all involving the search for an equivalent or the selection of the most appropriate equivalent, translators make use of three main types of resources:

- Monolingual textual documentation resources: specialized texts on the subject, preferably in digital format, usually via the Internet.
- Terminological documentation resources: bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, terminology and knowledge databases.
- Bilingual or multilingual textual resources: parallel or multilingual comparable corpus.

5.1 Textual resources

To acquire general information about a subject translators may make direct consultations to specialists or consult general and monographic works (manuals, monographs and articles), as well as encyclopaedias and tools for documentary work, such as hierarchical classifications, subject indices or thesauri, which also provide, to a greater or lesser degree, information about the conceptual structure of the subject through terms.

Currently most of the queries profit from the advanced search engines available on the Internet. These engines allow searching for terminological information in specialized textual corpora. Automatic searches provide not only terms but also concordances, i.e. linguistic contexts containing the term being sought.

As already known, the criteria used to assess specialized texts are the same as those used for general texts. In the latter, expressiveness, variety and originality prevail over other features, while in specialized texts conciseness, accuracy and adequacy are the most relevant criteria.

5.2 Terminological resources

To resolve translation issues related to equivalents, in addition to the textual documentation just mentioned, translators also use dictionaries, vocabularies or specialized lexicons, terminology standards and terminological databases.

Lexicographical works – general or specialized and online, digital or paper format – are a good source for obtaining and cross-checking knowledge on a given subject, and they are even more useful when the subject is approached from the point of view of the user's interests.

Aligned parallel corpora provide translators terminological equivalents in context.

Besides this type of material, in order to increase the efficiency of their searches translators must also take into account the value and reliability of the documents consulted and their sources. According to this criterion, it must be distinguished between informative or descriptive documents from texts having an instructive or standardization purpose. Included in this second category are international and national standards as well as those standards elaborated by institutions with authority on terminology, and all compilations of terms directly or indirectly standardized by authorized institutions.

Terminology banks have played an important role in the information society. As they were originally conceived as instruments for translation, they were basically bilingual or multilingual, and focused more on forms of designations than on the conceptual aspects of terms. Later, when terminology focused on the standardization processes of minority languages, monolingual banks (with or without equivalents) allowed studying content-related aspects further.

The primary advantage of terminology banks in relation to traditional glossaries is the possibility to be continuously updated, as well as their capacity to store a large number of terms and term-related information, which allows oriented and selected data retrieval.

Initially, the purpose of translation-oriented terminology banks was facilitating translators the search work by providing a lot of information in one work. The underlying idea was that the needs leading translators to search a terminology bank were similar to those that drove them to consult dictionaries (spelling of a term, meaning, grammatical information, area of use, equivalents pragmatic or normative adequacy of variants, etc.). However, this information was often blurred by the importance given to the concept-term relationship and standard forms in terminology theory, which rested importance to other type of data highly necessary for translators, such as contexts of use, grammar and variants.

To fill these gaps and optimize the efficiency of specialized banks of information, current terminology data banks, as foreseen by Sager in 1990, are in fact knowledge data banks, as they:

- Integrate various related databases: textual, terminological, documentary and factographic, plus a domain ontology.
- Contain a wide variety of data such as nomenclatures, specialized terms, collocations and phraseology, with the information necessary to identify all those units.
- Can be used as monolingual, bilingual or multilingual dictionaries indistinctively.
- Allow online access.
- Can be used as the basis for the production of dictionaries.

A database of these characteristics is not only a tool for consultation, but rather a basic tool for dictionary editing and knowledge transfer. Thus, from being no more than an automated version of a dictionary aimed for restricted use, databases became multifunctional and flexible instruments catering for the search needs and interests of different user groups.

In brief, from one and isolated database we are heading today towards a system environment, from which access to remote information contained in various databanks is provided. This is possible thanks to intelligent search engines, which, given a query, gather and offer all the information about it found in different individual banks.

5.3 Bilingual textual resources

It should be mentioned that, for translators, parallel corpus (containing original texts and their translations) are very useful. While working, through translation memories translators progressively create parallel corpus they can use and profit from later on.

6. Translators' terminological involvement

When confronted with a terminological problem, translators may adopt four different degrees of terminology involvement.

At the first level of involvement, in order to solve a terminological problem translators basically consult dictionaries and specialized databases and, if they can not find a solution, they resort to terminology consultation services. If the problem is not solved, translators may simply write the original term with quotation marks or explain the concept through a paraphrase. In this first level, translators are completely passive in terminology as they only need lists of consultation centres, data banks and specialized dictionaries, together with some adequate training to consult them properly.

The second level of terminology involvement occurs when translators can not find an official solution for the terminological problem and draw on their general linguistic competence to fill the gap with a neological term, which must be documented in a footnote. In this way, the translation process is unblocked by proposing a *well-formed* unit in the target language. As in the first level, the translator does not participate in terminology work in this case, as the resolution of the terminological problem is approached from the logic of lexicology, and not from terminology.

It is at the third level of involvement that, in order to find an equivalent, the translator acts as a terminologist from the methodological point of view: once the problem is located in the conceptual structure of the field, the terminological gap is filled by means of a new term proposal, which is done based on the observation of the patterns of term-formation in the field of specialty, and pondered regarding its viability of use. In this case, the translator starts to be minimally active in terminology and acts as *ad hoc terminologist*.

At the fourth level of involvement, translators resolve terminological problems and cover denominative gaps by drawing on terminological information from their own databases, which contain the terms as well as the term proposals from prior translations. Besides, at this level translators edit the terms in a glossary, so that it can be useful to other translators working on the same topic. By doing this, the translator acts as *systematic terminologist*, and must know the correct methodology for systematic monolingual and multilingual terminology search.

To be able to act as systematic terminologist, translators should also learn some of the basic principles of terminology, as the following:

- Terminology should not be confused with translation; terminology work consists in finding terminological equivalents (i.e. lexical units used by experts in the target language).
- Neither must terminology be confused with systematic neological work. Neologisms are used when all the possibilities of finding a *real* term have been exhausted.
- Terms are lexical units of languages, thus lexical formation rules and tendencies for word combination in discourse should be respected.
- Terms are indivisible units with form and content; thus, terms can not be reduced neither to a concept, regardless of its form in a specific language, nor to a designation dissociated from its content.
- The form and content of terminological units are doubly systematic: first of all in relation to the general language, and more specifically, in relation to the field of expertise to which they belong.
- The form and content of a term are thematically specific; consequently, a lexical unit is a term only if it is associated to a field of expertise.
- All terminological data must have a real source. This means that terms in monolingual terminology works are collected from real specialized discourse produced by experts; in the case of a neological proposal, the source is the author who suggests the neologism.

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The turns of Translation Studies

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From today's viewpoint, the concept of the "turn" within the context of language studies probably recalls the "pragmatic turn" which took place in linguistics during the 1970s. This is now seen as a clear swing from the abstract and rigid dogmas of transformational generative grammar, which ruled out all aspects of "extralinguistic reality", to the more practical, open and flexible approach which viewed language as action in relation to the world around and especially to the situation concerned. One of its major forces was the then revolutionary speech act theory. The process continued with the inclusion of social and communicative aspects of language and the emergence of text linguistics, all of which paved the way for the future discipline of Translation Studies*.

The concept of the "turn" is a metaphor taken from everyday English. Figurative language is not unusual in English-speaking academic discourse, but it relies by nature on associations based on common consensus, which can however vary with the individual user or reader, is hence "fuzzy" and should not be misunderstood as unambiguous terminology. The many definitions of the lemma *turn* found in standard English dictionaries and the ensuing potential for misunderstanding are discussed in Snell-Hornby 2009: 42–43 (see too Bachmann-Medick 2007: 27–33). The concept of the "turn" as understood here is ideally a paradigmatic change, a marked "bend in the road" involving a distinct change in direction, as was the case with the "pragmatic turn". This does not mean however that every change is a "turn": the image is not compatible, for example, with a simple adjustment of strategy or method, the inclusion of some extra component or the mere use of different materials. A "turn" is dynamic and can only be assessed as such in retrospect, whereby a change of direction is perceived as being clearly visible and striking, perhaps even amounting to a redefinition of the subject concerned.

1. The cultural turn

During the post-war decades, before the emergence of Translation Studies as a discipline in its own right, translation was viewed as a subdivision of comparative literature on the one hand (literary translation) and linguistics on the other (technical*, commercial* or specialized translation). The latter was aligned to the scientific categories of linguistics, concentrating on the concept of equivalence between items, especially words, of the target language (TL) and those of the source language (SL). SL items were clearly the point of

reference with which TL items were to be equivalent (and hence the approach was subsequently described as “retrospective”).

Towards the end of the 1970s two groups of scholars developed a “prospective” view of translation which concentrated, not on the source text, but on the status and the function of the translation in the target culture. These two groups, the one centred in the Netherlands and Israel round Gideon Toury (Descriptive Translation Studies*), concentrating initially on literary translation, cf. Hermans 1985), the other in Germany round Hans J. Vermeer (see Functionalist approaches*) worked independently of each other, but in the mid-1980s they both presented insights which had a striking amount in common, including the emphasis on the cultural context of the translation rather than the linguistic items of the source text (cf. Snell-Hornby 2006: 47–56).

The work of the German scholars was described in a paper given in July 1988 at a conference in Warwick (Snell-Hornby 1990). In their Introduction to the (meanwhile much-discussed) volume of essays arising from this event (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990), the editors used the term “cultural turn” – with reference to the work in Germany – as the key concept:

The contributions in this volume have all taken the ‘cultural turn’ advocated by Snell-Hornby, which explains (...) why certain new categories (...) will be introduced. The ‘cultural turn’ also explains why this volume, as opposed to so many others in the field, displays a remarkable unity of purpose. All contributions deal with the ‘cultural turn’ in one way or another, they are so many case studies illustrating the central concept of the collection. (Lefevere & Bassnett 1990: 4)

It is legitimate to say that the term “cultural turn” in Translation Studies dates back to these words, and it has meanwhile become one of the central concepts of the discipline (for other concepts of culture see Sewell 1999). It is moreover the most marked “turn” the discipline has yet taken, in the prototypical sense of a clear swing from a source-text oriented, retrospective, ‘scientific’ approach to one that is prospective, functional and oriented towards the target-text recipient. In the volume edited by Bassnett and Lefevere the reference is mainly to literary translation, including post-colonial literature* and gender-based Translation Studies (see Gender in translation*).

2. The “turns” of the 1990s

From today’s viewpoint of 2010 we can say that the cultural turn of the late 1980s is an undisputed milestone in the discipline, while the ensuing “turns” of the 1990s and the early years of the new century may still need the distance of time for their ultimate confirmation. Looking back to the 1990s from the perspective of the years that immediately followed however, there were two outstanding trends that unquestionably brought about radical changes in the discipline. The one came from without, the other from within.

The outside influence was the process of globalization*, along with breath-taking developments in information technology and hence worldwide communication, which have revolutionized many aspects of modern life and brought radical changes for the language industries. This has been called the “globalization turn”.

For centuries the translator had been viewed as a solitary figure working in isolation, pondering over words and sentences. Within a few years his/her workplace was then transformed by terminological databanks, MT-systems, the Internet with its attendant tools and all the other technological developments that are still being updated at an ever-increasing rate (see Computer-aided translation*; Machine translation today*). All this has revolutionized our speed and mode of communication – also our concept of text or “language material”. With regard to translation we could summarize some basic changes as follows:

1. Developments in telecommunication and the increased use of global English have made some forms of translation obsolete: formal business correspondence has in part given way to informal e-mailing or the use of mobile phones.
2. The need for speedy processing along with the levelling of culture-specific differences within the technological “lingua franca” leads to greater potential for machine(-aided) translation (as in the form of “gisting” for insider information).
3. Multimedia communication has created new text types (e.g., audiovisual or multi-semiotic), where verbal signs interact with pictorial images or icons: this has already been discussed as the “iconic turn” (cf. Bachmann-Medick 2007).

The other “turn” of the 1990s has been described as the “empirical turn”. After decades of strictly theoretical debate on the one hand versus purely practical reports on the other, there came the call for scholarly and scientific research based on empirical studies: for translation in the form of “think-aloud protocols”* (TAPs) and for interpreting in the form of extensive and concrete case studies (cf. Gile 1994, for examples of case studies see Snell-Hornby 2006: 116–122). This led to intense activity in the field of Interpreting Studies*, which had hitherto been given too little attention (and that was limited mainly to conference interpreting), and during the 1990s Interpreting Studies clearly emerged as a subdiscipline in its own right, further enriched by work in dialogue or community interpreting* in diverse settings (especially the courtroom, hospital or police station), as based on abundant empirical research. With increasing migration, dialogue interpreting is certain to be of crucial importance in the coming years (cf. Cronin 2006: 52 ff.).

3. The “turns” of the new century?

As indicated above, a disciplinary “turn” can only be perceived and defined as such after it is already complete, and it is still too early to make final pronouncements on the “turns” of the last few years in Translation Studies. The most promising candidate is the “sociological

turn" (cf. Bachleitner & Wolf 2004, Wolf & Fukari 2007; see also Sociology of translation*), which had however already been anticipated in previous decades (cf. Gouanvic 1997). The sociological approach follows naturally from the expansion of the (inter)discipline into its neighbouring areas and overlaps with many issues such as ethics* and cultural identity with the attendant need for multilingualism*, particularly in relation to the overwhelming dominance of English worldwide. These topics will certainly occupy translation scholars for some time to come.

It is interesting that the concept of the "turn" is currently enjoying great popularity, particularly in the neighbouring field of cultural studies (cf. Bachmann-Medick 2007). The variations on the topic include the notion of a "translation turn" (see too Bassnett 1998 and Snell-Hornby 2006: 164–160), but it is debatable whether this is at present pure theory or wishful thinking within the scientific community. For the time being it seems that a discussion on which developments still in progress in Translation Studies may prove to be paradigmatic changes – and are hence potential "turns" – cannot go beyond the field of speculation.

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Think-aloud protocol

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The term 'think-aloud protocol' refers to a type of research data used in empirical translation process research. The data elicitation method is known as 'thinking aloud' or 'concurrent verbalization', which means that subjects are asked to perform a task and to verbalize whatever crosses their mind during the task performance. The written transcripts of the verbalizations are called think-aloud protocols (TAPs).

The method was borrowed from cognitive psychology (Ericsson & Simon 1984/1993) and first applied to translation by, for example, Gerloff (1986), Krings (1986) and Lörscher (1986). While related to classical introspection, in which a person analyses their own thought processes, think-aloud has been developed into a more rigorously controlled method of eliciting data on cognitive processes (Ericsson & Simon 1984/1993). Based on an extensive survey of research evidence, Ericsson and Simon argue that, when elicited with care and appropriate instructions, think-aloud does not change the course or structure of thought processes, except for a slight slowing down of the process.

There are limitations to what kind of cognitive processes are accessible by think-aloud. Only information that is actively processed in working memory can be verbalized, which means that unconscious processing is inaccessible. High cognitive load can also hinder verbalization by using up all the available cognitive resources. As a result, think-aloud can offer informative glimpses of cognitive processing in progress, but never a complete account. To form a more complete and reliable picture, the think-aloud data can be complemented by the products of the process, i.e., translations, and/or keyboard-logging data, such as *Translog* (e.g., Jakobsen 2003).

Think-aloud continues to be used in cognitive psychology, for example, in expertise research. Interestingly, findings from translation process* research imply that there may be more to think-aloud than has met the cognitive psychologists' eye. In Krings' (2001) study, a slowing-down effect of about 30 per cent with think-aloud was found. Moreover, the subjects working in the think-aloud condition processed texts in smaller units. Similar findings have been reported by Jakobsen (2003). However, think-aloud did not change professional translators' revision patterns. These findings imply that think-aloud may change the structure of the cognitive processes involved in translating, but how and to which extent, is still unclear.

In fact, while early TAP studies discussed the theoretical framework of verbal report procedures at length (e.g., Krings 1986; Lörscher 1991; Jääskeläinen 1999), few studies have focused specifically on methodology. In the light of the above research evidence challenging

Ericsson and Simon's framework, it will be important to conduct a systematic study of the applicability and limitations of verbal report data in translation process research (Jääskeläinen, forthcoming).

Despite the limitations and missing methodological research, TAP studies have yielded interesting results about translation processes. Comparisons of language students, translation students and professional translators have confirmed old assumptions, for example, that professionals' translation units are larger than those of students (Jakobsen 2003; see Unit of translation*). Professionals also exploit a wider knowledge base than students who tend to treat translation as a purely linguistic code-switching operation (Jääskeläinen 1999; Krings 1986; Lörscher 1991). Surprisingly, translation does not necessarily become less problematic and more automatic with increasing experience; instead, growing professionalism or expertise also entails higher problem-awareness, sometimes resulting in more processing activities (Gerloff 1988; Jääskeläinen 1999). Determining which kinds of cognitive processes tend to become automatic and which demand conscious effort even from experienced professionals is just one of the questions waiting for answers from TAP or other process-oriented studies. The nature of translational expertise and how it develops, i.e., how novices become experts, are also areas of current research interest.

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Transfer and Transfer Studies

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In Translation Studies there is no unified concept of transfer. What distinguishes transfer concepts from concepts of translation*, however, is that 'translation' is frequently, but not necessarily, seen as a more constrained mode of transfer associated with equivalence or invariance requirements (see e.g., Koller 1992). In contrast, transfer concepts include, apart from translations in a narrower sense, transformations of texts and other media produced with a functionalist objective, i.e., with the intention of obtaining a target text or medium that fulfils specific functions for its audience in the target culture, rather than the criterion of invariance in relation to the source material. The results of transfer also include target texts or media whose functions differ from those of their source material. Transfers in which a variance requirement leads the hierarchy of target-text requirements have frequently been termed adaptations* or versions. To what extent the concepts of translation and transfer overlap, however, depends on the paradigm of translation theory from which one starts. Over the last 60 years, the scope of Translation Studies has expanded continually bringing the concept of translation closer to the more encompassing concept of transfer. For a detailed description of this expansion and its implications for the resulting translation concepts, see Göpferich (2007).

1. Types of transfer

Following the classification by Jakobson (1959), three types of transfer can be distinguished: (1) *Interlingual transfer* includes translation in the narrow sense as described above; in most cases, it cannot be separated from an intercultural transfer. (2) Examples of *intralingual transfer* are (a) adaptations for another audience, such as transformations of adult literature into children's versions, popularizations of scientific texts, and other forms of genre switching, (b) adaptations over time, which include, for example, the replacement of old translations by new ones, the modernization of theatre plays and the updating of manuals (see Weissbrod 2004: 25 ff.), and (c) text optimizations (Göpferich 2008: 238 ff.). (3) The term *intersemiotic transfer* refers to transformations in which information provided in one semiotic system (e.g., language in a novel) is rendered in another semiotic system (e.g., visual scenes in a film) either partially or completely (see Weissbrod 2004: 32 ff.). These three types of transfer can also be combined, for example, in popularizations of scientific texts, which may involve interlingual transfer, for example, from

English as the *lingua franca* of science into a national language, combined with intra-lingual transfer, in which information is provided in a more detailed or more generalized form than in the source material, and with intersemiotic transfer, for example of figures into textual explanations. Transfer thus also comprises “(literary) rewriting” (Lefevere 1992) and “intercultural technical writing” (Göpferich 1998), i.e., the optimization of (non-literary) source material or its transformation into documents with a different function and/or for a different audience which is combined with the adaptation to another linguistic and cultural community.

Apart from the transfer concept outlined above, other definitions can be found. Pym's transfer concept comprises less. Whereas the decisive feature of the transfer concept underlying this article is to make what is transferred cognitively (and, in some cases, also emotionally) accessible or more accessible and/or enjoyable for a specific audience in the target culture, Pym's transfer concept is limited to a “material movement” or “displacement” of texts from one place and time to another (Pym 1992: 32, 129, 131), which may make translation as a semiotic activity necessary. In contrast, Even-Zohar's transfer concept is wider. It integrates the three types of translation which Jakobson differentiates between. Additionally, however, it also includes “the process whereby imported goods [material or semiotic] are integrated into a home repertoire, and the consequences generated by this integration” (Even-Zohar 2003: 428); Even-Zohar (1990: 73) calls this type of transfer “inter-systemic”. In this way, not only individual texts can be transferred, but even textual models (e.g., genres) so that it comes to (intercultural) “system interference” (ibid: 75).

2. Transfer theory

According to Even-Zohar, all types of transfer differentiated in Section 2 can and should be dealt with within one theoretical framework. The reasons he gives for this claim (Even-Zohar 1990: 74 f.) are summarized as follows by Weissbrod (2004: 24):

- (1) there is no benefit in dealing with one phenomenon (translation) as if it were detached from other phenomena when it is not; (2) only through discovering that which is common to a set of phenomena is it possible to recognize what is unique to each; (3) it is then possible to rely on more specific theories that apply to the phenomenon in question.

Weissbrod (ibid: 38) states that, “Even-Zohar's transfer theory is beneficial in that it places translation in a larger context and does not detach it from other related phenomena”. Detaching translation in the narrower sense from other forms of transfer represents a restricted view, which Mittelstraß (1998) criticizes. He starts from real-world problems and encourages all disciplines which may contribute to the solution of these problems to try and do so (ibid: 44). For somebody who adopts this view, equivalence-oriented approaches

and thus translation concepts in the narrower sense are not useful because their object is too idealistic and too far removed from the phenomena of the real world.

3. Transfer Studies

The idea of an encompassing concept of transfer has been adopted in Transfer Studies, a relatively new transdiscipline established by Antos and Wichter towards the end of the 1990s. Antos defines Transfer Studies as a field of research which investigates access to knowledge in the broadest sense of the term. Its objective is to analyze the principles, methods and strategies of making knowledge accessible in a selective and sustained way. These analyses also include the problems and opportunities for creating meta-knowledge about knowledge for the purpose of making (specialized) knowledge available in an unrestricted manner to everyone who might be interested in it (Antos 2001: 5, cf. 16). The necessity for this new field of research is derived from the problems confronting us in an information and knowledge society: the risk of drowning in a flood of information, on the one hand, and the need to continuously acquire new and more specific knowledge at increasingly shorter intervals, on the other.

Interestingly, the concept of equivalence is something Antos touches upon too, even if he does not use the term itself:

[I]t would be principally wrong to reduce knowledge transfer to the question of how existing knowledge can be 'adapted optimally' without structurally reducing its complexity. This would lead to the unmanageable multiplication of knowledge and contradict the logic of specialization. (ibid: 22; my translation)

Here he is opposed to the requirement of denotative equivalence. Since it cannot be the goal aimed at in transferring knowledge to other audiences, for example, from specialized texts to popularized versions, he formulates alternative requirements. Among them are the principle of suitability for the audience and the principle of selection (ibid: 25 f.). These are the principles with which, in the form of the *skopos* rule, functionalist approaches* have substituted equivalence requirements.

4. Research agendas

All forms of transfer have in common that documents are transformed for specific purposes. It is interesting to investigate not only (a) what types of transformations (or shifts) occur in this process, (b) what streams of transfer can be observed and why and (c) what their objectives and systemic implications are, but also (d) whether the objectives are met, i.e., whether the product fulfils its function in an ideal way. Whereas some of these research

questions can be tackled in a product-oriented manner, at least the fourth question also necessitates process-oriented methods (cf. Göpferich 2008).

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Translation

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Talking about a concept of translation in Translation Studies (henceforth Translation) means immediately butting up against fundamental issues concerning how one views the world and things in it, the feasibility or appropriate means of knowing anything about that world, the status of knowledge and of cultural, political, and academic practices and relationships, as well as the tension and conflict that accompany differences of opinion in any and all of these areas. Indeed, the very activity of engaging with the concept may be referred to as “defining”, “conceptualizing”, “discoursing”, or “theorizing”, among other things, depending on one’s stance. This diversity of beliefs is reflected in Translation Studies* in the evolution from the ideal of a definitive Translation to the exploration of multiple Translations.

An exhaustive survey of this development is beyond the scope of the present article; thus representative samples of alternative views will be given. The survey is roughly chronological. Both the temporal divisions and the philosophical positions are somewhat oversimplified, glossing over distinctions and controversies which would otherwise be of interest.

1. Early days: Objectivist approaches

In one philosophical view, the world is believed to be independent of observers and real in and of itself. The task of a scientist is to observe the world and determine the properties of the objects in it and the relevant relationships in which these objects are entangled. In such a view, there is one “true” definition, description, or explanation of an object or process: contenders will ultimately be proved right or wrong. This view of the world may be referred to as “objectivism”, and this view of knowledge as “empirical realism”, or in one very strict version, “positivism” (Bryman 2008: 13–14).

There are few translation scholars today who would claim that translations are completely objective entities and that Translation can be articulated in only one true way. This view has been more or less abandoned in the current “post-positivist” era in Translation Studies (the term is from Tymoczko 2007). However, in the earliest days of the discipline, an important objective was to establish Translation Studies as a *scientific* discipline (Pym 1995). For many scholars at the time, a key task was to establish a clear delineation of a unitary object category: to define Translation such that the object of study was distinct. This was most often done with reference to the equivalence relationship: Translation was

viewed as the creation of a text which was equivalent (of equal value) to its source text. Much work within the so-called “equivalence paradigm” consisted of determining the various ways in which texts (or their parts) could be equivalent. One important figure, Eugene Nida, developed the notions of *formal* and *dynamic equivalence*, which were intended to capture characteristics of form and meaning (in the first case) and communicative effect (the latter). In Nida and Taber (1969), these are incorporated into a list of requirements for a translation (a kind of definition):

1. making sense
2. conveying the spirit and manner of the original
3. having a natural and easy form of expression
4. producing a similar response (1969: 164)

Koller (1989) further elaborated the notion of equivalence by developing a typology: denotative, connotative text-normative, pragmatic and formal equivalence were linked to the linguistic features of the texts that could be of equal value. In the context of Translation, this typology provided a more nuanced view of the various relationships within the conceptual category. In later work, however, Koller (1995) outlined the limitations inherent in trying to define Translation through recourse to equivalence relationships. He argued that Translation, as defined through equivalence relationships, is a category with indistinct boundaries and that the equivalence concept itself is relative (1995: 196).

2. The 1980s and 1990s: Non-objectivist approaches

In the view that opposes objectivism, the world is not independent of human observers, and in particular the social world exists only as we create, perceive and understand it. This view is sometimes referred to as “constructivism”. With regard to knowledge, the claim is that as human observers vary, so do their perceptions and descriptions of the world. Contending descriptions are not right or wrong, just different. Descriptions or definitions of objects or processes are pertinent to and relevant for a given time and space. Human wants and needs that are extraneous to science impinge on assessments of theoretical value: winners of scientific contests are often determined by power relationships or cultural hegemony rather than by scientific merit (however that may be defined). Taken together, these ideas are associated with “postmodernism” and are often referred to as “relativist”, since knowledge is considered relative to particular temporal, spatial, cultural configurations.

Before considering representatives of more extreme versions of non-objectivism, it is important to look at the scholar who is most closely associated with the rejection of the objectivist position as regards knowledge, while at the same time also rejecting a constructivist view of the world. In many ways, this is a more intermediate position, one

which was also evident in Koller's later work and in some discourse-theoretic approaches. The key advocate against the *a priori* approach to defining Translation was Gideon Toury, who argued that translations should be taken as "... all utterances which are presented or regarded as such on whatever grounds" (1995: 32). This is the notion of *assumed translations*. In proposing this radical way of conceptualizing Translation, Toury argued as follows:

... any a priori definition, especially if couched in essentialistic terms, allegedly specifying what is "inherently" translational, would involve an untenable pretense of fixing once and for all the boundaries of an object which is characterized by its very **variability**: *difference* across cultures, *variation* within a culture and *change* over time. Not only would the field of study be considerably shrunk that way, in relation to what cultures have been, and are willing to accept as translational, but research limited to these boundaries may also breed circular reasoning: to the extent that the definition is indeed adhered to, whatever is studied – selected for study because it is known to fall within it, in the first place – is bound to reaffirm the definition. (1995: 31, original emphasis)

Toury recognized the highly relativistic nature of the concept of "assumed translations" and the difficulties this entails for an empirically oriented science. His response was to add three postulates to accompany the "assumed translation" notion: the source postulate, the transfer postulate and the relationship postulate (1995: 33ff). He described the relationship of the postulates and "assumed translation" as follows:

If we now proceed to take the three postulates together, an assumed translation would be regarded as any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture and language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by certain relationships, some of which may be regarded – within that culture – as necessary and/or sufficient. (1995: 35)

Other scholars at the time, the so-called "functionalists", wished to broaden the scope of relationships to be included in Translation and enhance the role of the translational situation itself in determining these relationships. The move away from equivalence as the defining criterion to the use of functional criteria is an important feature of these functionalist approaches*. The focus is on delineating the types of purposes/functions, or combinations of functions, translations may have and the cultural or discourse circumstances in which these are determined. Within this paradigm, the range of possible functions includes some which are not necessarily anything like "representing the source text". Thus Translation is no longer defined in terms of a set of source-target relationships but in terms of an overall textual purpose (*skopos*) or of ordered hierarchies of textual functions. Thus Vermeer defines the act of translating as follows: "To translate means to produce a text in a target setting for a target purpose and target addressees in target circumstances." (Vermeer 1987: 29).

3. The turn of the century onwards

3.1 Postmodernism and culture theoretical approaches

Toury's work aimed at grounding empirical studies. Other scholars who share his non-objectivist worldview have no sympathy for his empiricist objectives, seeing them as inherently objectivist. For them, not only are definitional attempts pointless: such endeavors are also considered controlling and hegemonically motivated. This view is associated with some postmodern or cultural studies approaches, and is exemplified by Arrojo, who, in the context of the FORUM discussion on "shared ground in Translation Studies" comments, "... some of us are not expecting to reach any universal definition or absolute theory that we could impose on others" (2002: 141). This view has considerable currency in Translation Studies today; importantly, however, the postmodern view does not necessarily imply an aversion to discussing Translation. On the contrary, it forces the issue of how to deal with multiple Translations. These concerns are addressed in detail in Tymoczko (2007) and Hermans (2007).

The focus on cultural constellations in the study of translation has encompassed theoretical approaches such as feminist theory, gender* theory, deconstructionism, and post-colonial* theory, to mention the most prominent ones. In this work, the emphasis is on various aspects of the cultural environment in which translations are created. Culture theoretical approaches are less concerned with a particular Translation, and more concerned with the specific ways in which gender or power relationships, ideologies, political contexts or histories, or the potential for activism (see Committed approaches and activism*) can be played out in a translational arena. In a survey of some of these approaches, Pym characterizes one of the most recent developments in this area of the field: the notion of "cultural translation". According to Pym:

"Cultural translation" may be understood as a process in which there is no source text and usually no fixed target text. The focus is cultural processes rather than products. The prime cause of cultural translation is the movement of people (subjects) rather than the movement of texts (objects).
(2010: 144)

Work within this area represents yet another way of conceptualizing translation.

3.2 Critical realism

While the broad area of cultural theory is one of the most active areas in Translation Studies at present, contemporary empirical-descriptive work is also thriving in a "critical realist" form (Bryman 2008: 14). From this perspective, scientific descriptions are not considered direct reflections of a stable reality, but as human conceptualizations of a world consisting of various kinds of entities, some of which are artifacts of human activity. In

this view, scientific descriptions and explanations are considered tentative, and there is a critical and self-reflective stance towards theories and terms used within them (Bryman 2008: 14–15).

In the widely read FORUM discussion mentioned above (Chesterman & Arrojo 2000: 151), the authors (representing the empiricist and postmodern approaches, respectively) sought to establish common ground between scholars within these two broad areas. The authors presented a set of joint theses which were then debated in subsequent editions of *Target*. The relevant text on the definitional issue was as follows:

1. Translation Studies (TS) – or any research on translation – seeks to understand the phenomenon of translation, however this is defined and practiced.
2. Any definition of anything is theory-bound, so there is no such thing as a totally objective definition of “translation” that we can take for granted before we start studying it, as there will never be any definition of translation that will be all-inclusive.... (2000: 152)

A fundamental agreement at this level has also been identified by Delabastita, who describes the epistemological status quo as follows:

Most “empiricisms” today are of a less ambitious and more cautious kind. Most empirical scholars would wholeheartedly agree with postmodernists on the basic premise that descriptive neutrality is just not feasible. So there is a common platform here, and the crucial question becomes: where do we go from here? (2003: 19).

One possible response is advocated by Pym: adopt a tentative, working definition of Translation (2007). Pym presents three examples of this strategy, or what he refers to as “formal conceptualizations”: those of Toury, Gutt and himself. Toury’s approach was outlined above. In Gutt’s account (2000), a definition of Translation is given in terms of relevance* theory. It is not possible to describe the entire framework here; there are, in fact, interesting questions that might be asked about the degree of objectivism inherent in this project, and hence the classification of this approach as “critical realism”. Bearing that in mind, consider Gutt’s summary and assessment of his own approach:

In historical perspective, it seems that the relevance-theoretic account has brought us a very significant step closer to an understanding of the *essence of translation*. [...] Relevance theory has made it possible to propose a definition that is simple, explicit – as part of an explicit general theory of communication – and intuitively attractive: translation consists in interlingual quotation, that is it is an instance of quotation – direct or indirect – where the quote is in a different language from the original. (2000: 236, original emphasis)

As an alternative, Pym’s own conceptualization of Translation is captured in two maxims: the maxim of translational quantity and the maxim of first-person displacement. The former uses text length as a clue to identification, and the latter the stability of the first-person

speaker across source and target texts. For Pym, these maxims serve as a tool for investigating conceptualizations in existing texts, rather than as a definition as such.

Within empirical studies, much of the data and many of the theoretical claims were traditionally linked to an assumption that the object in question was at least primarily a linguistic one. While this general tendency predominated in Translation Studies in the earlier stages, it is also true that broader conceptualizations of Translation have been recognized in the field at least since Jakobson's delineation of "intralingual", "interlingual" and "intersemiotic" translation (1959/2004). In recent years, however, translation scholars have also turned to at least partially non-linguistic forms of translation, thus pushing at the boundaries of Translation. Several semiotic codes are involved in, for example, audiovisual* or multimodal translation, drama translation* or the translation of comics*. As work in these areas gains momentum, the shift of focus to non-linguistic codes will bring further insight into alternative Translations.

4. The "definitional impulse", metatheoretical awareness and the plurality of Translations

Within Translation Studies today, scholars of all persuasions seem to be arguing for the plurality of Translation. Some scholars, while not negating the value of clearly tentative working definitions in empirical pursuits, persist in questioning the philosophical foundations on which these alternative definitions rest and the means of relating diverse conceptualizations to one another. Thus, Halverson (1999) proposes that Translation be conceived of as a prototype concept, based on an idealized cognitive model, and linked to graded category membership and permeable boundaries. Tymoczko (2007) argues against the prototype view, advocating a "cluster concept", in order to better capture the multiple conceptualizations that pertain across times and cultures. The overarching objective of both of these two approaches is to provide a non-objectivist approach to the issue of conceptualization. While there are technical differences between the two proposals, the primary objectives have a lot in common, as witnessed by the argumentation for a cross-cultural concept in Halverson (2008). Both proposals explore the means by which local versions of Translation, either culturally or historically delineated, may be fruitfully brought together within the discipline. This question is also dealt with by Hermans (2007: especially 137–156) in his call for "thick translation", i.e., "a self-critical form of cross-cultural Translation Studies" (2007: 148).

As Tymoczko argues, Translation Studies has a deep-seated "definitional impulse" (2007: 57). An increasing number of writers share Tymoczko's interest in "exploring the openness of the definition and the implications of that openness for the emerging international discipline" (2007: 57–58). Analyses of historical definitions have been published

recently by Hebenstreit (2007) and Martín de León (2008). Tymoczko's 2007 book presents numerous studies of the conceptualizations found in a variety of other cultures and Hermans 2007 addresses a number of the theoretical issues involved. Thus the overall development away from Translation to Translations, and the willingness to engage with the consequences of such a development reflects a sustained and critical metatheoretical awareness which is vital to the discipline.

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Translation 'errors'

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What is an error and what is a translation 'error'? The term "error" usually means that something is wrong. In written texts – both in original texts and translated texts – errors can be classified as, for example, pragmatic, semantic, idiomatic, orthographic, linguistic or stylistic errors. But what is a 'translation error' – with focus on 'translation'? If we define a translation as the production of a Target Text (TT) which is based on a Source Text (ST), a translation error arises from the existence of a relationship between two texts.

Translations are carried out for many different reasons. The inter-lingual "real-life" translations we think of here are created in communicative situations which are defined by pragmatic conditions like sender, receiver, time, place and purpose of the translation, and also by cultural backgrounds and norms that may differ for ST and TT. Thus translation 'errors' occur because something has gone wrong during the transfer and movement from the ST to the TT.

Translation 'errors' can be caused by misunderstandings of the translation brief or of the content of the ST, by not rendering the meaning of the ST accurately, by factual mistakes, terminological or stylistic flaws, and by different kinds of interferences between ST and TT. Interferences are projections of unwanted features from one language to the other and from ST to TT. They occur because of an assumption of symmetry between the languages and/or cultures which may appear in some cases, but not in the actual case. Several levels of description are affected, i.e., interferences can be characterized as cultural, pragmatic, text-linguistic, semantic, syntactic or stylistic errors. The perception of what constitutes a translation 'error' varies according to translation theories and norms*.

1. Translation 'errors', theories and norms

By proposing that a translation error is due to a relationship between ST and TT, we touch on one of the crucial problems of TS. The perception and evaluation of an error as a translation 'error' depends on the theoretical approach to translation and the evaluator's ethical norms with respect to translation. In theories based on the concept of equivalence between ST and TT, a translation 'error' is regarded as some kind of non-equivalence between ST and TT or non-adequacy of the TT (Koller 1979: 216). The error can occur, for example, in relation to one of Koller's five frames of reference with respect to equivalence (*Bezugsrahmen*) (ibid.: 187). In functionalistic approaches* and approaches based on the 'skopos theory',

an error is defined as relative to the fulfillment of the TT-function and the receiver's expectations (Schmitt 1998: 394; Nord 2009: 190). These are stipulated by the translation brief, i.e., the communicative situation and the context in which the TT will be used.

Depending on the theoretical orientation, the evaluators' expectations and attitudes with respect to fidelity, loyalty, equivalence, norms and acceptability differ, especially with respect to the acceptability of changes of meaning and addition or omission of information. Should changes, omissions or additions be regarded as errors – and if not, when precisely are they warranted? This is a difficult balancing act which is also influenced by a society's norms concerning translation.

2. Translation quality: Classifying and grading errors

The concept of "quality"*, quality assessment and the perception errors have been discussed by, for example, Gile (1995: 31ff) and Hansen (2008: 255ff), and conferences like the CIUTI-Forum 2008 as well as several journals in TS have been devoted to this issue.

Definitions, classifications and also rankings of errors have been created for the assessment of the quality of translations depending on different purposes and situations. Nord (1998: 384ff) defines translation 'error' for translator training and she proposes a division between "real translation errors", which are related to the translation brief, and other errors. Schmitt (2002) presents a classification and grading of errors for translator training, especially for technical translations*. Hansen (2006: 112ff) describes a top-down classification of errors for translator training, revision training and translation process research. Mertin (2006: 241) offers criteria for a classification and gradation of errors in professional translations, which has been developed in cooperation with the language service of DaimlerChrysler.

Not all errors in these classifications are genuine translation 'errors', i.e., errors based on the fact that there is a relationship between a ST and a TT. However, as *all* kinds of errors in a TT can have a considerable impact on the quality of the TT, the above mentioned classifications and evaluations of errors also include breaches of the target language system and idiomatic errors which must be regarded as 'errors in translation', i.e., usual problems of language and text production.

There is not always a direct relationship between the number and gravity of errors, the quality of the TT and the perceived acceptability and usability of the text. In some communicative situations, overall poor quality, involving all kinds of errors, is accepted. For the moment, this is the case with many machine translations (see Section 3). In some communication situations, errors are expected and regarded as acceptable and even "fun". This is, for example, the case in Danish tourist brochures translated into poor German. In spite of the errors the brochures retain a high degree of usability. In other communicative situations, like translations of legal texts or business contracts, errors are not acceptable.

For the purpose of quality management in organizations, Didaoui (2007: 82ff) proposes "matching operations", i.e., a classification of texts according to their importance, and a ranking of the translators by level of reliability. Quality can then be assured by the maximum harmonization between the importance of the texts and the degree of translators' reliability and the allocation of texts for revision on the basis of the risk level. However, the concept of translators' reliability should be clearly defined. In her Work-Flow-Management System, Mertin (2006: 310ff) presents such a procedure of risk management as it was tested in practice by the language service of DaimlerChrysler AG.

3. Translation 'errors' in translation using electronic tools

In many areas of translation and especially in professional translation, computer-aided/assisted translation* (CAT), translation memory systems (TMS), electronic databases and machine translation* (MT) is used.

Translations of, for example, users' manuals, are typically translated with TMS. If they are compared with human translations, a larger concentration of specific types of errors can be observed. It is 'errors' on the *text-linguistic level*, for example, wrong segmentation, vague reference or co-reference or inconsistent terminology. On the *semantic level*, the translation of terms can be problematic as the system's proposals can be either too general or too specific in the context.

MT has developed to be a useful tool in spite of obvious flaws and errors. Several evaluation criteria like accuracy, fluency and informativeness have been formulated by, among others, White and Taylor (1998). The quality of MT is measured by the word-error-rate (WER) where a 'minimum error distance' is strived for. In order to achieve this, automatic evaluations of the quality score based on statistical models are used. These are continually fine tuned automatically. One of the most applied standards is the BLEU standard by Papineni et al. (2002).

Another statistical approach of MT which is based on the idea that 'more data means less errors' is Google Translate, where huge amounts of passages from human translations are gathered and combined in order to continually improve the machine translations of Google (see Och 2010).

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Translation didactics

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For a long time in translator training, the assumption by trainers was that students learn to translate simply by emulating the model of the trainer, often after an unguided attempt to produce their own translations. The following quote from House offers an excellent description of a typical translation class from the early days of translation courses at universities across Europe.

The teacher of the course, a native speaker of the target language, passes out a text (the reason for the selection of this text is usually not explained, because it is often a literary essay that the teacher has just “found” by accident). The text is full of traps, which means that the teachers do not set out to train students in the complex and difficult art of translation, but to ensnare them and lead them into error. The text is then prepared, either orally or in written form, for the following sessions and then the whole group goes through the text sentence by sentence, with each sentence being read by a different student. The instructor asks for alternative translation solutions, corrects the suggested versions and finally presents the sentence in its final, “correct” form ... This procedure is naturally very frustrating for the students. (Juliane House, cited in Kiraly 1995: 7)

This approach to training is essentially apedagogical. Fortunately, with the consolidation of student-centred and theoretically grounded paradigms, translator training has evolved considerably since those early days, in tune with the development of educational approaches in general and alongside the development of the disciplines of Translation Studies and Linguistics (with the consolidation of text linguistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics, for example). Sadly, however, House’s description, with little or no adaptation, still holds today in many contexts.

In this entry, an attempt is made to trace that evolution, by describing approaches from a training rather than a TS perspective, as is more common in other existing analyses.

1. Teaching objectives: Delisle

It was not until as late as 1980 that publications began to appear which applied the basic educational premise of establishing clear objectives for the syllabus to translator training. The major author was undoubtedly the Canadian scholar Jean Delisle. In his first major publication *L’analyse du discours comme méthode de traduction* (1980), a systematic proposal for a practical introductory course in English-French translation is put forward,

with 23 teaching objectives. His second major publication in the field, *La traduction raisonnée* (1993), subdivides these objectives into general and specific objectives. The eight general objectives are (1993: 16):

1. Metalanguage of translation for beginners
2. Basic documentary research skills for the translator
3. A method for translation work
4. The cognitive process of translation
5. Writing convention
6. Lexical difficulties
7. Syntactic difficulties
8. Drafting difficulties

The proposals are accompanied by a wide range of class activities, proposed for each of the many specific objectives listed. A few years later, Delisle (1998) suggests using Bloom's taxonomy, based on verbal formulation, instead of the original nominal formulation he uses in 1993.

Delisle's theoretical approach is informed by the *théorie du sens*, and also partly by the Canadian contrastivist tradition of Vinay and Darbelnet, despite his criticism of their work. His essential contribution to translator training had little to do with this theoretical aspect of his work, however; his merit is to have drawn to the attention of translator trainers, thitherto overly concerned with establishing the limits of the discipline and particularly its independence from traditional philologies and language studies, to the need to apply basic teaching principles to their classes. In his opinion, the formulation of objectives offers the following four major advantages:

1. It facilitates communication between teachers and students
2. It facilitates the choice of teaching tools
3. It suggests different learning activities
4. It provides a basis from which to assess learning (Delisle 1998: 21–2)

2. Early profession- and learner-centred approaches: Nord

Delisle's work, although clearly informed by professional reality, arises very much from a theoretical and academic approach to translator training. In Germany in the late seventies and eighties, new paradigms arose based on the observation of the profession and it did not take long for scholars such as Christiane Nord (1988/1991) to apply these to training. Her model is very complete and explicitly didactic, starting from the premise that training should simulate professional practice; that is, it should never involve translating without a meaningful realistic purpose, unlike many of Delisle's rather more contrastive-linguistic

activities. Nord's proposal is based on a translation-orientated and functionalist* model for text analysis, whereby students are exposed to realistic translation commissions for which they should answer the following questions, borrowed from New Rhetorics.

Who
 is to transmit
to whom
what for
by what medium
where
when
why
 a text
with what function?

On what subject matter
 is he to say
what
(what not)
in which order
using which non-verbal elements
in which words
in what kind of sentences
in which tone
to what effect?

(Nord 1991: 144)

The author, in this and other later publications, also offers detailed proposals and very practical advice on syllabus design, the selection of materials, texts, progression in difficulty, class activities, student motivation and assessment. She was undoubtedly the most exhaustive and pioneering author on the subject at the time. Nord's work constitutes a clear move towards a student-centred paradigm, that is with more emphasis on learning than on teaching, and towards professional realism in the classroom, paving the way for more recent approaches discussed below. Her approach emphasizes the gradual nature of the acquisition of translator competence, and involves considerable teacher intervention, particularly in the early stages, to ensure that tasks are not only realistic, but also feasible and hence not de-motivating.

3. Process-centred approaches: Gile

As opposed to the traditional tendency to emphasize translations as a product, both Delisle and Nord insist on the important role which should be given to the translation process* for training. In their view, training should insist on how to go about translating, and not on the actual written product of that complex process, as it is in mastering the process that

future professionals gradually acquire professional expertise. A major representative of this approach to training is Daniel Gile. In his own words,

The idea is to focus in the classroom not on results, that is, not on the *end product* of the Translation process, but on the process itself. More specifically, rather than simply giving students texts to translate, commenting on them by saying what is “right” and what is “wrong” in the target-language versions produced, and counting on the accumulation of such experience and indications to lead trainees up the learning curve, the process-oriented approach indicates to the student good Translation *principles, methods, and procedures.* (Gile 1995: 10)

To this end, Gile outlines a series of basic concepts: communication, quality*, fidelity (to the message), comprehension and knowledge acquisition (documentary research); these he discusses in the context of his sequential model of translation, and applies them to actual classroom activity, with proposals for class exercises. As advantages of a process-orientated approach, Gile identifies the following:

1. Progress is faster than with a product orientation, which is based on trial and error.
2. Attention is focused clearly on one aspect of the process at a time, avoiding dispersion, whereas product orientation implies dealing with all the problems which arise at the same time.
3. Greater emphasis is laid on translation strategies*, allowing students better to assimilate how to work, rather than whether or not their efforts have borne fruit in one specific case;
4. Greater flexibility is possible in areas such as linguistic acceptability or fidelity, which is particularly useful in the early stages of training to avoid de-motivation or trainer-student conflict.

He suggests that this process-orientated approach is especially appropriate for the early stages of training, whereas in the later stages there is probably a need for more emphasis on product. It is interesting to note this progression, as few authors mention methodological changes as students progress: the tendency is to propose one approach and adhere to it throughout training.

4. Cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches: Kiraly and others

Also in the process-orientated approach, several authors have found applications of cognitive and psycholinguistic paradigms for the training of translators (see Cognitive approaches*). Kiraly, initially one of its major authors, advocates in 1995 a “systematic elaboration of the issues underlying a descriptive translation pedagogy, a pedagogy based on the accurate theoretical description of translation practice” (1995: 3). In this book he bases his findings on a think-aloud protocol* study carried out with 18 subjects translating

from German into English (out of their native language). This study gives rise to a tentative model of the translation process on which to base training (Kiraly 1995: 101).

One of the interesting elements of Kiraly's proposal, is the centrality in the model of what he calls the translator's "self-concept"; the development of this awareness of their role becomes a key aim of translator training. Similarly, by way of conclusion, he offers us the following considerations aimed at improving training programmes:

1. Teaching should emphasize the acquisition of interlingual, intercultural and intertextual associations
2. Error analysis might be a significant teaching resource; teachers can provide guided practice to improve the acquisition of intuitive skills and then teach conscious strategies as methods for problem resolution and the production of translation alternatives
3. As students advance, skills are less likely to be acquired by repeated practice, less likely to develop naturally without specific training and pedagogical intervention, and more likely to involve translation quality at levels beyond that of mere semantic and syntactic correctness
4. Training should reorganize around a theoretical framework that allows the identification of cognitive resources that translation students should acquire and the pedagogical tools for teaching and testing the acquisition of those skills and knowledge.

(1995: 110–2)

Some of the findings from the work of other authors working from a similar perspective and with implications for training may be summed up as follows (see Jääskeläinen 2009: 290–294)

1. Student translators tend to focus on the lexical transfer process, whereas professional translators focus on stylistic questions and the user's needs
2. Students are not aware of potential translation problems, whereas professionals' higher level of competence brings about greater awareness of these
3. Professionals' work moves from automatized processing in routine tasks to conscious processing in new situations
4. The translation process is not linear, but a constant coming and going between factors at macro- and micro-level, governed by an overall macrostrategy
5. Affective factors, such as a positive attitude to their work and a high motivation level, may form part of translator competence and even contribute to higher translation quality
6. Professionals use bilingual dictionaries to add nuance to meanings already established in their minds or to stimulate the search for solutions, whereas students depend on them to understand the source text
7. Professionals seem to apply the principle of minimum effort to their work, for example by correcting surface error as they go, or by monitoring stylistic quality at the final revision stage of the translation

8. Translators read texts in a different way to monolingual readers, conditioned by the task they are later to carry out
9. Translators show greater insecurity when translating out of their mother tongue.

5. The situational approach: Vienne, Gouadec

The “situational approach” to translator training is the name given by Jean Vienne (1994) to his proposal that class activity should be made up of a series of translation tasks already carried out by teachers professionally, allowing them to play the role of initiator in the translation process in a more realistic way. Although they share an essentially functionalist approach to translation, Nord and Vienne differ considerably in their pedagogical approach, most notably because Vienne totally rejects the simulation of professional tasks. He alleges, “it is difficult, indeed sometimes impossible, to carry out a realistic analysis of the situation, and to answer the questions that might arise” (1994: 52). Vienne’s classroom methodology consists of a situational analysis of the translation commission (not dissimilar to Nord’s textual analysis for translation), in which the teacher acting as initiator replies to students’ questions, thus giving them a framework within which to take decisions and produce the translation. A similar approach to training is that of Daniel Gouadec, who around the same date proposed incorporating real translation commissions for real clients into training programmes organized in workshops (1994, 2003). This same idea is later taken up by Kiraly in his second major publication on translator training (2000: see below).

6. Task-based approaches: Hurtado, González Davies

In more recent years, task-based learning, well established in foreign language learning, has been applied to translator training, particularly by Hurtado (1999) and González Davies (2003, 2004). This approach is based on designing a series of activities:

concrete and brief exercises that help to practice specific points [...] leading along the same path towards the same end, or task [understood as] a chain of activities with the same global aim and a final product. On the way, both procedural (know-how) and declarative (know-what) knowledge are practiced and explored.

(González Davies 2004: 22–23)

This approach advocates an overall curricular design based on learning outcomes (see Curriculum*); as such it can be seen as a development of Delisle’s first steps in this direction. Both Hurtado (1999) and González Davies (2003, 2004) have developed a wide variety of interesting suggestions for class activities for different levels and kinds of translator training within this paradigm.

7. Induction, deduction, abduction: Robinson

Under the learner-centred title *Becoming a Translator*, Douglas Robinson offers his own personal and rather eclectic approach to translator training in 1997, and in a revised second edition in 2003. He suggests a careful balance between slow academic learning (conscious, analytical, rational, logical and systematic) and fast, real-world learning (holistic, subliminal). The text is especially distinct from others on translator training in the way in which it covers professional, theoretical, personal, cognitive, semiotic, social, cultural and linguistic sides of translation, forming a very complete and integrated whole for learners and trainers. Robinson offers a well-founded discussion of learning, starting from the thesis:

[T]ranslation is intelligent activity involving complex processes of conscious and unconscious learning; we all learn in different ways, and institutional learning should therefore be as flexible and as complex and rich as possible, so as to activate the channels through which each student learns best. (Robinson 2003: 49)

Of further interest, in the light of recent developments in higher education such as the European Higher Education Area, is Robinson's concept of the professional translator as a life-long learner. Both editions of the book contain many very thought-provoking activities for readers to carry out both in class and in self-learning situations.

8. The socioconstructive approach: Kiraly

In 2000, Don Kiraly publishes his second major book on translator training in which he distances himself from his own earlier cognitivist work and adopts social constructivism as the pedagogical basis for an essentially collaborative approach to translator training. In his view, the students' self-concept and their socialization into the professional community of translators continue to be essential elements, but now through authentic translation practice in the form of projects (see the situational approach above). In Kiraly's words:

[I]earning is best accomplished through meaningful interaction with peers as well as full-fledged members of the community to which learners are seeking entry. [...] Rather than attempting to build up students' translation-related skills and knowledge atomistically in simulated exercises prior to translation practice, it would be much more constructive to start each pedagogical event with a highly realistic, and if possible genuine, translation project". (2000: 60)

The holistic project approach (whether situational or social constructivist) has often been placed in opposition to the more atomistic task-based approaches described above. However, more recently authors such as Marco (2004) have interpreted the two in terms of progression, with the latter being more appropriate for early stages of training and the former for later stages.

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Translation history

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1. History, historiography, metahistoriography

The coupling of the concept of translation – and, by extension, of interpretation – with the concept of history invites for an approach of their relation from two angles: what can translation mean for the understanding of history, in particular of cultural practices (politics, science, religion, language, media, literature, etc.)? In turn, what can history mean for the understanding of the multifarious forms of translation (a process, a product, a trope, an institution, a theory, etc.)? Though both angles are without doubt interesting enough to be studied for their own sake, the latter one will be privileged in what follows,¹ history from this angle being understood as a specific viewpoint applied to the variety of material objects that share the label “translation”. Of course, no need to remind that, like any other scientific viewpoint, the historical one operates a methodological reduction on the real world.²

The viewpoint itself may be divided into three levels or subdisciplines.

1. *History* is the proper sequence of facts, events, ideas, discourses, etc. (“res gestae”). By extension, history is also understood as the “historia rerum gestarum”, an oral or written mode of presentation of these facts, events, etc.; a strong tradition favors a narrative mode of presentation.
2. *Historiography*, in its traditional sense, is defined as the history of histories, i.e., the history of the practices of history-writing. By extension, it is also understood as the history of other intellectual practices such as linguistics, philosophy, literature, science, etc. In this sense, historiography has developed into a mode of scholarly activity that combines historical concepts and methods and the specific expertise that belongs to the intellectual domain under study.

1. Yet, the former angle does not seem to have raised much interest so far among historians, as has been recently pointed out by Peter Burke (2007: 3).

2. “Par la *réduction méthodologique* de l’objet qu’elle opère, chaque discipline scientifique dit de cet objet autre chose que ce que chacune des autres disciplines peut en dire, et ce que chacune en dit est une *abstraction* de l’objet. On s’aperçoit ainsi que chaque discipline scientifique prise isolément laisse échapper une part considérable de l’objet *matériel*” (R. Franck 1999: 129).

3. *Metahistoriography* is the explicit reflection on the concepts and methods to write history and also on epistemological and methodological problems that are related to the use of these concepts and methods. It deals, more precisely, with the following issues:

- *Presuppositions*: what are the purposes of historical research, what are the criteria to achieve scientificity, etc.?
- *Time*: what are the concepts – and the problems they raise – used for periodization (“age”, “century”, “period”, “generation”, “avant-garde”)?
- *Space*: what are the concepts used for space division (national, regional, “Western”, “European”, “postcolonial”)?
- *Format*: how is the research object presented (as a timetable, a chronicle, a narrative, a description, an argumentation)?
- *Metalanguage*, i.e., the language used to describe other languages and discourses, including the historian's one. Most of the issues listed here contain a metalinguistic aspect, that may therefore become, in turn, an object of further inquiry: how are generic processes named (“tradition/revolution”, “progress/regress”, “continuity/discontinuity”, etc.); how are the relations between agents named (“influence”, “borrowing”, “leadership”, “strategy”, “network”, “paradigm”, etc.). A specific task for the historian lies in the search of the best correspondence between the terminology used in the object language (the primary material, i.e., the scholarly discourse) and that used by the historiographer.

It is with the help of such definitions and procedures that the historian is equipped to answer more concrete questions, related to specific corpora. No doubt, of course, that the three levels of historical research are rarely integrated parts of a single historical program: not so much because the historian is constrained by practical limitations (available research time, available research material, available expertise, etc.), but simply because historical research is a multilayered discipline. The finding of facts belonging to a given time-space situation is something else than the analysis of these facts, and the analysis itself is another research process than the questioning of the metalanguage used during procedures of discovery and analysis, while the laying bare of specific assumptions or presuppositions only makes sense when this task is clearly located within its own sphere of research.

Yet, it remains to be seen to what extent the three levels are represented in historical research on translation. All in all, when one considers the history of translation historiography, one cannot but admit that the latter did not yet reach the status of a proper discipline (or subdiscipline). James Holmes' famous model of Translation Studies (J. Holmes 1988;² see also G. Toury 1995: 9–19), in which “Historical Translation Studies” was a part of product-oriented “Descriptive Translation Studies”, is a token of the Cinderella situation of historical research: it does not acknowledge the fact that historical viewpoints may be applied to the entire set of scholarly activities dealing with translation, thus including

process and function oriented activities, as well as translation theories and even applied forms of research such as criticism or training.

Still, one may hope that the extraordinary expansion of Translation Studies within academe will create room enough for more diversity in object, scope and method: time has possibly come to develop the long-time neglected branch of history.

2. What is the object of translation history?

Since the set of material objects of translation historiography is virtually identical to the set of objects that may be studied by all branches of translation research (translation communication processes, translation theories, translation institutions), we need to concentrate on the formal objects or the proper historical viewpoints of historiography.³ To get an introductory overview of a large number of these objects, let us itemize them making use of the method that Quintilian, Cicero and many others have applied to the inventio-phase of oratorical speech, by producing a catalogue of circumstantial loci associated with the objects of interest; these loci were phrased as follows by a.o. Matthew of Vendôme (*Ars versificatoria* 1175, I, 116): quis? quid? ubi? quibus auxiliis? cur? quomodo? quando?⁴

2.1 Quis

To address this question means to direct the historical focus on the translator (or, by the same token, on the translation scholar), envisaged from numerous viewpoints: intellectual and social backgrounds (training, gender, socio-economic, ideological and cultural profile), production (translational, critical, authorial etc.), group formation and network relations (see also further).

Several methods have been designed for the study of the translator as a complex communication instance, either stressing the “habitus” i.e., “the main locus precipitating mental, bodily, social and cultural forces” (D. Simeoni 1998: 33), the translator’s mediating role between cultures (notably according to actor-network theory), or the translator’s textual

3. This is not to say, however, that there are clear-cut boundaries between historical and non-historical approaches towards translation: in many cases, theory and description are history-sensitive, yet without necessarily privileging the historical perspective as such.

4. It is well known that many other disciplines, such as pragmatics, journalism, medicine and governance, have made use of similar techniques in view of generating and clustering ideas, hypotheses or arguments. They have also greatly served, within translation research, the purpose of the “skopos” theory (see Funcionalist approaches*); they also form the starting point of a so-called “translation archaeology” (see A. Pym 1998: 5).

representation as an enunciation instance or as a character in fiction. Such methods could be framed by historical time and space scopes.

On the other hand, little attention has been given, so far, to translation scholars: few memories, biographies and monographs have been issued, except for so called key figures. For recent times, new techniques such as interviews, web logs and the like may become instrumental in describing the role translation scholars have played in the evolution of a discipline such as Translation Studies.

2.2 Quid

What has been translated? And what not? In other terms: what have been the selection criteria and the concrete selection procedures that have been applied for texts to be translated? To answer such questions, the establishment is needed of bibliographies of translations, but also of comparable bibliographies of “original” production in target languages. Electronic bibliographies (such as K. Van Bragt et al. 1996) may also lay bare networks of relations between languages, authors, genres, translators for a single national culture, etc. On a larger scale, research on bidirectional or multidirectional translation flows between two or more cultures may help to understand the modeling impact of one culture over another, as has been shown for the relations between France and Germany (F. Moretti 1998; P. France 2006) or between France and The Netherlands (J. Heilbron 1995).

What has been written on translation? Which genres or modes of reflection on translation does a culture generate? Prefaces, criticism, treatises, historical work, theories, are the most common forms studied. Yet, not all are receive equal attention. It seems, for instance, that selective, theory-oriented approaches, have been prominent in 20th and 21st century historical research. The latter evolution is at least partly due to the establishment and spread of Translation Studies as a discipline, history being understood, then, as a means to highlight the “progresses” of translation theory.

2.3 Ubi

Where have translations been written, printed, published, distributed? And by the same token by whom (by specific publishers, within specific series, etc.)? In the same centers of printing and publishing as so-called original writing (for France: mainly Paris since modern times, e.g.,), or at the periphery (for instance: translations of Slovene literature into German mainly produced in Austria, cf. R. Pölzer 2007). By the way, the distribution of translations is rarely limited to one linguistic or cultural community. In late 18th and early 19th century Europe, for example, French translations of Shakespearean theater were given a mediating function for neighboring and even remote European cultures: both the selection of texts and the translation concepts and techniques were borrowed from these translations (Ducis, Letourneur). In many cases there was even more at stake, French translations being read and played, or being even retranslated into the vernaculars (D. Delabastita & L. D'huist 1993).

Where is the work by translation scholars and students carried out, printed, published, distributed? Here again, the “where” question cannot be answered by referring to single national traditions only. For instance, from the 16th century on, grammars and models for language learning and for translation (such as the *Ratio studiorum* elaborated by the Jesuits in 1599), spread over Europe, but also over the colonies in South-America and Asia, and probably helped to establish basic concepts and methods of acquiring knowledge and translation techniques in these cultures. Of course, during this process, concepts and methods undergo changes and often merge with indigenous ones (cf. L. Tak-hung Chan 2004).

2.4 Quibus auxiliis

Which instances offer which sort of support to translators and other agents such as publishers? With what effect? These questions may refer to the effects on the recognition of translators and of their work by patronship, by subsidy mechanisms, by prices. They may also refer to the elaboration and evolution of network structures between publishers, authors and translators (cf. R. Meylaerts 2004), but also to the changing interferences between censorship and translation (cf. T. Seruya & M.L. Moniz 2008) and, more generally, to the issue of power relations in translation communication processes and in translation institutions (cf. K. Sturge 2004). The latter topic has been quite popular over the last two decades, esp. within the framework of postcolonial and gender Translation Studies.

Much less frequently studied from a historical viewpoint are the effects of the same type of instances on issues of translation reflection, or on the academic position of Translation Studies and of particular translation scholars (cf. S. Simon 1996).

2.5 Cur

Why do translations occur or why do they occur the way they are (with their specific forms and functions)? General causality or the relation between causality and effects has been a mainly theoretical topic in Translation Studies (A. Chesterman 1998). Historical analysis, on the other hand, needs the reconstruction of explicanda (such as translation forms and functions) through the understanding of the interplay between many factors (translation procedures, norms of target cultures, political and economical constraints, etc.). Yet, one should not underestimate the heuristic value of hypothetic explanatory statements that formulate initial answers to the why questions: these should not be taken at face-value, but as statements that have the function of “ostension”, of pointing out possible directions for further research. Take the following question: why are translations less successful than other modes of intercultural transfer within some migrant communities? A hypothetic answer could be: because there is no demand for them. Taking the preceding as a starting point, one may look into the role played by specific cultural conditions that determine successful transfer forms and modes: it seems that the prevalence of code-mixing over translation in some types of 19th century migrant culture may be explained by its efficiency and lower cost (L. D’hulst 2010).

To raise the same question about translation reflection implies equally the search for the conditions under which a given type or content of reflection happened to develop and eventually become successful. For instance, some historical research has been devoted to explain the raise and success of Descriptive Translation Studies in the Low Countries (J. Lambert 2006²).

2.6 Quomodo

How are translations made? The history of translational communication and esp. of the norms that steer translations is by far the most developed area of historical research. Special attention has also been given to the changes of norms in time and in space, notably within the framework of system research (G. Toury 1995: 54, 62–63). Less developed is the research on the coming into being of translators (see also 2.1), on the creation and evolution of institutes for translator training and of institutions for translators (cf. J. Delisle 1990).

As to the historical study of the production and evolution of translation reflection, it has been investigated on a much less systematic scale. In order to avoid a mere chronological presentation of texts presented as full-fledged constructs, such a history better takes into account the discursive properties of theoretical texts, such as argumentation structures, the cognitive roles of metaphor and metonymy during the process of theory-design (J. St. André 2010), or the migration of memes through time and space (A. Chesterman 2009).

2.7 Quando

This question covers a number of issues, a.o. the origins of translation, the clines of translation, the modes of temporal categorization of translations. A true archaeology of translation is still lacking, if compared with the achievements in the history of language contacts. Bibliographies and databases may help to unveil cline patterns for shorter or longer periods in history, taking into account several parameters of translation communication, often in a combined form, as mentioned before (2.2). The question also concerns periodization: how can translations be structured along temporal parameters: in era's, centuries, generations, or via internal parameters (such as the French tradition of the “belles infidèles” first understood as a literary genre created between 1625 and 1665, cf. R. Zuber 1968), or borrowed from other disciplines: romantic, postmodern, etc.

Dealing with history is not just dealing with phenomena belonging to the past. History means also change: some ideas, techniques or norms change faster than others, while some may also remain unchanged for a long time. One could apply to the history of translation and of translational reflection the distinction established by the French historian Fernand Braudel (1949) between three time levels (“durées”): long term (“longue durée”), conjuncture (“durée conjoncturelle”), and short term (“durée événementielle”). All three coexist in time in the same object, i.e., translational ideas and practices and there is an essential dynamism in their interplay, which could help to escape periodizations simply borrowed from

the history of literature or from the history of ideas (like literary movements, geopolitical events, etc.).

For instance, as to so-called classical translation thinking stretching till the end of the 18th century, one could consider the concept of “interpretatio” as belonging to the long term; to the conjuncture would belong cyclical questions like the search for translation universalia, the position of translation as an art between rhetorics and grammar; to the short term the different competing translation theories.

2.8 Cui bono

What are the effects of translation, their functions and uses in society? Comparative literature has collected a huge amount of information on the reception and assimilation of esp. literary translation, though not always underpinning this information by a clear vision of what concepts such as reception or assimilation imply: translations operate in complex networks, they are also part of larger mediating structures or systems, covered by the concept of transfer (I. Even-Zohar 1990).

The study of the effects of translation theories is a no less interesting topic of historical research: as an interdiscipline, Translation Studies proceeds through give and take procedures. Although borrowing has been a major procedure during the second half of the 20th century (information and computer sciences, semiotics, linguistics, empirical psychology, cultural studies, media studies), it also happened that concepts originating in translational reflection are taken over by other disciplines; the cultural translation concept, quite successful in several disciplines of the humanities, is possibly such an example (cf. L. D'huist 2008).

3. Conclusion

The list of questions discussed does not want to be complete; it is rather a practical way to *show* what may be studied by a historiography of translation and of translation reflection, a discipline or subdiscipline that still has to find its way within Translation Studies.

The historian's rationale is to understand past thinking, past practices, past contexts (according to whatever priority), as much as possible using the categories and concepts established for these theories, practices, contexts. The problem, then, is to link the historiographical framework – which is developed by 20th or 21st century scholars – with the aim of assessing the documents “from within”, with the help of the past categories and concepts. There is no ready-made balance here. On the one hand, it is sheer illusion to imagine that we can as it were “move” to the past. On the other hand, there would be a danger to use in a straightforward manner modern translational categories for the analysis of historical translations and translation processes, since these might interfere with the historical concepts designing so to say “improperly” the same phenomena. The risk is,

then, “Hineininterpretierung” (hind-sight interpretation). And from here on, it is only a small step towards apologetic historiography, notably occurring when modern translation reflection not only recategorizes the past, but also suggests oppositions between the latter and the present that may strengthen claims for originality and progress.

The fact that description and historical description are strongly interwoven in modern and contemporary approaches towards translation shows the growing need to give historical research, as is also the case in most disciplines in the humanities, a proper and independent position, if possible within, if necessary outside, Translation Studies.

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Translation process

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The translation process is the cognitive activity of producing a target text in one language, based upon a source text in another language.

1. Theoretical context

Process-oriented research is one of the three major research areas within the branch of Descriptive Translation Studies* (Holmes 1988/2000). As such, it has a strong empirical foundation and aims to understand the nature of the cognitive processes involved in translating, with a focus on the individual translator.

The cognitive activities of translating are complex, involving the comprehension of (a segment of) a text in one language and the production of (a segment of) a text in another language, and also requiring processes of transfer or switching between the two languages. Given this complexity, research on the translation process is informed by a wide array of theoretical approaches, mainly linguistics, particularly psycholinguistics, research on bilingualism and second language acquisition, and cognitive psychology.

For the study of comprehension in one language and text production in the other, process-research has mainly related its findings to psycholinguistic theories and concepts such as *frames* and *schemata*, and *top-down-processing* versus *bottom-up-processing* (Kussmaul 1995). Theories of second language acquisition were an important background for the first large empirical studies, especially for the central notion of strategy (Krings 1986; Lörscher 1991; see also Translation strategies and tactics*).

Certain aspects of research on bilingualism are of obvious potential relevance for process-oriented research. The question of the storage of the bilingual individual's mental lexicon and the nature of bilingual processing, related to the individual's linguistic competence and acquisition history, is a case in point. Within research on bilingualism, these questions are studied on the basis of experimental tasks involving the translation of isolated words and sentences. The aim is thus not to study the translation process *per se*. Even though the nature of the tasks differs quite a lot from a normal translation situation, e.g., in a professional context, such experiments can increase our knowledge about such fundamental aspects of the translation process as the extent of form-based versus meaning-based processing in the process (see Krings 1986; Lörscher 1991).

Cognitive psychology has offered not only a research method frequently used in process studies, introspection (see below), but also a theoretical background which has

proved highly relevant for studying the translation process. Theories on decision-making and the nature of expert knowledge and expertise in various domains (Ericsson & Simon 1984/1993) have been a source of inspiration for the majority of the process-oriented studies mentioned in this entry (see Cognitive approaches*).

2. Research methods

The cognitive processes involved in performing a translation task are not available for direct observation. Indeed, the translator's mind or brain is often compared to a "black box" (e.g., Holmes 1988/2000: 177). Therefore, the wide variety of research methods used involve collecting various types of observational or recorded data from which cognitive processes can be inferred.

An important impetus for process-oriented research on translation came with the publication in 1984 of *Protocol analysis*, a work by the cognitive psychologists Ericsson and Simon, which presented a theoretical foundation for introspective methods in general cognitive psychology and a discussion of their application and validity. This offered a possible method for empirically based research on the translation process as well. Introspection or verbal reporting involves asking a subject, for instance a translator, to report whatever goes through his or her mind during the translation task. The most frequently used introspective method for studying the translation process has been concurrent introspection or verbalizing, so called thinking-aloud. The verbalizations are recorded and transcribed, forming so-called TAPs or think-aloud protocols*. This method was used in the first large empirical studies on the translation process (Krings 1986; Lörscher 1991; Jääskeläinen 1999). Concurrent verbal reports can also be elicited from more than one subject at a time, e.g., so-called dialogue protocols from students (Kussmaul 1995), or in the form of an authentic dialogue and collaboration between professional translators.

Another introspective method is verbal reporting with retrospection that is done after the task, either immediately after it or with a longer or shorter delay. Usually, subjects are given some kind of cue to facilitate recall, e.g., the source text or their own target text.

A method that documents the writing process in translation is computer or key-stroke logging: software that logs every keystroke and mouse event of the writing process together with an exact time record, and saves this information in a logging file. It is then possible to see all deletions, changes in the text and pauses, with their exact length, and also to replay the writing process on the screen, for analysis or to use the subjects' own writing process as cue for retrospection (e.g., Hansen 2006). The logging software most frequently used in Translation Studies is Translog, developed by Arnt Lykke Jakobsen and Lasse Schou at the Copenhagen Business School, and applied there in a number of research projects investigating different aspects of the translation process (Jakobsen 2003; Hansen 2006; Göpferich, Jakobsen & Mees 2008). Early process-oriented works instead studied hand-written

changes in the subjects' manuscripts (Krings 1986) or the repairs in the orally elicited target texts (Lörscher 1991).

Other methods are video-recordings of task performance and participant observation, e.g., to observe the use of reference material in the process, as well as the use of software that records the successive computer screens as displayed during a task (screen camera or screen recording). It gives the possibility of studying, for instance, the translator's use of different kinds of aids in information seeking, and also shows the translator's working environment on the screen at any given point in time in the process.

A recently introduced method is eye-tracking, software registering subjects' eye movements and fixations on the computer screen, as well as their pupil dilation. If the source text is displayed in one window of the screen and the target text is written in another, the eye-tracking technique registers where the subject is looking and for how long, while reading and writing during the translation process. Important work has been done in integrating various devices for recording the translation process on-line, such as key-stroke logging, eye-tracking and audio recording (Göpferich, Jakobsen & Mees 2008).

Process-oriented studies have so far had to a large extent an exploratory and hypothesis-generating character. One reason for this is that, even with a short task, most of the research methods used in process-oriented research yield large amounts of data. As a consequence, many studies are based on relatively small samples of subjects and of source and target texts, making the generalization of the results difficult. An important aspect of the research efforts so far has been to test and refine the research methods and to formulate more specific hypotheses for further testing.

Frequently, different methods and data are used to look into the same phenomenon and elucidate it from different angles, so-called triangulation, for instance TAPs combined with a quality evaluation of the target texts (Jääskeläinen 1999), computer logging combined with TAPs (Englund Dimitrova 2005; Jakobsen 2003) and a combination of questionnaires, computer logging, retrospection and evaluation of the target texts (Hansen 2006). Due to the complexity of the methods and the amount of data, triangulation is mainly applied in larger research projects.

A challenge for process-oriented research is that the experimental research designs and observational technologies may jeopardize the ecological validity of the study, i.e., the translation situation may not resemble real-life situations. However, the fact that today the work of many translators is increasingly and almost exclusively computer-based potentially makes ecological validity less problematic for process-oriented studies.

3. Issues studied

One of the first aspects of translation studied in empirical process-oriented research was the problems encountered by the subjects in the process and the strategies applied by them

for problem-solving. An important finding was the alternation in the process between automatized processes and occurrences of problems, as well as the strategic, problem-solving behavior of the subjects. Both Krings (1986) and Lörscher (1991) proposed models of the translation process based on their data, elucidating translation as a decision-making and problem-solving activity. Those first studies have been criticized for building on data from language students without experience or training in translation, and therefore not making it clear to what extent the suggested models would also be able to capture the processes involved in professional translation. Jääskeläinen (1999) extended the scope and also included professional translators in her study, looking at subjects' focus of attention in the process and at their decision-making in terms of so-called marked processing.

Krings (1986) and Lörscher (1991) also looked at the translation process in the light of directionality, i.e., differences between translating into the L1 or the L2 of the subject. A more recent study of this aspect is Hansen (2006).

Whereas the first studies aimed at discovering fundamentals of the translation process as such, later work has focused on specific themes and different variables. One area of interest has been the translation process of subjects with different levels of linguistic knowledge and amount of translation experience. Jääskeläinen (1999) showed that contrary to earlier beliefs, the translation process of experienced, professional translators is not necessarily more automatized than that of subjects with less experience; rather, professional translators often find more problems and other types of problems than do language students. They are also able to generate a large number of different possible translation solutions as the basis for their decision-making processes. Expert knowledge in translation is discussed in Englund Dimitrova (2005). How translation competence* develops over time is studied within large longitudinal projects, still in progress, with process-based data, such as TransComp (Göpferich 2008). Individual differences in the translation process have also been suggested, under the labels of process or translator profiles, including attitudes and evaluations (Hansen 2006).

Another important strand is the characteristics of the different phases of the process and the distribution of different cognitive activities across them. The cognitive activities of reading the source text, producing and revising on-line target text segments, evaluating the target text and revising it, using reference works, etc., show different patterns in different subjects, partly related to previous translation experience. Three overall phases of the translation process are identified in most process data, i.e., an initial phase of planning, orientation and reading, a phase of drafting or generating the target text, and a revision phase (Englund Dimitrova 2005; Jakobsen 2003; Jääskeläinen 1999; Hansen 2006), but with differences in relative time allocation and approach within each phase.

Logging the writing process makes it possible to see the distribution and length of pauses in the process. This segmentation data gives important clues to the underlying cognitive processes of planning and problem-solving, and is also an indication of working memory capacity. It has been shown that the segmentation of the writing process in

translation differs between subject categories, and that more experienced subjects process larger segments than those who are less experienced (Englund Dimitrova 2005; Jakobsen 2003). Such process data thus offer indications of the size of the cognitive translation unit (see Unit of translation*).

Process-oriented research has also studied the role of different kinds of revisions in the process, both immediate revisions during the drafting or writing phase, and revisions as part of the phase of checking the first draft (Jakobsen 2003; Englund Dimitrova 2005; Hansen 2006). Krings (2001) is a process-oriented study of the human post-editing of machine translated target texts.

There is some work on how the translation process is influenced by factors external to the subjects and their competence, for instance time pressure (Hansen 2006) and the use of translation memory systems (Göpferich, Jakobsen & Mees 2008). Jakobsen (2003) shows the effects of thinking-aloud on the translation process, in terms of total time for the task and segmentation of the writing process.

There are so far few studies that systematically relate process-oriented analyses to features of the resulting products, the target texts. Jääskeläinen (1999) and Hansen (2006) evaluated the quality of the target texts in relation to the process parameters studied. Englund Dimitrova (2005) studied explicitation phenomena on process data.

For a detailed overview and discussion of process-oriented research, see Göpferich (2008).

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Translation strategies and tactics

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1. Synonyms or not?

Translation Studies (TS) borrows considerably from other disciplines, with the risk of having an incoherent terminology: multiplication of so-called synonyms (e.g., translation, adaptation*, localisation*), polysemy (e.g., culture, function, equivalence), and unclear or inaccurate concepts (e.g., similarity, system, text, mother tongue). Strategy is one of those ambiguous terms in TS: it is not only used in different ways, but it also seems to be in competition with a dozen other terms (in English): procedures, techniques, operations, changes, shifts, methods, replacements, etc. Are we dealing with a unique concept behind those different names or with different concepts expressed by terms offered as almost synonyms?

This terminological variation can be explained partly by the disciplinary background of the researchers (comparative literature, stylistics, discourse analysis, psycholinguistics, etc.), the purpose of their investigation (pedagogical application, theoretical discussion, explanation of a problem), and/or the scope of their studies (intending to cover all possible relationships between a source text (ST) segment and a target text (TT) segment, discovering what is going on in the translator's mind, focusing on a very specific item).

We have at least two levels of intervention. Firstly what the military call strategy or a planned, explicit, goal-oriented procedure or programme, adopted to achieve a certain objective (with priorities, commands, and anticipations), and secondly tactics, or a sequence of steps, locally implemented. Strategy is achieved through tactics, subject to monitoring and modification adapted to a given situation. In differentiating strategy for a translation event (which includes what is happening before and after the translation per se, such as making a deal with the client, terminology mining, delivering the output in a given format, etc.) and tactics in a translation act (translation in a narrow meaning), we can better highlight the division of labour and responsibilities in translation.

2. Strategy, text-types and types of problems

The confusion regarding the terminology and the concept of strategy appeared especially prominently when the psycholinguistic and text-linguistic turns occurred in TS, raising new questions: What happens when translators change a ST into a TT? How do they process meanings, intentions and allusions?

However, most of the publications on strategy deal with types of texts and/or types of problems – both types can be combined. They are prescriptive (What are the strategies for translating so and so?) rather than descriptive (How so and so has been translated or is translated in given, real translations?). Thus we have references on how to translate literary texts, plays, operas, poetry, songs, children's books, comics, advertising, audiovisual screenplays, political speeches, legal documents, etc. Authors then list different "strategies" to cope with specific features of a genre. The number, types and names of strategies differ. As to the types of problems – often implicitly defined as a matter of (un)translatability rather than actual translation – we have works on how to translate metaphors, collocations, proverbs, puns, humour, forms of politeness, proper names, toponyms, culture-bound references, allusions, swear words, dialects, etc.

In the majority of cases, we have 5–7 strategies but rarely the same labels between authors or the same definition for a given label. For example, "adaptation" might be a cultural equivalent or the freest form of translation; "modulation" might be a shift of point of view (abstract vs. concrete, means vs. results) or to translate in compliance with the current norms of the target language.

Most of the typologies do not explain the criteria on which they are based, do not offer a detailed conceptual analysis and therefore cannot explain how to recognize any given type from another, and do not justify the number and names of the different types of strategy. Due to these manifold shortcomings, it is difficult to compare the different classifications and use them in practice or in teaching.

3. Different classifications of strategies

We can present the different classifications in a chronological order or in a more systematic way. Below, we choose a threefold presentation.

3.1 Shifting between languages

Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) provide a good example of translation procedure (*procédés techniques de traduction*), understood as a process that comes into play when shifting between languages. Their seven procedures are divided between "direct translation" (three types) and "oblique translation" (four types) looking at equivalences obtained from comparing English and French. These procedures operate on three linguistic levels (lexical, morphosyntactic and semantic).

Nida (1964), in a more communicative perspective, uses the term "techniques of adjustment" to refer to processes whose aim is "to produce correct equivalents". His five techniques help in adjusting the message to the structural requirements of the target language, producing semantically equivalent structures, providing stylistically appropriate equivalents. These techniques allow for a dynamic equivalence.

Newmark (1988) also speaks of “procedures” (15 instead of seven) applied to “sentences and the smaller units of language”, but he distinguishes them from “methods” (eight) based on the whole text.

For Chesterman (1997: 92), production strategies are conceptual tools, types of process to achieve a “good” translation: they are related to “how the translator manipulates the linguistic material in order to produce an appropriate TT”. They describe types of text-linguistic behaviour – what the translator does during the formulation of the TT at the syntactic, semantic or pragmatic levels. Chesterman makes two important distinctions: between global and local strategies, and between comprehension and production strategies. However his analysis does not go into details. Nevertheless strategies are considered as observable phenomena from the translated texts compared to the ST and are not linked to a mental process. They are not real procedures since they tell nothing about how to achieve a given result but the outcome of a product-to-product comparison.

3.2 Solving a problem

Translation strategies have been, and are, considered a kind of operation in the translator’s mind while translating (cf. Lörscher 1991; Jääskeläinen 1993). The shift here, compared to Vinay and Darbelnet and others, is that strategy is no longer a constitutive element for a general translation theory but a tool to tackle the possible problems that emerge during the translation process* and a concept to describe the translation as a decision process. Scholars here interpret strategies as controlled or uncontrolled, conscious or automated processes. They hesitate between a more specific level (how to solve local problems) and a more general and abstract level (what is going on in the “black box” of the translator) – the former demanding attention, conscious consideration, the latter occurring presumably unconsciously.

An important issue is connected to these psycholinguistic and cognitive approaches: How to define a translation problem? While in Section 2, “problem” has been used as a pre-conceived notion (e.g., translation of metaphors, of compound nouns in English, etc.), calling for certain types of ready-made strategies, here scholars aim at establishing what translators themselves see as problematic, in a given ST or related to the translation task, and what target language solution(s) they provide that are not retrieved through automatic or routine processes.

In this perspective, “problem” is based on data relating to the translating process and problem-solving abilities are at the heart of translation competence. The problems encountered by the translators when carrying out a translation task can be identified in several ways, at different (linguistic, textual, extralinguistic, cultural, etc.) levels (cf. the experimental work by the PACTE Group in Barcelona, since 2000; Nord 1991). A problem for the professional translator at work is not necessarily a problem for a novice, inexperienced translator or for the client, the translation critic, the scholar or any other real or assumed reader of the translation. If “problem” is central in the translation process, it is important

to decide who determines if and where there is a problem. A feature of a given ST (e.g., a pun, a toponym) might not pose a difficulty to a translator, but the chosen solution might become problematic at reception; conversely, an item or aspect of the ST is not necessarily a problem for the potential readers (e.g., a stereotype) but might be in the production of the TT (cf. Lörscher 1991). “Problem” is therefore a dynamic and relative notion (cf. Toury 2002 on three different senses of “problem” in TS). A distinction between problems and difficulties is sometimes made (Nord, 1991) but it is never clear-cut.

3.3 Translation working process

Another concept of strategy is related to the different phases of the work: What resources and procedures does the translator use when (s)he has a precise assignment? In that perspective, there are goal-oriented strategies or conscious actions, focused on facilitating the translation task (see Lörscher 2002):

- comprehension strategies before translating, such as organizational strategies, reading strategies, text-analysis strategies, search strategies for terminological mining and information retrieval, consulting experts, etc.;
- production strategies while translating, such as writing up a draft, solving local problems, finalising the TL version, revision strategies and survival strategies;
- after translating: How is the final work presented and distributed, how is the delivery medium selected and how is one paid?

In conference interpreting*, strategies are often considered in that working process, more than as only a part of the mental process (Gile 1995, 2009; Setton 1999; Pöchhacker 2004; Kalina 1998). Thus, we have strategies and tactics for preparation, for perception and comprehension, on line (in the booth), including reformulation strategies, output monitoring and preventive action (repair strategies; how to avoid or anticipate possible failures). All the strategies and tactics are calculated according to multiple variables (memory capacities; attention; listening conditions; accents; technical complexity and speed of delivery of the source speech; familiarity with subject matter, etc.). Again, as in translation, the number, types and labels of strategies are different between authors. Nobody yet has compared strategies in interpreting and in translation: Do addition, compression, omission, paraphrase, simplification, literal translation, and neutralisation mean the same thing in both practices?

4. What do we mean? What do we need?

According to Chesterman (2005), a number of distinctions emerge from the various analyses and proposals. The three following ones are relevant if we want to clarify our terminology.

Linguistic- and text-oriented research have focused on the results, while authors influenced by psycholinguistics and cognitive studies have used the concept of strategy in a process sense, mainly with think-aloud protocol* (TAP) experiments. In fact, strategies can be applied before, during and after an assignment: scholars might study final solutions or intermediate solutions. For Molina & Hurtado Albir (2002), the term “techniques” would apply to results (they are observed in the product and affect small text units) and “strategies” to the mechanisms used by translators to find a solution to a certain problem (they are of an individual and procedural nature).

The second distinction is global vs local. A strategic decision can refer to aspects of the Skopos (purpose) (see Functionalist approaches*), such as reader-orientation, or be restricted to problem-solving in translating, to actions aiming at particular choices about specific points of a translated text. Of course, global strategy (macro-level or cultural and sociological levels) affects what is done at the micro-level (local strategy or textual and cognitive levels) at different phases of the translation process. For example, songs in a broadcast musical are not translated, or only the lyrics are translated, or new words are allowed, or the lyrics are translated and the score is adapted. Usually, the decision is taken by the film producer. After such a global decision, the translator will cope in a certain way with rhymes, wordplays, culture-bound elements, proper names, etc.

Global strategies are governed by preliminary norms*, i.e., the translation brief: How does the client want the translation event to be? What would be the general nature of the appropriate relation between ST and TT? Decisions at that level take into account economic, cultural, political, ideological, linguistic factors and technical constraints. The choice is on a spectrum between non-translation and complete rewriting, or between full and summarized translation, or between literal and free translation, or between adequacy (source-oriented) and acceptability (target-oriented), fluency (domesticating) and exoticism (foreignizing), and between formal and dynamic equivalence. The global strategy in this perspective is to construct, and legitimize a certain type of text and a certain type of identity and power relationship between languages/cultures. In certain conditions, interlinear or line-by-line translation is preferred to fluent communicative translation (e.g., EU directives which must be easy to revise and update; documents of the European Central Bank where ambiguities are deliberately retained; interpreting assignments in Court where sometimes a witness's speech must be rendered exactly word for word).

Local strategies in the translation act are governed by operational norms (How to reformulate language register, or reorganise the textual structure and the information, how to express free speech, etc.). Some solutions are in-text solutions (explication, addition, omission), others are out-of-text solutions (writing a translator's foreword, adding headings, footnotes or a glossary) – the latter being decided with the commissioner.

The third distinction – problem-solving vs. routines – is more tricky because it raises the issue of consciousness of the procedures. Are local strategies the intuitive use of solutions selected from a range of possible, checked, exploited strategies available? Are all strategies,

always, standard and automatized procedures? There might be frequent solutions for a given problem: Does it imply that probability means routine? First of all, before applying a local strategy, the translator must realize and sometimes verbalize that there is a translational problem, identify it in such way that he can sometimes find only a preliminary solution, sometimes a definitive and acceptable one and then make an overt and justified decision or an apparent automatized one. Awareness is a prerequisite for solving problems. The frequent use of certain solutions can become routine, but this does not mean that they are uncontrolled or unconscious. They most commonly operate without our conscious awareness but are available to conscious reflection and analysis if needed. Even where there is no problem, the translator makes a decision: the absence of a problem does not lead to a non-strategic behaviour. In some cases (upon the client's request, in a TAP experiment), what is a routine must be explained although the decision during the process did not seem conscious. Accepted and clear routines in a frequent behaviour are signs of professionalism. Their appearance as automatized, internalized procedures does not prevent the fact that they have been learnt and tested during training and/or, internship, etc. Automatism is not a synonym for innate. The boundary between routine and non-routine translation strategy and solution is sometimes difficult to draw. The translators' actions lie between unconscious, preconscious or potentially conscious, and conscious strategies, according to their situation: under time pressure, they would be unable to justify their decision; in a certain psychological state, their justification could be inhibited, etc. However each decision is the final outcome of a rational activity, based upon consideration of risks, costs, benefits, drawbacks, alternatives, comparisons, previous solutions from earlier translations and anticipation of the client's and reader's reaction.

5. To sum up

The metalanguage of TS is uncertain and still requires clarification. Strategy could be used at the global level, defined by different agents of the translation event. Tactics, being the translators' concern only, could be used at the local level (be it conscious or automatized routine). Strategies and tactics are involved in the process of achieving the translation assignment. Thus, solution (or shift) could be used to indicate the result of the work, visible in the final output, for differences or similarities between ST and TT.

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Translation Studies

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An entry on ‘Translation Studies’ in a *Handbook of Translation Studies* runs the risk of being considered superfluous, superficial or an ill-advised bout of navel-gazing. After all, what is happening in Translation Studies will surely be covered in the other entries, ranging as they do from “Adaptation”* to “Web and translation”*. But the term Translation Studies is far from uncontroversial and this entry will attempt to reduce the risks by concentrating on its identity, history, development and ideas since the second half of the twentieth century. This may serve as a context for the understanding of areas that are dealt with in more detail elsewhere in the volume, and to highlight particular questions of debate.

Translation Studies is the discipline which studies phenomena associated with translation in its many forms. Although translation* and interpreting* are practices that have been conducted for millennia, Translation Studies is a relatively new area of inquiry, dating from the second half of the twentieth century and initially emerging out of other fields such as Modern Languages, Comparative Literature and Linguistics. Like other new areas of study, it has had to fight for recognition and was additionally hampered by an entrenched bias against it resulting from a long-held disregard for translation. In academia, translation has often been perceived to be of lesser value because, as a product, it is derivative and supposedly subservient to the ‘original’, and, as a practice, it was associated in schools and universities with classical or foreign language learning (hence was merely a means to a higher goal of learning Greek, Latin, etc.) or with a non-academic and underpaid profession. It is only really since the 1980s that this perception has begun to shift significantly.

1. The canonization of pre-Translation Studies writing

Before the 1950s, writings about translation, which generally were produced by translators themselves and to be found in the prefaces to their works, tended to be rather unsystematic. Ideas, however insightful, were often not developed from one translator to the next. In a major early survey of English translation theory written in 1920, Flora Amos makes the point that ‘[t]his lack of consecutiveness in criticism is probably partially accountable for the slowness with which translators attained the power to put into words, clearly and unmistakably, their aims and methods’ (Amos [1920]/1973: x). Couched in more modern terms, one might say that a consistent theory of translation is necessary in order to produce a metalanguage through which the process of translation may be discussed with precision.

That is not to say that earlier writings did not have something valuable to say. But they tended to centre on issues such as whether translations should be 'literal' or 'free', which Translation Studies has generally traced back to Cicero (106 BCE–43 BCE), Horace (65 BCE–8 BCE) and St Jerome (c.347–420 CE). In the West it was the translation of the classics and of the Bible which provided the bulk of input to nascent translation theory for two thousand years (see Kelly 1979, Rener 1987). The fact that translation was essential for the spread of Christianity, most obviously through the widely used Greek Septuagint translation of the Jewish scriptures made in the 3rd–1st centuries BCE and Jerome's Latin Vulgate translation of the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible (late 4th century CE), meant that crucial questions of accuracy and the relation between source and target texts occupied centre stage in theological debate (see Religious translation*). In Protestant Reformation Europe of the sixteenth century, aided by the development of the printing press, translation also became a major political weapon of opposition to Catholic Rome. The Bible was translated into the local vernacular languages and by this mere fact contributed to the establishment of national languages. Amongst the most famous were Martin Luther's translation into German (completed in 1534) and the Wyclif (1382–95) and Tyndale translations into English (1525–6).

With such a history of translation and with a discipline that initially emerged in the West, it is perhaps not surprising that prefaces by Cicero, Horace, St Jerome and Luther have since become the 'canonized' precursors of modern Translation Studies. While what they said may no longer occupy centre stage in theory, they are acknowledged as an important part of the history of the discipline in the West and commonly anthologized in collections in English along with others such as the English poet-translators of the 17th century (notably John Dryden [1631–1700]), the German Romanticists of the 18th–early 19th centuries (e.g., Johann Wolfgang von Goethe [1749–1832], Friedrich Hölderlin [1770–1843], August Wilhelm Schlegel [1767–1845] and, most particularly, Friedrich Schleiermacher [1768–1834]), Victorians such as Matthew Arnold (1822–1868) and 20th century thinkers and writers such as Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), Ezra Pound (1885–1972), Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986) and Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977). Important modern anthologies include Biguenet and Schulte (1989), Schulte and Biguenet (1992), Robinson (1997), Venuti (2000/2004) and Weissbort and Eysteinsson (2006).

2. Deciding a name for the discipline

In academic circles, interest in translation grew particularly from the 1950s onwards and generally from a linguistic perspective. Prominent among the scholars of this time were the French linguist and semiotician Georges Mounin (born Louis Leboucher, 1910–1993), the US linguist and Bible translator Eugene Nida (born 1914) who brought Chomskyian ideas to the 'scientific' analysis of translation and equivalence (see Nida 1964), and, from

Canada, the comparative stylistics of the French-born Jean-Paul Vinay (1910–1999) and Jean Darbelnet (1904–1990) which was published with the subtitle *méthode de traduction* ('method of translation') in French in 1958 and in English translation in 1995 (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958, 1995). Despite this early work, the name *Translation Studies* was not proposed until 1972 as an alternative to *translatology* (French *translatologie*) or *translation science*, or *science of translating* and the German *Übersetzungswissenschaft*. The proposer was James S. Holmes (1924–1986), a US-born lecturer and poetry translator at the University of Amsterdam, in a now famous conference paper aptly entitled 'The name and nature of Translation Studies', delivered at the Third International Conference of Applied Linguistics, held in Copenhagen in August 1972. The abstract of the paper begins:

Though the study of translation and translations has a long history, and during the past two decades has begun to display more and more the characteristics of a separate discipline, there is as yet little general agreement as to what this new discipline should be called. (Holmes 1972: 88).

Holmes proposes the designation 'Translation Studies' (in lower case) which became established within the English-speaking world and beyond. This preference has come to dominate in institutional names (Centres/Departments/Schools of/for Translation Studies in many universities), as well as in the names of prominent academic associations such as The Canadian Association for Translation Studies (founded in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1987), The European Society for Translation Studies (founded in Vienna in 1992) and The International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies (founded in Seoul in 2004). However, competing terms have persisted in other languages, exemplified in the trilingual title of Kittel et al.'s major handbook published in Germany as: *Übersetzung/Translation/Traduction: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung* ['Translation research']/*An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies/Encyclopédie internationale des sciences de traduction* ['sciences of translation'] (Kittel et al. 2004).

3. The conceptualization of 'translation'

For such an area of study, the conceptualization of 'translation' is clearly key. Yet 'translation' is far from straightforward; it may be understood as a *process* of rendering a text from one language into another ('translating', see Translation process*), a *product* (the translated text) or as a subject and phenomenon itself (e.g., 'cultural translation', 'translation in the Middle Ages'). Typically, Translation Studies has used the famous Russo-American linguist Roman Jakobson's (1896–1982) categorization of three forms of translation as a process:

1. Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.

2. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.
3. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems. (Jakobson 1959: 233, emphasis in original)

In Jakobson's categorization, it is interlingual translation (i.e., translation between different verbal languages, German>French, Chinese>Arabic, English>Russian, etc.), which is the focus. It has also been, and remains, the main object of study in Translation Studies. However, the definition of 'other language' is not unproblematic (is dialect considered a different language, for instance?) and this blurs the dividing line between interlingual and intralingual translation. Most importantly, though, Jakobson's definitions refer to 'signs', above and beyond the written or spoken word. In recent years this has proved valuable as the interest of Translation Studies has extended to embrace many forms of intersemiotic translation (the role of the visual, the translation of music, comics* and films, and many other forms of adaptation, etc.) including those which cross over with intralingual translation (e.g., sign language interpreting*, audio description, intralingual subtitling*) and interlingual translation (e.g., interlingual subtitling).

Also influential for the development of the discipline was the terminological distinction made by Otto Kade (1927–1980) from the renowned Leipzig School. He proposed *Translation* (upper case) as a superordinate term to cover *Übersetzen* ('translation', lower case) and *Dolmetschen* ('interpreting'). The definitions he suggests (Kade 1968: 35; in Snell-Hornby 2006: 27–8) exceed a simplistic distinction between written and spoken performance by focusing on the constraints of the activities. Hence, 'interpreting' is carried out orally but from a text that is presented once-only in real time and which permits little revision or correction; written 'translation' is performed from a normally fixed, written text which usually allows detailed and repeated correction.

4. What does Translation Studies study?

As well as suggesting a name for the discipline, Holmes (1972, 1988) also discusses its 'nature'. He explicitly proposes a structure of an 'empirical discipline' with a 'pure research' side divided into (1) 'Descriptive Translation Studies' and (2) 'theoretical Translation Studies or translation theory'. The goals of pure research are "to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and [...] to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted" (Holmes 1988: 71). Holmes adds a third area – (3) 'Applied Translation Studies'* – in which the findings of the pure research are applied "in actual translation situations, in translation training, and in translation criticism". Holmes' attempt to systematically classify the subject has, he says, the advantage of revealing which

areas have been most studied, and which ones “have been largely or wholly neglected”. The interest in the applied side, though rather underdeveloped in Holmes’ schema, also reflects a keenness to integrate theory and practice (Weissbort & Eysteinsson 2006: 406), a question which persists in Translation Studies to this day. Indeed, since Holmes’ time the questions which Translation Studies has sought to answer have multiplied, but, as above, relate specifically to process (understanding the cognitive, decision-making capacities of the translator), product (what are the features of a translated text or genre, what are the characteristics of translated language – explicitation, standardization, interference, etc. –, how do we judge translation quality*, what is untranslatable) and phenomenon (what is understood as translation by different cultures, what was translation like at different historical and geographical points, how was a specific translation or group of translations received in the target culture, etc.).

Not widely circulated until after Holmes’ death, his paper has since had an enormous impact. By 1993 Edwin Gentzler was describing it as being “generally accepted as the founding statement for the field” (Gentzler 1993: 92). Holmes was also a prime instigator of international co-operation in the field, and important international conferences were convened in Leuven (1976), Tel Aviv (1978) and Antwerp (1980). Collaborators included Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury in Tel Aviv. It was the latter who brought Holmes’ paper into even sharper focus in his own now seminal *Descriptive Translation Studies – And beyond* in which he begins by projecting Holmes’ schema into a graphic map of the discipline (Toury 1995: 10). Toury’s work provides a cogent argument for the branch of descriptive studies, with a systematic methodology that will allow individual case studies, assumptions and results to be replicated, compared and adjusted. The goal of such a descriptive branch is the identification of patterns of translation behaviour and ultimately the formulation of probabilistic ‘laws’ of translation.

5. The development of Translation Studies

The introduction of more systematic linguistic theories from the mid twentieth century onwards (see above) transformed the study of translation and prepared the basis for the establishment of the discipline. Since the late 1980s, Translation Studies has expanded enormously thanks to the rapid growth in practical translator training programmes, underpinned by related research and responding to a greater international demand for translation, and the general interest in translation as an intercultural phenomenon. This explosion in interest and in published research is illustrated by the growing number of research journals devoted to the field. Invidious as it may be to select just a few, among the most prominent internationally are, in chronological order of foundation, *Babel* (the Netherlands, founded in 1955), *META* (Canada, 1955), *Traduction, terminologie, rédaction* (Canada, 1988), *Target* (The Netherlands, 1989), *Perspectives on Translatology* (Denmark, 1993), *The*

Translator (UK, 1995), *Interpreting* (The Netherlands, 1996), *Across Languages and Cultures* (Hungary, 2001), *Translation Studies* (UK, 2008) and, illustrating the move to open-access online publications, the *Journal of Specialized Translation* (UK, 2004). Such has been the increase in activity that two on-line databases now offer researchers searchable databases of work in Translation Studies: *Translation Studies Abstracts* (St Jerome, 1998) and *Translation Studies Bibliography* (John Benjamins, 2004). In addition, many widely-used general volumes on Translation Studies have appeared, their number increasing significantly from the 1990s onwards: *Translation Studies* (Bassnett 1980/1991/2002), *Contemporary Translation Theories* (Gentzler 1993, 2001), *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker & Malmkjær 1997; Baker & Saldanha 2008), *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997), *Introducing Translation Studies* (Munday 2001/2008), *A Companion to Translation Studies* (Kuhliczak & Littau 2007), *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies* (Munday 2009) and the current project, the *Handbook of Translation Studies* (HTS).

Different attempts have been made to categorize this huge development in the discipline. For example, Chesterman (1997: Chapter 2) sees five central ideas or 'supermemes' (translation from source to target; equivalence; untranslatability; free vs literal; all writing is translating) and eight major 'stages' in their evolution through translation theory (words, word of God, rhetoric, logos, linguistic science, communication, target and cognition); Snell-Hornby (2006) describes the various 'turns'* of Translation Studies from the emergence of the discipline through to a 'pragmatic turn' in linguistics, the 'cultural turn' of the 1980s, the interdiscipline of the 1990s and other turns of the 1990s (empirical, globalization, etc.).

Despite differences in perspective, a history of the discipline in the West till the end of the twentieth century can broadly be traced through the following, sometimes overlapping, moves:

1. Linguistic translation theory, including contrastive analysis of languages, and the emergence of the central concept of equivalence between source and text.
2. Functional approaches* to translation from Germany, including theories of text-type and skopos theory where the communicative purpose and function of the target, rather than source, text were deemed to be crucial. These were followed by text and discourse analysis approaches to translation, which have generally imported more dynamic models from linguistics (notably systemic functional linguistics) to analyse translation communication functionally. In these approaches, the focus moved away from literary translation (see Literary Studies and Translation Studies*) and towards a range of non-literary texts.
3. Polysystem theory* and other systems theories, including the Manipulation School and the Descriptive Translation Studies* branch (Toury 1995; see also Pym et al 2007). The aim of many of these studies is to establish the norms of translation at different socio-historical points. For Toury (see above), the ultimate aim is to establish 'laws' of translation.

4. The 'cultural turn' heralded in Bassnett and Lefevere (1990). In the 1990s, Translation Studies borrowed or adapted theoretical models from Cultural Studies, most particularly from Feminist and Gender* Studies and Postcolonial* Studies. Questions of power and ideology, and how these are manipulated through translation, became crucial. A linguistic approach to the study of translation was marginalized.
5. A continued interest, inspired by the German Romanticists, notably Schleiermacher, in philosophical questions related to literary hermeneutics* and to ethics*. Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995/2008) has been very influential in developing an ethical critique of the translation tendencies of foreignization and domestication, most particularly in his view of the prevailing British and American publishing practices which erase characteristics of the foreign.

6. Translation Studies since the turn of the millennium

Since the turn of the millennium, Translation Studies has continued to expand in so many diverse ways. A brief description of some of the major developments can only really scratch the surface. Firstly, there has been a marked interest in the West in non-Western theories, spurred initially by postcolonial studies. It has gone hand-in-hand with the growth of Translation Studies worldwide, notably in China, India and the Arab world. Some of the publications in this area have aimed to disseminate what are deemed to be key ideas, through anthology or critical introductions, with Chinese translation discourse particularly prominent. This has begun to cause a reassessment of the pre-history of Translation Studies, taking into account the translation projects of the oral Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit and other languages to Chinese in the 1st to 8th centuries CE and later (Cheung 2006), in the 20th century, the seminal influence of scholar and translator Yan Fu (Chan 2004). The spread has also amplified the range of languages and of historical circumstances and translation situations that are being investigated (as exemplified by the variety of papers in Hermans 2006) and has even begun to see a reassessment of the conceptualization of translation itself (Tymoczko 2007).

There has also been an increasing interest in the role of the translator rather than in the translation product. This has manifested itself in the concern for translator ethics and identity and in a strong trend towards a translation sociology*. The influence of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is very keen. In English, much work has also gone into the construction of detailed histories of translation and translators (e.g., Gillespie & Hopkins 2005 and subsequent volumes in the *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* series, see Translation history*).

Another huge development has been technological. This has revolutionized the practice of translation, which in many cases involves project managers, the use of translation memory systems and other computer-aided translation* tools and the dispersal of translators

in a globalized marketplace that treats translation as one element in a globalization*-internationalization-localization*-translation (GILT) set-up. It has also had a substantial impact on translation research, with a major return to automatic and machine translation* of various types and, in process-oriented and cognitive research (see Cognitive approaches*), the rise of corpus-based Translation Studies (see Corpora*), think-aloud protocols*, eye-tracking and other aids to the observation of the translator's decision-making processes. Such research now requires significant investment in equipment and collaboration in multidisciplinary and international research teams. Furthermore, new media have generated their own sub-branches of activity and research, the most notable being audiovisual translation* (or screen translation) which has come to incorporate not only long-established dubbing and subtitling* practices but also the localization of video games, the spread of unofficial fansubbing and the like.

7. The evolving identity of Translation Studies

Given these advances, a question that is frequently raised is the disciplinary and identity nature of Translation Studies. The question is no longer that which preoccupied Holmes in 1972 (when many were unsure of the worth of Translation Studies), but rather whether there is so much fragmentation that we are really studying different or incompatible things and, a related question, whether Translation Studies should therefore be considered a discipline in its own right, or more of an interdiscipline. The problem that still confronts Translation Studies is that it (and many of its researchers) has come together out of other disciplines and for this reason in many countries it lacks a strong institutional identity. On the other hand, the fluidity of modern scholarship often privileges interdisciplinary research as a dynamic and creative force. Much good research on translation also takes place in disciplines that until recently have not obviously interfaced with Translation Studies.

In 2000, Chesterman and Arrojo's paper 'Shared ground', published in *Target*, attempted to reconcile what they termed 'essentialist' approaches to translation (where meanings are stable, and it is the task of the translator to transfer these) and 'non-essentialist' approaches (meaning is unstable, and translation itself is open to question) with thirty jointly-constructed 'theses' about the object of study. Since then, the expansion of the field has been so great that sub-branches such as Interpreting Studies* have become semi-autonomous and have begun to anthologize separately (e.g., Pöchhacker & Shlesinger 2002; Pöchhacker 2004). Advances have caused a reassessment of the metalanguage of translation (Gambier & van Doorslaer 2007). Van Doorslaer's own contribution to that volume, leaning on his experience in co-developing the online *Translation Studies Bibliography*, challenges the Holmes classification and supports "an open and descriptive map" of the subject to provide an expandable framework for research (van Doorslaer 2007: 220). Importantly for an interdisciplinary field,

a flexible framework allows new research to be incorporated and interrelationships to be established especially when new technologies and models are constantly being tested. Furthermore, the expansion of MA and doctoral programmes in Translation Studies, boosted by international research methodology summer schools such as those organized by CETRA at Leuven and by Edinburgh-Manchester-University College London in the UK and Hong Kong, have had a positive effect, meaning that there is a growing number of younger researchers who have trained specifically in Translation Studies.

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Translation tools

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As with many other sectors, the adoption of personal desktop computers in the mid-1980s was a salient, turning point in the history of professional work processes in translation. It allowed the first generation of PC-enabled translators with access to commercial word-processing applications, such as Word Perfect or Word in MS Office, to handle digital content and to expedite and semi-automate some of the activities most closely associated with translating, namely the writing and editing of the target text. As computer processors and storage expanded in capacity, and as offices and organizations embarked on digitalizing their content and networking their computer workstations internally, translators began to make use of, and later share, resource materials compiled and saved electronically on servers, internal hard drives and on external data storage media.

By the mid-1990s, some professional translator workstation milieus were equipped with the earliest versions of commercial computer-aided translation (CAT) software applications, notably tools for creating and managing terminology and translation memories. As use of the Web spread (see *Web and translation**) and as the number of MS Office suite users multiplied, Microsoft began to more earnestly target international markets, initiating some of the earliest multilingual localization projects to provide products (Office software and IE Web browsers) and support in multiple languages. The release of the fully Unicode-compliant MS Windows 2000 operating system marked a consequential step, inaugurating a broad trend of making provisions for multilingual and cross-platform transfer and support, one which would clearly simplify operations within translation companies, agencies and corporate divisions devoted to translation. Web authoring software, while still not easily accommodating multilingual Web page design (<http://accurapid.com/journal/10intlweb.htm>), began to attract a more substantial following of users as applications transitioned from basic HTML editors operative in a “raw” coding environment to the more comprehensive and intuitive WYSIWYG (What You See Is What You Get) layout. In a period of less than thirty years, technology in general has radically transformed the content and procedures by which professional translators translate. Specialized translation technologies have added another dimension, playing a significant role in expanding the translator’s repertory of useful tools and resources for the task of translation. This entry will briefly introduce: (1) transformations in the translator’s work process and environment; (2) conceptualizing and contextualizing translator tools and technologies; and (3) professional and academic research and development.

1. Transformations in the translator's work process and environment

The accelerated pace at which institutions, organizations and companies around the world currently function is a result of the ongoing convergence of communication and information and computer technologies (ICTs) which continue to be implemented and integrated into workflow processes and procedures, and upgraded regularly as newer technologies emerge and evolve. At the same time, the demand for translation of content into an increasing number of diverse languages is on the rise as many of these institutions, organizations and companies seek to underscore their presence and visibility in global markets and forums, and in online formats as well. Equally significant is the demand for linguistic representation within regional and national perimeters, not least of which include legal mandates by way of official language policies and acts in Canada, Belgium, India, South Africa and the European Union, to cite a few examples. The heightened work load, faster turnaround times, and more complex formats within which the actual text to translate is contained are consequences of these transformations and cannot be underestimated when assessing the conditions in which translators (and revisers/editors) work and must produce their translations.

Translator employment relations have likewise acquired new layers of complexity, in particular as more work is outsourced to independent contractors. Whereas some translations commissioned ensue from relatively simple and straightforward bilingual projects, others derive from more complicated, multilevel projects whose components entail translation, revision, and oftentimes layout for publication (print or digital) in multiple languages. Thus, any translator may find him- or herself either working individually in a one-to-one direct relationship with a client in a single language pair and direction, or as one of many in a team comprised of numerous translators and revisers working on only one tier of a multi-tiered project under the overall supervision of a project manager. These particular production scenarios are important as they ultimately have a role in dictating the types of tools and technologies that translators need to master and use throughout the course ("life") of any given project or for any specific client or domain. For instance, a translator who works for a client whose content is output through corporate content management systems (CMS) may require tools that process XML vocabularies and encoded content such that the tags are protected and not corrupted during translation. By the same token, if any clients seek to efficiently manage terminology and translation memory databases from project to project (Web site updates, for example), then translators will most likely need to translate with a computer-aided translation* (CAT) tool.

Globalization*, economic and employment trends, and changing and diversifying needs and requirements within the client organizations commissioning translations, driven largely by evolving technologies, clearly inform and dictate the repertory of tools and technologies needed by translators to carry out their professional work: as business managers, office managers, project managers and translation experts. Professional translators either directly manage client relations, marketing and production themselves, thereby needing

to incorporate business management (including accounting) procedures independently into their work cycles, or avail of the services of a translation company or agency project/client manager, requiring that they clearly understand and conform to the conditions agreed upon at the time of contract. Either way, most professional translators in the current market will need to be “fluent” in assessing their own pace of production (according to content difficulty, specialization, experience) and in negotiating contract or project terms (including delivery times and rates), in order to be able to comply with the provisions and specifications settled on with their clients and to make a professional living. Successful negotiation of all these factors depends on the ability to appropriately assess needs, requirements and resources, both human *and* technological.

2. Conceptualizing and contextualizing translator tools and technologies

2.1 A challenging field for professionals, trainers and educators

Although important compilations have arisen within academia over the past decade, historically much of the documentation on the technologies and tools used by professional translators originated as postings within early discussion groups on the Web and as articles written by translation professionals themselves in professional journals (print and online, for example *Multilingual, Translation Journal*, and later *JoSTrans*, etc.). Of particular importance were the case studies and helpful advice for those who were beginning to gain exposure to the technologies. (Although English-language publications will be referenced here, publications were not limited to English.) Two of the earliest published works to broach the subject, *A Practical Guide to Software Localization* (1998) and *A Practical Guide to Localization* (2000), were written by Bert Esselink, a technical translator by training who acquired considerable expertise in the domain as a localization engineer, project manager and globalization consultant. Initially targeting the practicing professional translator community, his books were later used extensively by teachers in the first translation technology programs implemented within many academic institutions.

Indeed, technical translators in the 1990s were one of the first groups of specialized professional translators (see Technical translation*) confronted with the challenges of learning how to use specific tools and technologies on projects whose mission was to produce multilingual versions of content (usually software applications) in electronic format for digital environments. The file formats specific to software application development (.exe, .dll, for example), were incapable of being handled in office applications, and had to be processed in specialized environments. The file content, generally conceived for an English-language, American public, had to be adapted both linguistically and culturally for others outside these perimeters. The adaptations embraced not only the modifications typically done by translators on assignment; they also required manipulation of the software code so that the changed elements (dates, numbers, currencies, etc.) could

be displayed properly. These adaptations were referred to as “localization”* by software developers and programmers.

From a translation point of view, the term and processes associated with the term localization may well have remained a specialty niche of software application-specialized technical translators, had the Web not deployed with full force in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The tagged and encoded content conceived for a Web-, browser-based environment brought on a subsequent, and perhaps more significant, wave of localization that ended up embracing a broader band of users and diffusing technologies more pervasively throughout the general professional translation domain. At the turn of the 21st century, increasingly more translators were being asked to translate digitalized content for use in a digital environment. Some of the tools and technologies once constrained to localization projects, especially CAT tools, moved into mainstream professional life. The localization industry, in turn, began to focus its expertise on internationalization and globalization procedures, by which professionals refined the processes, systems, standards and guidelines that would more adequately prepare application and content at the initial stage of product design. The “globalization-internationalization-localization-translation” paradigm that ensued, known briefly as “GILT”, still reflects the current work environment.

Historically, professional translators have had to find ways to keep up-to-date on the changes in technology produced in response to changing client environments, file formats and language requirements. They have had to become more dexterous and proficient with the tools that perform these functions. Not always intuitive or user-friendly in their pioneer versions for practicing translators, the CAT tools initially permeating the market in the mid-1990s often did not coincide with the educational or experiential points of reference and profile of many translators. Rather, they reflected the research domains that had conceptualized them: computational linguistics and machine translation*. Embodied within “translator workstations” installed on desktop computers, early CAT technologies in actuality were the tangible, pragmatic result of MT research that had fallen short of its goals of producing a fully automatic high-quality translation of unrestricted texts (Somers 2003: 6), and they recall some of the operations central to this research: alignment, translation memory (bi-texts or parallel texts) and terminology record creation. Unlike MT, which ascribes the translation process foremost to the machine (computer), the CAT tools that emerged relied primarily on human translation processing, constraining the tools’ functionalities to ones of automating certain facets of that processing in order to enhance overall translator productivity.

The earliest users of CAT and localization tools primarily had to cope with understanding and implementing them practically as quickly as possible, often on their own, in order to meet the urgent needs of the burgeoning market. Meanwhile, trainers and educators had to grapple with preparing the methodologies, curricula*, resources and expertise required to teach the tools. To this day, comprehensively organizing, classifying, categorizing and contextualizing the tools and technologies across the spectrum

available to translation professionals today are not without their challenges for training and educational purposes. The diverse approaches and perspectives palpable in the literature tend to reflect the diverse disciplines and professional fields of experience and expertise proper to the authors themselves. The variegated writings are also indicative of the continual state of flux that characterizes technology and application development in general. However, at a time when many of these technologies are converging into single, operative platforms, conforming to the ICT and Web technology specifications and standards that projects currently demand, it is helpful to understand their particular historical interdisciplinarity.

2.2 New interfaces and new classifications

Perhaps the most useful depiction of the overall landscape, and one which is amenable to historical considerations and to conceptualizing the human-machine relationships implicitly involved, is that of a technology continuum ranging from machine-aided to human-aided. The continuum as a basic conceptual structure reflects the scale of intervention by humans or machines, book-ended at the extremes by HT (human translation) and MT (machine translation), and where intervals are progressively categorized as MAHT (machine-aided human translation) and HAMT (human-aided machine translation). MAHT encompasses computer-aided translation, or “the use of computer programs by translators to help them during the translation process”, while HAMT “refers to the ways a human translator can assist a machine translation system in its translation work” and where “the human translator can intervene before, during and after the MT system process” (Sin-wai 2004: 140, 94). Slightly more elaborate HT ↔ MT models, such as the one proposed by Schäler et al. (cited in Quah 2006: 154) introduce other criteria to help qualify and nuance the degrees of intervention, including diverse types of texts and varying needs of translation quality. Indeed, as the translation landscape continues to complexify, and as the importance of ICTs, commercial enterprise and business management in multilingual translation projects globally continues to grow, we can expect the basic HT ↔ MT continuum to increasingly incorporate more variables. For example, with the proliferating demand and production of devices based on mobile and game technologies, it would benefit by integrating insightful content from both the domains of localization (Dunne: 2006) and audiovisual* and multimedia translation (Gambier & Gottlieb: 2001). As such, it could accommodate technologies that have emerged in project management, complex workflow systems, graphics localization, multilingual desktop publishing, games localization, multi-sensory communication technologies and technologies of adaptation (linguistic, cultural, technical) for diversely formatted displays and screens. The technologies are not only corporate and proprietary, but open source as well, with many projects and technologies providing stable and open platforms, tools, utilities and applications, both for office functions (www.openoffice.org) and for CAT, localization, multimedia and MT (<http://socialsourcecommons.org/toolbox/show/1107>).

Another useful construct through which to conceptualize and contextualize translation tools and technologies is the material translator workstation, or workbench. Historically traceable as a concept back to MT research conducted in the 1960s, and frequently cited in relation to Martin Kay's 1980 essay "The Proper Place of Men and Machines in Language Translation" (Somers 2003: 13), it is defined in our current context as

a single integrated system that is made up of a number of translation tools and resources such as a translation memory, an alignment tool, a tag filter, electronic dictionaries, terminology databases, a terminology management system and spell and grammar checkers. (Quah 2006: 93)

Analogous to the way standard office suite software applications reflect and correspond to the diverse needs and processes in place within a typical office environment (correspondence; word processing and publishing; data collection and retrieval; calculations; presentations; etc.), translator workstation software application suites reflect and correspond to the diverse processes needed to effectively carry out work that is translation-specific (querying and retrieving data at the levels of term, collocation and segment; consulting and analyzing previously translated content, corpora* and parallel documentation; accessing and handling electronically formatted content while protecting display or program code tags; strategically combining and appropriately contextualizing search and retrieval results; pre-translating; interactively translating; retaining proper format in output; etc.). Translator workstations, once exclusively CAT-focused, have evolved to include some basic project management utilities and, most recently, to integrate some MT functionality, once again thrusting issues of translation quality into the arena for open debate. In the end, the human-machine interface, although ubiquitous today in many of the operations used regularly to conduct affairs in contemporary life in 2010, continues to be a site rift with challenges for advancing artificial intelligence and translation technologies.

A potentially useful re-conceptualization of translation tool and technology categories has recently been proposed by Jost Zetzsche, an experienced technical translator and localization consultant who advocates classifying professional translator tools by function, into three categories of ascending complexity:

- tools that independently provide special functions for the translator (resource lookup; terminology management; project management; word counts; software localization)
- tools that provide functions which enhance the use of translation environment tools (term extraction; text extraction; conversion and maintenance; alignment; quality assurance)
- tools that provide a comprehensive environment for a large variety of translation-related features, i.e., TEnTs (Translation Environment Tools, applications designed to allow translators to work in complicated file formats by separating translatable from non-translatable content, and to build up two types of databases: one of translated material that can be leveraged against newly translatable content, and the other of terminology, which complements and extends the functionality of the translation memories, thereby extending, overall, the memory of the translator) (2009: 200–203).

The last category, TEnTs, constitutes the organically designed workspaces conceptualized wholly for the translation process. While many of these applications traditionally have been “affiliated” with MS Word (through macros allowing for associations with translation memories and terminology databases), they are increasingly being transformed into stand-alone environments with an independent translation interface, with some only performing through an online interface (Zetzsche 2009: 205). Overall, this more inclusive classification scheme is useful in that it can be practically deployed, with wide-scale applicability, over diverse professional sectors and production scenarios. For example, while the more robust TEnT tools are capable of handling the wide range of complex file formats generated by various desktop publishing (DTP), graphics, Web authoring/design, software development, and Help system programs, in addition to processing database-based data (Zetzsche 2009: 289–342), not to be underestimated in professional translation work are the equally important freeware, shareware and utility programs, which are available in online software libraries and assist in file and graphics management, file compression, decompression and format conversion, etc. (Zetzsche 2009: 123–164).

This recent reformulation of categories and classification criteria follows two earlier English-language resources that likewise provide excellent broad overviews of the tools and technologies: Quah 2006 and Bowker 2002. Whereas Quah’s approach prevalently contextualizes translation technology concepts through translation automation and MT practices and theories, Bowker’s approach in this work is principally conducted through a CAT perspective, wherein she describes not only the concepts underlying terminology and translation memory systems, but also optical character recognition, scanning, voice recognition, corpora and corpus-analysis tools (concordancers, annotation and mark-up), terminology extraction, etc. Another recent work edited by Elia Yuste Rodrigo (2008), is valuable not only for the language resource (LR) content discussed (concordancing tools, parallel corpora, treebanks, corpus query tools, exploitation technologies, translation memory, multilingual terminological resources, wiki technologies, content management systems, etc.) but also for the focus on translation tools and technologies in terms of process rather than exclusively on products.

3. Professional and academic research and development

The development of technologies and tools to meet burgeoning translation needs across the globe shows no signs of diminishing, and multiple signs of potentially expanding research horizons and opening up new types of professional work. Natural language processing (NLP) and diagnostic tools, in addition to workflow management technologies, will continue to evolve (Bowker 2002: 130). Multilingual information retrieval systems, translation technologies for minority languages, speech translation (speech into text; text into speech; speech into speech) technologies, integrated voice and CAT technologies, as well as machine translation, are vital areas of developing research (Quah 2006: 152–162).

Community-based translation and crowdsourcing platforms are emerging while CAT tools are tending to dissociate from traditional office suite applications, and integrate more sophisticated quality assurance (QA) functionalities, TM-based authoring applications and machine translation options, opting for online Web-based environments over conventional desktop ones (Zetzsche 2009: 253–266). Useful Web sites for general news on language industry tools and technologies include Intranews (<http://intranews.inttra.net/cgi-bin/index.cgi>) and TranslatorsTraining (www.translatorstraining.com/sito/).

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Unit of translation

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Professional translators instinctively think in terms of translation units when they want to assess or describe their work and it proves to be equally necessary and useful to theoreticians when they want to analyse the translator's work. The concept of translation unit has been variously defined according to the theoretical framework within which it has been addressed. Vinay and Darbelnet devote several pages to the subject but fail to integrate it within a theory or at least a comprehensive vision of translation; their definition may seem attractive because it includes the notion of cohesion – “the smallest segment of utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually” (V&D 1995: 21) – but the trouble is that they mainly deal with lexical problems in that section and, more questionably, foster the idea that one can isolate translation units from the source text. Seleskovitch and Lederer (1984), in accordance with their theory, describe the translation unit as a unit of sense gathered from a segment of discourse (a small number of words) that will contribute to the construction of the deverbalized sense of the whole message to be re-expressed in the target language. Christiane Nord (1997) offers a functionalist approach of the matter: to the classical view of translation unit as an ‘horizontal’ segment she adds the notion of ‘vertical’ unit, which gathers a collection of elements scattered in the text and contributing to its function.

The following description is based on the principles of “realistic” translation study (Ballard 2007), that is to say on the observation of corpora with a view to reconstructing the translator's work. If one is to define the phrase ‘translation unit’ properly one must take into account the notions covered by the components of this compound. The term ‘unit’ is polysemous: it can refer to an element of a whole and to the whole itself as a structure integrating elements which are then perceived as constituents. The whole as a larger unit not only includes elements but a more or less complex organization binding those elements and making them cohere. From the start it appears that the term ‘unit’ has to be examined in terms of plurality because it can be equally applied to the text, its components and the binding force between them. Finally if one considers the second term of the phrase under analysis – ‘translation’ – it refers both to a process and a result, that is to say a second text and a series of actions having contributed to its existence.

Some will maintain that the real unit of translation is the text. This kind of stand, despite the part of truth it contains, unfortunately generally amounts to a ban on analysis: one does not translate a text in one fell swoop but in a series of acts related to textual units. A unit of translation cannot be identified in the source text because one does not know

when reading a text what will happen to it in translation, it is only in the act of translating that units become a reality. A textual unit is only a textual unit, a unit to be translated, and it is only when the act is performed that we know the result, which is the outcome of translation, and the second, visible part of a unit of translation. An experienced translator (or a student of Translation Studies at large) can, from past experience (and to some extent competence is unconsciously theorized experience), surmise what will become of a given element of the source text. For instance, one knows that there is a certain probability that a passive form in an English text will not be preserved in its French translation or that a locative prepositional phrase will be translated by a relative clause, but in the end it depends very much on context and on the translator's options, his response to norms, and his own creativity.

It is inadequate to contend that a translation unit is delineated by the identification of a translation problem (Toury 1995), at least it is only partly so: a translated text when compared with the original is made up of a series of equivalences, some of which are literal and some of which are not; one may be tempted to surmise that a non-literal translation is due to having encountered a problem but it is far from always being so. If one distinguishes between literal and non-literal translation, neither can be excluded from the process and therefore from the status of unit component; a non-literal segment is not necessarily the result of a difficulty encountered, it may simply be the result of a personal or norm-generated choice. This brings us to consider that a unit of translation is generated by the implementation of a strategy (literal or non literal); it is the change of strategy which marks the boundary of a translation unit for our perception (see Translation strategies and tactics*). This view of the unit concerns the identification of linear units that is to say those based on syntax or stylistics, but the act of translation does not apply to syntax alone and one has also to take into account units based on words or phrases too (that is to say lexical elements) which are embedded in larger units. For instance, within the context of an article describing American tourists (old age pensioners) travelling through Europe, the following sentence: *“Some of these pioneers are doing Europe in a fortnight.”* (*The Guardian*) can be translated as follows: *“Certains de ces aventuriers font l’Europe en quinze jours”*. The word *pioneer* is not translated by the usual equivalents given by the *Robert & Collins* dictionary (“pionnier, colon, sapeur, explorateur, promoteur”), the word ‘aventuriers’ is a translator’s find which conveys through its connotations the feelings which must be those of the tourists in *terra incognita* and the slightly humorous or ironical bias of the narrator towards them; the use of this word is the outcome of a process of inventiveness which manifests itself at a punctual level. In short, one can say that the English sentence is translated literally, constituting with its translation a large unit of translation, within which is embedded a smaller unit of work at word level.

The comparison of different translations of the same text evinces the fact that a unit of translation is not necessarily based on a difficulty or a problem but quite frequently on a decision of the translator to reword the source text from a given angle; the

following example illustrates the variability of linear units according to the translator's perspective:

[The scene describes little girls who have received a doll's house as a present, they would like to talk about it with their friends but the elder of them decides it is her right to do the talking]

There was nothing to answer. Isabel was bossy, but she was always right, and Lottie and Kezia knew too well the powers that went with being eldest. They brushed through the thick buttercups at the road edge and said nothing. (Mansfield: 170)

Il n'y avait rien à répondre. Isabel était autoritaire, mais elle avait toujours raison, et Lottie et Kezia n'ignoraient rien des pouvoirs inhérents à la qualité d'aînée. Sans un mot, elles poursuivirent leur marche légère *au bord de la route* à travers les épaisses touffes de boutons d'or. (Merle: 171)

Il n'y avait rien à répondre à cela. Isabel était autoritaire mais elle avait toujours raison, Lottie et Kezia, connaissant trop bien la valeur du droit d'aînesse, foulait en silence les épaisses touffes de boutons d'or *qui bordaient la route.* (Faguer: 424)

Merle, on the whole, follows the syntax of the original and produces three sentences for three sentences; within the two larger units formed by sentence to sentence equivalence, she creates two sub-units of indirect rewording: the relative clause of the second sentence is paraphrased by a rather formal adjectival phrase ('inherent à'); the coordinated clause of the third sentence (*and said nothing*) is turned into a prepositional phrase ('sans un mot') which is placed at the beginning of the sentence according to a typical French pattern; in other words, within a general pattern of fairly literal translation (three units based on sentence to sentence equivalence), two minor units of indirect translation are created: one by a stylistic personal choice of the translator, the second, probably, in response to a stylistic pattern typical of the target language.

Faguer on her side definitely steers clear from literal translation for sentences two and three (which can be considered as the basis of a large translation unit), she fuses them into a longer sentence containing two sub-units of indirect rewording: a relative clause ('qui bordaient la route') generated from a prepositional phrase (*at the road edge*); a participle clause ('connaissant trop bien la valeur du droit d'aînesse') generated from the predicate of the subject (*Lottie and Kezia*) which expresses the cause of their behaviour, again according to a pattern typical of French stylistics.

In short, a unit of translation is initiated by a translator when he applies a translation strategy to a segment or element of the source text (which is the base of the unit) with a view to producing a segment or element (the outcome of the unit) that will contribute to the reconstruction of a new entity that will be perceived as a text. The observation of translation corpora should enable us, from the comparison of source and target texts, to trace back, through analysis and inference, to the translator's acts (interpretation, choices in rewording and rewriting) that caused the translated text to be what it is.

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Voiceover and dubbing

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When confronted with language transfer in the audiovisual industry, there are two fundamental approaches. Either oral output remains oral output, as in the original production, or it is transformed into written output. The latter is known as subtitling* and consists in using written text on screen to account for the original dialogue exchanges. The former is generally known as revoicing, whereby the original soundtrack may be totally replaced by a new one in the TL, which means that the target viewer can no longer hear the original exchanges, as in dubbing (also known as lip sync) and narration. The other approach is when the translation is overlapped and the original spoken dialogue is still audible in the background, as in the case of voiceover and interpreting.

1. Voiceover

From a translational perspective, voiceover consists in presenting orally a translation in a TL, which can be heard simultaneously over the SL voice.

From a technical perspective, there are many possibilities of synchronising the ST and the TT in the case of voiceover. The standard approach is to reduce the volume of the original soundtrack to a faint auditory level that can still be heard in the background, whilst the translation is being read. Usually, the viewer is allowed to hear the foreign language for a few seconds at the onset of the speech, before the volume of the original is subsequently reduced so that the translated speech can be superimposed. The translation typically finishes a couple of seconds before the foreign language speech does, the sound of the original is raised again to a normal volume level and the viewer can hear once more the original speech.

Despite the AVT boom in recent years, very few efforts have been channelled into the study of this translation mode. In most countries voiceover is closely associated to factual, non-fictional genres such as documentaries, corporate videos, interviews, news, current affairs programmes, and bonus tracks on DVDs (Franco et al. 2010). However, voiceover is also used to translate films and other fictional programmes in countries like Poland, known as *lektor*, Belarus, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, where one or several actors recite the translation without necessarily incorporating any thespian overtones.

Whilst in most countries the standard language variation is used in the translation, the drive to foreground the sense of authenticity has led to a shift in attitude in the way voiceovers are done, particularly in the UK. Thus, where the traditional practice “was to

use sedately delivered Received Standard Pronunciation [...], it is now the custom, out of deference to the Other, to use English with the appropriate foreign accent" (Fawcett 1996: 76). However, this approach could be interpreted as being far from deferential to the Other as it seems to perpetuate negative stereotypes by highlighting the inability of foreign people to speak English correctly.

A post-production translation for voiceover takes place when the translator is given a finished audiovisual programme to work with, which usually comes with a script and will not be subject to any further editing. Often translators have to work through a pivot or relay translation*, when the language of the soundtrack (e.g., Korean) is different from that of the script (e.g., English) used for the translation (e.g., Spanish). In the case of voiceover translation for production, the translator has to work with raw, unedited material which will subsequently undergo several processes before being broadcast. On these occasions, materials of all sorts can be used to create a new audiovisual programme, and the voiceover could be of a narration, an interview, a description or even belong to the realm of creative writing, especially when the translator is commissioned to write a text from scratch that will accompany some existing images.

As opposed to dubbing, voiceover is technically less complex and demanding since there is no need to adapt the translation to fit the movements of the lips. This translates into two of its main virtues: it is reasonably cheap and it can be carried out comparatively faster than dubbing. Nonetheless, the fact that the limitations imposed by the media are less stringent than in other AVT modes does not mean that they do not exist. Indeed, as discussed by Orero (2009), voiceover requires a high degree of synchrony as it has to strike the right balance with the body movements and the images shown on screen. In addition, given that the translation starts after the original's onset and finishes earlier, editing and condensation of the translation are needed to fit in the required time slots.

2. Dubbing

Dubbing, famously nicknamed *traduction totale* (Cary, 1960) because of its many challenges, is the other major revoicing practice. It involves replacing the original soundtrack containing the actors' dialogue with a TL recording that reproduces the original message, ensuring that the TL sounds and the actors' lip movements are synchronised in such a way that target viewers are led to believe that the actors on screen are actually speaking their language.

This is perhaps one of the most salient differences between these two modes. Whereas dubbing creates the illusion that people on screen speak the same language as the viewer's by hiding the translation act, voiceover is an inescapable reminder of the presence of the Other and the need for translation, making it, as well as subtitling, examples of so-called overt translations (see Overt and covert translation*).

Due to its high costs and complex process in which many professionals are involved – translators, adaptors/dialogue writers, dubbing directors and actors, sound technicians –,

dubbing is virtually restricted to the translation of films, TV series and sitcoms, children's programmes, and the sporadic commercial. Though countries and studios differ in the way they carry out dubbing, standard practice in the industry has it that a rough translation is carried out by a translator who knows the SL and then passes it on to the adaptor or dubbing director, responsible for synchronising the translation with the audio and visual cues of the original.

Fodor (1969) distinguishes three types of synchrony. The phonetic synchrony, most widely known as lip sync(hrony), takes care of fitting the target text into the mouth openings of the onscreen characters, particularly in instances of close-ups. When working at this level, translators/dialogue writers must forgo the sentence as their translational unit and concentrate on syllables and letters. Indeed, the translated dialogue has to be moulded in such a way that despite its phonetically dissimilar nature it still appears to be visually identical to the original when superimposed to the original images and soundtrack. Of particular importance to create the illusion is to respect open vowels (a, e, o), bilabial (b, p, m) and labio-dental consonants (v, f), which in close-ups can be easily noticed by viewers. To reach phonetic synchrony and fit the text in the mouth of the actors, some resourceful strategies are: the adjustment of the rhythm at which the final text is delivered, the deletion of some words, and the introduction of padding expressions. On the downside, strict adherence to synchronisation may lead to the use of clumsy turns of phrases that although adapting to the lips may not fit well in the situation being depicted. Against this pitfall, a solution is to relegate phonetic synchrony to the margins and apply instead a creative dubbing based on a true adaptation of the original script and performances.

The second type of synchrony is that of the translation with the actors' movements and gestures, coined as character synchrony by Fodor (1969), and relabelled as kinetic synchrony by Whitman-Linsen (1992). The aim here is to guarantee that the dialogue does not contradict the image and that the shaking of a head comes accompanied by a negative statement. Finding adequate target voices that are compatible with the personality and the physical appearance of the person on screen is also part of this type of synchronisation, though clearly a decision that is beyond the translator's reach. In dubbing, as in other translation practices, not only what is said is important but also the way in which it is said can be crucial for the success of the programme.

The third and last synchrony is known as isochrony and consists in making sure that the duration of the translated exchanges is in tune with the duration of the original ones and the utterances can be comfortably fitted between the moments the actors open and shut their mouth. Chaume (2004a: 44) considers that much criticism of badly dubbed films is grounded "in deficiencies in isochrony, as it is there that the viewer is most likely to notice the fault". Weaknesses of this nature may soon become a thing of the past thanks to the potential unleashed by the digitisation of the image, which makes it technically easy to tweak the actors' lips in the most accommodating ways so as to make the movements coincide with the new soundtrack.

In dubbing, the translation unit is the take (*boucle* in French, *anello* in Italian), which is a written fragment of some 5 to 10 lines. Conventions on how to produce them vary according to countries (cf. Chaume 2004b). Some of the considerations taken into account revolve around the maximum number of lines allowed (usually no more than ten), the presence of pauses (if longer than some 15 seconds, a new take has to be started), the change of scenes (a new scene requires the beginning of a new take), or the maximum number of lines a dubbing actor can act (usually, no more than 5 consecutive lines).

To facilitate the task of the dubbing actors and the director, the takes are annotated with symbols that help the process of dramatisation of the target dialogue exchanges. These too vary according to studios and generally indicate, among others, whether characters are onscreen (ON) or offscreen (OFF), giving their back to the camera, speaking concurrently, laughing or gesticulating.

Given that the original soundtrack has been erased and viewers do not usually have the possibility of comparing original and translation, the professionals involved in dubbing do not need to be as literal as in subtitling and have in principle more latitude to play with the content and form of the dialogues. In adhering to the three synchronies, voices in off that do not exist in the original can be added to the translation and new utterances can be slipped in when actors are offscreen or with their back turned to the camera.

Dubbing presents itself as an ideal solution when confronted with the difficult task of overcoming linguistic barriers for children and illiterate audiences. The potential ideological power of films together with this pretended easiness with which dubbed dialogue can be manipulated has converted it into a favoured tool for totalitarian regimes. In the Germany, Italy and Spain of the first half of the 20th century, for instance, governments established guidelines about the foreign films that could be imported and exhibited, controlling and censoring their translation, and making dubbing compulsory.

For many years, studies on dubbing largely concentrated on the professional dimension with some authors cornering positions by establishing a rather sterile and counterproductive comparison with subtitling. Things have thankfully changed and dubbing is now a well established field in academe and making incipient inroads in translation curricula. The dubbing of humour and cultural references, the audience's perception of dubbed comedies, the surfacing of the SL on the TL via what is known as *dubbese*, the pre-fabricated nature of the actors' dialogues, the linguistic changes that take place in dubbing, the use of dubbing as a censoring practice, and the dubbing of children's programmes, to name but a few, have all been fruitful areas of research.

It is rather curious, to say the least, that virtually nothing has been done on the use of revoicing for educational purposes; particularly considering its potential to stimulate and promote active skills like oral production. Finally, little attention has been devoted to the collaborative practice of fandubbing, which consists in the free distribution over the internet of audiovisual programmes, most commonly Japanese anime, which have been dubbed by fans for fans.

The potential offered by dubbing, both in terms of new research avenues and didactic opportunities, together with a flurry of activity in AVT, are clear indications that this once forsaken field has finally come of age.

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Web and translation

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The World Wide Web (WWW) was formally introduced as a proposal in March 1989 (<http://info.cern.ch/Proposal.html>) and implemented in May 1990 (<http://info.cern.ch/>) by Sir Tim Berners-Lee of CERN (European Organisation for Nuclear Research). The novelty of the concept proposed was in its hypothetical capacity to share information easily over the Internet by deploying hyperlinked hypertext, encoded, displayable and retrievable through hypertext transfer protocol (HTTP) and hypertext markup language (HTML), by means of a browser. The Internet, a global system of interconnected computer networks based on the TCP/IP communications protocol standard, predated the Web by approximately thirty years. The “Web”, which would eventually become the most widely used portion of this broader Internet, was made available to the public in 1991. The first Web browser with a graphical user interface (GUI), Mosaic, was introduced in 1993 and from this point on enabled users to interface more intuitively with the Web via icons and visuals rather than text commands. Technically, in a period of just 20 years, the Web has evolved from an information repository of posted static text Web pages to a dynamically charged user-interactive environment (“Web 2.0”) of social networking sites, multimedia content-sharing sites, and real-time communication propelled on the back-end by diverse types of specialized servers, and database and content management systems (CMS). Web technologies and standards, linked to industry initiatives, academic research projects, and international organizations such as the W3C, Unicode Consortium and ICANN, continue to evolve rapidly.

1. General perspectives of Web studies and Web science

The earliest academic literature with regard to the Web as a social construct, that is, encompassing perspectives and issues proper to social sciences and the humanities rather than constrained to the domain of technical and mechanical assemblage, emerged, in English-language scholarship, from media and communication studies. It generally considers the Web in terms of information transfer and in light of traditional conceptual structures in mass media communication (production, distribution, reception, consumption). A few works would begin to address the specificities of the Web as a complex whole. For example, Burnett & Marshall (2003) link the emergent Web technologies and applications (including ecommerce) to subjects of inquiry fundamental for cultural and social theories, i.e., identity, culture, society and technology. Gauntlett & Horsley (2004) approach the Web

from the optics of cyberculture, sociology (global Web communities) and cultural studies, particularly through the venues of economics, commerce, and politics, and broach questions of access (digital divide), intellectual property and governance in digital Web space. Terry Flew (2005) explores and analyzes the connections between digital (new) media, user participation in digital-inspired culture (games industry, knowledge economy, education, law), creativity and governance. Current literature concerning the Web and its evolution is proliferating in many professional domains and academic disciplines (Wardrip-Fruin & Montfort 2003; Alessi & Smith 2006; Chadwick 2006; Scharl & Tochtermann 2007; St. Amant 2007; Tetlow 2007; Palfrey & Gasser 2008; Turow & Lokman 2008). Some of these works draw on existing traditions in diverse disciplinary histories and attempt to analyze Web-related phenomena through vocabularies and conceptual frameworks that are familiar, i.e., in philosophy, law, economy, computer sciences, life sciences, etc. (Scharff & Dusek 2003; Kaplan 2004; Rasskin-Gutman 2005).

In 2006, under the leadership of Berners-Lee, MIT and the University of Southampton created the Web Science Research Institute, later restructured as a non-profit entity in 2009 and renamed the Web Science Trust. It seeks to officially lay the groundwork for formal study of Web Science through an interdisciplinary approach (<http://webscience.org/webscience.html>). The general categories proposed for this new interdisciplinary field of study reflect the salient directions undertaken by the Web as it has developed, and include: computer science, artificial intelligence, Web engineering, mathematics, psychology, economics, law, biology, sociology, ecology, socio-cultural and media (<http://journal.webscience.org/>).

Web science and Web studies in general, are beginning to direct attention to the considerable complexities inherent to relationships, human and machine. Human beings, communicating and interacting with one another by means of computer-based tools and technologies enabled and facilitated through human-machine interface (HMI) programmed and designed for the Web environment (human-Web interface), transfer their points of reference and experiences from the physical, biological world all while adapting to the reconfigured space-time of the digital world. As sophisticated sensory technologies and simulated virtual worlds become more pervasive, the degree of immersion and interactivity may well transform into an ostensibly more seamless transition between these worlds of physical and virtual realities, eliciting relevant and crucial philosophical, moral and ethical considerations in its wake.

2. Translation and the Web

The young and growing corpus of literature contextualizing the Web as a complex social construct has not yet been analyzed through a Translation Studies perspective, although various aspects of translation have been dealt with in professional and academic studies in relation to website localization*. A useful online source for technical resources is

<http://www.il8nguy.com/books.html>. In general, translation activities on the Web have emerged and developed in sync with advancing technologies and accompanying technical and social trends, i.e., mainly in light of non-translation specific technologies that have historically transitioned through the Web as it matures technically (albeit its overlapping and hybridizing nature) and then, as part of the history of specific translation technology development (see Translation tools*). Technically, the Web has evolved such that it opens up myriad possibilities for users to collaborate and share online a variety of Web-based application resources, i.e., those programs accessible via a Web browser over the Internet or an intranet, or encoded in a browser-readable markup language and deployed in a browser-hosted environment. As organizations and workplaces have sought to adopt the new technologies and digitalize their content globally, applications that provide adequate and compatible character encoding support for diverse language alphabets and scripts (latin, cyrillic, double-byte CJK, indic, bi-directional, etc.) used in writing and translating worldwide have been developed (*Multilingual*; Lunde 2008). These general historical trends have engendered translation activity on the Web that is both social and communications-based, and that intersects with the sphere of specialized professional translation technologies ported from desktop into Web-based applications.

Web-assisted human translation comprises core activities traditionally included in the repertory of the human translator in his or her task to translate, but which have been recast in forms attributable to or inspired by the Web. They include having recourse to references and parallel documentation, searching dictionaries for retrieval of terms, querying resources, and writing and editing the target text. The application of more sophisticated algorithms to programs by software and Web engineers have dramatically enhanced, technically speaking, translators' references and resources as well as their access to them, most notably to searchable online databases, bilingual and multilingual corpora*, and copious amounts of real-life parallel documentation retrievable in multiple languages. As global communication and translation needs have developed and diversified, including trends to outsource projects, office and professional translation applications and technologies (Translation Environment Tools, CAT (see Computer-aided translation*), localization* and MT (see Machine translation today*)) have contributed to producing a Web-based, shared working space online that is accessible remotely, in particular through wireless, mobile technologies. Adherence to open standards and format protocols, and agreement among proprietary vendors to offer options that adhere to compatible exchange protocols, allow individual and differently configured computer users to participate in the same project and workspace. Current R&D focuses on procedures that will improve handling of multilingual user-generated content, large-scale collaboration and application-programming interfaces (API) able to extend and expand Web-based applications and Web tools (TAUS; Commonsense Advisory; Global by Design).

The Web sphere of resources continues to expand as more of the information needed to conduct personal, professional, and public citizen facets of our lives moves partially or

wholly online, and as more languages and cultures are represented on the Web. Complementary to these developments are the constantly changing networking practices associated with the social domain (see Networking and volunteer translators*). Web-based discussion groups, multimedia content file-sharing, document sharing, communications via email, IM, VoIP, microblogs, social networks, blogs, wikis, portals, vortals, podcasts, etc. are targeted and used by professional and non-professional translators alike. Equally important are Web-based aggregators providing news relevant to translation (for example, Intranews). These Web-based activities clearly reflect a vibrant translation dimension to the burgeoning multi-lingual-cultural discourse that comprises global communications of life on the Web. Google's visible interest and intervention in many translation practice domains over the past couple of years may be implicit recognition that translation activities facilitated and mediated by the Web will only gain in importance and value. Comprehensively, Web and translation technologies alike are servicing the multiple translation support needs encountered by users of the Web overall. The applications embrace proprietary, open source and mixed engineering domains, with the respective philosophies, processes, procedures and product outcomes they entail.

The confluence of Web studies (or Web science) and Translation studies potentially constitutes a rich field of serious academic inquiry. Understanding the robust site of these practices entails comprehending the Web both in its technical and social dimensions. By striving to understand, technically, how the Web is machine-programmed and -programmable, designed for interactive engagement with humans, and socially, how humans actually use, innovate and transform machine design to better suit their needs and objectives, we can understand more profoundly what it means to be human. As the Web increasingly becomes the platform of communication for fundamental aspects of our lives, and as communication globally becomes more linguistically and culturally rich and diverse online, we can better comprehend the role of global translation. Questions of global communities, citizenship, access to technologies, representation and governance may well converge on the ethics and human right to translate and be translated.

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Writer *see* Gender in translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation

Writing *see* Post-colonial literatures and translation