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A History of Modern Translation Knowledge

edited by

Lieven D'hulst
Yves Gambier

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A History of Modern Translation Knowledge

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Volume 142

A History of Modern Translation Knowledge. Sources, concepts, effects
Edited by Lieven D’hulst and Yves Gambier

A History of Modern Translation Knowledge

Sources, concepts, effects

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General introduction

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1. Historicising translation studies

Translation studies as we commonly view it today is a wide, open and dynamic field of research that covers an impressive spectrum of topics approachable by means of a no less impressive set of tools or methods. Even more, translation studies shares many of its topics and tools with other disciplines, giving way to elegant labels like "poly-discipline", "interdiscipline" and even "post-discipline" or "post-translation studies" (Gentzler 2017). The wide range, openness, and intellectual dynamism are mirrored by the many definitions and metaphors that circulate side by side and invite for an almost kaleidoscopic view on translation, oscillating between "rewriting" (Lefevere 2017), "cultural translation" (Maitland 2017) and the growing spread of images originating in intellectual traditions worldwide (Guldin 2015). Seemingly, the comforting ability to survey that field by means of introductions, overviews, guides or dictionaries has superseded the defensive quest for disciplinary specificity and the stocktaking of growth that have been in charge of establishing and legitimizing translation studies during earlier decades (Koller 1995).

Yet openness and interaction have a prize. On the one hand, students and scholars coming from other disciplines and interested in whatever aspect of translation experience the challenges of selecting views on translation and ways to study translation that best fit their own research agenda, but also of formulating neat and appropriate research questions that attest of the acknowledged relevance of the translation category within their disciplinary framework. On the other hand, for translation students in particular, the implications of the preceding are quite far-reaching. It has indeed become puzzling to design research projects when life cycles of theories and methods are short-term, while their applicability is unsystematically tested out or when debates on the very fundamentals of translation (such as the concept of translation itself) remain without a clear or workable outcome. No doubt, many researchers in other fields that have likewise expanded during, say,

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the past 50 years face similar challenges, sustaining and perhaps strengthening the idea of an ongoing "mess in social science research" (Law 2004).[1]

Be that as it may, both groups deal with two other issues. First, they work in specific, continental, national or local intellectual environments that are more variegated than the name of translation studies or publications in English would likely suggest. Think of German *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, in use since the early 19th century, Russian *perevodovedenie* and Ukrainian *perekladoznavstvo* from the 1920s on (Tyulenev 2015 and Kal'nychenko 2011), French or Francophone *traductologie* since the end of the 1960s, German *Translatologie* since the 1970s, etc. Secondly, research on translation has evolved under an array of institutional shelters (theoretical and applied language departments, institutes for translator training, literature and comparative literature departments). In other terms, the expansion of the field goes hand in hand with the latter's compartmentalization, and increasingly so with the more recent but massive participation of researchers coming from other domains and areas, esp. from Asia.

All in all, the picture of a highly accessible field loses part of its trustworthiness. This impression is further enhanced by the scarcity of historical studies that precisely address the evolutionary logic of variation, expansion and interdisciplinarity during the past centuries and up to the last decades. Even if contemporary translation studies is more than before committed to a disciplinary self-reflection (e.g. Echeverri 2017), we cannot but assess that in comparison with many disciplines of the social sciences and the humanities, the history of translation studies is still in its infancy,[2] being often confined to introductory chapters (e.g. in Munday 2016), historical chapters in encyclopaedias of translation studies (e.g. Kittel et al. 2004–2011; Baker and Saldanha 2011) or anthologies of theoretical or critical texts (such as Venuti 2012).

Yet there is more at stake: views on past thinking, theories included, are strongly indebted to Thomas Kuhn's distinction between evolutionary models of science, two of which have become topical: the "growth" model (science progresses by accumulation) and the model of "paradigm shifts" (Kuhn 1962). The history of translation studies features both models, perhaps in a more radical way when compared with other language disciplines and some social sciences. As we know, translation studies considers itself as a very young discipline, one that has exponentially expanded during the last few decades and that has been subjected to a set of successive "turns" (Snell-Hornby 2006). And so, more drastically perhaps than established disciplines,[3] translation studies has been tempted to relegate older ideas, theories or methods to the domain of the archive, an archive being something that should be preserved but at the same time deprived of living connections with present ideas and challenges and of course with future prospect (Ladmiral 1995). This evolution has familiarized translation students with the thesis of two distinct phases, i.e. a pre-scientific and a scientific one, in the history of translation studies, this distinction being in fact a "self-chosen caesura by Western Translation studies from the 1970s" (Schippel and Zwischenberger 2017: 10), without however raising the question "whether this line makes sense at all" (*ibid.*).

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[1] Cf. Tahir Gürçağlar: "I would like to suggest that the world of translation also involves a high degree of mess, confusion and disorder and that our current critical theoretical frameworks are forcing these conditions into set categories, organizing the disorder into seeming order, sometimes lumping together findings that agree with theoretical expectations and excluding or glossing over those that challenge them" (2007: 725–726).

[2] A Google Scholar search using the expression "history of translation studies" yields approx. 220 hits for the last five years (in comparison: "history of translation" amounts to 4720 hits). Access 14 October 2017.

At any rate, such a thesis goes against the grain of a more comprehensive history of translation studies, one that would be comparable to histories of language disciplines, i.e. a history in which many elements of translational communication find a place and are interconnected: scholars, theories, methods, institutions, schools, areas, periods, etc. (D'hulst 2010). The present book aims to be a step in this direction. It is an attempt to start 'historicising' modern translation studies, being based on the conviction that we better bring down the walls that have been built between the latter and its past. Instead of foregrounding binaries (prescriptive vs. descriptive viewpoints, non-academic vs. academic institutions, Western vs. non-Western worldviews, practice-driven vs. theory-driven research, etc.), we should more likely account for binding elements, and in particular focus on sources, steps, filiations, inheritances and influences. Alongside the reshaping and circulation of our knowledge about translation, these elements have indeed greatly contributed to the elaboration of what has come to be known today as the field of translation studies.

Yet, fascination for the past and its evolution does not mean indifference for the present and its problems, on the contrary. In-depth historical research may lay bare common presuppositions of past and present, next to long-term conventions and values. In some cases, history may even trigger new vistas and improve present and future thinking about translation, notably by deepening our understanding of the birth, growth and oblivion of basic concepts, by learning how specific methods were designed and applied or simply by contextualizing one's own specialism (see Chang 2017). This way, history turns into an efficient mode of developing scholarly self-reflection, which is a general sign of disciplinary maturity, as noted by Hayden

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[3] E.g. Kuhn's concept of 'paradigm' has been criticized as being inappropriate for the history of linguistics, if only because there is a lack of generally accepted concepts and methods, and because there are too many groups and schools of researchers (Kertész 2010).

White: "One of the ways that a scholarly field takes stock of itself is by considering its history" (White 2002: 191), and solicited by Yves Gambier with regard to translation studies (2007: 207–209).

In brief, the history we have in mind is one of dialogue rather than opposition between past and present. But how should we approach the "past"? Which avenues give us access to past views, methods, thinkers, institutions, etc.? And how should we describe these data, and capture their evolution, transformation, spreading or fading? More basically, since past views, theories or methods about translation do not fit our contemporary models of science or domains such as discipline, paradigm, turn, research, theory, methodology, and the like, how should we name these views, theories and methods? From both a methodological and a practical viewpoint, we would likely suggest to use the term "translation knowledge": while the latter assures an adequate coverage of the many reflexive activities that go with translation practice, knowledge is a widely accepted term in present-day social and cultural history.

2. Towards a history of translation knowledge

2.1 On knowledge

"Knowledge" is an ancient as well as a long-debated term in many sciences, in particular epistemology (see a.o. Daston 1994). It applies both to the cognitive domain of understanding facts of whatever kind, involving different acts of cognition, such as observing, reasoning and communicating, as well as to the skills or expertise needed to achieve specific practical tasks. Most languages use different terms to describe these acts and skills, e.g. Greek: "*techne* (knowing how), *episteme* (knowing that), *praxis* (practice), *phronesis* (prudence) and *gnosis* (insight)" (Burke 2016: 14). Knowledge is culture-bound, varies in time and space, and appears in many kinds: "[…] knowledge is pure and applied, abstract and concrete, explicit and implicit, learned and popular, male and female, local and universal" (*Ibid.*: 14). In addition, it is closely linked to other perceptions of the world, such as attitudes, feelings or beliefs, many of which may to same extent have relevance for understanding the past.[4]

For historians, the term "knowledge" or "knowledges" (and more in particular "translation knowledges", see further) serves as an umbrella term for at least three different historical levels (Lässig 2016: 39). First, it is a historical given, something that is made by humans at some point in time, and that is rather difficult to assess *a posteriori*. Anthropologists are keen to distinguish "raw" and "cooked" forms of knowledge (Lévi-Strauss 1964): the first apply to seemingly unstructured, spontaneous, illogic sorts of knowledge, the second to more digest ones, that are structured and ready for interpretation. Some of the "raw" material belongs to know-how issues: think of automated decisions taken during translating or interpreting or default translation policies deployed in multilingual settings. Secondly, knowledge comprises what past people understood themselves by "knowledge", including disagreement, debates and misunderstandings about that very concept or its use. Finally, the history of knowledge to which we would like to contribute would then amount to our present reconstruction of both preceding understandings (including their relations). More in detail, such a history would consist of studying the processes of gathering, analysing, disseminating and employing past knowledges (Burke 2016).

---

[4] This holds a.o. for practices such as literary or legal translation, but also for translation ideology, and more generally for so-called "committed" approaches in translation studies (Brownlie 2010).

This subfield of historical research has become almost overwhelmingly successful since the 1990s,[5] with deep roots in social and cultural history: "Knowledge touches upon almost all spheres of life in all eras and in all regions of the world […]. It opens an approach to actors and structures largely beyond the grasp of established lines of inquiry and analytical concepts" (Lässig 2016: 32). One may also advance social and scientific reasons to explain this success:

> […] current debates about our 'knowledge society' or 'information society' have encouraged a historical approach to the topic. […] One of the social functions of historians is surely to help their fellow-citizens to see the problems of the present in a long-term perspective and so to avoid parochialism. (Burke 2016: 11)

In addition, science and knowledge, but also technology, carry political and economic issues, as exemplified by Latour and Woolgar (1986) in their study on how scientific work is carried out in laboratories, how scientists cooperate, how scholarly practices relate with issues such as the publication of papers, the search for finances and other aspects of laboratory life.

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[5] French "histoire des savoirs" (Jacob 2007–2011, 2014; Pestre 2015) or German "Wissensgeschichte" (Vogel 2004; Sarasin 2011) are not to be taken as simple synonyms of "history of knowledge", if only because they have emerged in different intellectual traditions: e.g., the French is more interested in epistemological issues (since Foucault), while the British tradition is more descriptive-oriented (as with Burke). Heilbron et al. (2008) make a plea for transnational histories of knowledge.

2.2 On translation knowledge

Translation knowledge is a term we should like to coin in analogy with other fields of knowledge, such as social or cultural knowledge.[6] One could be tempted to put it on a par with the popular 20th-century term translation studies, but we prefer to avoid the fallacy of looking at the past through the lens of modern or contemporary categories, presuppositions, or methodologies that prevail today.[7] At the outset, translation knowledge is nothing more than a container term that will need replacement, during analysis, by more accurate ones, which feature precisely the specifics of each period and area. Correlatively, translation knowledge does not equal either the many subdomains of translation studies such as translation theory, methodology, applied research, etc.

The history of translation knowledge retains the definition and levels of knowledge previously mentioned. This means that it brings together the many types of reflection on translation that have been assembled, structured, analysed, used and transmitted since ages, from Leonardi Bruni (c. 1424–1426) to George Steiner (1998), in many places and many languages in and across Europe, in the form of treaties, manuals, theories, criticism, methods, letters, prefaces, essays, etc. It includes explicit and implicit, often non-written, types of knowledge (such as the translator's know-how[8]). It further interacts with other domains of knowledge (social, religious, educational, literary, historical, scientific, etc.). Finally, it does not disentangle past and present knowledges, academic and non-academic knowledges. Whether the history of translation knowledge may or may not have the ambition to include the history of modern and even contemporary translation studies is perhaps a debatable issue, considering the status of the discipline translation studies among the "sciences".[9]

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[6] It offers therefore little in common with the term used in machine translation nor with the quite popular metaphor "knowledge translation" (translation of knowledge) used in medical science and public health policy (Engebretsen et al. 2017 challenge basic assumptions of knowledge translation, drawing on insights from translation theories). See also the Chapter 1.8 (Expansions) in this volume.

[7] One may formulate exactly the same remark about terms like French "traductologie" or German "Translatologie", which are exclusively used with reference to mid- and late 20th-century theoretical and institutional endeavours.

[8] Or, from a sociological viewpoint, "knowing in practice", i.e. "situated and embodied knowing" (M. Olohan 2017: 159).

[9] The history of science (*histoire des sciences, Wissenschaftsgeschichte*) is a well-established field of research in many of the so-called fundamental and applied sciences. On the relations between history of knowledge and the history of science, see L. Daston 2017. On the relations between the history of science and the history of translation, see M. Olohan 2014.

Translation knowledge as we understand it here is knowledge with regard to translation, i.e. about or on translation, to some extent also of translation, when it relates to issues such as the know-how to translate, the awareness or understanding of translation taking place, of the potential of translation, etc. It encompasses embrained knowledge (dependent on conceptual skills and cognitive abilities) and embodied knowledge (acquired by doing, sited in translation practice) but it does not coincide or confuse with knowledge transmitted by translation, which is studied by general, cultural, or social histories of knowledge (Burke and Po-chia Hsia 2007; Cook and Dupré 2012; Jacob 2007–2011; Jacob 2014; Pestre 2015; etc.[10]). Such histories highly consider the transnational circulation of knowledge, and take into account modes of circulation such as translation, which they understand as a verbal tool to convey knowledge across linguistic or geopolitical borders. However, they mostly by-pass knowledge on, about and of translation, which is precisely what we are interested in, not only because it is a valuable undertaking in its own right, but also because we consider it to be an indispensable step in the process of replacing the current subservient view on translation knowledge by a more autonomous one. The future will tell us whether and how we may link knowledge on and knowledge by translation.

A final point concerns the concept of "translation" in "translation knowledge". Following the previous assessment of the concept of knowledge, we view translation as a practised and debated given, of which a historical understanding needs to be attempted. This implies that labels will require adjustment or explanation, during analysis, taking into account the specifics of each period and area. Correlatively, since the frontiers between translation and other transfer modes (imitation, paraphrase, plagiary, etc.) are permeable (D'hulst 2012), some attention is given to the latter modes as well.

2.3 An outline

Past thinkers did not always have a wide-ranging view of their activity nor of what went on in the field of translation, let alone that they had the means to assemble and analyse data, as have the historians of our time. Yet this given did not prevent them to develop sophisticated views on translation. It would for instance be inaccurate to isolate ideas and arguments of past thinkers and cast them in a box-like format that one could label a "theory", inviting for a comparison with modern theories. The following statement by David Hopkins on John Dryden's 17th-century writings on translation is in fact applicable to many other translators, critics or theoreticians of the past:

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[10] One could also formulate this remark with regard to the Manchester Genealogies of Knowledge project, which considers the role of translation in the study of knowledge production and circulation (see: http://gtr.rcuk.ac.uk/projects?ref=AH%2FM010007%2F1). Accessed on October 14, 2017.

> […] to describe Dryden’s writings on the subject as ‘translation theory’ might suggest an original, comprehensive, static, and consistent body of doctrine, rather than – as it is the case – a constantly evolving set of programmatic statements and reflections, often developing from the work of predecessors, composed over the course of two decades as a working translator, and deriving their authority as much from the poet’s practice as from their cogency in the abstract.
>
> (Hopkins 2005: 55)

Consequently, it seems appropriate to study past knowledge in context, i.e. in coalescence with other items partaking in translational communication. Which items? The following summary of possible avenues has no claim of full coverage:[11]

- Knowledge is produced, channelled, analysed, stored, classified, reproduced or interpreted by numerous *agents*: scholars, critics, translators, publishers, librarians, readers, trainers. This category allows for several types of orderings, such as male vs. female, professional vs. non-professional, “pioneers” vs. “epigones”, etc.
- Knowledge is generated and structured by means of *techniques*: the expansion of cognitive metaphors, the design of argumentation structures, theory-example sequences, generic types (narration, overview, quantification, etc.).
- Knowledge is carried by specific *media*: orally in classrooms, printed for larger distribution, digitally over the internet.
- Knowledge is produced and handled within specific institutional and symbolic *spaces* such as university departments, secondary schools, or academies, as well as concrete *places* like multilingual cities, harbours, border zones, or exile places.
- Knowledge is at least partly initiated, steered and controlled by official and non-official *policies* such as those conceived and applied by ministries, universities, research funding instances.
- Types of knowledge (general, analytical, applied, historical) emerge under specific conditions, that may be considered factors of *causation* (see a.o. Pym 2014; Chesterman 2017).
- Knowledge may benefit from *interaction* with adjacent disciplines (linguistics, literary studies, sociology, legal studies, etc., see a.o. Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016) and may in turn yield specific *effects* on branches of these disciplines (corpus linguistics, comparative literature, book history, legal linguistics, etc.).
- Knowledge is inscribed in *time*, allowing to distinguish several phases or moments, such as discovering, analysing, disseminating, employing, forgetting, etc. During all phases, it embodies experiences of change, continuity or regression. It also enters other time structures such as political, cultural or intellectual periods.

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[11] More information will be given in the introductions to the 7 parts.

Historians may likely attempt to correlate several of the avenues: a commendable purpose that nevertheless runs some risks. One is the risk of mirroring with an unrealistic scope translation studies as a whole, since there are simply not enough historians to cope with all avenues. Other risks are: the accumulation of more or less isolated case studies; the strengthening of the dependence of translation history on topics of interest for other disciplines (sociology, cultural geography, media studies, etc.); the neglect of the issues of theory and methodology, often by reproducing without further concern the gaps and disparities between existing approaches (linguistic, cultural, sociological, etc.).

However, one should not perceive these risks as enduring threats. First, because the historical viewpoint remains the centre of gravity of translation history. Further, because acknowledging a large range of topics covered by a history of translation knowledge does not imply that we treat them all on a par and carry them out the same way and along the same time pad. Finally, because historians may gain more by sharing other disciplines' frames of reference than by claiming an illusory uniqueness within e.g. the language disciplines (translations being *also* language products, and literary translations being *also* part of a target literature). All in all, extending agenda's and growing openings towards other concepts, methods and subdisciplines are useful steps in an evolution that will benefit to a more convincing account of the historical role played by translation in human societies worldwide.

It should not come as a surprise that there are no ready-made procedures to deal with the history of translation knowledge. Of course, one may recall the well-known distinctions between internal and external approaches, the former putting a focus on content (concepts, tools, views…), the latter on context (social, economic, institutional…). Yet both are entangled to a large extent, and so historians find themselves in the position of the anthropologist described by Lévi-Strauss in *La pensée sauvage* as a "bricoleur intellectuel" (intellectual tinkerer), whose toolbox is limited and nevertheless in charge of describing complex and changing situations:

> […] the rules of his [the 'bricoleur'] game are always to make do with 'whatever is at hand', that is to say with a set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, or indeed to any particular project, but is the contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock […].
>
> (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 17)[12]

---

[12] Original version: "[…] la règle de son jeu [du bricoleur] est de toujours s'arranger avec les 'moyens du bord', c'est-à-dire un ensemble à chaque instant fini d'outils et de matériaux, hétéroclites au surplus, parce que la composition de l'ensemble n'est pas en rapport avec le projet du moment, ni d'ailleurs avec aucun projet particulier, mais est le résultat contingent de toutes les occasions qui se sont présentées de renouveler ou d'enrichir le stock […]" (Lévi-Strauss 1962: 27).

In addition to choices related to external and internal viewpoints, historians may define the scope of research according to the categories they want to link with translation knowledge, i.e. agents, genres, media, policies, periods, etc. Other categories to be mentioned are: language communities (e.g. Martha Cheung's exploratory work on Chinese discourse, cf. Cheung, 2006); cultural areas (e.g. Saliha Paker's work on translation concepts during Ottoman translation history, cf. Paker 2002); multilingual and transnational scopes (e.g. Gambier and Stecconi Forthcoming).

Yet, decisions depend also on more practical issues, such as the availability of data or tools to approach the latter. Some of these tools have been conceived for research carried out in other disciplines and might need adjustment in order to fit the objects under study. Even more, moving away from preformatted models is common and part of the "initial phase of 'scouting' for all phenomena that may be directly or indirectly related to translation" (Tahir Gürçağlar 2007: 726). Openness and intellectual flexibility are essential features of translation studies. Why would they not be as essential for translation historians?

3. Aim and structure of this book

Histories of knowledge do not aim to 'restore' or 'defend' the past, nor to bring back forgotten thinkers: doxography is a tempting but ordinarily pointless practice. It does not convince researchers to reconsider their ongoing methods or viewpoints, it is often imbued with nostalgia, or suspected to serve other interests (a denial of the present, a plea for national values, etc.). Histories of translation knowledge may be written about all periods, all areas and all domains of translational communication: the information is overwhelming and rich, while large portions of translation history are still *terra incognita*. One cannot but hope that present and future generations of historians will feel appealed to take on the challenge, go to the archives, revisit existing histories and launch interdisciplinary projects with historians from other fields.

This book aims at a history of modern translation knowledge, i.e. it concentrates, roughly speaking, on the origins of translation studies, is open to interdisciplinary issues and has a transnational scope. First, to bridge the past and the present is a condition to understand the latter better and possibly disclose topics that might interest future research. The focus will therefore be on the coming into being of modern translation knowledge, i.e. the kind of knowledge that has been collected or recycled in the course of the 20th century. Naturally, finding information will frequently need delving deeper into history since much of our knowledge belongs to the *longue durée* and expresses features of continuity rather than change.

Secondly, this book sets a number of beacons for an interdisciplinary history of translation knowledge. Referring to our present understanding of modern translation studies as an open and interdisciplinary space, it argues that past translation knowledge has similarly benefited from insights coming from other domains of interest or disciplines. As today, past concepts, definitions, theories, controversies and epistemological reflections have multiplied in many periods and intellectual contexts, and esp. in the social and cultural domains.

Finally, the book is committed to the circulation of translation knowledge across languages and cultural borders. These crossings inevitably yielded transformations of concepts, methods, writing genres or institutions. Dominant intellectual traditions in major languages and within strongly established institutions superseded other forms of knowledge issued by lesser spread languages and intellectual traditions.

These three main features pervade the content of the book. For practical purposes, the latter is divided in 7 parts focussing on the processes that make up the history of modern translation knowledge.[13] Each part contains between 5 to 10 chapters that describe different aspects of the process under study. The first part draws together ways of **generating** knowledge in the past, a.o. through the design of concepts of translation, tropes, myths and fiction, semiotics and rhetoric. The second is devoted to the **mapping** or structuring of translation knowledge, a.o. by the use of media (print, technology), by means of specific transfer modalities or by defining turning points in the history of knowledge. The third points out issues of **internationalising** knowledge, going from Eurocentrism to globalisation and taking into account the role of institutions and policies. The fourth part examines the **historicising** of translation knowledge itself, i.e. how historians try to understand its evolution by employing historical models (such as comparative history, oral history or micro-history). The fifth part looks into the **analysing** of translation knowledge, as carried out with the help of disciplines like process research, hermeneutics, ethnography, sociology or gender studies. In the sixth part, the focus is on the **disseminating** of past knowledge: through the borrowing of concepts and methods designed by linguistics, communication studies or political history, as well as by some reverse exchanges, like those that have occurred within literary studies. The last part features the issue of **applying** translation knowledge in language learning, translator training, or research institutes.

The 55 chapters that make up the 7 parts have a variable length depending on their scope. Adopting the same basic pattern, they define or situate the issue at stake, provide examples, mention open questions or drawbacks and contain a list of references (including suggesting for further reading). The chapters are followed by synoptic tables and indexed references of key words. Both enable extensive cross-readings between the chapters. As it stands, this history is intended as a sourcebook for master students, beginning PhD-students and established scholars who wish to engage in historical research or who want to be accurately informed on the history of the ideas, concepts, methods, interdisciplinary exchanges that have shaped the field of modern translation studies. Obviously, the tenet of the book makes it inevitably incomplete in more than one respect: several disciplines have not been included, many concepts, forms, methods did not find their way into the chapters, periods and areas have been only partially represented, and quite some other gaps are no doubt worth mentioning. But we hope that a solid framework is set, enabling future generations of translation scholars to start rediscovering, acknowledging and studying the complex history of their discipline.

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[13] We are strongly indebted here to Burke's sequencing of the stages going from the acquisition of information to its use (2016: 69).

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PART 1

Generating knowledge

CHAPTER 1.0

Introduction

The gathering of knowledge about translation or know how of translating has a history as long as translating itself. Obviously, both have a lasting relationship in which reflection on translation mirrored the act of translating and the other way round. Yet the types and functions of knowledge have evolved considerably over time as their relations with actual practices of translation. This part looks at the way people worldwide, since the remote past until the present, have constructed concepts and tools to understand and describe translation and how they have attached symbolic meaning and values to acts of translating. It offers a selection of insights that are not arranged along a temporal axis, since most if not all contain more than one time layer.

Gathering information is a process that follows paths fitting the type of knowledge at stake. Basically, translation is an object of intellectual observation, giving way to more or less elaborated concepts that feature a wide variation in space, time, content and terminology around what could be labelled in many languages a semantic cluster of the notions of similarity, difference and mediation.

At the same time, the concept of translation is rooted in everyday language use, as one of the default practices generated by multilingual encounters, which might explain why translation has seemingly remained unacknowledged for a long period as a proper category of language or communication. Nevertheless, indirect representations like tropes and early mythical expressions capture aspects of meaning and function that also attest of the challenges of understanding what exactly translation is, how it relates to other verbal practices and what its potential effects are. Fictional representations of translations, translating or translators witness in particular of interactions between ideas, forms and behaviour. But even non-translation or taboos on translation are underpinned by implicit views that help us understand why translation is an object of reflection and theorizing both within its proper domain of study as through its complex ties with religious, cultural and social habits and practices. Modern understandings of translation are particularly sensitive to the politico-ethical significance of translation in reference with the building, transforming, disrupting or destroying of power relations.

Changing relations with adjacent concepts such as indirect translation, pseudo-original or pseudo-translation also display the fluidity of the translation category. This fluidity is even more manifest in the semantic expansion of the translation

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concept beyond the linguistic realm, as occurs within new settings or practices such as medicine, science and technology. Curiously perhaps, the most radical sort of expansion, which consists of incorporating material and natural actors in the analysis of translation, recalls Latin *translatio*, i.e. the act of carrying across a boundary.

Theories have always attempted to name and define concepts unequivocally, and so to draw clear-cut lines between concepts. The history of translation theories is no exception here. To detail these efforts would need a volume in its own right. In contradistinction, other theory driven disciplines like semiotics have precisely tried to design a coherent frame for the broadened scope of translation beyond the verbal, while still putting it apart from other forms of sign production and re-production.

A last path taken by the endeavour to assemble know-how on translation is by learning to translate. Since Antiquity, rhetoric is one of the means to learn how to take into account an audience or the expressive power of a source text, but also to learn how to improve the style of target languages.

CHAPTER 1.1

Concepts of translation

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Keywords: conceptualisation, difference, Eurocentrism, internationalisation, mediation, Sanskrit, similarity

Translation is an old socio-cultural practice that encompasses different perceptions and different histories – neither the term nor the concept is universal. Translation has long been seen, in a certain number of societies, as striving towards a faithful reproduction of a source text and possessing an invariant, stable meaning. The translated text was considered an equivalent to an original. Moreover, the study of translation or thoughts about translation were linked to high culture, such as sacred texts and canonised literature while informal interlingual interactions in multilingual market places and in business exchanges passed under the radar. Many understandings of translation practices remained under-represented or unknown in translation literature.

There is a danger (or an illusion) of conceptualising translation (and the translator) in monolithic or universal terms, by giving priority or even exclusive domination to our own concept. Indeed, most societies have one, or even several, concepts of translation, all of which have changed over time, under the pressure of different factors. When mouths open, tongues are mixing, neurons are connecting, and thinking becomes dynamic. For instance, this embodied meaning takes place, somewhat paradoxically, in a dictionary entry, while the assumption is based sometimes on the individual feeling, sometimes on the collective worldview. Binary oppositions have been, and are, frequent when you deal with translation: for instance, the Eurocentric vision would be opposed to a so-called non-Eurocentric (or Europhobic?) perspective, Western tradition vs Asia (as if each geographical area was homogeneous), domesticating vs foreignising strategies, colonial approach vs anti- or post-colonial, feeling against mind (as if they were qualitatively opposite, mutually exclusive), empathy vs social regulation, etc. There is always a historical and cultural context that overshadows our concerns regarding translation and Translation Studies (TS).

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This chapter consists of three sections:

- Problems to cope with before and during the writing of this entry
- A discussion of some concepts of translation around the world
- Attempts to define patterns in the time and space of different concepts of translation.

1. Variability and historicity of concepts

In the last few years, a few TS scholars, mainly from the United States, have tried to put their finger on the blindness of TS as a Europe-focused field (van Doorslaer 2012). In parallel, constructs such as Indian, Turkish and Italian theories, supposedly different from TS in India, Turkey and Italy, have appeared. Associating a country with a theory or a set of theories is rather odd for a discipline which pretends to tackle interlingual/intercultural communications. Can an idea, a hypothesis, an explanation be valued because it has been first formulated in a given country? Does that imply blindness to other traditions and frameworks? The circulation of ideas, at least from what we call the Renaissance, has never been limited to being within the borders of a nation-state, except for a certain type of history (Baker & Saldanha 2009).[1] In addition, the problem is not so much one of the national origin of the research trends or schools but rather the domination of certain of these – as if they were not dependent upon political, financial, institutional, material and editorial conditions (Simeoni 2008). Historians and anthropologists already showed some time ago that exchanges exist between cultures and societies in a constant flow – that does not mean that they are equal or symmetrical. Eurocentrism, as a kind of criticism, has become a narrative which remains to be analysed: Who formulated it, for whom, why and what for? Can we describe the works of scholars in line with a geographical argument and/or an exclusive theoretical background, such as postcolonial translation theory (Robinson 2016)? Does working on a specific translation or translation history (between particular working languages) imply ignorance of other types of translation and histories? On the other hand, does the exclusive use of English prepare one to broaden translation research and perspectives if we accept that a language is also a mindset?

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[1] The second part of the *Encyclopedia* deals with "traditions". Most of them are national (Hungary, Italy, Poland, Sweden, etc.); 6 out of 32 entries refer to continents or large geographical areas (African, American, Arabic traditions, etc.). All the entries follow the same pattern, as if the periodization was similar irrespective of the different societies. The implicit concept of history is conventional, with so-called key figures and main events.

The disciplinarisation of TS and its institutionalisation within certain departments in universities (languages, linguistics, comparative literature, etc.) might also partly explain both the polemical size of the debate on Eurocentrism and the resistance it has encountered. This chapter does not deny or reject Western contributions or models (Petrilli 1999; Pym 2007; Delabastita 2008; D'hulst 2013) but seeks to enrich them by exploring different culturally, geographically and historically specific frameworks, avoiding dichotomous conceptualisations and opening up different variations, excluding metonymical and metaphorical categories.

A roughly chronological survey of the evolution of translation as a concept of inquiry, increasingly open rather than delimited, is given by S. Halverson (2010) – from the positivist ideal of a definitive translation to the exploration of a multitude of translations. The diversity is not only within the framework as a transfer, with current labels such as rewriting, localisation, transcreation, adaptation, transediting, versioning, recreation, multilingual technical writing, language mediation, and past denominations such as mimesis, appropriation and imitation, but also in the concepts used yesterday and today in different spaces where translation is characterised as explanation, substitution, metamorphosis, 'turn around', etc. (see Sections 2 and 3). Within TS, scholars have offered a different basis to question and encompass the plurality of translation. Thus, Halverson (1999) has proposed that translation be conceived of as a prototype concept, accommodating diversity and blurred edges, while Tymoczko (2007) has advocated a cluster concept (network of similarities) able to cope with different images and associations linked to translation beyond the Western world and able to pinpoint a number of assumptions and presuppositions prevalent in our own conceptualisation (see also Hermans 2013). Both proposals explore the ways by which local versions of translation may be brought together within TS. Re-conceptualising the cross-linguistic, cross-cultural and cross-temporal concept of translation would benefit TS and give greater empowerment to translators (Tymoczko 2007: Chapter 5). In fact, and to the present day, TS has expanded by adopting frames of reference from other disciplines (system theories, cultural studies, sociology, etc.) and hardly from frames other than transfer and representation.[2] Perspectives very often remain within a given culture and a single geopolitical area: Spanish scholars deal mainly with Spain, Indians with India, etc.

Before presenting terms and concepts of translation used here and there, it is important to mention a few obstacles to a greater internationalisation of TS and thus a more open and comparative field.

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[2] Metaphorical translation concepts and concepts used in other disciplines are not tackled in this chapter, even if some of them have a long standing history and would challenge existing concepts in Translation Studies. See for instance Chapter 1.8 (Expansions) in this volume.

- The degree of awareness of difference and diversity varies from culture to culture and from scholar to scholar.

  In spite of considerable discourse, including within the social sciences, globalisation has hardly influenced the type of analysis provided by TS. People work with language pairs they are familiar with, with corpora /data they can easily construct from their environment, and with cognitive categories they are (consciously or not) used to. In other words, it is easier to rely on known territories (geographical area, language family and conceptual network) than to question them, especially when you are under pressure (publish or perish) and when "scholarly" means complying with certain institutionalised standards from dominant paradigms and dominant publishers. How do we move away from a formative nation-based definition of translation (with two sides separated with some kind of border) which heavily influences the mindset and the popular discourse on translation in our countries? The binary conceptual geometry implies considering translation "between" languages/ cultures, rather than constitutive of these very cultures, or excluding other strategies for interlingual/intercultural communications. How do we deconstruct our own concepts and open up to new ones, and to other traditions (being more than simple source of information)? There is no objective point from which to tackle, to grasp, different concepts of translation. One perhaps can launch the process of re-conceptualising translation theory if the observed practices and norms render the existing beliefs and assumptions about translation untenable (cf. Chakrabarty 2000; see also the concept of "cognitive conflict" by Piaget as a gap between the known, the expected and the unknown).
- The impact of colonisation

  During colonial times (C18–19th), in many societies in Central America, Australia, most African countries and even, though more rarely, Asia, the relationship between the local languages and the languages of the colonisers has been mediated mainly by religious interventions – although the political and administrative pressures sped up secularisation. There were already translations of grammars and other texts from African, Amerindian and Asian languages into Latin, Portuguese and Spanish between 1550 and 1650, created as a result of the route of the Iberian expansion. Obviously, not all the Empires imposed the same policy, either *de facto* or *de jure* (see Valdeón 2014; Wolf 2015). Nevertheless, a correlation can be expressed between the status of the languages, the social status of the translators/interpreters and the evolution of translation. However, traces of translation in pre-colonial times are hard to identify and study in spite of a long history of multilingual encounters. The lack of historical work is also partly due to the lack of archives in oral societies and the difficulties of collecting relevant data on translation and translators during translation archaeological research (Raine 2014): archives are always fragmented, a discursive construction playing with our memories. Some fiction books and films try to reveal how translators and interpreters were perceived in the past. Let us mention here just one reference: *L'étrange destin de Wangrin ou les roueries d'un interprète africain* (1973) by Amadou Hampaté Bâ; the book (reedited in 1992 in the series 10 × 18) was awarded the Grand Prix littéraire de l'Afrique noire in 1974.

2. From East to West, a range of concepts

The act of translating is embedded in various contextual issues, such as unequal power relations, colonisation, cultural development, multilingualism, oral tradition, illiteracy, religious meanings, the connection between language and nation, globalisation etc. – thus the different understandings of translation in different parts of the world. To date, there are only a limited number of studies offering a thorough analysis of non-Western concepts of translation in their historical and cultural complexity. Below are few tentative explorations with some short etymological/semantic explanations which obviously shape current conceptualisations even if the historical evolution might have partly erased this origin and redefined practices (Delabastita 2008: 203). Translation is represented across times, spaces and languages in a quite irregular way. While concepts in Asia have become easier to access, the global map reveals an Africa with many discontinuities and blank spaces. As a direct result of this lack of data and knowledge, Africa will not be dealt with here. Another issue is important: What are the effects of reporting translation concepts in different languages and from different areas of the continents in English (a *lingua franca*), with its own history and status today? The readers should keep these questions in mind when reading the very elliptic explanations which follow.

The presentation that follows runs from East to West. Each term should be carefully deciphered, including names such as 'China', 'Asia' and 'the Arabic world', as not referring to a monolithic entity, a homogeneous tradition: they are constructions which always need to be discussed in order to avoid essentialist perception, hidden hierarchies and disembodied (dehistoricised, decontextualised) voices (see e.g. Hung 2005). The list in this section is just a brief overview of the diversity of terms and concepts used in various discourses and thoughts on translation across certain cultures/societies.

2.1 In Asia

China, Japan and Korea have traditionally represented translation under the terms of *fanyi, hon'yaku* and *beonyeok*, but a broader range of terms could be identified, such as *wen, ji, xiang, didi, chu* in Chinese, with their changing aspects. Despite the fact that the three countries commonly use the Chinese characters and share the same origin in conceptualising translation, the notion of the nation-state has intervened in establishing the translation concept in these three languages. Ancient Japanese did not have its own script (Wakabayashi 2005) and Chinese classics continued to be the foundations of education in Japan until the mid-twentieth century. Japan was culturally colonised by China, and China earlier by India, through translation into Chinese of Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Such a triangular history (and we can add Koreans under the Japanese rule) makes Asia quite particular in comparison with, for example, Western countries under the influence of the concept of nation-state. After World War II, the rise of nationalism deeply changed the landscape in China and Japan, and also in translation study.

What is the cognitive metaphor inherent to *fanyi*? *Fan* means "turning over" (a page), "somersault, flip", and *yi* "interpretation", "exegesis" but being also a homonym of a word meaning "exchange". The two terms, *fan* and *yi*, were both used for the activity of translation and become interchangeable by the 12th century (Cheung 2005, 2007, about the history of competing terms and the shift to *fanyi*; Hung 2005). It must be acknowledged that this approach to *fanyi* is not the only one: other configurations and explanations have been suggested, referring to different historical pieces or hypotheses – from the Buddhist or Daoist traditions (Hung 2006; St André 2010; Lung 2011; Cheung 2011; Chang 2015; Raine 2016). In fact, there are no stable, definitive characteristics across time: the modes of practices, the purposes and functions of translation change, as do the relations with the source text (see, for instance, Yan Fu's (1854–1921) tripartite conceptualisation of *xin* (fidelity), *da* (fluency) and *ya* (elegance). Therefore, the re-conceptualisation of translation is a continuous process taking place in different historical periods (Chan 2004) and that is valid not only for China.

Japan adopted the Chinese characters around the end of the 4th century, but their use did not become widespread before the C6th–7th. The Japanese way of reading Chinese writing is known as *kanbun kundoku*, either with reading marks showing the Japanese pronunciation added to the Chinese text or with the text written separately in a Japanese word order. Different approaches regarding this hybrid language were also adopted over time. Even if *kanbun kundoku*, a kind of gloss/interpretive reading or transposition, implied some transformations regarding the syntactical order and particles, it did help to understand texts without interlingual translation (Semizu 2005; Wakabayashi 2005: 121–126; Sato-Rossberg &

Wakabayashi 2012). This method of reading Chinese texts in a Japanese manner was also adopted for writing Japanese texts; it became the most prestigious mode of writing in Japan, in co-existence with various styles of writing. Despite the fact that China and Japan have never shared the same written language, there is no explicit reference to inter- and intra-lingual translation in academic discourse in Japan until the 18th century, especially with what is called the Sorai School, whose criticisms marked a turning point for translation in the Edo period (1603–1867) (Wakabayashi 2005: 135–142). However, some Japanese scholars at the end of the 20th century have considered *kanbun kundoku* to be a kind of word-for-word or covert translation into a language that the writer would not speak or write (Wakabayashi 2005: 127–135). Thus, after over a thousand years of *kundoku,* it took about three centuries to witness a paradigm shift in the history of J-translation in Japan. J-translation is used by Wakabayashi (2009: 176) to underline the fact that there is no single term to cover all the translational activities or all texts exhibiting translational features: *kon'yaku* does not match all the denotative and connotative ranges of the English term 'translation'. She has identified approximately 250 different words and phrases describing, in the past, practices of translation – from *yawarageru* (to soften), *kudaku* (to break something down), *kirugaesu* (to turn or to change suddenly), *utsuskibumi* ((imitative writing) to *utsusu* (to copy out, to transfer), *naosu* (to correct or make proper), *iyaku* (paraphrase or meaning translation), *chokuyaku* (literal or direct translation), *kon'yaku* (to flip over), derived from the Chinese *fanyi* and the standard contemporary word for J-translation, applied particularly, but not exclusively, to the translation of European languages (Wakabayashi 2009: 178–190; and forthcoming). So, in Japan, the present-day metalanguage of J-translation comes from different sources: Japanised renditions of terms used in China, terms coined in Japan, and terms translated from the English terminology in the field of Translation Studies (Rao 2010). This metalanguage is not necessarily familiar to all Japanese (whether translators or not). Besides, the three layers do not co-exist with the same strength in any given period of time. As in other parts of the world, an etymological exploration of translation does not always match with the living practices of translation and the current general discourse on translation. This might go some way towards explaining the status of translators in the different centuries.

More often than not, a number of scholars assume that the linguistic diversity of the subcontinent of India makes the country "one of the richest and most productive areas in the world of translation-activity" (Trivedi 2006: 103), overlooking the fact that bi- or multilingualism removes much of the need for translation, against the recurrent interpretation by monolinguals or scholars riddled with the ideology of monolingualism (i.e. foreign languages are necessarily a barrier; languages are clear-cut categories; translation is a necessary solution to overcome language plurality): no linguistic community in India is isolated, bound only by its geographical and linguistic boundaries without the permeation of some other language or culture. Multilingualism in this perspective is an outcome of translation, rather than a reason. There was no translation (in the Western sense) in India throughout the first three thousand years of its literary history: creative writing and translation were not considered as two separate processes. "From 1500 BCE up to 1800 CE, there is no surviving evidence of any text of any kind having been translated into an Indian language" (Trivedi 2006: 106) from Arabic, Central Asian languages brought by the Muslims (12th–17th c.) or Chinese, in contrast with translation from the Indian languages into Chinese, Sinhala, or Arabic. Although India saw a new development around 1000, texts such as the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Bhagavatapurana*, etc. in Hindi, in Bengali and in Kannada, etc. were, and are, never looked at as translations or adaptation from Sanskrit (see Satyanath, Prasad, Ramakrishnan, all in 2009). The British colonial impact in the 19th century changed the landscape (Gopinathan 2006). Some of the current terms in the modern Indian languages for translation are derived from Sanskrit: *anuvad* (etymologically it means saying after, accurate repetition), *rupantar* (changing in another form; it denotes today not a faithful translation but an adaptation), *chaya* (shadow, for strictly literal translation) or from non-Sanskritic sources: *tarjuma* (in Urdu, from Arabic through Persian), *molipeyarttall* (in Tamil, to describe abridged or expanded texts) and *vivartana* (in Malayalam, another Dravidian language, but here the term comes from Sanskrit and means 'turning around'). This handful of terms for translation does not cover the large spectrum of languages in India and perhaps cannot translate the English term 'translation'. More research is needed not only on etymology but also on the history of Indian oral and written literature, including the concepts of source, originality, authority, readability, and the philosophical world-view implied in the writing (Gopinathan 2000; Merrill 2009; Kothari & Shah forthcoming).

In the Philippines, translation (*pagasasalin*, where *salin* means to pour from one container into a different one) is linked to Christian conversion, colonial history, Filipino nationalism, Tagalog history, popular theatre, street slang, language standardisation, overseas workers, authoritarian politics and the global wars on terror, etc. (Rafael 2005; 2016). Castilian Spanish, US English and Tagalog have been intermingled in such a way that one can say that Tagalog history was actually born through translation – when it was translated into Spanish (Rafael 1988: 15–17). In other words, translation emerges as a historical event rather than theorised from the outset as an object of inquiry. This is another example of how translation is historicised and language can be seen as a historical agent of colonisation.

From the ninth century onwards, many Indian stories and treatises were adapted from Sanskrit into Javanese. In the sixteenth century, the Javanese society was Islamicised, and translation activities, often anonymous, were mainly from Persian and Arabic. In the literary culture of Java (Indonesia), translated texts often omit information on the translator, the source language, the date and place of translation. The reading of local translation terminology, between the eighteenth through early twentieth centuries, explains why. Authors and translators consistently apologised for their lack of style, their poor command of languages: humility and self-depreciation were not uncommon. Translating was motivated by religious or didactic goals. Some works from Persian were first translated into Malay (Aceh was an important Malay kingdom at that time) and then into Javanese. What are the terms used to indicate translation? (Ricci 2010: 291–293): *Njawakaké* (to Javanise, to render Javanese), stressing the target language; *binasakakén Jawa* (from *basa*: speak, language; to render into the language of Java); *nembangakén* (to sing a classical song, a signal here of a work in which a source text was rewritten in Javanese verse – *tembang* is a type of metrical verse); *winarni* (narrated, told – blending the processes of narrating, transmitting, translating); and *nyalin* (implying a change, a replacement); *njarwani* (to explain or assign a meaning). Certain terms may be attributed to certain places or historical periods, but again, what is worth noticing is that the different terms circulated concurrently and expressed openness to changes made in imported texts – not suggesting a sameness of source and translation as a carrying across of an authoritative text from one linguistic code to another. Translation includes here interpretation, elaboration, explanation, elucidation, taking into account the reader's needs and insisting on the Javanese-ness of the output.

Vietnam is another example of a site of perpetual hybridity and fluidity. Despite nearly a thousand years of Chinese domination (from 111 BC to 938), the Vietnamese remained a distinct people able to preserve their language vis-à-vis Chinese. Dealing with foreign powers from Antiquity through to the present, they resisted foreign domination by appropriating the cultural power that sought to dominate them. The process of connecting and separating through translation has served to hinder assimilation. The concept of translation in Vietnam deserves a historical approach: How did the Vietnamese conceptualise translation throughout their history? And what was the role of translation in the Westernisation process when the British and French Empires exercised their colonial power over the Indochina peninsula (during the C19th)?

Could we see a parallel with the Thai translation tradition, which borrowed freely from surrounding cultures (India, China, and other South East Asian countries) and created its own identity in the process, even if Thailand, a multi-ethnic society, is known for its absence of a colonial past? The borderline between Siam and other Eastern nations was rather hazy and slippery. Translation was strongly associated with the appropriation, adaptation and vernacularisation of works from Sanskrit Chinese (as well as other languages) and affected Thai readers' literary sense (Chittiphalangri 2014). Several words in Thai are used for translation: *plae* (supposedly from a Khmer word which means to turn, to change), *plian* (to change, from the Chinese *biàn*), and *plaeng* (to adapt). The phonetic similarity between the three words could suggest that the concept of translation borders on the contingency of transformation, welcomed as long as the sense of the source text is retained: transformation allows the selection of what is deemed necessary and thus retained in translation. Change is ubiquitous in the process of appropriating the Others (Chittiphalangri forthcoming). Again, what was the position of translation when Siam was a buffer state between British-occupied Burma and Malaysia and French Indochina?

In Malaysia, there are today different terms to express translation as a product (*terjemakan*) and as a process (*penterjemakan*), *kejurubahasaan* being used for interpreting. Specific terms exist for subtitling (*penyarikataan*) and dubbing (*alik-suara*). In the past, at least three words in Malay depicted the multiple activities of telling a story anew (the distinction between author and translator gradually emerged only under the demands of Westernisation): *terkarang* (written, composed), *terkutip* (quoted, copied) and *dituturkan* (arranged) (Jedamski 2005: 213). This is another example of the reconceptualisation of translation after the modernisation process.

2.2 In the Arabo-Persian world and in Turkey

Persian has played a certain role between Sanskrit and Arabic (Merrill 2009; Farahzad 2009). Sanskrit and Persian coexisted as languages and cultural systems on the Indian subcontinent for hundreds of years, chiefly between the 14th and 18th centuries. Intellectuals and poets performed hundreds of translations and adaptations of Sanskrit stories, knowledge systems, and philosophies into Persian. This rendering of Sanskrit ideas, texts, narratives and words into Persian constitutes one of the largest translation movements in world history, even if today those translations are largely forgotten, perhaps because Indians now associate Persian narrowly with Islam (introduced in the 7th century in what is now Iran). Indo-Persian translation could offer a disruptive past in today’s political climate (Truschke 2016). And when one knows the influence of Persian in the Arabic translation tradition, itself influential in the West during the Middle-Ages (for instance in the transmission of Greek philosophy), the map of translation flows becomes more dynamic (For the question of translation in the Ancient Persian Empire, and even more involving modern Iran, see Azadibougar & Haddadian-Moghaddam, forthcoming).

There is a growing interest in translation in the Arab world, although translation policies, training programmes and professional associations are relatively few. Different issues are explored, including the use of the vernacular or more flexible, non-canonised forms of Arabic such as MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) for audio-visual products, target readerships, appropriation and subversion of “foreign” models and the increasing translation-related activities from Arabic in a wide range of subject areas outside the Arab world, etc. (Hanna et al., forthcoming). There is a long history of translation, from the theological Nestorian Syriac School of Nizip/Nisibis (4th and 5th centuries), the Jacobite Syriac School of Kinnisrin, and the pagan Sabian School in Harrân (6th and 7th centuries) to the Bey al-Hikma (House of Wisdom) founded at the beginning of the C9th in Baghdad with one of the most famous translators of the time: Hunayn Ibn Ishâq (808–873), and also during the Abbasid dynasty (750–1259) (Salama-Carr 1990). This history of translation was rich (Baccouche 2000), comprising two main periods: one dominated by indirect translation (with Persian and Syriac language as pivot languages) and the other by direct translation from Sanskrit and ancient Greek. In both cases, texts, treaties on mathematics, cosmology, astronomy, history, medicine and philosophy were translated. Two main translation strategies were at work: taking the meaning of each Greek word and trying to find an Arabic equivalent, or understanding the full sentences and rendering the global sense. By the end of the Middle-Ages, translation into Arabic had almost disappeared, except for religious texts translated from Latin by Christians in what is today Lebanon. But the translated texts in Arabic with their commentaries began to be translated in Europe, with the *nahdDah*, or Arab Renaissance of the nineteenth century, in particular in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Tunisia. After a long stagnation under Ottoman domination (mid-13th–20th centuries), Arabic went through a new development thanks to the translation from French, English and Italian. Colonisation dealt this development a severe blow. The Arabo-Persian term *tarjama* (*tarjuman,* translator), with its multivalent meanings, reflects the evolution and changes of translation (the Qur'an not being taken into account here): as "biography", the word suggests a narration in writing; as "in-depth analysis" or to treat by way of explanation; it implies that the translator held as much authority as the author of the source text, adding remarks when translating scientific or philosophical texts. There is also another word (old and derived from a borrowed Aramaic root: *targmono*, but still in use): *drogman/dragoman,* truchement or 'through the intervention of someone'.

The long history of Turkey – from the old Turkic period (9th century), the West Turkic (since the C11th) to the Ottoman Empire (C13th–20th., dismembered after the first World War), and the Turks' encounter with Europe (C19th), has multiplied the terms and concepts relating to translation in Turkish. The genealogy can be traced back to the Old Turkic literature produced in Central Asia (C8th–13th). Before they adopted Islam, the Uighurs had their own writings from Buddhist and Manichaean sources in Sanskrit, Tocharian, Sogud, Chinese and Tibetan: to translate was either *yaratmak* (to create or to adapt) or *evirmek* (to turn, to overturn, to translate between languages) – with two synonyms (*çevürmek, tevürmek*), or *döndermek* (to turn over, to invert), used after the C13th. In the 11th century, the Islamized Oghuz Turks moved from Central Asia away from the Mongols through

Iran to Anatolia where they had Persian as the official language and the language of education, while Arabic was used in producing religious texts. However the Mongol invasion continued throughout the 13th century and Turkish was gradually promoted to translate works in from Persian and Arabic (works on Islamic history, mythology and mysticism – Akbatur 2015). Nevertheless, there were also intra-vernacular translations from other Turkic languages (eastern and western dialects of Turkish; Berk 2013). Other terms such as *nalk eylemek* (to convey, *nalk* or appropriative transmision), *tasnif* (re-arrangement, compilation) and *tercüme* (Hagen 2003: 98–99) appeared. For both intra- and inter-lingual translations, three operations were interrelated: translating (*döndürmek*), through compiling (*tasnif itmak*) and changing (*tagvir itmek*). Until the fifteenth century, (re-)writing a work could include pieces of translation from other books – *tasnif* being a translation-related form of text production (see Paker 2015). Other terms were also occurring: *terceman* or *dragoman* in English (Diriker 2015) (interpreter, *şerk* meaning commentary), *turkiye döndürmek* (to turn into Turkish), *türkice şerk eylemek* (to comment on in Turkish), translating and commenting being interconnected practices. The list of terms examined here is a very short list: a larger diversity has been documented between the 14th and the 18th centuries. In Ottoman Turkish, *terceme* (a variant of *tercüme*), a loan word derived from Arabic but of an Aramaic origin, was defined as interpreting one speech in another language, keeping the Persian and Arabic traditions of a close relationship between translation (*terceme*), commentary (*şerk*) and exegesis (*tefsir*), and explanation/statement (*bayán*). In other words, the Ottoman conception of *terceme* was imported - via translation. Later (19th century), *çevirme* (from *çervirmek*: to turn) appeared. The term became important after the Turkish language reform movement for purity in the 1930s (Paker 2002; Tahir Gürçağlar 2008). At the end of the C19th, the Ottoman culture witnessed an increase in the volume of translations from the West, especially from French literature. The cultural, literary and institutional transformations and reforms (*Tanzimat* period) started in fact in the late C18th and continued throughout the C19th (Tahir Gürcaglar et al. 2015). Metaphors about translation were more frequent; thoughts about translation as imitation (*taklid*), emulation (*nazire*) fed different debates, such as the so-called "Classics debate" (1897) (Paker 2002, 2006); discourses were engaged in the possible functions of translation (What was the significance of translating European literary works into Ottoman Turkish?) and the different strategies to be used, from literal practice, annotation, expansion, summary, imitation, conversion (*tahvil,* closely related to inter-semiotic translation), etc. – beyond the binary opposition of fidelity vs freedom. To sum up, the Turkic and Ottoman translation practices revealed that there were various ways of translating from other cultures and literatures. Therefore, there is no uniform and homogeneous definition of translation (Paker 2009; Demircioğlu forthcoming).

2.3 In the Western part of the globe

In North, Central and South America, studying translation yesterday and today is not an easy task: the predominance of English and Spanish might encourage one to believe that there is no need of translation, but because of their history, as sites of transit and migration since at least the C16th, because of the different ethnic and linguistic groups living in those regions and trading every day, translation and interpreting were a reality before the European colonisers set foot anywhere in the continent. However, traces of translation in pre-Columbian times, in indigenous languages (Indian and Inuit languages) are hard to study. The dominant reports have been mainly written by European scholars, under the influence of their Empires and after the victory of colonisation (e.g. Gentzler 2008; Bastin 2004 and 2006 and and his research group HISTAL/Histoire de la traduction en Amérique latine; Swann 2011; Valdeón 2014 and the journal *Tusaaji*). The Americas and Australia can be said today to be in the sphere of translation considered as a transfer.

Europe is not a homogeneous continent regarding translation, nor a simple divide between West and East or between Germanic and Romance scholarly paradigms. Different traditions and conceptualisations have co-existed and still co-exist: the transfer metaphor cannot be assumed to be "European". The term *traduction/traduire* in French and the Romance languages (*tradurre* in Italian, *traducir* in Spanish) refers to an active transfer, pulling, leading something across (D'hulst forthcoming). In Greek, *metafrazo* (Grammenidis & Floros forthcoming), like *translation* in English, retains the passivity of a transformation, carrying across (Evans 2006). The German *übersetzung* and *utertragung*, the Swedish *översättning,* and the Czech *přeložit/ překládání* tell the story from the other side – pushing, setting something across a border, while in Estonian *tõlkima* etymologically means to understand, to make sense. The Polish, *tłumaczié*[3] and Finnish *kääntää* both express the idea of turning over, and in the Dutch *vertalen*, (*talen* being the Dutch, and Afrikaans, word for languages), language is inextricably linked to translation. *Translation* is not easily translated – even if we do not include the Hebrew term *targum* (introducing the concept of target).

Such differences shed light on the different forms of translation scholarship in Europe, far from the stereotype used in the debate on Eurocentrism: geographical and cultural encounters and borderlines are constructed, explored and deconstructed rather than being essentialist categories. They also change across time. In Latin, we already have more than 30 terms applying to translation: *vertere,*

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[3] The earlier Czech *tlumač*, Polish *tłumacz*, Russian *tolmač* (for interpreting and translation) were derived from an old slavic word *tЉlmačb,* probably borrowed from Turkic languages (*tilmač*). This is another example of travelling concepts.

convertire, explicari, exprimere, mutare, trader, interpretari, all less popular than *transferre, translatare, traducere* (McElduff 2013). It should also not be forgotten that in other languages, too, other terms have to a certain degree been synonyms: Medieval French had *espondre, turner, mettre en romanz, enromanchier, translater* (Berman 2013); Medieval Italian had *volgarizzare, transporer*; and Medieval Spanish had *arromançar, transladar, vulgarizar*, *transferir*, etc. Moreover, in certain languages, there are no different terms for translation and interpreting, such as in Russian (*perevesti: ustnyj perevod/*oral translation, and *pismennyj perevod/*written translation), in Slovenian (*prevajati*), in Polish (*tłumaczyć*), in Estonian (*tõlkima*) and in Tamil (*molipeyarkha*). Furthermore, in other languages there are two competing terms even for translation in order to differentiate between literary and non-literary translation, such as in Finnish (*suomentaa*: to Fennicize/*kääntää*).

3. Emerging patterns?

The purpose of the listing above, ranging from China to the different European areas, is not to claim a relativist view of translation, neither is it to resist all attempts at universalism, often based on simple overgeneralisation, nor is to insist on geographical origins in order to promote non-Western concepts (Chesterman 2004a, 2014). The purpose is to become aware of the cultural and historical variation of usage and interpretation when referring to "translation". To go a step further, we suggest using the semantic cluster of the three notions of similarity, difference and mediation: each notion can be highlighted with a relative priority in the different terms for "translation" in different languages. Again, this is an attempt to see if patterns can emerge from the variety of views and expressions, and if there is a certain convergence between them by comparing their etymologies, their uses, beyond their superficial differences or similarities, and to uncover whatever the position is of translated communication within the broader circulation of signs, or the relationship between translations and non-translations. The cluster is based upon Chesterman's proposal (2006), following Stecconi (2004, 2007). The terms for "translation" are distributed in three tables, according to the three notions:

- "similarity" is to be understood as some relation of sameness between source and target texts (Chesterman 2004b); perception of similarity is culture-bound and within a given community becomes translation's established equivalences and norms;
- "difference" insists on the differences between languages and the impossibility of a total identity of meaning between them;
- "mediation": the translators stand between two sides (languages, cultures), mediating between them. Their translations would represent originals.

The paradox is then that there is no similarity without difference and vice versa. When too focused on differences, translators have been often labelled as "traitors" in the history of certain societies. This approach is a way (although by no means *the* way) "to tackle the million-dollar question: What do we talk about when we talk about translation?" (Stecconi 2007: 24), especially when we know that most of the modern Indo-European languages give more prominence to similarity, hence the role played by the concept of equivalence in Western translation theory.

Table 1. Focus on similarity

Languages	Terms	Languages	Terms
Old Greek	metapherein	English	to translate
Latin	transferre	French	traduire
Sanskrit	chāyānuharanasm	Italian	tradurre
Hindi	samrad	Spanish	traducer
Japanese	tsuuyaku suru (interpreting)	Russian	perevesti
Indonesian	manyalin	Ukrainian	pereklad
		Czech	přeložit/ překladat

Table 2. Focus on difference

Languages	Terms	Languages	Terms
Sanskrit	bhāsāntarahari	Indonesian	mengalihbasakan (interpreting)
Modern Greek	metafraso	Tamil	molipeyyarkha (translation and interpreting)
Turkish	çevirmek	Hungarian	fordínati
Japanese	honyaku	Finnish	kääntää /suomentaa
Mandarin Chinese	fānyi / yì kouyi (interpreting)	Dutch	vertalen
Tibetan	sgyur-ba		
Vietnamese	dich / phiên-dich		

Table 3. Focus on mediation

Languages	Terms	Languages	Terms
Vietnamese	làm thòng-ngôn (interpreting)	Modern Greek	ermeneo
Sanskrit	anuvādah	English	interpreting
Hindi	anuvād dubhāsiyā (interpreting)	Polish	tłumaczyć/tłumaczenie (translation and interpreting)
Turkish	tercüman (translator) tercüme etmek	Ukrainian	tlumàtšyty (interpreting)
Arabic	targamah	Hungarian	tolmàcsolni (interpreting)
Korean	tong yeok hada	Finnish	tulkata (interpreting)
Tibetan	grol-ba (interpreting)	German	dolmetscher (interpreting)

Remarks on the three tables:

- Several words can be used in the same language at the same period of time.
- As earlier indicated, some languages have two different words for oral and written translation. Quite a few express “interpreting” as an act of mediation.
- What about terms such as rewording, rewriting, rendering, localisation, transcreation, adaptation? (mediation?)

We exclude from this study the metaphorical senses of translation used “for any kind of life experience characterised by difference, change, unstable identities or secondariness” (Delabastita 2008: 238) and those in use in other disciplines today (sociology, mathematics, psychoanalysis, law, etc.).

Framing and wording a project that enables scholars to recognise the concepts of translation however disguised they may be remains a challenge. The history of such concepts, through different societies and across time, is a huge and ambitious endeavour. Through etymologies, stories, current practices, actual features and issues of certain traditions, we hope to report various conceptualisations of translation and understand the inter-relations between those traditions and the (dis)continuity of translational ideas and perceptions across cultures. There is still a long way to go from today’s situation of piecemeal research, to the goal of a comprehensive global survey of translation as a self-standing practice and cultural entity. At least we can believe that the introduction of non-English terms relating to translational concepts will shed light upon our understanding of translation: they would not only give visibility to other types of translation practice and concept but also provide an opportunity to question our own view of translation in its myriad manifestations.

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CHAPTER 1.2

Tropes (Metaphor, Metonymy)

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Keywords: figurative language, metaphors of translation, translation as metonym, innovative thinking, conceptual metaphors

The terms for translation in many languages are figurative, not just in European languages but also in many other parts of the world (see inter alia Tymoczko 2010 for European, Middle Eastern, South and Southeast Asian traditions, and Cheung 2005 on Chinese terms). Moreover, there is a rich tradition of using a wide variety of figures, whether they be expressed as metaphor, simile, or metonym, to describe translation in reflective writing about translation from Cicero right up to the present, as well as increasing attention paid to this phenomenon in scholarly works, although to date limited mainly to Europe and the Americas (see St. André 2010: 295–302 for an annotated bibliography).

Indeed, it is tempting to say that the history of translation knowledge up to the mid-twentieth century is the history of tropes used to describe translation, especially metaphors, but also metonyms and similes. Some research has already been done along these lines, notably Hermans (1985) on shifts in figurative language describing translation during the Renaissance as a sign of changing understanding of translation and D'hulst (1993) on eighteenth and nineteenth century France.

More provocatively, some scholars have argued that shifts in figurative language may actually drive those changes. Examining the history of terms for translation in English, Halverson (1999: 217) concludes that the metaphorical meaning of terms for translation may be responsible for changes in the "metalinguistic meaning" or conceptualization of translation as we know it today.

Halverson's study draws upon the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who argue that our conceptual framework is based upon certain elementary and essentially bodily experiences, which then get mapped metaphorically onto a wide variety of domains. This approach is also evident in other studies, for example Martín de Léon (2010), which looks at the way in which the metaphor of language as a conduit has influenced the development of translation theory right down to the present.

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The conduit metaphor is, in turn, based upon an enduring metaphor regarding language and meaning: meaning is to language as content is to container. This metaphor can be seen as the basis for one of the perennial debates in translation studies, that of literal versus free translation, or word-for-word versus sense-for-sense, since such a dichotomy only makes sense if we conceptualize meaning as something that can be divorced from linguistic form. Van Wyke (2010) unpacks how this metaphor, expressed in terms of changing clothes, has been used at various stages of history.

One branch of the study of figurative language and translation, then, involves an investigation into how figurative language underpins, predetermines, or guides developments in the conceptual framework surrounding translation practice and translation theory. This may be conducted historically, as by Hermans, or focus more on contemporary practice, as by Martín de Léon.

It also may be used to look for differences in historical development of translation in different parts of the world. In the Chinese tradition, one of the earliest terms for translation emphasizes interpretation over written translation in a metonymic trope: the term *she ren* or "tongue person", i.e., a person who primarily uses their tongue, which suggests the relative unimportance of written translation to early Chinese states when dealing with foreigners (Ma 2006: 1).

1. The danger of figurative language

To a certain extent, such work will conceive of metaphoric structures as givens, be more about reception, and therefore conceive of the individual translator or researcher as passive agents.

Such a passive conception of the role of individuals in relation to language structures is linked to a long tradition of mistrust of figurative language, beginning with Aristotle (Van Wyke 2010: 19), which became strongly linked in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the rise of positivism in the sciences. This meant that in the early stages of development following WWII, translation studies tried to avoid using metaphoric language to describe their object of study. Eugene Nida, the champion of a "science" of translation, defined translation as "reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning, and secondly in terms of style" (1959: 19), a definition that eschews figurative language.

However, a closer examination of works in this period reveals that metaphors for translation never completely disappeared. Nida's own *Toward a Science of Translating* contains a startling extended metaphor of "The Translator as Pioneer, Midwife, or Teammate" (1964: 153–55) in the midst of his various diagrams, charts and "scientific" dissection of the translation process, and Frawley's broad definition of translation rests on the metaphor of language as code (1984: 160).

One can of course, by choosing different figures, come up with wildly different conceptions of any activity, including translation. Moreover, such figures may be developed or interpreted in different ways depending on how much overlap between the two domains exist and how detailed a comparison one chooses to make. There is thus a sense of arbitrariness to the use of figurative language to understand the translation process.

For example, if translation involves transporting meaning in space, the difficulty in translating between two languages is often expressed in the metaphor of a gap or natural barrier, with translators and/or translation seen as enabling passage across/over/under that gap (often as a bridge). Nida and Taber (1969: 34) famously spoke of the translator as someone who needs to find a way to cross the river that divides two languages by traveling up and down the bank until a shallow ford can be found. Although they do not develop this figure in much detail, we may speculate that if the bank on either side of the river is a different language, then the ground that runs under the river and connects them suggests that there are hidden commonalities, indicating a connection with a Chomskian theory of linguistic deep structures. However, there are other ways of getting across a river besides fording: one could build a bridge, a tunnel or a ferry. The metaphor of looking for a ford pushes the analogy toward the ad hoc, the singular instance of one translator struggling to find the solution to a particular problem; Nida and Taber were talking about the translation of the Bible into what were often little-known languages. The other metaphors, however, suggest regular, established traffic between two languages or cultures that have frequent interaction and thus need permanent structures to link them.

Yet such metaphors may also raise problems: people who attempt to wade across a river sometimes slip and fall, bridges may collapse or tunnels flood, and ferries of course can sink. How best to get across the river, and how to ensure that meaning is not swept away in the process? Is the translator someone who builds a bridge, or is the translator the bridge itself? The metaphor can be developed in several very different directions and seems to offer little concrete advice for the translator or for the researcher trying to understand the translation process.

Moreover, metaphoric language in translation studies has been linked to the persistence of sexist attitudes with the (female) translator in an inferior position to the (male) author (Chamberlain 1988). It has also been linked to the tendency to view translation as a solitary act rather than a cooperative process (St. André 2017).

2. Figurative language in twenty-first century translation studies

Nevertheless, figurative language has persisted in translation studies, and has even enjoyed something of a renaissance in the past two decades, with new or unusually vivid images emerging periodically in an effort to re-think the translation process.

These figures are either recent creations or conscious attempts to re-animate existing figures in new or unusual ways. Such use of figurative language can best be understood in light of the work of the historian of science Max Black (1954–1955), who argued that far from being an irrational distraction, new metaphors can inspire researchers to develop new knowledge, citing the billiard ball analogy in the development of our understanding of how gases behave.

Anthropophagy, or cannibalism, for example, emphasizes the agency of the receiving culture, which, far from being colonized or overwhelmed by the source culture, selectively appropriates parts of the source culture in order to nourish its own growth (Guldin 2008). Maria Tymoczko (1999) has argued that we should think of translation as a type of *metonymic process*, the translation being a part of the original that represents that whole. St. André (2010: 275–94) argues that *cross-identity performance* can be used to emphasize the multi-faceted nature of translation, moving away from binary oppositions that have dominated the discourse on translation since its inception. Nataly Kelly (2013) has suggested that translators should be thought of as *blacksmiths* because they are ubiquitous, create the tools that we all depend upon, and are often innovative thinkers. Anthony Pym (2015) has argued that translation should be understood as *risk management*, a move that seeks to understand translation as a social relation, a commercial product, and (harking back to Jiři Levý) a decision-making process. St. André (2017) proposes the analogy of translation as *makeover*, which emphasizes collaboration, creativity, and continuity through transformation. Many of these are process-oriented figures; Cheetham (2016) has argued that moving from static figures (a translation is an X) to active ones (especially performative ones) offers the best way forward.

In sum, whether we view figurative language as something lurking underneath our basic understanding of all processes or as an opportunity to create innovative and pathbreaking models of translation, the fact is that it has played an important role in the field throughout history and therefore is worthy of further attention and study.

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CHAPTER 1.3

Biblical myths

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Keywords: Babel, Pentecost, Bible, Biblical Myths

"No civilization but has its version of Babel, its mythology of the primal scattering of languages." (Steiner 1975: 57) According to George Steiner, every civilization has a myth that explains the origin of the human language and the lack of unity between languages. This chapter will concentrate on two biblical myths (Babel and the Pentecost), and focus these examples among many, since these myths are indeed central to Western translation theories owing to the cultural importance of the Bible.

Jacques Derrida (1985: 171) insists on the polysemy of the myth of Babel, linking the Biblical narrative to the theory of translation as a whole: "This story recounts, among other things, the origin of the confusion of tongues, the irreducible multiplicity of idioms, the necessary and impossible task of translation, its necessity *as* impossibility." The French theoretician and Bible translator Henri Meschonnic goes further: "The passage in Genesis on the Tower of Babel is the primal scene of the theory of language and of translation" (Meschonnic 1999: 445). In a Christian context, the association of Babel and the Pentecost sets up the basis for a reflexion on the possibilities and the limits of translation. Translation is widely perceived as a necessary evil considering the irreducible multiplicity of languages. The myths of Babel and the Pentecost go beyond the translation of Biblical texts, and have a general impact on the representation of translation in Europe and in Christian countries.

1. The myth of Babel

The episode of Babel appears in Genesis 11:1–9. It is one of the episodes of malediction that structure the book of Genesis, and it follows the Fall and the Flood. When men start building the tower that shall reach the Heavens, God makes them pass from a state of unity in space and communication (The King James Bible reads

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in Genesis 11:1, “And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech”) to a state of incommunicability and dispersion (“Therefore is the name of [the city] called Babel, because the LORD did there confound the language of the earth: and from thence did the LORD scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth”, Genesis 11:9). In Europe and in the West the Biblical myth of Babel opposed the multiplicity of languages to a previous Golden Age when “the earth was of one language”: the search for this primordial, divine and perfect language as opposed to the multiple, imperfect, human languages has been the constant preoccupation of both linguists and Bible scholars. The assimilation of the Hebrew language to the pre-Babelian language contributed greatly to the sacralization of Hebrew. It was still vivid at the beginning of the Renaissance. According to Dante’s *De vulgari eloquentia* the first human speaker spoke Hebrew. From a theological and historical point of view, this myth implies that the multiplicity of languages is a malediction resulting from the divine punishment of human pride. Besides the linguistic signification of Babel, the myth also conveys the image of the vicious city: Babel is indeed the Hebrew name for Babylon, and the reverse parallel of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

2. The myth of the Pentecost

The Pentecost is a reversal of Babel. The Pentecost is originally a Jewish holiday: it commemorates the revelation of the Law to Moses on Mount Sinai, fifty days after Pessah. In the Jewish tradition, the Pentecost is therefore linked to the manifestation of God’s Word, without making any reference to Babel. Yet the Hebrew Bible contains references to a messianic language that could restore the lost linguistic unity: we read in Zephaniah 3:19 “For then will I turne to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the Name of the LORD, to serve him with one consent.” Walter Benjamin may have had this verse in mind when he introduced the notion of “pure language” (*reine Sprache*) in his essay *The Task of the Translator* (1923). In the Christian tradition the gift of languages happening at the Pentecost is quite different. Fifty days after Pessah and after the death and resurrection of Christ, the Apostles gathered and preached to an assembly of people “of every nations”: “And they were all filled with the holy ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the spirit gave them utterance” (Acts 2:4). This miracle enables the communication of the Divine Word beyond ethnic and linguistic divisions. From a theological point of view, it confirms the universality of Christianity [the Christian faith] and underlines the fact that it is not limited to a unique People. Patristic exegesis thereby makes of the gift of languages the instrument of the preaching of the Gospel to the nations, considering, in a typological reading, the Pentecost as the abolition of the *divisio linguarum* prevailing since the episode of Babel. The gift of the Holy Spirit goes beyond the mere possibility of translation: it also implies the possibility of communication in general, especially through preaching (Vecchio 2008). On the other hand it legitimates translation, since the Divine Message can be expressed in any language, while for Judaism it is intrinsically liked to its enunciation in Hebrew. However the miracle of the Pentecost is due to the presence of the Holy Spirit: the miraculous translatability cannot be reiterated in cases of mere human translation and the malediction of Babel still plagues the status of human linguistic productions.

3. The reception of the myth of Babel in translation theories

The myths of Babel and of the Pentecost have had a great influence on the translation of sacred texts, which played a central part in the emergence of European theories of translation. Jerome of Stridonium, taking up Cicero's categories, established the opposition between the translation "of the letter" – for the translation of sacred texts – and the translation "of the meaning" which prevailed for secular texts. The translation of sacred texts aimed at reproducing the Pentecost in the sense that the translator relied on divine inspiration to be able to convey the Divine Message in an imperfect human language.

In the context of the Reformation and of the multiplication of the translations of the Bible, the myth of Babel made a significant appearance in the arts (Breughel, among others, painted two versions of the Tower of Babel in 1563 and 1568), in literature (Babel is mentioned in the works of Maurice Scève, Shakespeare, Calderon etc., see Parizet 2010: 55), and in religious controversies. The authors of these works were mainly interested in the pride that led to the construction of the Tower, and did not systematically associate the Tower with the problem of linguistic diversity. It is notable that in his *Commentary on Genesis* Luther, inspired by Augustine, explored the link between the tower of Babel and the city of Babylon. But what the Reformer saw in the proud Babel-Babylon was the catholic city of Rome. For Luther the city of the pope was no longer the terrestrial incarnation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but the reincarnation of its antithesis: Babylon, the city of vice and corruption. Interestingly however, Luther did not refer to Babel to discuss the possibilities of translation.

The Renaissance also looked into the linguistic and etiologic aspects of the myth, with the emergence of the first modern discourses on translation. The resurgence of the myth in this context comes alongside a renewed search for the pre-Babelian language, as the expression of an ideal of unity and perfection: this language was supposed to enable perfect communication and unequivocal denomination of reality. Various hypotheses tried to identify the pre-Babelian tongue among actual languages, thus illustrating the emergence of philological attempts to reconstruct the first language. Umberto Eco, in *The Search for the Perfect Language (The Making of Europe)*, devotes an entire book to the apparition of linguistic theories in Europe, from Dante to the Esperanto, that tried to repair the disaster of Babel by looking for a perfect language. This language, identified as the Adamic language in the Renaissance, was thought to be a systematized natural language in the 18th century, and attempts at creating artificial languages that would enable total and global communication multiplied in the 20th century. These attempts suggest defiance towards translation, which is always considered second best: if a perfect language existed, immediate communication would abolish the necessity of imperfect translations from one imperfect language to another.

However, in his essay *The Task of the Translator* Walter Benjamin combines translation with the hope of a language that would subsume all the others, with their diversities and imperfections. According to him, a "pure language" is revealed in the mere act of translating. This "pure language" could very well be a reminiscence of the messianic language announced in Zephaniah 3:19, but Benjamin differs from previous theoreticians insofar as he considers this messianic language to be revealed by the translation itself: translation is therefore the reparation of Babel, instead of being the proof of the Babelian curse. The Pentecost is thus no longer needed, and the spirit of languages takes the place of the Holy Spirit; language gains a form of transcendence without having to be inspired by a Divine Revelation.

4. Evolutions of the myth of Babel in a globalized world

Walter Benjamin's theories herald an important evolution in the reception of the myth of Babel throughout the 20th century. Representations of Babel-Babylon are still negative, but evolve significantly in the context of globalization. In Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927), the modern, technological and inhuman city is explicitly a "New tower of Babel", as specified in one of the first title cards of the film. In Alejandro Gonzalez Iñarritu's film *Babel* (2006), the reference to Babel underlines the paradoxes of globalized space, between technological communicability and human incapacity of communicate. The progressive erasure of theological discourses is paralleled by the development, and sometimes the revaluation, of the myth of Babel.

An interesting shift occurs among translation thinkers who conceive Babel not as a divine curse, but as a general myth of incommunicability. For the French and German translator and author Georges-Arthur Goldschmidt (2009: 37), Babel characterizes the condition of every person who uses language. Babel is thus not only considered as an obstacle between communities using different idioms – incommunicability does not occur only between one language and another –, but it is interiorized in the relation to one's own language(s): language cannot translate reality.

This expansion of the myth comes alongside the expansion of what Goldschmidt (see also Jakobson 1959) calls "translation": for him, creative writing is also a form of translation as far as it formalizes an individual vision into a common language that predates the author.

This generalization of the discourse on translation is also at work in George Steiner's work. In *Translation a conditio humana* (2005: 3), he writes that "all intralingual communication is, in essence and in executive form, translation. Always, the sign must be negotiated. Decipherment ('translation') cannot be totalized." However Steiner's perception of Babel is more positive than Goldschmidt's: "Throughout my work, I have argued that, via a process familiar to structural anthropology and to psychoanalysis, this reading of the Babel-myth inverts its original and authentic meaning. Far from being a punitive catastrophe, the gift of multitudinous tongues was an immeasurable benefaction". This positivity of Babel finds its extension in the renewed interest for the myth that characterized the last third of the 20th century, as many theoreticians of translation (Meschonnic 1999; de Launay 1992) offered a new translation of the Biblical text. Although disrupting French syntax, Meschonnic does not really deviate from the traditional interpretation of the episode. Others, however, (Parizet 2010: 44–45) retranslate the Hebrew text according to Steiner's interpretation. André Neher thus translates: *La terre entière était une seule frontière, un ensemble d'éléments clos*: "the whole Earth was but one frontier, one closed set of elements". For this exegete, the unity of the pre-Babelian language was not a golden age but a curse. This positive reading of the myths seems unanimous in the early 21th century among both exegetes and translators. The after-Babel world is perceived positively as a world in which linguistic and cultural diversity is the source of fruitful exchanges.

This new reading of the myth of Babel takes place within a revaluation of the relation of translation to alterity. The fact that a translation necessarily differs from the source text has traditionally been perceived negatively as a loss or a treason, as the inescapable failure of these attempts at mimicking the original and, beyond, at recreating the primary unity of language. However, new theories of language and translation lean towards a positive view of the irreducible alterity of languages, cultures, and individuals. These revaluations occur in the context of a decline in the search for the objectivity of language, and thus of that of translation, in favor of the valuation of the translating subject, no longer considered as one who offers a necessarily insufficient translation, but as one who produces a subjective and hermeneutically fruitful reading of the source text.

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CHAPTER 1.4

Fictional representations

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Keywords: Fictional Turn, theory, identity, poetics, pedagogy

Translators and interpreters have been fictionalised throughout many periods, in many cultures, languages and genres. However, it is the age of globalisation that brings about a real upsurge with an exponential increase in fictional representations of translators and interpreters, thus leading Delabastita to the conclusion that "'translation' has become a kind of master metaphor epitomizing our present *condition humaine* in a globalized and centreless context, evoking the human search for a sense of self and belonging in a puzzling world full of change and difference" (2009: 111). The massive presence of translators and interpreters in film and fiction has not only made them more visible and contributed to their public image, it has also led to an increased scholarly interest.

1. Definition and objects of investigation

This relatively new field of research is referred to using different names and there is also some disagreement over the definition of the term "fictional". On the one hand, we have "fictional representations" (e.g. Delabastita and Grutman 2005) and "imagined translations" (Kristal 2002: 177) highlighting the fictional nature of the representation, but we also talk about "traducción narrada" and "translatio in fabula" (Lavieri 2007; Klimis et al. 2010), which mainly focus on the narrative functions of fictitious translations and fictional translators. In contrast, Beebee's term "transmesis" considers "the mimetic treatment of those 'black-box' aspects of the translational process that translations as finished products obscure, and the question of how to represent multilingual realities in literature" (2012: 3). The term "transfiction", which is defined as an "aestheticized imagination of translatorial action" (Kaindl and Spitzl 2014: blurb) incorporates the notion of fictionality as well as the artistic composition in general (which is not only relevant in film and

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literature, but also other art forms such as photography and painting). Maier takes this concept one step further by considering fictional portrayals of translators and interpreters "experiential material", which provides us with "information about events in translators' lives" (2007: 7).

Depending on the definition of fiction and its reference to reality, we can identify different kinds of works as objects of investigation: in addition to novels, stories, plays and films, (auto) biographies of translators, documentaries, You Tube clips, photographs and paintings may also be of interest. Delabastita and Grutman (2005) also include representations of multilingualism and Beebee (2012: 6) considers not only mimetic representations of translational actions and translators as well as fictitious translations, but also texts "that mime a language reality such that the medium does not match the object depicted" to be part of the research area. An example of this would be an English novel set in Mexico, in which all characters speak English, or texts which foreignise the standard language with the aim of highlighting transcoding processes, code switching or linguistic interference.

2. Fictional representations as a multidisciplinary field of research

Much like translation is seen as a multi-disciplinary concept according to many definitions and contexts, the question of its fictional representation is also the subject of various disciplinary approaches – each with their own research questions and methodologies.

The earliest approaches include linguistic studies, which examined aspects of the plausibility of fictional translators and interpreters or translational actions in Science Fiction (e.g. Meyers 1980). The question of the plausibility of translational representations is measured against real theories of language and the developments of machine translation.

The Cultural Studies perspective, which has been strongly influenced by Postcolonial Studies, is based on the metaphor of cultural translation. Translation as a metaphor exposes the illusion of a "pure" culture and questions existing power relations between colonising and colonised cultures. For this reason, Cultural Studies is concerned with literary texts, in which translations are used as a metaphor for social processes of migration or transcultural appropriation (e.g. Steiner 2009).

In recent years, a keener interest in this subject matter has also resulted in a number of studies in the field of Comparative Literature (e.g. Hagedorn 2006; Brodzki 2007), which focus on narratological methods and functions that are associated with the representation of translators and interpreters such as analogies between reading and writing, and the question of how translation acts as a trope, theme or stylistic device for the narrative.

3. Fictional representations in Translation Studies

Although fictional representations had been an occasional subject of investigation in Translation Studies, Vieira's (1995: 50) "fictional turn" marked the birth of the scholarly interest in the subject matter. The main focal points of this field are questions relating to the theoretical potential of fictional representations, relationships between fictional representations and questions of identity, the contribution of translation fiction to the poetics of translation and the didactic potential of fictional texts.

3.1 Theory

With her claim Vieira fostered theoretical reflections about fictional representations in works of literature and inspired numerous translation scholars to analyse literary works to enhance the theoretical understanding of translation phenomena. Among others, Pagano (2002: 97) notes that fictional texts offer new, unorthodox approaches to translation. Numerous writers, such as Jorge Luis Borges, Julio Cortázar, Italo Calvino, Claude Bleton, etc. have introduced philosophical, psychoanalytical, deconstructivist building blocks of theory, which either go beyond "real" theories of translation, develop them and take them one step further or explore new paths altogether. Arrojo has presented in detail the "powerful role of fiction as theory" (2014: 37) in a series of analyses (e.g. 2004, and 2006). In order to demonstrate this potential, she links aesthetic and literary considerations with poetological, philosophical, historico-cultural, sociological and political aspects.

3.2 Identity

According to Cronin "translation is particularly well situated to make a positive and enabling contribution to debates around identity" (2006: 5) and the same applies to fictional representations of translators and interpreters, whose identities can be examined on different levels. Gentzler (2008), for example, investigates the relationship between transfictional representations and the formation of national identities in Latin America and the role that Borges' texts played in the detachment from the old European colonial powers. Other studies examine translators or interpreters in connection with identity issues, which arise from globalisation: migration, rootlessness, war, multilingualism, etc. Andres' (2008) comprehensive study of identities of fictional interpreters, which draws on imagological concepts, focuses on the clash of cultures and languages and the resulting communicative fields of tension. Wilson (2011) however takes a different approach: she applies postcolonial reading methods to translingual texts, which feature fictional translators, and examines their identities as cultural translation processes. In addition to national and cultural identity, investigations of sexual and gender identities constitute a third area. How fictional translators and interpreters can be used as metaphors to question normative gender roles has been shown by Brodzki (2007) with an analysis of Barbara Wilson's *Gaudí Afternoon*.

3.3 Poetics

Another focus of the study of translation fiction are the poetics of translation. Waisman (2005) demonstrates this with the example of Borges, whose own writing and translation work is inextricably linked to his theoretical reflexions. Lavieri (2007) combines approaches of cultural history, social logic, philosophy, aesthetics and poetology to delve deeper into the relationships between translation culture and society. Kaindl (2018) investigates fictional texts with view to a translatorial memory, which has its origins in Assmann's (2008) concept of a "cultural memory". The translatorial memory consists of shared knowledge, culture-specific translation traditions, traditional ideas, etc. of a group and is not an enclosed, isolated space, but part of an overall cultural memory.

3.4 Pedagogy

Various authors (e.g. Cronin 2009; Arrojo 2010; Beebee 2012) have pointed out the potential of fictional texts for translator and interpreter training. According to Beebee the "self-reflexivity of literary mimesis" (2012: 217) allows us to establish numerous relationships between translation, interpretation, multilingualism, transculturation, etc. and thus contributes to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of translation, which can prove particularly useful in translator and interpreter training. Beebee lists a total of 10 lessons that can be learned from translation fiction, which are mainly centered around the (power-) political, social and ethnic dimensions of translation and the position of the translator.

4. Outlook

In recent years, the diverse interests and research questions associated with transfictional representations have increasingly led to calls for a more interdisciplinary approach or a linking of different disciplinary perspectives. (e.g. Kaindl and Kurz 2010: 12f; Babel 2015: 395). In Translation Studies, the inclusion of narratological categories as pointed out by Delabastita and Grutman (2005: 24) and discussed in more detail by D'hulst (2010) is desirable in order to gain "deeper truths about translation" (Delabastita and Grutman 2005: 29) in a more methodologically stringent way.

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CHAPTER 1.5

The sacred and taboo

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Keywords: taboo, bans on translating sacred texts, untranslatability, total translatability, literalism

One line of historical speculation is that the translation of sacred texts was for millennia *tabooed* – and that those taboos lingered in displaced forms even well into the Christian era, when according to official doctrine all taboos on communication with and about the deity were supposedly revoked. As Robinson (1996) traces this speculative history, it begins in the era of the ancient mystery religions, in which the founding policy of *mystery* – from Greek *mueo* "to close," implying the closing either of the eyes during the rites or of the mouth after, to prevent disclosure of the mysteries to the uninitiated – did literally prohibit not only the translation but the creation of sacred texts. All communication of or about the mystical rites, whether forbidden (the closing of the mouth: non-disclosure) or impossible (the closing of the eyes: ineffability), was taboo. A useful account of this dynamic from the middle of the second century of the Christian era is offered in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses/Golden Ass*, which recounts the narrator's ritual preparation for initiation into the rites of Isis and reports the fact, but not the contents, of the priest's sight translation from *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* in the ritual space. The fact that this is a late instantiation of the rites of Isis, in the Egyptian diaspora, when the mysteries had been written down as the *Book of the Dead* and Isiac initiates across the Mediterranean world could be assumed to be unable to read the Egyptian hieroglyphics, makes possible the existence both of a sacred text and a taboo on translating that text (except of course in the ritual space).

Similar bans on translating sacred texts carried over into the three "universal(izing)" religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, despite the fact that the universalizing impulse in each technically mandated a revocation of the mystical "closedness" (of the eyes and/or mouth), and so openness to all interested parties. In theory anyone interested in those religions should have been able to read the relevant sacred texts in their own languages (i.e., in translation), learn about the religion, and,

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if so minded, convert to it. But this "modern" assumption, adopted officially early on by Christianity, and later in modified forms by Judaism and Islam, remained problematic for a very long time. Still today the hegemonic assumption in Judaism and Islam is that the sacred text (the Torah or the Qur'an) was written "by" the deity (through human channels), and so should be read in the original Hebrew or Arabic; translations now exist, but are thought of as cribs to the text, not as the text itself.

Christianity by contrast opted theologically for the principle of total translatability – in theory it was possible to translate the Christian Bible so perfectly that a translation could be read as the Bible – but in ecclesiastical practice the implementation of this policy was delayed for a very long time, until the sixteenth century, a millennium and a half into the Christian era. The early accommodation of practice to theory involved the deification of certain translations: the legend of the Septuagint, for example, claimed that the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek in early-third-century-BCE Alexandria was inspired by the Holy Spirit; and when St. Jerome scoffed at this legend, pointing out the many errors the Seventy had made, and created the Vulgate Latin translation, the Church began treating the Vulgate too as divinely inspired and forbidding further translation. When Erasmus of Rotterdam published his new Greek edition and Latin translation of the New Testament in 1516, there were still powerful voices in the Catholic Church that wanted to condemn this as heresy, because it undermined the divine inspiration of Jerome; and when the Catholic Church did finally begin to sponsor vernacular translations of the Bible, beginning in the late 1570s, the only acceptable source text was not the Hebrew/Aramaic/Greek original but Jerome's Latin Vulgate (a practice that continued until the early twentieth century). Arguably the Catholic Church's persecution of Protestant translators, too, arose out of this same atavistic survival of the ancient mystery religions' taboo on translation: even though the official policy was a ban on *heretical* translations, not all vernacular translations, it is clear from sixteenth-century documents (notably Thomas More's 1528/[2014] *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*) that the ban was fueled by fears of "the Mysteries of Jesus Christ" falling into the "wrong hands."

Robinson (1996: 78–79) speculates further that the post-sixteenth-century history not only of translation but of thinking and writing about translation shows ample evidence of a series of *displacements* of this taboo:

1. *Don't translate.*
2. *Don't translate accessibly, "openly," so that your target text is easily understandable by a target reader.*
3. *Don't add anything to or subtract anything from the source text.*
4. *Don't present translations as translations.*
5. *Don't talk about translation.*

In that list, (1) is the ancient taboo; (2) is the use of strict literalism as self-protection (if I translate word for word, no one can accuse me of either distorting the original or of making the original accessible to "the wrong kind of reader"); (3) is the more generalised ban on distorting the text, allowing for both word-for-word and sense-for-sense translation but continuing to taboo creative interpretations; and (4) is the "modern" convention of obscuring the fact that a given text was translated from another language, by not printing the translator's name on the cover (or even at all), and by encouraging discussion of translations as if they were originals. The last displacement (5) is the most speculative of all: it is Robinson's attempt to explain the late disciplinary development of Translation Studies and the odd blockages in much existing writing about translation.

This whole history is, however, not only entirely speculative but the speculation of a single translation scholar. It should not be treated as fact. One specific aspect of Robinson's speculative history, on the relationship between Judaism and Christianity on the subject of translation, has been followed up by a scholar of Judaism, Naomi Seidman (2006).

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CHAPTER 1.6

The modern regime of translation and its politics

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Today an increasing number of scholars are aware of the conceptual complexity as well as the politico-ethical significance of translation. They have come to realize that translation must be problematized not only in the fields of artistic literary works and religious canons, but also in many other genres such as popular entertainment, simultaneous interpretation, scientific and technological research, psychotherapy, international diplomacy, and commercial negotiations. This chapter on the modern regime of translation will first discuss the conceptual complexity of the term 'translation' and the measures to define it, with a view to historicizing the particular ways in which translation has been understood, represented and practiced in modern social formations. And, second, it will discuss the politico-ethical significance of translation in reference to the reality that it is always complicit with the building, transforming, disrupting or destroying of power relations. In this sense, translation is a performance, political *par excellence*, which creates social relations and establishes new modes of discrimination. Notably the relations between translation and violence have been productively explored in recent theoretical developments (Apter 2006; Solomon 2007; Rafael 2012). Far from being conceived of as the 'other' of violence, translation has emerged as a deeply ambivalent concept and practice. Put simply, translation always cuts both ways: at once a dynamism of domination and liberation, clarification and obfuscation, commerce and exploitation, concession and refusal to the 'other.' This is why translation is most often represented either as a bridge or a wall, or sometimes as both at the same time. (Sakai 2015). In other words, we cannot overlook its constitutive relation with the concept and the institution of the border (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013: 23). Hence, translation

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involves moral imperatives on the part of both the addresser and the addressee; it can always be viewed to a larger or lesser degree as an ethico-political maneuver of social antagonism.

Third, this chapter will investigate the manner in which the representation of translation brings about socio-political effects. This is one of the reasons why the particular way in which we customarily represent and practice translation is the central issue in this chapter. I call this way 'the modern regime of translation' as it indicates a specific discursive formation in which we comprehend what is expected to be accomplished in translation, represent the process of translation schematically, evaluate the consequence of such a process in terms of its truthfulness and falsity, and adhere to the practical norms by which the act of translation is regulated and conducted. In short, it is a 'regime' or 'apparatus' in the sense of a power arrangement in which people are individuated, identified in terms of the configuration of social positions, educated and castigated, and made to desire to perform definite social functions. Of particular importance is the representation of translation, for the very reason that the manner with which to represent translation is part and parcel of a technology – subjective technology, a sort of technology for 'subjectivation' – by which the individual is disciplined to imagine his or her relation to the national or ethnicized community. In this respect, broadly speaking, translation is a topic in the domain of bio-politics.

1. On modernity – a historical background

Let me also draw your attention to why this regime of translation must be modified with the adjectival 'modern.' The regime of translation to be discussed here became a dominant routine only in a *modern* society and the *modern* international world. Even though we are aware that the term is fraught with problems,[1] 'the modern' must be appealed to in contrast to 'the pre-modern' in order to specifically indicate radical changes in the spheres of language that distinguish the modern formation from that of the pre-modern. Since there is no space here for an extensive discussion on the historicist uses of modernity and pre-modernity, I will resort to a few examples.

Prior to modernity there hardly existed any image of a society that was homogeneously ruled in the element of a single language. I have never encountered historical documents in which the ruler imposed one unified language on the entirety of the subject population. It seems that all the social formations in pre-modern periods were multi-lingual and that the inhabitants of pre-modern societies took the uses of plural languages for granted in their everyday life; this hinges upon our being circumspect about what is implied by the very idea of a single language or one unified language, and about what is assumed by the plurality of languages. The question we must pose is 'Is language countable, like an orange or an apple and not like water?' Is language always and already an individual that can be subject to enumeration even prior to individuation?

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[1] It is important to keep in mind that the term 'modern' in this entry is neither a stage of social or civilizational development nor an historical index denoting chronological nearness as customarily deployed in modernization theory.

I once conducted an historical investigation on the idea of language in Northeast Asia, and how this idea changed historically (Sakai 1991). My investigation could hardly be exhaustive since there are huge archives where one can find a great number of historical documents and treatises that thematically discuss language even before the 18th century. Of course in the 19th and the 20th centuries the number of writings and publications increased drastically. Limiting my scope to the historical eras prior to the 18th century, I had access to a great number of historical materials in which are mentioned all these activities associated with language – speech, singing, sermon, poetry, argument, printing, historiography, brush talk, diary, oratory, encyclopedic classification of ideographs, calligraphy, letter writing, written record, hermeneutic methods, verity, and so on.

Despite this remarkable abundance of topics concerning language and human linguistic activities, however, I could rarely find any systematic explication of what can be approximated by *langue* in the Saussurean sense; I have never encountered an explicit conceptualization of language as a closed systematic unity, nor have I found the use of language in reference to the sort of community we refer to as 'nation' in modern times. A variety of language uses were indexed in reference to the names of kingdoms, estates, provinces, cities, villages, or many different kinds of social groups, but there could be found no explicit conceptualization of national language. This is to say that language had yet to be *individuated* in terms of internationality in pre-modern societies; prior to the 18th century, surprisingly enough, pre-modern peoples were rather indifferent to the nationality of their language or languages, even though they customarily classified other people according to phonetic idiosyncrasies, idiomatic expressions, and dialects.

Just as Latin was widely-accepted as the authentic medium of spiritual truth and academic knowledge in Western Europe from the 8th century through the 17th century, Classical Chinese played an equivalent role in the regions along the western shore of the Pacific, what is loosely referred to as Northeastern Asia today, from the 5th century through the 19th or 20th century. The ruling class in such areas on the western shore of the Pacific as Vietnam, Japan and Korea consolidated their political legitimacy by using Classical Chinese or its pidgin versions. While certain official aspects of public life – governmental ordinances, dynastic histories, diplomatic correspondence – were conducted in Classical Chinese or some stylistic writing based upon the use of Chinese ideographic characters, the members of royal families, government officials, or aristocrats were not necessarily capable of conversing in it. Even within the interior of the dynastic palaces in kingdoms in Japan and Korea no homogeneous linguistic medium could be found; it was generally accepted that male members of aristocratic families were expected to have a reading knowledge of Classical Chinese, but we are not sure that they could converse in any regional language of the Chinese empire, not to mention Classical Chinese.

My ignorance does not allow me to speak of areas, populations and civilizations outside Northeastern Asia and Western Europe. Even within the historical contexts of these areas, there are many regions, communities, polities, and social sectors of which I have little knowledge. Therefore, my assertions are never exhaustive or definitive. By no means am I qualified to offer any comprehensive assessment about the general comparison of the modern language situation. My speculation on the status of language in modern social formations is no more than a suggestion; it is a hypothesis at best.

Let me explain why the individuation of language ought to be taken up in the inquiry into modernity in reference to the modern regime of translation. While overlooking the conceptual intricacy with which one has to identify or enumerate languages, it is probably justifiable to say that pre-modern peoples lived in multi-lingual societies. Even today we know of some societies in which people speak multiple languages. For instance, *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe, vividly describes life in the Igbo society of Nigeria where people constantly moved from one linguistic medium to another. But the question I cannot avoid is on what grounds can one claim that a person stops speaking one language and starts speaking another, when there are many hybrid forms and genres between one linguistic medium identifiable as *one language* and another. What constitutes the oneness or unity of an individual language as distinct from others? How can we individuate language?

Pre-modern Japan is a good example of such a multi-lingual society in which people routinely moved from one linguistic medium to another. Prior to 1868, the Japanese islands were divided into some 300 feudal states loosely unified by the strongest feudal clan named Tokugawa. The polity did not know the concept of territorial state sovereignty, and except for a very small number of intellectuals the overwhelming majority of people had no clear notion of nationality or a homogeneous language shared by the nation. Until the massive modernization efforts were undertaken by the newly-formed national-state after the Meiji Restoration in the Japanese Archipelago in the late 19th century, elite scholars were immersed in the study of Chinese classics and a reading knowledge of Classical Chinese was essential among them; the official historiography of the feudal state was written in a certain pidgin style of Classical Chinese; a relatively small portion of the Buddhist priesthood had to learn the Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit, but most Buddhist priests read these scriptures in Classical Chinese; Chinese classics were routinely taught at domainal schools and private academies, but they were never read aloud either in Classical Chinese or even in the regional language of contemporary China, as a result of which the majority of Japanese scholars specializing in the study of Chinese classics did not know how the classics should be pronounced aloud; basically two types of written signs were used, one ideographic and the other alphabetical, in books, letter writing, calligraphy, commercial publication, advertisement, governmental ordinances and internal documents circulating within bureaucracy; ideographic signs were regarded as authentic or *mana* (authentic characters), whereas alphabetical signs were regarded as ad hoc or *kana* (makeshift characters); even though ideographic signs were customarily called *Kanji* (characters from China), there was hardly an acknowledgement among the commoners that the ideographic signs that the Japanese relied upon were of Chinese language because the very idea of national or ethnic language did not exist; thus a particular style of writing was developed to read the Chinese classics by reorganizing the syntactical structure of the original and pronouncing some characters in specifically local ways, and this hybrid style or method of writing usually referred to as *Kanbun* became the common way of reading not only Chinese classics but also Chinese books – on Confucianism, law, poetry, medicine, Buddhism, history, botany, love stories and so on – in general; those illiterate audiences unable to write or read *Kanbun* spoke in their local languages, whose diversity was so immense that, even within a wealthy household, servants from different regions faced constant difficulties to make themselves understood; it was only under the newly-introduced system of national education that this diversity was eliminated step by step, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus, the idea of the Japanese language as homogeneous national tongue is the product of relatively recent history.

It is in the 18th century that a very small number of intellectuals began a revolutionary change in the hermeneutics of Chinese classics. Ogyû Sorai (1666–1728) proposed to read Chinese classics in the language of the Classical Chinese. Against the tradition of Confucian scholarship that had been well-established in big cities in Japan by the 18th century, he actually attempted to pronounce Chinese classics in the language of ancient China and introduced a new pedagogical method of teaching students about Confucianism. The first strategy he introduced in his new teaching method was a sort of prelude to what I call "the modern regime of translation." He actually taught his students how to speak ancient Chinese and rejected the use of *Kanbun* in Confucian pedagogy. He urged his students to read the classics in Classical Chinese and to translate them into the colloquial language of their everyday life, thereby eliminating an equivocal medium which was neither Classical Chinese nor a contemporary ordinary language of Japan. Thus he redefined the rules of Confucian hermeneutics. By introducing a new teaching method and the modern regime of translation, Ogyû took the first step toward the individuation of language. In this way, he reintroduced a new conception of translation according to which translation is an act of interpretation from one language (Classical Chinese) to another (the colloquial language of the local society of Edo, today's Tokyo); he envisioned the ancient Chinese society as a homogeneous social formation in which Classical Chinese was the common and homogeneous medium of everyday conversation in Chinese society of ancient China, just as the colloquial language of Edo was such a common medium for his students at his private academy. In his Confucian hermeneutics and pedagogy one can find the outline for a procedure for the individuation of language, community, culture and sovereignty.

Entirely independently, similar developments were witnessed in Western Europe – chronologically earlier than those in Northeast Asia: a new regime of translation was introduced, as a consequence of which the trustworthiness of the biblical scriptures had to be redefined through many attempts to translate them. As we know, this struggle over the status of the scriptures was accompanied by many decades of violent conflicts; eventually, knowledge was expressed and preserved in a newly-formed national language; the authority of the universal language gradually declined. All of these developments were triggered by the transformation and reconceptualization of translation.

After Ogyû Sorai and the developments in Japan's 18th century, as well as similar developments in Western Europe, we must now inquire into the general inner mechanism of the individuation of language.

2. Homolingual address

It is not surprising that, since a community is always consolidated for its distinction from the outside or at its limit, communal identity such as nationality or ethnicity is often produced by representing translation in specific ways. Certain representations of translation serve to produce the image of the community. Therefore, we must emphasize the need to rework the concept and practice of translation as a cornerstone for a new politics of liberation. The conception and practice of translation consequently has been challenged and productively explored. Different and even antagonistic 'regimes' of translation – for instance those built upon 'homolingual' and 'heterolingual' addresses (Sakai 1997) – have been identified and have played a prominent role in this debate.

And, finally, we will touch upon the relationship between the issues of translation and modernity by illustrating how the particular mode of representing translation is conditioned by the essentially 'modern' schema of co-figuration through which we comprehend the unity of natural language as an ethno-linguistic unity.

As a consequence, the role of translation in both the epistemic structure of modern colonialism and the formation of the modern state and national sovereignty, as well as in the operations of global capitalism, has been underscored by some scholars. We will probe how our commonsensical notion of translation is delimited by the schematism of the world (i.e., our operation of representing the world according to the schema of co-figuration) and, inversely, how the modern image of the world as the 'inter-national' world (i.e., the world consisting of the basic units of territorial national state sovereignties) is prescribed by our representation of translation as a communicative and international transfer of a message between a pair of ethno-linguistic unities, namely, national languages.

The 'politics of translation' has emerged as a fundamental topic, even for the more technical debates within translation studies, while the concept of translation itself has been politicized and used as a theoretical tool in discussions of nationality, citizenship, multiculturalism, and globalization.

First of all, this chapter attempts to appraise the theoretical developments and achievements in this field so as to illustrate the manner in which the conception of translation has been politicized in recent years. At the same time it aims to navigate future conversations and new research directions. It is necessary to repeat that the politicization of the concept of translation has run concurrent to the discovery of its multilayered *ambivalence*. It is by working through this ambivalence that some of the main concepts and topics at stake in contemporary political debates can be productively re-framed.

Take citizenship, for instance. There have been several attempts to rethink the concept of citizenship through translation (Sakai 1991; Balibar 1991, 1994; Solomon 2011) so as to open it up and de-link it from the national norm: the rubrics of nationality that have dictated our imagination of national belonging and the aesthetics of communal identity. At stake is the emergence of the very opposition (of the *borders*) between 'us' and 'them' upon which modern citizenship is predicated (Balibar 2015; Solomon Forthcoming). Modern citizenship is necessarily premised upon the tropics of translation, to the extent that the figurative representation of translation delineates the international map of juxtaposed national territories. Translation is metaphorically represented as a bridge or a crossing between one language and another, between two clearly-delineated territories distinguished from one another by these borders. The particular representation of translation – according to the *schematism of co-figuration* – is required as a 'transcendental' condition for the possibility of the existence of reified political identities, of the equally reified unities of national or ethnic languages.[2]

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2. For the "schematism of co-figuration", see Sakai 1997: 1–17.

Today we cannot just assume the schematization of one language and another, a schematization that involves not only a spatial representation of imaginary figures but also of their relationship. When a language is represented as a figure in space, its relationship to another language is also represented spatially. As a result, it is most often assumed that one language is representable as being external to another. The schematization of a language thus gives rise to another presumption that a language has its border that divides its inside from its outside. It is now necessary to examine this presumption which, thanks to the international juxtaposition of languages, has been taken as an indisputable verity, and which has dominated our general discussion of languages since the nation-state became the dominant form of territorial state sovereignty. We must call into question this epistemic apparatus in our discussions on translation, according to which one language is represented spatially as external to and exclusive of another.

I have referred to this apparatus as the modern regime of translation, in which translation is represented through the strict distinction between the interior and exterior of a language.[3] Integral to this apparatus is a *modus operandi*, or procedure of conduct, which I call 'homolingual address.' With this idiom, I want to suggest a certain manner of translational conduct in which a speaker or writer relates her or himself to interlocuters in an enunciation whereby the addresser adopts a position representative of an allegedly homogeneous language community and then relates to the addressee or addressees, who are also representative of an equally homogeneous language society. It is important to note that homolingual address does not imply the social condition of conversation, monolingualism, according to which both the addresser and the addressee supposedly belong to the same language community. They may well believe they belong to different languages, yet can still address themselves homolingually.

It is necessary to historicize this modern regime of translation, in which the 'homolingual address' is accepted as a normalcy and norm, and to move towards thinking of translation under the aegis of 'heterolingual address' (Sakai 1997, *ibid.*).

'Homolingual address' derives its legitimacy from the vision of the modern *international* world; this vision projects the world as a forum for a juxtaposition of territorial state sovereignties as well as the reciprocal recognition of nation-states. Of course, the international world and the nation-state reinforce each other and form a system of complicity. Consequently, central to the modern tropics of translation is the figure of 'border,' an image, an institution, or a geopolitical indicator marking the spatial limit of one territorial and national sovereignty, as well as the beginning of another and different national territory. The homolingual address – the *modus operandi* of translational enunciation within the modern regime of translation – is nothing but one of the consequences of a tropic exercise that maps the spatial configuration of the international world onto the locale of translational transaction.

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[3] I used to call this apparatus simply "the regime of translation" (Sakai 1997: 1–17). But, in view of the fact that translation can be institutionalized in other ways, I now adopt a slightly different expression, which indicates that the particular convention of translation we follow in most places in the world today is only observable in the modern era.

The world accommodates one humanity, but a plurality of languages. It is generally upheld that, precisely because of this plurality, we are never able to evade translation. What is at stake is how to conceptualize this plurality. Our conception of translation is almost always premised on a specific way to conceive it. Not surprisingly, when we try to think through the unity of humanity together with the inevitability of translation, we often resort to the fable of Babel, as interpreted within the framework of internationality. But do we have to assume that this unity in plurality means an international configuration trans-historically? Can we not envisage discourses in which the thought of language is not captured in the vision of the modern international world? Are we not able to conceive of language in an alternative way?

In this context let me draw attention to the increasing significance of the problematic of 'bordering' in knowledge production today.[4] This problematic has to be specifically denoted as one not of 'border' but of 'border-ing,' because what is at stake is far beyond the old problem of boundary, discrimination, and classification. At the same time that it recognizes the presence of borders, discriminatory regimes, and the paradigms of classification, this problematic sheds light on the processes of drawing a border, of instituting the terms of distinction in discrimination, and of inscribing a continuous space of the social against which a divide is introduced. It is instead in the register of action rather than substance, a verb rather than a noun. In other words, the term 'bordering' forces us to be attentive to the nebulous behaviors of borders. The analytic of bordering requires us to simultaneously examine both the presence of border and its drawing or inscription.

The modern regime of translation begins by assuming the very premise that one language is separate from another. It is postulated beyond dispute that one language is deliberately and systematically differentiated from another by a definite border that is alleged as naturally given. The very contour of a language, without which its organic unity cannot be postulated, is assumed even when the conduct of translational enunciation, an instance where the very difference of one language and another is negotiated, is at issue. What is disavowed is the active and performative aspect of translation; the homolingual address completely overlooks what is thematically problematized in the act of translation, namely, the sort of difference or discontinuity that translation is expected to engage in.

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[4] I learned the term 'bordering' from Mezzadra and Neilson: "Border as Method or The Multiplication of Labor", paper presented at the International Conference "Italian as second language – citizenship, language, and translation" in Rimini on 4 February 2008.

Translation intervenes in discontinuity in our social world. When one cannot understand what one's interlocutor wishes to say, express, or convey, that is, when one is at a loss in relation to another person one is engaged with in a social relation, one resorts to the act of translation. Only when there is an element of non-sense or incomprehensibility in the very locale, where I address my interlocutor while she addresses me as her interlocutor, is translation called for. In this locale of translational transaction, are we already and miraculously informed that the very incomprehensibility or non-sense is caused by the fact that, for instance, while I speak English, my interlocutor does not speak it? Is it because our languages are different that we are put in a situation of non-communication? How can I know *a priori* that my experience of non-sense is already structured by the international configuration of borders by which one language is separated from another?

By now the fundamental weakness inherent in the modern regime of translation is obvious. This regime always determines 'difference' as substantialized between two individual entities, as a sort of gap or *species difference* between two individual – and indivisible – languages. It goes without saying that the homolingual address derives its legitimacy from a naive acceptance of the conceptual economy – *genus*, *species*, and *individuum* – of classical logic, or its modern derivative, the classification system of the Linnaean taxonomy.

Above all else, the difference at stake in translation is not reducible to *diaphora* or species difference, difference between two *species*, two particular languages, under the *genus* of language in general. It cannot necessarily be subsumed under the class of *species* differentiated by borders; it is not a border in stasis; rather it is a border-ing that is both performative and *poietic*; to translate is to inscribe a difference, to project an image of difference whereby two languages are constituted.

Accordingly as soon as the conduct of translation is viewed in terms of border-ing, the constitutive order of the modern international world no longer appears natural; the concept of border-ing thus helps us to see that the modern regime of translation and the view of the international world taken for granted within it are no more than one among many possible ways for what Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson have called *fabrica mundi*, after the cartography of the 16th century or the making of the world (Mezzadra and Neilson 2013: 23). The world could have been mapped, projected or institutionalized in manners other than that of the modern international variety.

3. Nationality in translation

Indeed, it is to elucidate the differentiation of transnationality from nationality that I want to emphasize the problematic of bordering in the first place. Most importantly, I want to reverse the order of apprehension in which transnationality is comprehended on the basis of nationality, and so to challenge the presumption that nationality is primary and transnationality is somewhat secondary or derivative. The transnational is apprehended as something that one creates by adding the prefix 'trans-' to nationality. Unfortunately the word 'transnational' retains a morphology that the 'trans+national' obtains only by modifying 'national'; 'transnational' is thus subsumed to 'national,' thereby this misleadingly postulates that the national is more fundamental or foundational than the transnational. In this way the transnational is somewhat assumed to be derivative of the national. This widely-accepted pattern of reasoning derives from a presumption of modernity, in which the adjectival 'transnational' is attributed to an incident or situation uncontainable within one nationality. For example, an individual or some people move across the outer limits of one national territory into another, and such a movement is called 'transnational.' Or a company is incorporated in multiple national territories and manages projects mobilizing its multi-national employees who live in different countries at the same time: such a company is called a 'transnational' corporation. What I want to underline, above all else, is the implicit presumption underlying the concept of nationality: that nationality cannot make sense unless it is postulated against the horizon of *internationality*. Indubitably, transnationality must never be confused with internationality. In order to assert the priority of transnationality to nationality, therefore, our first move is to delineate the semantics of transnationality as being distinct from that of internationality.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the modern world can be found in its *internationality*; the modernity of the modern world has manifested itself in the formation of the international world. Today transnationality is generally understood within the schema of the international world. By 'schema' I mean a certain image or figure against the background of which our sense of nationality is apprehended. Yet it is important to keep in mind that in some regions, such as East Asia, the international world did not prevail until the late nineteenth century. It took more than a century before East Asian states abandoned the old tribute system and yielded to the new inter-state diplomacy dictated by international law. In this regard, the international world was a mark of colonial modernity. And it is in the very process of introducing it that, even in East Asia, the binary of the West and the Rest began to serve as the framework inside of which the colonial hierarchy of the globe was installed.

Of course, the international world is not exclusively a twentieth century phenomenon. Dividing the world into two contrasting areas, the West and the Rest, has been an institutionalized practice widely-accepted in academia for several centuries (cf. Hall 1996). This dichotomy can be traced as far back as the seventeenth century when in 1648 the system of international laws was inaugurated with the Treaty of Westphalia. This peace treaty, subsequent to the Thirty Year War, established this division of the two geopolitical areas. The first would subsequently be regarded as 'the international world' in which four principles were to be observed: (1) the sovereignty of the national state and its self-determination, (2) the legal equality among national states, (3) the reign of international laws among the states, and (4) the non-intervention of one state in the domestic affairs of another. The second geopolitical area was excluded from the first; there these four principles, including the reign of international laws, had no binding force. The first area would later be called the West, while the second would be excluded from 'the international world,' and become literally 'the Rest of the world,' with its states and inhabitants subject to colonial violence.

Japan's colonization of Korea in 1909, for instance, was accomplished according to the protocols of the international world. Many other parts of the globe were also colonized, and the colonial subjugation of the 'Rest of the world' was legitimated according to the system of international law. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of the second area was transformed into colonies belonging to a few super powers. Yet this pseudo-geographic designation of the West – *pseudo*-geographic because, in the final analysis, the West is not a geographic determinant – gained currency towards the end of the nineteenth century. At that point the international world expanded to cover the entire surface of the earth as a consequence of three developments: first, colonial competition among the imperialist states; second, the emergence of the United States and Japan as modern imperial powers; and, third and most important, the increasingly wide-spread anti-colonial struggles for national self-determination. In this historical determination of the West, its distinction from the Rest derived from the legacy of colonialisms.

In order for a colony to gain independence, the colonized had to establish its own national sovereignty and gain recognition from other sovereignties. In other words, for the colonized the process of decolonization meant forging a nation out of the colonized multitude and entering the ranks of sovereign national states in the international world. As the number of nations which were being recognized increased in the international world, the presumptions of nationality and internationality were accepted as if naturally assigned. As the schematic nature of the international world was somewhat forgotten, both nationality and internationality were naturalized, as though the institutions marking the border of the national community – national territory, national language, national culture and so forth – had existed continually for millennia. It goes without saying that the most symbolic of these absurdly reified and naturalized figures of nationality is found in the image of national language.

One key aspect of this process of nationality – formation in the modern international world cannot be side-stepped: it is not only an individual language in isolation but also the very relationship between one language and another that was fetishized and naturalized. The formation of a national language was always accompanied by a fetishization of the pairing of one language with another. Hence the image or figure of a national language was projected *co-figuratively*, in the pairing of one with another. The question of how to represent the relationship of one language to another played a decisive role in the creation of national identity via language. This is to say that in comprehending the international world, we cannot neglect the central role played by the *schematism of co-figuration* in the modern regime of translation.

It is at this juncture that the concept of transnationality must be reinvigorated and rejuvenated in order both to undermine the apparent naturalness of nationality and internationality, and to disclose the very historicity of our presumptions about nationality, national community, national language, national culture and ethnicity, which are most often associated with 'the feeling of nationality.'

In short, a nation is not something already accomplished, something etched in stone, so to say, but rather is in constant motion and metamorphosis. What anchors its image in the emotive life of people is one of the aesthetic functions of what John Stuart Mill called 'nationality.' It goes without saying that the very idea of a national language serves not only epistemologically but also emotively to promote the imaginary of the nation, what Mill called 'the society of sympathy.' And, the image of national language is repeatedly consolidated and endorsed in the practice of translation, according to the modern regime of translation.

Translation is a *poietic* act of inscribing continuity at the singular point of discontinuity. Viewed from the peculiar angle of this constitutive relation with processes of bordering and the discursive regime that regulates the representation of translation, both new and somewhat unexpected political implications surface on translation.

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CHAPTER 1.7

Translation and adjacent concepts

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Consumers and producers tend to consider translation an easily recognizable object, which leads to the belief of an unproblematic predefined phenomenon. However, as suggested by Pym (1998: 55) the task of selecting target texts for study always involves making decisions about borderline cases, and, as any other inter-subjective category, the concept of translation has changed in space and time.

Irrespective of the various definitions and redefinitions of this concept over time and in different languages and cultures (see Chapter 1.1 in this volume), research in translation studies has felt the need to also encompass within its object of study adjacent concepts that question the binarism associated with most approaches to translation. For instance, some authors suggest definitions of translation unrelated to the actual existence of a source text. One of the traditional definitions of translation within translation history, as put forward by Toury, relies on what the recipients perceive to be a translation, i.e. "any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture/language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by a set of relationships based on shared features". (Toury 2012: 31)

Pym suggests an operative method of classification, based on the description of target texts' paratexts: "[if] a paratext allows different discursive slots for an author and a translator, then the text may be said to be a translation (working definition)" (Pym 1998: 62). However, Herman (2009) has shown how in 18th-century France the novel as a genre made its way into the canon by being disguised as a translation or a copy of a manuscript containing the memoirs of an assumed author. The slots were all there: the author, the translator and even the word 'translation', but the readers were well aware that they were receiving an original. A comprehensive

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project about the consequences of the *topos du manuscrit trouvé* on the reception of translated texts is still needed, notably as some (real) translated texts (e.g. Spanish picaresque novels) were very similarly presented, i.e. as veracious memoirs translated into French (Maia 2010). More to the point, notwithstanding the broadness of these two working definitions, the increasing number of borderline cases (which represent long-standing practices within translation history) calls for a target-oriented reconsideration of translational phenomena.

1. Pseudo-translation

Toury's definition of 'assumed translation' encompasses pseudo-translation within the object of study of descriptive translation studies. Pseudo-translation is a non-translated text (i) disguised as a translation (Venuti, Hagedorn and Pursglove cited by Santoyo 2012: 356); (ii) not clearly presented as a non-translation (Santoyo 2012); or (iii) both disguised and received as a translation (Toury 2012: 29). During the 20th century, some authors – such as Ortega y Gasset, Theodore Savory or Győrgy Radó – used *pseudo-translation* to negatively refer to versions taking too many liberties towards their source texts (Santoyo 2012: 356).

Terminology varies. Toury (2012) uses pseudotranslation and 'fictitious translation' interchangeably. Popovič (1976: 228–229) defines pseudotranslations and 'make-believe' translations as types of quasi-metatexts, i.e. texts on or about fictitious source texts. Similarly to Popovič, Apter (2006) also considers it possible to infer the source text from a pseudo-translation. Just like a forged painting, a pseudotranslation is based on a "scheme of the original production" (Popovič 1976: 227) or a "code" (Apter 2006: 235). For instance, when Kenneth Rexroth (1905–1982) composed a pseudo-translation of Japanese poems by a non-existent female poet Marichiko, he did it based on the "aesthetic codes of *japonisme*" (Apter 2006: 233). Therefore, pseudo-translation is a clone of a code (not the clone of a clone). Both fictitious and make-believe translations seem to restrict pseudo-translation to what Santoyo (2012: 358) calls "explicit or transparent" pseudo-translation. On the other hand, the case of "implicit or opaque" pseudo-translations (Santoyo 2012: 358), i.e. those in which the peritext gives room for the reader to doubt on the translated status of an original, is not easily disentangled from other procedures, namely, the use of foreign language pseudonyms.

For his part, Robinson (1998: 183) considers 'pseudo-translation' to be "not only a text pretending or purporting or frequently taken to be a translation, but also a translation that is frequently taken to be an original work." This in turn means that he considers pseudo-translation and pseudo-original as part of the same phenomenon. This new meaning is further explored by Apter (2006) and Italiano (2016).

2. Pseudo-original

Pseudo-original is a target text derived by intra- or interlingual or intersemiotic transfer operations from a source text (as shown by observable intertextual relations) but which fails to (para)textually present this relationship (Pym 1998: 60), thus bordering on plagiarism (e.g. of texts, audiovisual products or music).

Within the traditional target-oriented paradigm it is not very clear whether pseudo-originals are legitimate objects of study, since they have been perceived and received as non-translations. The scarcity of research on the phenomenon of pseudo-originality has led to a deficient terminological apparatus concerning the agents involved (but see Öner 2008). Whereas in a pseudo-translation the pseudo-translator can be considered both an author and a translator (Apter 2006: 231), in the case of a pseudo-original these two terms do not seem applicable.

This lack of scholarly interest may be partly explained by the negative consequences that uncovering pseudo-originals can exert on national literary canons. On the other hand, pseudo-originals may potentially become privileged objects of study, e.g. in Cronin's project of a transnational archaeology of literature in Europe. As stated by Cronin (2006: 23–26), by emphasizing the cosmopolitan connectedness of national literary canons and languages, translation history can, in the long run, help the European Union to reconfigure its supranational cultural identity.

With respect to the consideration of pseudo-originals as a subset of pseudo-translation, Italiano (2016: 90) draws attention to a meaningful difference with regard to 'fictionalization.' For a translation to be taken as an original, one only needs a subtraction of information, most notably, in the paratext; whereas for an original to be taken as a translation some addition of fictional data is needed. Hence pseudo-translations tend to be more fictitious than pseudo-originals, and, for reason of overexposure, more easily identified. When a translation is published with no reference to the author's or translator's name and with no mention of the word 'original' or 'translation,' should it be considered fictitious at all?

3. Auto-translation

According to Pym (1998), translation involves the presence of two agents in the paratext – an author and a translator (see Chapter 5.1 in this volume). As a derivative text it is usually allotted a marginal status within the target culture. These features seem to leave out auto-translation (or self-translation), whose author and translator coincide. Like hetero- (Polezzi 2012: 103) or allograph translation (Dasilva 2016), auto-translation entails the presupposition of another (and usually precedent) text in another culture/language. However, paratexts of auto-translations rarely distinguish between the two roles fulfilled by the same person in relation to that particular target text. According to Grutman (2009: 124) this is due to the notion of 'authority.' Since these translations are made by the source text's author, they are neither seen as derivative nor as translation proper. Dasilva (2016) proposed the concept of semi-auto-translation in which there is either a collaboration between auto-translator and translator or the latter has bequeathed some authority towards the allograph translation (e.g. the author revises the target text) or the translator (e.g. he/she is part of the author's entourage). For examples of semi-auto-translations, see Pilar del Río's Portuguese-Spanish translations of her husband's (José Saramago) novels.

Although both 'auto-translation' and 'self-translation' are used in published research, the former term (a calque from *auto-traduction* or *autotraducción*) seems to be more frequent than the latter. This is due to the fact that the bulk of research on this phenomenon emanates from scholars linked to Romance languages: e.g. due to Spain's specificity, bringing together systems with different literary languages, a relevant amount of work on auto-translation has been developed in Spanish academia and published in the journal *Quaderns*.

Initially research on auto-translation has focused on the self-translators, most notably, Nabokov and Beckett. Only more recently has this focus shifted to auto-translations themselves, more particularly to their differences vis-à-vis hetero-translations (Grutman 2013). One of the main research subjects in auto-translation studies is the relation between auto-translations' directionality and diglossia (Grutman 2015). Because auto-translation does not share the same marginal status as hetero-translation, studies on the relationship between auto-translation and other adjacent concepts are still lacking. Is the use of an auto-translation as an intermediate text still considered indirect translating? Considering the issues of language power, are there many cases of pseudo-auto-translation?

4. Indirect translation

Indirect translation is here understood as a translation of a translation (Gambier 1994: 413) (if a text in Polish is translated into Portuguese via English the result is an indirect translation). The practice has long-standing history (e.g. *Bible*, *I Ching*, Shakespeare translation), widespread use in today's society (audiovisual, computer-assisted and literary translation) and a promising future (e.g. due to the increasing need to edit documents via the *linguae francae* in international organizations).

The concept combines with diverse and unstable terminology in English (most common but not necessarily synonymous alternatives being 'intermediate', 'mediated', 'pivot', 'relay', 'second-hand' translation, 'retranslation') and rather undeveloped terminology in most of the remaining languages (e.g. there is no well-established term for 'indirectness' in Polish or Portuguese). There are also discrepancies on the semantic level, mostly regarding the number of languages involved (at least two languages versus at least three languages), type of mediating languages (resorting to a mediating language version or a target language version) and intended receiver of the mediating text (only target text-translator versus wider audience).

The scattered nature of published research, together with a frequently inconsistent use of metalanguage and a shortage of explicit definitions, makes it difficult to trace patterns in the terminological and semantic evolution of this concept through time and space. However, a recent study indicates that the term 'indirect translation' has gained ground against other competing designations in English (Pięta 2012: 313). Moreover, based on a survey of most commonly used appellations and definitions of this concept (Assis Rosa et al. 2017) it is possible to suggest that:

- in their English-language publications native-speakers of Romance languages have tended to opt for 'indirect translation' (a calque from, e.g. the French *traduction indirecte*). The same can be said about native-speakers of English. Native speakers of Germanic languages, in turn, started by opting for 'second-hand translation' (after *Übersetzung aus zweiter Hand*) but nowadays do not seem to show any clear preference
- initially the term 'second-hand translation' tended to be considered as a synonym of 'indirect translation' (Kittel and Frank 1991: 3); nowadays the former is more often used as a hyponym of the latter (co-hyponyms being third, fourth-hand translation, etc.).

Studies that are restrictive in defining this concept - deliberately or de facto excluding backtranslation, intralingual (St. André 2009) or intersemiotic translation - have been criticised for falling short of accounting for real-life situations. On the other hand, radically inclusive definitions (Gambier 1994) may lead to the questioning of the existence of indirect translation as an autonomous concept. Whether and where exactly indirect translation ends is thus one of the most important questions that this concept provokes.

5. Retranslation

Retranslation is both product and process:

> (as a product) [it] 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. (Koskinen and Paloposki 2010: 294)

It has been defined as "traduction de traduction" or as "une nouvelle traduction, dans une même langue, d'un texte déjà traduit, en entier ou en partie" (Gambier 1994: 413), and it thus shows overlaps or close relations to indirect translation and also to revision, reedition, reprint, adaptation, or back-translation.

The special research project on the history of literary translation based in Göttingen University was probably the first to address retranslation. Source texts subject to several retranslations were identified and named 'comets'; their retranslations were by analogy called 'comet's tail' or 'retranslation series' and subject to study. Recently, the interest in retranslation has reemerged in publications such as Monti and Schnyder (2011), Deane-Cox (2014) or Alvstad and Assis Rosa (2015).

Alvstad and Assis Rosa (2015) systematize criteria relevant to subcategorize retranslation, such as the number of mediating texts (single vs. compilative); the languages involved (interlingual vs. intralingual); the importance of mediating texts and the frequency of use (primary vs. secondary mediating texts; permanent vs. occasional use); peritextual information (overt vs. covert retranslation); the relation to preexisting mediating texts (assimilative vs. confrontational); competition for the same audience (active vs. passive); the time lapse between the publication of the source text, preexisting translation(s) and the retranslation (hot vs. cold); and retranslator status (single vs. team retranslator; hetero- vs. self-retranslator; frequent vs. one-time retranslator).

It is mostly the canonized classics of fiction that tend to be retranslated, although this phenomenon is shared by many other literary and non-literary genres, e.g. the *Bible*. Motives for retranslation tend to be interrelated (Pym 1998, a.o.) and among the most often cited are an aged or flawed first translation, the wish to supersede a previous version, a different function, editorial, economic, ideological or political reasons. Recovering Berman (1990), the retranslation hypothesis suggests first translations tend to be target-oriented and retranslations tend to be (more) source-oriented (Chesterman 2000). Several studies have put this hypothesis to the test without reaching a unanimous conclusion.

6. Non-translation

The term 'non-translation' has been used to denote both textual and cultural phenomena. As a textual phenomenon, non-translation has been defined mainly as: (a) a body of texts in the target language on a similar topic as the translation (also called 'parallel texts' or 'originals') (Pym 2011: 86), such as non-translated texts included in comparable *corpora* for the purpose of performing comparative studies of textual regularities displayed by translated and non-translated texts; (b) the non-replacement of a source text item by a corresponding item in the target text, regardless of whether it is compensated for elsewhere (also called 'zero-translation' or 'omission'), such as the omission of excerpts due to censorship; (c) preservation of an unchanged source-text item in the target text, mainly to fill a gap in the target language or to add 'local colour' to the target text (also called 'repetition', 'borrowing' or 'code-switching'), such as cases where an expression in the source language is used in the target text (Duarte 2000: 96–97).

As a cultural phenomenon, non-translation has been typically understood as an absence/scarcity of translations from a given source culture in a target culture, for reasons to do with censorship, cultural distance, linguistic proximity, 'ideological embargo', etc. (Duarte 2000; Koster 2010). Duarte (2000: 101) mentions the case of an embargo on the translation of Shakespeare in Portugal for a ten-year period following 1890, as a reaction by the civil society regarding what was called the British Ultimatum.

The approach to non-translation mentioned in (a) is typically linked to corpus-based translation studies, where translations into a language are compared with non-translated texts in the same language. Attitudes mentioned in (b) and (c) are mainly found in descriptive linguistic research into translation. For its part, the consideration of non-translation as a cultural phenomenon only became viable within the target-oriented frame of reference to the study of translation, which made it possible to do translation studies without the existence of a target text.

All these adjacent concepts have in common the questioning of binarism in the study and discourse of translation.

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CHAPTER 1.8

Expansions

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Keywords: cross-disciplinary uses of translation, medical knowledge translation, cultural translation

"Translation" has emerged in the previous decades as a key word in disciplines such as history, anthropology and science and technology studies (STS). Moreover, from around 2000 it has become institutionalised in medicine, leading to the development of so-called knowledge translation (KT). While the turn to translation in the humanities could be seen as an index of contemporary epistemological predicaments and the almost obligatory requirement to cross disciplinary and cultural boundaries in a 'global age', medical translation is of a different nature. KT denotes a scientific and purportedly non-cultural practice that defines cultural difference as a "barrier" to the transmission of medical science. In contrast, STS have celebrated the productivity of translation as the condition of possibility for science and society. In the following we will map some salient traits of the current expansions of translation beyond the linguistic.

1. Expanding translation

We should first note that current expansions of translation could be seen as a return to older notions. "Translatio" and "transferre" are Latin translations of the Greek "metaphora" and "metaphero"; the name of the trope thus refers to the act of carrying something across a boundary, without specifying the nature of the transferred object as linguistic (Cheyfitz 1997: 35). Taken literally "translation" simply implies that a boundary is crossed by some agent carrying some (undefined) thing. Premodern notions of translation accordingly encompassed boundary crossings such as the *translatio* of Saints (referring both to the ritual transfer of holy bodies and the texts documenting them), and the *translatio studii et imperii* (the transference of power/knowledge from old to new empires) (Evans 1998). See Chapter 2.6 in this volume.

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Consequently, current expansions of translation from the literary and linguistic could be regarded as a return to broader material and cultural conceptualisations (Evans 1998). Moreover, it is also possible to identify a persistent presence of literary figurations of translation – a topological constants of translation that "remain invariant when that figure [translation] is bent out of shape" (Steiner 1975: 448–9) – in contemporary expansions.

2. Translating medicine

KT is a case in point. It refers to a set of research activities with the common goal of "bridging the gap" between science and clinical application. This is construed as a chain involving distinct stages of knowledge production and translation that transports knowledge produced in laboratories into scientifically warranted health-care across the globe (Greenhalgh 2011; Straus et al 2009).

KT is based on an uncritical transfer of an ideology that sees translation as a practice aiming at equivalences between a source text (ST) and a target text (TT), as governed by the norm of fidelity to the source – and it construes the translator's work as "invisible" (Venuti 2008) or "ancillary" (Berman 1984). Moreover, KT combines notions from aesthetic romanticism (translation is the art of "carrying across" the genius of the original masterpiece), and an unquestioned enlightenment model of knowledge dissemination (knowledge should trickle down from "elite" theory into medical practice). All translational shifts are unwarranted, since knowledge has already reached its culmination in the scientific ST. Nevertheless, KT implicates various vernacular texts at different stages in the process; ending in clinical guidelines which prescribe correct interventions in particular cases. These different TT's relate to the ST (scientific knowledge) as what J. Derrida calls a "double supplement" – a textual addition that both *adds to* and *compensates for* an inherent lack of unequivocal meaning in the ST (Derrida 1998: 144–145). Similarly, the *textual supplements* that disseminates the scientific message outside the scientific community aim to compensate for a lack of knowledge (among clinicians and patients), and demonstrate that a concern with different target cultures is inevitable even in "autonomous" science.

3. Translating history and anthropology

Aspects of the turn to translation in history could likewise be regarded as a reworking of topological constants. P. Burke, for instance, assimilated the task of the historian to that of the translator:

> If the past is a foreign country, it follows that even the most monoglot of historians is a translator. Historians mediate between the past and the present and face the same dilemma as other translators, serving two masters and attempting to reconcile fidelity to the original with intelligibility to their readers. (Burke 2007: 7)

Clearly this is a transfer of Schleiermacher's dilemma (the translator is a servant vacillating between two masters) to history; the past serves as the ST that the historian turns into a TT addressed to a present target audience. However, this analogy between translation and history also rest upon a notion of "culture" taken from the anthropology of Evans-Pritchard: '"cultural translation" was originally coined by anthropologists […] to describe what happened in cultural encounters when each side tries to make sense of […] the other" (ibid: 8). The relation to contemporary cultural difference in anthropology is thus a model for the historian's relation to the past. We observe that cultural translation here is assumed to take place in-between bounded cultural entities (tribes, nations, and periods). Essentially, it is the concept of cultural difference that creates the need for translation in history, for translation is only needed when the past is seen as "foreign country" with its own cultural scheme – not an earlier version of our own.

Debates about relativism and the commensurability of knowledge claims from different cultures and historical periods have been labeled under the term "translation" at least from the 1930'es (Tambiah 1990). Many such inquiries have taken – precisely – such bounded notions of cultures, or some similar notion such as "paradigm" (Kuhn) or "episteme" (Foucault), as the point of departure for reflection upon translatability and so-called *radical translation*, situations of (presumed) *first contact* where there are no manuals of translation (dictionaries, grammars) available. Often such theorizing uses anecdotal ethnographical evidence about "first contact", and assumes that bounded eighteenth century constructs like national languages and cultures are applicable to all history. Such assumptions have been discredited in recent theory and history (Bauman & Briggs 2003; Hacking 2002).

4. Material translation and the commensurability of knowledge

The expansions sketched above mainly limit translation to the domain of language and concepts. Recent trends in STS and actor-network theory (ANT) aim to incorporate material and natural actors in the analysis of translation. B. Latour regards all knowledge as a product of translation – seen as an ontologically inclusive network assembling humans and non-humans actors. This expansion is conceived as a critique of the dominance of textual models in the humanities. Actually, the whole idea of representation has been problematized by ANT and the so-called ontological turn in anthropology. The concern with representation that characterized the critique of representation is regarded as reproducing the asymmetrical notion of *many cultures* that offers divergent representations of the *universal nature* described and warranted by Western science, which thus offers an ethnocentric yardstick for translation.

Latour presents a pragmatic solution to the problem of relativism by asserting that knowledge and culture have always been translated. Translation is always undertaken with reference to yardsticks that do not belong to the 'nature' of things, but to the instruments of commensuration. Since "[n]othing is, by itself, either reducible or irreducible to anything else", but always requires "the mediation of another", how can one then "claim that worlds are untranslatable, when translation is the very soul of the process of relating?" In practice the problems of commensurability that have worried philosophers and anthropologist are solved. The task is consequently to identify empirically what instruments of commensuration are at work in particular acts of translation (Latour 1993: 113). For Latour this will also imply both human and non-human actors.

R. Baumann and C. Briggs counters that Latour has "left out two of the key constructs that make modernity work and make it precarious!", namely language and tradition. Locke's *Treaties of Government* serves as an example. Locke here describes three 'great provinces' that have to be kept separate in order to make objective claims about the world: Things (nature), actions (society) – and signs (Baumann & Briggs 2003). Hence, they aim to supplement Latour's approach with more nuanced notions of the role of textual translation in the construction of otherness. In this they converge with recent scholarship on "cultural grids" in translation studies.

5. Converging translations

Our initial example, KT, underscores the necessity of incorporating texts, things and cultural schemes in the analysis. KT plays a dominant role in hegemonic discourses of global health, and it involves the transfer of things and texts across innumerable socio-cultural sites, to target human bodies. This example therefore demonstrates the importance of scrutinizing the interrelations between material, cultural and textual models of translation. In such a scrutiny recent scholarship in translation studies "proper" should have an important place. Scholarship here has emphasized that translations always imply semantic shifts, and must be "rewritten in domestic dialects and discourses, registers and styles" (Venuti 2008). Moreover, the importance of cultural factors has been underscored. André Lefevere, for instance, maintained that problems in translation are not primarily of a linguistic nature. Rather, questions of translatability have more to do with cultural factors, what he refers to as "discrepancies in the conceptual and textual grids', than with 'discrepancies in languages" (Lefevere 1999). Interpreting the phrase "once upon a time" as different from "a long time ago," for instance, requires knowledge of discursive genres. Such cultural and textual framings cannot be read out of the sentence as mere linguistic data. Linguistic translation, then, also has to account for cultural factors, like metadiscursive practices, and different styles of reasoning.

With this in mind, we can also identify a certain convergence between the perspectives of Burke (above) and Lefevere. An object of interdisciplinary inquiry (translation) emerging at the intersection of language and culture:

How is it possible to be able to translate every word in a text from an alien (or even half-alien) culture, yet to have difficulty in understanding the text? Because […] there is a difference in mentality, in other words different assumptions, different perceptions, and a different "logic" – at least in the philosophically loose sense of different criteria for justifying assertions – reason, authority, experience and so on (Burke 1997: 165).

Even after the linguistic work has been completed, difficulties of interpretation remain. This it is an indication of possible differences in "culture". Here an object of investigation emerges with the need of a supplementary act of translation, when understating fails to come through "mere" linguistic analysis.

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CHAPTER 1.9

Semiotics

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Keywords: C. S. Peirce, interpretive semiotics, intersemiotic translation, notion of translation, equivalence

Early modern research into translation and translating looked with great interest at the theory of signs initiated by C. S. Peirce – known as interpretive semiotics – as it tried to define its scope, theoretical references, and research agenda. Interpretive semiotics is one of the two main semiotic traditions emerged in the 20th century. The other, initiated by Ferdinand de Saussure and often referred to as *sémiologie* or 'structural semiotics' will not be covered in the present entry.

Roman Jakobson's 1959 essay, which would become a cornerstone in translation studies literature, styled Peirce "the deepest inquirer into the essence of signs" (Jakobson 1959: 233). In it, Jakobson investigated aspects of language and language use drawing on Peirce's notion of the translatability of all signs into other signs. Thus, he wrote: "equivalence in difference", which he exemplified using translation, "is the cardinal problem of language and the pivotal concern of linguistics" (Ibid.). The three classes of translation proposed in the paper – intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic – have been reprised by countless scholars. Semiotically-inclined authors have adopted a critical stance. In the late Seventies, Lawendowski argued that if there was 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). Later, Gideon Toury (1986) proposed an alternative classification based on the more fundamental distinction between intrasemiotic and intersemiotic translation. Although Toury's argument did not move explicitly from Peirce's semiotics, it did stress the semiotic nature of the act of translating. See Queiroz and Aguiar (2015) for a recent discussion.

Peirce's semiotics questions the field's traditional focus on verbal texts – oral or written – across natural-language barriers. Once adopted as a theoretical framework, it also encourages an inter-disciplinary agenda (cf. Kourdis 2015). Several

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authors have followed this path. Deledalle-Rhodes, for instance, argued 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). On genuinely intersemiotic translation, see also Petrilli (2003), Hartama-Heinonen (2012) and contributions to Fontanille, Sonzogni and Troque (2016). Because semiotics is not centred on verbal language, semiotic approaches can better equip scholars to respond to the increasing interest in nonverbal signs both in the discipline and the profession. In general, adopting a semiotic outlook advances the idea that translating is not something we do only with words, but to words *and* to other signs as well.

But broadening the scope of translation raises fresh questions. If the outer boundary is to be moved beyond words, how far does it go? The danger is setting the notion of translation adrift and, as noted by Chesterman (1997), claim that all writing is translating – one of his so-called supermemes. This is embarrassing, because if everything is translation, nothing is. Eco proposed a quick solution. Discussing Peirce's theory of interpretation, he wrote: "if a translation is certainly an interpretation, not always an interpretation is a translation" (Eco 2003: 87; my translation). Early contributions to translation semiotics saw the fundamental problem hidden in this debate. How can one delimit the notion of translation in general and – a neighbouring but distinct question – identify the object of translation research? Ludskanov posed the issue in stark terms: "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). To this day, the issue is far from settled.

How can one tell translation apart from other forms of sign production and re-production? A supposedly universal differentia specifica for the notion of translation clashes with the observed variability of the concepts of translation through space and time. This tradition, as old as Aristotle, would look for translation as a species of a broader genus. Peirce's views on categorisation – in particular, his existential categories (cf. Peirce 1992–1998: I, 1–10 and I, 160–178) – are a radical departure from it and can help us look at the issue from a different angle. What is the ontological status of the notion of translation? What is its outer boundary made of? Stecconi argued that a general description of translation must include three existential conditions: similarity, difference and mediation (cf. Stecconi 2004; 2009). However, when actual translations do see the light of day, they respond to historically determined norms. Therefore, one has to look at three levels at once to tell a translation from a nontranslation: existential conditions for the notion, actual translation projects and texts (verbal or nonverbal), and socio-cultural norms.

Finally, semiotics has helped translation scholars tackle what is perhaps the single most debated topic in the literature – equivalence. Among the earliest attempts, 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. Peirce 1931–1958 volume 2, paragraphs 227–272). Later research has drawn on Peirce's views on interpretation and meaning-making, which is 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 1994: 179–195). The main implication is that equivalence between a sign in the source environment and another in the target environment is not a fact of life, but is established by translators (for a fuller treatment of equivalence and inference, see Stecconi 2010). Describing translating as a necessarily inferential form of sign-action brings to the fore translators' creativity and agency.

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CHAPTER 1.10

Rhetoric

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Keywords: Cicero, Jerome, figures of speech, canons of rhetoric, contrastive rhetoric

The earliest extant statement about translation in the west is a passage from a treatise Cicero wrote in 46 BCE to clarify his views on good and proper rhetorical style. The text was a preface to his translation into Latin of two Greek speeches, which has not reached us. Cicero explained how he translated them as follows:

> […] I did not translate them as a translator but as an orator, keeping the same sentences with their forms and figures, but using a language that would correspond to our usage. And in so doing, I did not consider I had to render word for word, but I preserved the character and force of the language. For I did not think I ought to count the words out one by one to the reader, but give him an equivalent in weight, as it were. (Cicero, *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*, V.14, my translation).

Cicero used this exercise in translation to show to his readers what a speech in Latin should be like if it were to have the same impact as the best Greek speeches in the Atticist style (Copeland 1991: 9–36). To specify what 'translating as an orator' means, Cicero wrote that he paid attention to the audience, to figures of speech, and to the expressive power of the text. In contrast, he made scant reference to the reproduction of the formal features of the original texts in Greek. In the final sentence of the passage quoted above, he used a market-place figure of speech to sum up his position. The goods that get traded in translation were described as something like wheat, which you must weigh on a scale (*appendere*), rather than something like figs, which you can count out (*adnumerare*).

Cicero's views have been vastly influential through the centuries. Horace reprised them in his *Ars Poetica* of 19 BCE ("*nec verbum verbo curabit reddere fidus / interpres*", lines 133–134). In his letter to Pammachius of 395 CE, St. Jerome quoted Cicero's passage and described his translation method as "*non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu*" (epistula LVII, Chapter V). Although these statements

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look very similar to each other, it is important to put them in their respective contexts. Cicero's and Horace's readers could read Greek; so, for them the point of translating was to improve Latin language and style through imitation (cf. Rhodes 2013, esp. pp. 278 ff.). Jerome, who had revised the scriptures of Latin-speaking Christians on a commission by Pope Damasus, used Cicero's authority to defend the method he had followed in his difficult task. Today we often assume that translators make texts available to target audiences that would not be able to access them otherwise. For us, 'sense for sense and word for word' has totally different implications.

In Europe's early centres of learning, rhetoric remained contiguous to translating with a similar goal of improving the style of target languages. For instance, Duranti writes of the first translations into Italian vernaculars "towards the middle of the thirteen century in the Law Schools in Bologna and Florence, where it was felt that the application of classical rhetoric to a vernacular context required a close patterning of the style of the Latin models" (1998: 475). Cicero was translated "with the obvious intent of raising the quality of the vernacular through a kind of mirror effect" (Ibid.). Probably because of this association of rhetoric with good writing, of the five canons of rhetoric (of which, more below) *elocutio* associated with style has attracted a disproportionate amount of interest through the centuries. Barthes (1994/1970) notes that rhetoric ended up being identified with it; in fact, with endless catalogues of figures, which however have no explanatory power. The structural explanation of this fact advanced by the French author is the irresistible but fruitless effort to classify *parole* which, unlike *langue*, cannot be codified.

For about 18 centuries rhetoric remained the applied science of language and language use – so to speak. It was a "body of principles and procedures which were arranged in a system so as to cover all the steps of the process of translating" (Rener 1989: 8). Today, rhetoric can still provide a heuristic toolbox that translators can use to interpret the original text in the source environment and produce a new text for target audiences. The so-called five canons of rhetoric are perhaps the most useful tools in the toolbox. These are *inventio*, the discovery of the arguments that would go into the new text; *dispositio*, the arrangement and structuring of the material selected; *elocutio*, the verbal composition of the text; *memoria*, because ancient speakers would not read in public from a written text; and finally *actio* or *pronuntiatio*, which deal with the actual delivery of the speech.

The first three items in the list are especially suitable to translation scholars and practictioners. For instance, *inventio* or 'finding' is the stage in which one looks for the things to say in the new text. Translators look for the 'things to say' in the original text and its relevant context, whereas non-translators have broader boundaries (Stecconi 1991). However, neither *invents* them from scratch. In other words, the rhetorical tradition tells us that translating is more creative than we normally assume and writing less so (Moreno Hernández 2010). *Inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* have practical applications as well. Together, they provide a method to guide us in the analysis of the original text and in the production of a stable interpretation of it. They can also help us compose the new text in the target environment (Chico Rico 2009).

A modern offshoot of the rhetorical tradition – Contrastive Rhetoric – can help us mediate between different languages and cultures. Contrastive Rhetoric's original research agenda (cf. Kaplan 1966, where the term was coined) was set to investigate what one would call interference effects in second-language writing and moved from the insight that rhetorical conventions are culture-specific. More recently, Connor has proposed to link the field explicitly to Translation Studies (Connor 1996: 117–127). A few translation scholars have followed this lead. Beeby (2003) applied it to reverse translation – a form of second-language writing. Colina (1997) looked into the potential gains of applying the insights and methods of contrastive rhetoric to the teaching of translation. From a broader perspective, Chesterman (1998) used Contrastive Rhetoric as an extension of his work in contrastive methodology. Practitioners, teachers and scholars would benefit from the insight that the semiotic behaviour of different communities is guided by different rhetorical habits.

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PART 2

Mapping knowledge

CHAPTER 2.0

Introduction

Mapping or organizing knowledge is a process that is inextricably linked with the phase of gathering. This part puts a focus on a set of contextual factors that help but also condition the shaping of information on translation. Knowledge indeed remains an abstract given as long as it ignores the material facilities and constraints that enable and control the production and distribution of translations. The first material factor that comes to mind is no doubt script, later on print: books are translated, copied, printed and reprinted for audiences, depending on decisions made by authorities, publishers and indirectly also by readers.

Knowledge about the role of book history and readership in the making and reception of translations is rather recent. It has been relayed by the rapidly growing insights in the many successive technologies up to Cloud technologies that have affected the making of translation, the way it is organized, e.g. as a collaborative volunteer activity or a project management by a large multilingual team, as well as the intermingled profiles of the translator, the developer and the user. These evolutions have modified the very notions of 'text' and 'translation', up to replacing them by digital 'content' and adaptation for other 'locales'. Nowadays, textual objects embrace many forms and contents. The latter condition the way knowledge on translation spreads in social, cultural and academic life, that is itself networked and globalized through the Internet.

In addition to the technological evolutions that have reshuffled the traditional communication pattern of translation (based on the interaction between agents, texts and users), this part considers some of the ways by which knowledge on translation has been organized and channelled. Bibliometric tools draw charts of translation flows and are of help to book historians and cultural historians. They also apply to publications on translation flows: citation analysis, content analysis, network analysis, and diachronic analysis have become indispensable instruments to map the content and evolution, relations and impact of scholarly output on translation. Such tools are a resource for historians of knowledge. As a token of the growing scientification of translation studies paralleling other fields of scholarly investigation, they also become an instrument for academic policy makers.

Another way to reconstruct the mapping of the field of translation knowledge is to look at the network of relations between agents (translators, researchers, publishers) and organizations (associations, research departments, meetings

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and conferences) that are in charge of producing and transferring knowledge on translation on local, national or international levels. Knowledge being embodied in verbal constructs (articles, treaties, case studies, essays, etc.), it also moves between those constructs or between phases of thinking (from a single concept to a full-fledged theory) or between levels or kinds of thinking (from a theory-oriented to an applied-oriented kind, or vice versa).

Finally, the history of recent translation studies witnesses several attempts to account for major changes occurring in the entire discipline translation studies since the 1970s. These changes have been labelled 'turns' (cultural turn, empirical turn, sociological turn, etc.). They are less radical than the binary shift that mainstream history of translation theorizing has operated between pre-scientific and scientific phases of translation knowledge. Both recall the older debate on the relations between change and continuity: what is the scope, intensity and duration of change? Conversely, what are the invariants in the history of translation knowledge?

CHAPTER 2.1

Print history

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Keywords: print history, book history, authorship, readership, translation

Modern print (or book) history has been defined as "the social and cultural history of communication by print" (Darnton 1982: 65). According to this definition, the discipline covers not only the various sectors of book production but also the entire channel of communication that connects authors, publishers and readers. The inclusion of print history into translation studies is a rather recent phenomenon. The way for this cooperation was paved by the so-called 'Manipulation School', named after the volume *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation* (1985), edited by Theo Hermans. Scholars around the editor and André Lefevere focussed on the factors, agents and institutions which – together with the translator's personality, his or her knowledge, ideology, and linguistic competence – exert an influence on the target text (sometimes these factors are called target culture constraints). According to this approach, the translated text cannot be adequately interpreted without taking into account its context, and particularly the conditions and circumstances of its production. Moreover, it is taken for granted that translations will always deviate from the source texts; they are considered as a form of rewriting or refraction ('manipulation') of the source text which implies a compromise between the claim to remain 'true' to the source text and the demands and interests of the audience, patrons, publishers, media, and critics in the target culture.

If we acknowledge its preparatory role for the introduction of such ideas in the study of translation we must not forget, though, that the 'Manipulation School' concentrated on *cultural* factors and hardly ever regarded translations as material objects and commodities produced for the market-place. On the contrary, print history focuses on the pragmatic and economic aspects of book production. From this perspective, to give an example, it seems obvious that not only the outer appearance of a translation but also the selection of source texts and even the strategies of rendering them for a certain audience are in general dependent on decisions made by publishers and their readers or editors (cf. Bachleitner 2009).

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Another discipline which has strongly encouraged the interest of translation studies in book history is the sociology of literature. Recent theories in this field regard literatures as ‘systems’ (Niklas Luhmann) or ‘fields’ (Pierre Bourdieu) in which the ‘agents’ strive for the dominant positions by distinguishing themselves from their competitors. The position in a literary field depends mainly on literary merit, i.e. an innovative style of writing which grants ‘symbolic capital’ among the small circle of specialists. According to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, this struggle for certain positions takes place between the pole of artistic autonomy and the pole of commercial success (Bourdieu 1992). A number of agents are involved in this complex negotiation of (self-)definition, evaluation, and positioning – among them, in the case of translations, translators and their publishers who play a principal role (cf. Bourdieu 2002 and Bachleitner/Wolf 2010).

1. Early modern print history (ca. 1450–1750)

Gutenberg’s invention of printing with movable metal type around 1450 was – according to Elizabeth L. Eisenstein’s title (Eisenstein 1979) – a real ‘agent of change’. Already at the end of the 15th century, print had spread all over Western Europe from Stockholm to Sicily and from Lisbon to Vienna. We should not forget, though, that manuscripts were still playing an important role in the production and distribution of knowledge throughout the 16th century when print finally “achieved primacy over oral and scribal culture” (Love 2006: 74). Printing shops and publishing houses were established in centres of international trade, near universities and in seats of courts and ecclesiastical administrations that were also their principal customers. In the early printing industry the gain of prestige and social status was at least as important as monetary profit. On the other hand, the publishers selected the texts they considered attractive for the reading public and provided the capital necessary for the book production – the trade thus appears as an archetype of capitalist enterprise. The average edition of a book printed in the 15th century amounted to a few hundred copies. At the end of the century, the average print-run rose to some 1000 to 1500 copies and stabilised at this level until the 18th century (Febvre/Martin 1958: 327–334).

The bulk of early book production was dedicated to religion (the Bible, books of devotion, prayer books, etc.), with secular scientific writing representing a minor but growing sector; literature in the restricted sense of *belles lettres* remained a minor genre on the book market too. In Catholic areas, until the 18th century, most books were written in Latin, whereas in Protestant countries such as in the Scandinavian and many German states the vernacular became the dominant language in print production rather early. The change from Latin to vernacular implied the necessity of intense translation activities. William Caxton, the pioneer of printing in the British Isles, may be mentioned here since he also was a most important translator and promoter of the vernacular (cf. Hellinga/Trapp 1999: 3–4).

Next to the Bible, the early 'best-sellers' included Thomas a Kempis' *De imitatione Christi* and Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. Famously, Humanism and Protestantism owed a great deal of their success to the multiplication of their ideas by the printing press. Leading publications in this field were Erasmus's *Adagia* and Luther's version of the Bible which appeared in 430 editions during his lifetime. Another example is the introduction of Italian Renaissance literature in the German-speaking area by such important mediators as the translators Niclas von Wyle, Heinrich Steinhöwel and Albrecht von Eyb (cf. Noe 1993). Religious controversy and the pursuit of 'heresy' made the churches and governments introduce a rigorous system of censorship. It goes without saying that translations were subject to severe control, too.

Early books or 'incunabula' resembled manuscripts in many details. But gradually print aimed at serving the convenience of the reader through new additional devices. These devices included title pages, larger spaces between the lines that enabled faster and more convenient reading, graduated types, running heads and footnotes which gave the text structure, tables of contents, indexes and pagination that guaranteed easy access to the contents, accurate citation and intra- or intertextual cross references. Moreover, illustrations, maps, diagrams, and tables could be easily inserted into a printed book.

The shift from script to print had another important consequence: whereas a text copied by scribes inevitably changed with every new copy (from a modern point of view we might call this corruption of the text), printing rendered possible the multiplication of identical copies. Nevertheless, printing implied the production of different editions of a successful book which eventually included emendations, notions which were non-existent so far. The uniformity of print products encouraged the rise of genres such as calendars, dictionaries, periodicals, encyclopedias and all sorts of reference guides. The fact that texts became fixed is also important for translation: for the first time the wording of the source text and the target text could be compared with each other on a reliable basis – henceforward, a translation could be criticised and eventually replaced by a new and better one.

Parallel to the fixing of the shape of texts, printing supported the idea of individual authorship and copyright. Publishers tried to identify and to advertise their products by putting authors' names on the title pages and to reserve the copyright. Since the 16th century rulers or government authorities granted privileges for the exclusive reproduction of books, in the course of the 18th century the author's right to benefit from his or her writing was guaranteed by law. At the same time 'pirate' reprints of books were banned. The idea of intellectual property and the aesthetics of the original genius who produces unique and innovative works demanded an end to free copying and rewriting of books. The struggle between possessive individualism and the right of the society to books that were as cheap as possible ended with a compromise. Apart from singular endeavours, translations were not included in early copyright, every publisher could start a translation project without paying any royalties to the original author and publisher or taking heed of already existing translations.

Fees and royalties for authors and translators were gradually introduced in the book trade and in the 18th century professional authorship was firmly established. Hence, a growing number of women writers and translators grasped the opportunity to earn themselves a living (see Bachleitner 2013). The production of literature became independent from the patronage of princes, bishops, aristocrats or rich merchants who had used the demonstration of their involvement in the creation and diffusion of arts and sciences for the accumulation of personal prestige. "About the middle of the [18th] century, the dedication for monetary reward died out and was replaced by the genuinely respectful or genuinely affectionate inscription which it has remained." (Steinberg 1996: 109) The fact that the emerging class of authors, translators and journalists that was called 'intellectual proletariat' by 18th century critics could earn a living by writing was the condition for literary mass production. The dependence on the market led authors into the bondage of the reading public as the new 'patron'.

In proportion to the increase in number of authors, readership enlarged too, but we should not over-estimate its increase. During the first three centuries of print the reading public comprised almost exclusively churchmen, academics and parts of the gentry and bourgeoisie – only the learned and some well-to-do citizens bought and read books. This applies as well to the reading of vernacular texts: translations from classical languages were read mainly by the educated classes. Very often the translations were used by tutors, preachers, or chaplains in order to transfer knowledge to the illiterate. Thus, the power of print was not limited to the literate, "many unlettered persons could listen to a single reader." (Suarez 2009: 1) We should also distinguish between the translations into French which addressed a European readership from translations into languages with a more limited impact.

After the advent of print the social spectrum of readers widened especially within the urban population, in the rural areas habitual reading was introduced in the course of 18th century Enlightenment. Book genres for use in daily life and entertainment such as almanacs, ballads and chapbooks, periodicals and books useful for household, husbandry, and the regulation of behaviour were widely distributed; the same applies to reading matter especially designed for women and children such as conduct books for young ladies or ABC books. The traditional folio format became reserved for scholarly and reference works to be collected in libraries; religious and popular books addressing a wide reading public used smaller and easier-to-handle formats. By and by, silent and solitary reading became the norm. At the same time, a tendency to create a new private sphere in which the individual could seek refuge from the community came to the fore.

On the one hand, the growth of the reading public deepened national frontiers in the republic of letters. The more the circle of readers widened, the less authors and publishers could rely on Latin as the main vehicle of communication. In spite of the counter-reformation which encouraged a late boom of neo-Latin printing and impeded the process of vernacularization, the quota of Latin books receded. Print caused intellectual fragmentation by encouraging the emergence of national literary cultures. Within a certain language area type-setters homogenised all parameters of the vernacular such as vocabulary, grammar, and orthography (for instance in the areas that later became Germany and Italy). Searching to address the widest possible reading public, translation contributed to this development. Thus, print culture fixed national languages; 'minor' languages such as Irish or Provençal with a comparatively small readership disappeared from the market due to their limited potential of distribution.

On the other hand, by intensifying the exchange of ideas subsequent to its sheer output and its traditional international orientation the 'Gutenberg galaxy' strengthened the ties within the intellectual European commonwealth. The standardization of type design – the Roman type was used for classical and humanist texts throughout Europe – was a major step towards a common communications system. At the same time, translation, as the most powerful instrument to compensate for linguistic fragmentation, gained utmost importance. As soon as the vernacular took the lead on the book market, translations between the new national idioms provided the main 'bridges' in a communications system that had become much more complex than in the pre-print era.

2. The development from the late 18th to the 21st century

Innovations and changes were scarce in the period between the advent of print and the 18th century. Things changed in the late 18th and early 19th century when important technical innovations enabled an increase of book production and trade that made scholars speak of a second revolution of the book. In 1798, the mechanical manufacture of paper started; in 1801 lithography, a new technique of reproducing illustrations that yielded high quality, was invented; in 1811, Friedrich König's printing machine that replaced man-power with steam-power was introduced in the trade; followed in 1848 by the rotary press, that was able to print 8000 sheets per hour. At the end of the 19th century, the linotype and monotype machines considerably accelerated composition. In the 20th century, and especially in the decades after the Second World War, the pace of innovation quickened further. The offset litho system used film which was directly exposed on the printing plate; in the later 20th century, it was replaced by phototypesetting and finally by digital or computer-assisted composition.

As early as the 19th century, Latin had irrevocably become a 'dead' language used only by a minority of scholars and in the Catholic church. The various fields of science replaced theology and religious writing on the book market. Hence, reading served mainly as a means of secular education and entertainment. Due to compulsory school attendance, literacy was constantly on the rise, and the mode of reading changed from intensive to extensive reading, i.e. from the repeated reading of the same (religious, classical) texts to one-time reading of ever new works. In some countries, by the end of the 19th century, the rate of literacy reached the mark of 90 or even 100 per cent among the urban population; the countryside still lagged behind.

Successful 19th century popular genres were the novel, the comedy, and a plethora of different kinds of periodicals – all of these genres obviously had a wide international appeal and therefore a high potential of being translated. First editions of conventional literature were still expensive, but from the early 19th century on cheap editions were produced on a large scale, in other words: "different price structures" emerged (McKitterick 2009: 6). The delivery of long novels or encyclopedias in series of small instalments addressed the financially weaker classes of readers. Those who could not afford to buy books at all could still be sure that there was a circulating library which made reading matter available to them. Book-shops in railway-stations and ware-houses addressed a readership that was not wont to visit regular book-shops. Publication of novels and stories in the feuilleton of newspapers and distribution by hawkers served the same purpose.

Most national literatures – with the exception only of English and French literature – depended on importation of attractive popular reading matter from abroad. Thus, in Germany, from the 1820s onward, publishing houses slandered by critics as 'translation factories' produced cheap translations of English and French fiction for a widening public eager to read the latest novels by Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Cooper, Dickens or Dumas, Sue and George Sand. The extent of this literary transfer may be illustrated by the fact that in 1850 every second new novel published in the German states was a translation (Bachleitner 2009: 425). The implementation of copyright and legislation against competing translations of the same text in certain target languages put an end to this free play of demand and supply which was accompanied by a constant lowering of book prices. To give an example, bilateral international agreements between the majority of the German states, the United Kingdom and France, respectively, were signed in the 1840s and in the 1850s.

These agreements included paragraphs which secured authors and publishers of the source text the right to authorise translations and safeguarded the publishers of the translation against competing translations of the same source text for ten years. The first multi-lateral treaty with a great impact on international publishing was the Berne convention of 1886 which provided a homogeneous regulation of the literary exchange between most of the European countries – the USA and some other countries such as the Austro-Hungarian monarchy signed this convention only much later.

The reading of fiction was severely criticised by members of the churches and secular pedagogues as evasion from work or other useful occupation. In fiction and in non-fiction unorthodox views in political or religious questions were censored in most European countries during the 'long' 19th century. In Germany, critics denounced the craze for foreign fiction (mainly translations from the French and English) as anti-national behaviour of the reading public. Another reaction to the mass book market was instigated in England by William Morris at the fin-de-siècle: he suggested the return to handicraft book production with superior quality paper, typography, and illustration for a minority of bibliophile readers. In spite of such deviations the cheap book continued to gain ground and finally took over in the middle of the 20th century with the breakthrough of the paperback.

Apart from the commercial book market, official presses run by governments or universities emerged. Political parties and churches established publishing houses and individual networks of distribution including libraries and book clubs which pursued the aim of distributing certain ideologies rather than financial profit. In the commercial sector of the publishing business in the second half of the 20th century economic concentration led to the dominance of a handful of large multinational groups of companies. These large-scale publishers monopolise the market of best- and long-sellers, whereas small publishing houses disappear or concentrate on certain 'niches' in the book market. The same applies to the translation market: a few big publishing houses can afford to acquire the rights for the translation of a best-seller that is in most cases translated from the (American) English, the small publishing companies specialise in translating artistically advanced works from literatures written in 'small' or 'exotic' languages. The big publishing houses send out scouts in order to find new talents who have published books that promise some success in the target culture. The licenses for commercial translations are rarely sold by exclusive contacts between two publishers but rather at book fairs where the publishing house of the source text may auction off the translation rights to the publisher who bids the highest price for the translation rights. If we apply the distinction established by Bourdieu we might say that the first group of publishers positions itself at the commercial pole of the literary field, the second one at the autonomous pole.

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CHAPTER 2.2

Technology

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Keywords: digital, technology, knowledge, translation, history, communication

Every new wave of technology, directly or indirectly, affects the translation sector in some tangible way and in so doing alters the course of its history. Beyond a focus on the instrumental practicality of training on tools and techniques in order to manage the formal functional applications of technology are the many other histories that have evolved, intersected, and converged to condition and define the general relationships between technology and users today. This is equally true for translation activity. The objectives of this entry are two-fold: (1) to point out some of the relevant concepts associated with these histories and suggest pertinent links, and (2) to point out how the distinction between types of technologies and users are not only useful for considering technology in translation studies but also reflect and engage some of the broader issues charting the course of human communication globally.

1. Intersecting histories

Several individual, albeit intersecting, histories have collectively had an impact on and inspired reflection on human beings and their relationships to technologies. The burgeoning field includes, among others, the histories of technology, science, information, computing, communications, media, and the relatively new and evolving histories of the Web, internet, and digital society. When articulated more teleologically, they present timelines of events and inventions chronologically in the form of linear narratives of evolution and 'progress' – an approach critiqued by many contemporary historians. When less so, they conceptualize the creation, production, diffusion and reception of tools and techniques through diverse interpretive and analytical frameworks; their approaches and methodologies interrogate certain assumed notions (innovation, for example) and ideas in relation to social and cultural histories (local, global), and in terms of continuity or paradigmatic rupture with the past.

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2. Translation connections

Many of these histories examine events and issues of interest to translation. The history of computational representation and encoding of different writing scripts and languages for computers, for example, has shaped the trajectory of their implementation in translation (and localization; see Chapter 2.4 in this volume) projects, affecting the frequency of use and visibility of certain languages in the globalizing digital space of the internet. Sociocultural histories informed by specific economic conditions, also, serve as potential explanatory frameworks for understanding the emergence, development and impact of proprietary (Apple, Microsoft) and Free and Open Source Software (FOSS) movements, which have led to the appearance and proliferation of open, collaborative volunteer translation activity that is both structured and unstructured. Similarly, the application of human behavioral science perspectives on the histories of information and communication can interpret the ways technologies have transformed organizational structures, processes, and practices – particularly in relation to the internet. The impact of ICTs on translation in particular has forced new work practices involving project management of large multilingual team translation, 24/7 availability of translation services, and the need for tools to process the digital content formatted and produced by clients in very diverse programs and platforms without corrupting it.

3. Relationing humans and technologies

Conceptually, the contemporary history of technology considers technology both as artefact and process, and explores human-technology relations as experiential interactions which are to varying degrees both 'technologically determined' and 'socially constructed'. With the advent of Web 2.0 and Cloud technologies and the proliferation of social media, both social and cultural historians of technology currently study not only how technologies, hardware, software and user interface (UI) impact human beings but also, significantly, the extent to which technology itself is socially shaped by human use. The more embedded, transparent and ubiquitous these technologies become in the everyday practices of human communication (including translation and interpreting), the more their constant contact and dynamic interactions will have a fundamental impact on knowledge considered through various epistemological and ontological lenses.

4. In translation practice

Analyses of the relations between technologies and users, and among technology users themselves, are increasingly productive avenues of inquiry in translation research. Technologies have been introduced, adopted, and adapted in all professional and academic translation sectors. Three general categories are useful for analysis:

1. technologies (e.g. Web publishing, social networking, Cloud technologies) that have been adopted by the user public at large (including translators) for communicating, sharing, collaborating, storing, searching, editing, organizing, and managing digital content in general;
2. technologies that have been designed for and adopted by translation and localization professionals specifically (e.g. SDL Trados, Passolo, MemoQ), with capabilities for segmenting and aligning text, creating and maintaining translation memory and terminology databases, editing pre-translated content, processing multiple types of digital content files (multimedia, Web, CMS, etc.), automating processes, machine translating, and post-editing;
3. technologies (proprietary and open source, e.g. Google, Skype, Microsoft, Zanata) inspired or modelled on professional translation and localization tools specifically, but which have been adopted and adapted by a hybrid base of users, i.e. professional translators working singly or collaboratively on pro-bono projects, volunteer and fan translators, bilinguals, etc.

5. Historicizing translation technologies

As in other academic and professional domains which began to incorporate earlier versions of contemporary information, communication, and computer technologies into the workplace during the 1980s, and internet, Web, social media, and Cloud technologies into their workflows and research during the 1990s and early 2000s, the translation domain followed a similar pattern of prioritizing the learning, training, documenting and describing of its professional tools and their functions in order to first keep pace with the rapidly evolving generations of technology developments. With the exception of machine translation technology research (documented since the mid-20th c.), computer-assisted translation (CAT) and localization tools were not contextualized comprehensively within a historical framework for translation studies until 2015 (Chan Sin-wai).

6. Global communications

Informed by the multiple approaches applied to more general histories of technology, computing, information, communication, media, and the internet, Web, and digital society, the historical writing of technology in relation to translation (including subtitling) serves a dual purpose. It inserts the history of translation and translation technology practices within the broader scope of global (multilingual) communication practices empowered by internet technologies today, and incorporates knowledge of socially, culturally, politically, and economically configured technology practices of the world to spaces of translation. By integrating the existing chronological timelines of translation technology milestones with data gathered on technology users and developers, a clearer picture of patterns and trends can emerge to shape future development and growth. There are, however, noteworthy research limitations and drawbacks, the most salient of which include privacy concerns and inaccessibility to data (protected by confidentiality agreements), to 'big data' analysis tools (lack of technical expertise and/or funding), and to proprietary algorithms (corporate social media apps, search engines, etc.), as well as the fleeting nature of some digital artefacts and processes.

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CHAPTER 2.3

Bibliometric tools

Evaluation, mapping

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Keywords: bibliometrics, bibliography, translation studies, history of science

1. Introduction

Bibliometrics is a relatively young discipline, with clear antecedents in the 1920s and a boom since the 1960s, when the name was first coined. There is a constellation of terms denoting the statistical study of (the flux of) information, most of which are used in an indiscriminate manner, as virtual synonyms. Terms such as informetrics, bibliometrics, scientometrics, webometrics, altmetrics, netometrics or cybermetrics place the focus on different approaches and/or (sub)domains of this huge research field. Thus, informetrics might be considered the umbrella term that refers to the flow of any sort of information in any mode, whereas bibliometrics restricts its interest to published information, and scientometrics focuses on the way academic/scientific information flows. Webometrics, netometrics and cybermetrics obviously study the particular conditions of exchange of information on the Internet. Altmetrics, finally, focuses on the potentialities of social media and academic social networks and tries to downplay the role played by international indexes and citation counting. Here we will use bibliometrics as our blanket term due to its focus on published information and its broad usage.

The need to study the way published information flows is a direct consequence of the abundance of the said information. In translation studies (TS), scholars note sometimes that it is becoming more and more difficult to keep up-to-date because of the increasing number of publications that are issued yearly. When, due to an excess of supply and shortage of funding, a library is forced to choose which journals to subscribe to or which books to buy, or when a scholar has to decide what (not) to read, or simply when one wishes to make sense of all that has been written throughout the years on a given subject, bibliometrics is there to analyse the role

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played by the different publications, the impact they have caused and, generally speaking, to help us draw a family tree of the development of any scientific field.

Together with the current proliferation of encyclopedias and general dictionaries, the increasing existence of bibliometric essays targeted at categorizing and explaining the historical development of TS might be considered a very meaningful sign of the coming of age of a discipline which due to its limited dimensions until quite recently could, so to say, entirely fit in one scholars head.

In its search for significant regularities, bibliometrics is a markedly statistical discipline, whose main kinds of metrics are citation analysis, content analysis, network analysis, and diachronic analysis.

Citation analysis is probably the best known facet of bibliometrics due to its evaluative nature regarding the relative importance of research. It includes different ways of counting citations (Journal Impact Factor, Scimago Journal Rank, H-index, etc.), all of them aiming at identifying the most popular or influential publications and scholars.

Content analysis focuses on the examination of the most frequent meaningful terms (frequency of keywords, words in titles or abstracts, co-occurrence, etc.) included in the scientific publications. It aims at discovering the focuses of research and its ideological underpinnings through the analysis of these meaningful terms.

Network analysis pays attention to the relationships between (groups of) researchers, the languages of science, publishers, etc., especially through the identification of academic hubs and the ways they interact. These tools allow drawing maps of the flow of scientific information, thus contextualizing it and establishing the most productive nations or universities and the relative importance of the academic actors in a theoretically objective way. This methodology also enables us to map interinstitutional collaboration, to discover mutual influences, and to trace the genesis and evolution of schools of thought.

Diachronic analysis revolves around the historical evolution of publications, both from a quantitative and qualitative perspective. This approach also attempts to answer questions such as the moment when a given problem started to arouse attention, the evolution of ideas or reviewing the state of the art of a topic within a discipline.

2. Bibliometrics in translation studies

It is important to distinguish between bibliometrics of translations and bibliometrics of TS. Current sources for bibliometric data in the first case are Index Translationum, the Irish Translation database Trasna, the Canadian bibliography, A Biblioteca Dixital da Traducin, national libraries, etc. These databases are interesting to gather information about which books, authors or language pairs have been translated. This way, policy makers or private institutions can get a better understanding about the current state of affairs and what needs to be translated. The number of publications of this kind is quite numerous but falls outside the scope of this work.

Simultaneously, the progressive institutionalisation of the discipline has brought about an exponential growth in the number of publications on the bibliometrics of TS, as well as an increase in the number of evaluative studies within the academia, both for public funding research and scholars professional promotion. TS is a relatively young and small discipline as compared with age-old consolidated and massively cultivated disciplines such as Linguistics or Literary Studies. As a consequence, it is underrepresented in main international bibliometric tools, and it is necessary to promote TS-specific bibliographical databases, since they can become very valuable as research and assessment tools, providing, for instance, field-weighted impact. Since the 1990s, and especially in the 21st century, we have witnessed the creation of topic-centered TS bibliographical databases, such as CIRIN for interpreting studies, as well as general ones aiming at including as much TS published academic works as possible (Translation Studies Bibliography [TSB], and Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation [BITRA]), comprising tens of thousands of academic works.

Bibliometrics is a relatively new area of research within TS. After a thorough literature review carried out using both TSB and BITRA databases, around 70 contributions were found. The first contribution within TS taking this approach towards academic publications we are aware of was published in 1995. In the 1990s only five scholarly works devoted to the bibliometrics of TS were published. In the 2000s this figure more than quadrupled that of the preceding decade (22 contributions). In the 2010s eight articles per year have been published on average. The fact that in 2015 one of the leading journals in the discipline, *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology,* devoted a whole issue to bibliometrics represents a turning point and shows this methodology is increasingly attracting more and more attention among TS scholars, who find it particularly useful to get a historical overview of the discipline as a whole or about more specific topics.

The range covered by these relatively few essays is quite far-reaching. As far as the object of study is concerned, seven papers are devoted to introduce TS bibliographical databases or deal with bibliometrics as a tool for research. Four contributions resource to specific metrics, such as citation analysis, four deal with the concept of impact, three are related to Google Scholar h-index for TS journals, one deals with co-citation, while another intends to identify key researchers within the subdiscipline of Interpreting. In this same line, Interpreting takes the lead (with 20 contributions), followed by didactics (with four), scientific and technical translation (with three altogether), corpus linguistics (with two), and audiovisual translation and discourse analysis (with one contribution each). Some contributions focus on specific containers, such as journals (14 entries), MA or PhD theses (two and three, respectively), or modes of access, such as digital publishing or open access (with one each). There are also six contributions that carry out keyword analyses, and two that study the most researched topics.

Most of the existing studies either adopt a historical approach (four cases) or clearly state the time-span under analysis (ranging from 1960 to 2014). Studies focusing on languages used for research dissemination in TS or research output format are scarce (three altogether), but studies researching average number of authors, trends in author ordering, citation windows, citation advantage of given publication formats, or altmetrics, among other topics, are anecdotal or non-existent. Despite the fact that the number of papers has grown exponentially in the last decade and that there are around 50 different authors with at least one contribution, only a few show long-term activity.

3. Limitations and drawbacks

In principle, bibliometrics is a discipline with a strong mathematical basis, and its findings should be highly reliable. However, there are numerous scholars who voice important reservations due to several limitations and drawbacks. These are probably the most salient:

1. Bibliometric findings are only as strong (or as weak) as the bibliographical data they are based on. By definition and for obvious reasons, no database can ever comprise everything ever written in any living discipline, so it is necessary to work with samples. As of January 2017, the most respected citation index, JCR, includes 11 TS journals, most of them written only in English, out of at least 130 living TS journals (cf. RETI or BITRA), with scores of them including many articles in languages other than English.
2. Each discipline has its bibliographical peculiarities, such as preferred containers (journals, books, etc.), time windows for citations, average amount of citations per author, and so on, so that comparisons have to be performed among peers if they are to be significant. In the particular case of TS, international indexes tend to include it in the field of Linguistics, equating it with research areas with many more citers than TS could ever gather. This also means that TS needs to make itself bibliographically heard in the din of academic disciplines.

Likewise, data need to be interpreted to make sense. Bibliometrics does not consist of counting obvious items, and raw data are not self-evident. It needs to select what it counts (what bibliographical database(s) to use, should we count self-citations, should multiple authors count as individual ones, should books be taken into account or journals are enough, how long should the citation windows be, etc.).

1. Users of bibliometrics tend to confuse collective and individual indexes. It is frequent to see scholars and, especially, academic authorities valuing a given contribution in terms of the journal or publisher it has been issued in. Actually, it is a basic bibliometric law that only a small percentage of articles published in a given journal attracts a high number of citations, so that acting like this means equating publications with hundreds of citations and others with none at all.
2. Impact is confused with quality. Apart from the fact that researchers may cite a given text for all sort of reasons, many of them having nothing to do with the quality of the cited text, very often, lack of impact is really due to factors such as the language of the publication or the difficulty of finding a given journal or book.

4. Conclusion

All in all, bibliometrics is an indispensable research tool that must be handled with care. We need to develop strong representative bibliographies and citation indexes that allow us to obtain reliable pictures of the way we research and exchange academic information. With scores of thousands of publications already issued and thousands more coming each year in a feverish 40-year history of discipline creation, with multiple schools of thought competing to make sense of our objects of study, with more and more universities and countries joining the TS quest, it is high time a discipline like ours becomes the object of study of bibliometrics. Taken with care, working with methodologically sound approaches and large and reliable bibliographies, it will no doubt help us to understand ourselves, which probably is the ultimate goal of any human being, scholars included.

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CHAPTER 2.4

Localisation

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Keywords: content, internationalisation, locale, publishing, technology

Localisation encompasses the processes whereby digital products and content developed in one locale are adapted for sale and use in other locales. The term emerged in the 1980s as U.S.-based software companies entered international markets. Success in international markets required that companies "convert the[ir] software so that users saw a product in their own language and firmly based in their own culture" (Urien et al. 1993: x). Localisation arose at this intersection of technology, language and culture.

Adapting software for international users was initially described as "translation on the computer for the computer" (van der Meer 1995). However, practitioners quickly discovered that this work required more than just translation knowledge and skills because it encompassed *all* local market requirements for culturally dependent representation of data, including character sets, scripts, glyphs to enable the display of different writing systems; encodings to enable multilingual data processing, storage and retrieval; rules for text sorting, search and line and word breaking; calendars; date, time and number formats; paper sizes; decimal separators; and units of measurement. In software engineering, these local market requirements are collectively called "locale." The need to account for both translation and "locale" explains why and how adapting software for international markets came to be known as "localisation" in the 1980s.

Technological complexity characterized early localisation efforts. Software localisation involved activities such as traditional translation, multilingual project management, software and online Help engineering and testing, conversion of translated documentation to different formats, as well as translation memory creation and management (Esselink 2003a: 69). Moreover, these activities required a broad array of specialised software tools. Localisation thus demanded strong technical and instrumental expertise in addition to traditional translation expertise

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and domain knowledge, suggesting that "translators [needed to be] semi-engineers" (Esselink 2003b: 6–7).

However, developers soon realised that "certain steps could be performed in advance to make localisation easier: separating translatable text strings from the executable code, for example. This was referred to as internationalisation or localisation-enablement" (Cadieux and Esselink 2002). Internationalisation involves the separation of the culturally-dependent contents of the user interface that may require adaptation, known as *resources*, from the application core and their storage in one or more resource files that are linked to the application (Hall 1999: 298). Resources in a typical program include bitmaps, icons, menus, dialog boxes, string tables and accelerator tables.

Externalisation of localisable material into resource files means that translators now work only with resource files and do not touch (or even have access to) the functional code of applications. This begs the question of what distinguishes localisation from translation today. It seems that the term has come full circle and once again essentially means "translation on the computer, for the computer," blurring the boundaries between translation and localisation and suggesting that these processes are converging.

The convergence of localisation and translation has also been driven by the emergence of the Web as an enterprise communication platform and the evolution of authoring and publishing processes. Desktop-based document creation and publishing processes could not keep up with the pace of change on the Web or provide material in multiple formats for multiple types of devices. Over the past 15 years, to address these challenges, large organizations have increasingly adopted content management systems, single-source publishing strategies, and more recently, responsive design. These approaches mark a fundamental shift in the authoring and management of information. Henceforth, the basic unit of information is no longer the document, but rather more granular information objects or chunks (commonly referred to as "content"). Formatting rules are stored separately and applied to content in response to user requests to create webpages and documents on the fly. Although translation of information objects and content chunks is not "localisation" as the process has been traditionally understood, content translation projects are now generally considered to be localisation projects due to their scale and the complexity of the processes and tools involved.

Today, the complexity shared by localisation and content translation extends to the very nature of the translation task itself. Localisation and content translation do not involve translation of linear text or *documents* per se, but rather translation of disembodied strings or information chunks. To understand a text, the reader must be able to create a coherent situation model and representation of the text. However, this is not always possible when reading non-linear "texts" such as disembodied strings or information chunks. Translation of strings or chunks is technologically simpler than traditional localisation because translators need not work in code, but is cognitively more demanding because translators must construct a mental model of a "text" that exists only virtually.

The initial divergence and subsequent convergence of the terms "localisation" and "translation" are emblematic of the evolution of digital "texts" since the 1980s. The shift from translation of documents to translation of non-linear text without context and "texts without ends" (Biau Gil and Pym 2006: 11) raises theoretical, methodological and epistemological questions about both the nature of translation and the object of research of Translation Studies in the digital world. As Esselink observes, "it looks likely that while translators will be able and expected to increasingly focus on their linguistic tasks … the bar of technical complexity will be raised considerably as well" (2003b: 7).

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CHAPTER 2.5

Circulation and spread of knowledge

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Keywords: digital, history, technology, knowledge, transdisciplinary

1. Polysemic spaces in the circulation of knowledge

In 2005, Steven Goldstein wrote "Translating Harry Potter", a two-part article published in the printed and freely downloadable electronic journal (*Translorial*) posted on the Northern California Translators Association website. There he presents views from translators of the officially commissioned translations of the book, noting as well certain contractual restrictions once the Warner Brothers media conglomerate had obtained adaptation and translation rights for the entire Harry Potter franchise. He notes equally how 'pirate,' or unofficial, translations exist – "published months ahead of the sanctioned version" – as a result of "collaborations of Potterphiles on the Internet" (Goldstein 2005).

The situational frame above posits a point of departure for the ideas to be presented here, suggesting aspects relevant to translation knowledge in terms of its production, legitimacy, criticism, circulation and spread within society. To understand 'spread' implies understanding the object of the action. To understand the spread of translation knowledge implies understanding first what we *mean* by translation, and how we *know* (about) it. What does it look like, and how can we examine it?

2. Textual foundations

Translation is traditionally viewed in many societies in relation to the production of two textual objects (cf. Gambier & van Doorslaer 2010–2013; Baker & Saldanha 2009). It denotes the creation of another language version ('copy') subsequently produced from an already existing ('original') textual object ('source'), to which it remains ineluctably linked on certain levels (semantic, style, authorial intent) in its 'afterlife' – despite the grammatical, syntactic, lexical and other transformations

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it undergoes. The notion of 'text' (extended in poststructuralist thought) has been critical to translation studies discourse. At its core, it implies an arrangement of linguistic and literary features associated with various types, forms and genres through the medium of written symbols and signs with the goal of representing thoughts and ideas. The textual object assumes not only text, but also any one of a number of paratextual (cover, foreword, dedication, afterword, reference notes, typography, marginalia) and visual (illustrations, design, and layout) elements which, when combined, exist within a network of textual relations (see Chapter 5.1 in this volume).

Textual boundaries are not impervious to change. Textual objects today are increasingly digital (digitized or 'born digital'), encoded in various mark-up (e.g. xml, html), scripting, and programming languages which present an extra intermediary level of representation. On one side, writing itself is computationally codified (e.g. Unicode). On the other, the textual object contains annotational, taggable metadata (content and structure descriptions, IP rights, etc.) and linked digital elements (graphics, audio, video, tables, and executables). It exists in non-linear hypertextuality (both static and dynamic). In a digital context the conventional features of a text intertwined with audio, visual, sensory components, iconography, and other digital properties (associated data, metadata, encryption, signature, etc.) are often referred to by the term 'content'. Digital content is malleable, and able to be modified, shared, reformatted, republished and redistributed with relative ease (see Chapter 2.4 in this volume). Materiality therefore, which includes the 'digital materiality' of computer code and data, is critical for analysis. It conditions and guides the spread, i.e. transmission, circulation, and dissemination of content through social networks and channels of communication.

3. Contextualization and (trans)disciplinary relevance

Through their networks of relations and interactions textual (-digital) objects generate diverse forms of contextual knowledge. Ascertaining the spread of knowledge depends on various disciplinary mechanisms. The categories of 'social' and 'cultural' are often used as broad delimiters to reference myriad approaches and frameworks that have evolved to examine, analyze, interpret and explain context – all of which are sustained by methodological insights from within the humanities and social sciences. The different ontological and epistemological principles underpinning the diverse disciplinary modes and methods yield various ways to reflect on, conceptualize, interpret, understand, and know the human condition. These principles, frameworks, and methods are conjugated through linguistic and sociocultural contexts and traditions that are heterogeneous and dissimilar, not necessarily operating within the same type or sequence of knowledge paradigms. Studies in the Western tradition of the humanities make use of interpretive methods of inquiry (critical, speculative, contemplative, philosophical, hermeneutic, historical, ethnographic, linguistic, literary, cultural) and heuristic devices to engage human ideas and experiential knowledge with questions on the value, meaning, and purpose of human life. Whereas, studies in the social sciences make use of empirical principles (reliability, replicability, validity, falsifiability) and methods (quantitative, qualitative, mixed) to observe, describe, and measure phenomena in order to produce data that can be analyzed and interpreted (statistical, for ex.) with the goal of explaining human social behavior, interactions, and relations.

The production of knowledge on translation, and its history as well, are subject to these diverse modes of inquiry and methods, all of which are applied to investigate the object of study that is 'translation', in terms of how it is specifically defined by groups of researchers (cf. Saldanha & O'Brien 2013). Analogous to research on the 'history of the book' (see Chapter 2.1 in this volume), translation research studies the production, transmission, circulation, dissemination and reception of translated textual objects, contextualizing them within interconnecting social and cultural (e.g. economic and political) histories. It investigates the agents involved (writers, translators, editors, publishers), its associations and societies, readerships, intellectual property, pricing policies, accessibility to texts, censorship measures, etc. In the process, the linguistic textual object is historicized, situated in its space and time, and in relation to its iterations in subsequent spaces and times of reception elsewhere.

4. Digital context historical specificity

When speaking about the electronic digital age (and 'digital culture', cf. Miller 2011) these social, cultural, economic, and political approaches must be supplemented with technical ones. Of relevance here is not only the convergence of histories of science and technology, but also the socio-cultural histories of technology use that interpret human behavior. A socio-technical perspective (Athique 2013), for example, with its historical roots in labor, production, and performance concerns, takes into account the reciprocal interrelation-ing that occurs between humans and machines. It deliberates the notions of 'technological determinism', 'social construction of technology', and the socio-technical interface. As information and communication technologies (ICTs) increasingly embed themselves in these interrelations, and as more 'big data' is generated by users, the complexity of systems and networks (and the issues of internet governance, privacy, surveillance, censorship, and openness they entail) increasingly complicate digitally-mediated relationships.

A digital textual object acquires new relational dimensions to its spatial and temporal context, including its creation and diffusion by prosumers, the rapid propagation of discourse associated with its coming into being online and visibility, and its reliance on material and virtual technologies (open, hybrid, proprietary). It becomes immersed in the flows of a numerically represented (0/1) and networked algorithmic society increasingly characterized by pervasive computing technologies and mobility, all of which transform labor markets, economies, societies, and structurations of power (Castells 2009; Cronin 2013).

5. Translation knowledge production and its spread

Translation is a complex communication act in multiple modes that is increasing in frequency and significance within our contemporary globalizing world. Knowledge of translation, commonly presented in the discipline through the general perspectives of process or product, is acquired and theorized in various ways. If we accept knowledge to mean both its more intractable tacit form as well as its explicit form, then it is evident that translation activity engenders both types – by its multifaceted practice among bilinguals and multilinguals across the globe for millennia, and by its professionalization and its academic institutionalization since the 1980s.

Knowledge and its spread are averse to any easy extrication from the intertwined realms of culture and language. The dynamics that produce new knowledge in spaces of contact among diverse systems or epistemes do not always generate easily decipherable relations of causality, correlativeness, or reciprocality. Relational complexity is multilayered and multidirectional, rendered more problematic for research focusing on today’s networked, technology-enhanced digital world.

It can be argued that the spread of knowledge on translation in the 21st century is not entirely separable from its technical site of production and diffusion, due to technologies and the time-space compression that characterizes social and cultural life mediated through the internet. The production of translation knowledge can be ‘located’ in three general profile spheres: academic, professional, and prosumer-users of translation. Knowledge is recorded (written, spoken) by professional practitioners and scholars who reflect on their observations of processes, results, and artefacts of translation activity, with the information folding back into professional and research repositories as experiential and academic knowledge. Knowledge is also produced, used, circulated and spread by the public at large, for instance when bilinguals collaboratively contribute their skills to translation projects, or when users avail of automated translation apps and devices to understand the gist of online information or participate in multilingual conversations. The content generated not only reflects social phenomena, i.e. a result of global communication needs, but also contributes to enlarging the structured and unstructured databases that produce vast quantities of multilingual corpora. The corpora become the source for probabilistic statistical analyses designed to deduce patterns or for neural network training by applied deep learning techniques, whose output is in turn relaunched into the domain of users.

6. Practicing history

History in practice (cf. Jordanova 2006) implies periodizing and contextualizing historical 'events', defining the parameters of historical knowledge, and determining how information is to be gathered and interpreted by the historian who must identify and situate his or her problem of research in relation to the patterns and existing explanations of prior scholarship. The historical object and historical subject play defining roles. To historicize the production and spread of translation knowledge means to define and outline the contours of the historical object, and to fix a potential profile of the historical subject. Delimiting the scope of the object means contending with the issue of how to define translation. In contemporary terms, should it include content that is annotated, adapted, localized, or transcreated? Is it text translated by humans, machine, or a combination of both? Similarly, delimiting the scope of the subject means contending with the issue of how to define a translator. Must a translator be human, or can it be machine? Is a translator one certified professionally or professional by practice, with or without formal training or education? Are they producers and users simply employing the translation technologies available to them?

The responses to these questions, however temporary or definitive, guide one's historical research. Temporal and spatial markers of periodization are assigned; for example, the period defined as the 'digital age' might begin from the time the World Wide Web was released to the public in 1993 (see Chapter 4.1 in this volume). Labels and criteria, however, may be subject to change; for example, the ubiquitous technologies informing our human experience may gradually erase the relevance and notion of digital dualism (real/physical vs. virtual space), as societal relations of all types become more engrained in the economies and politics of a digital culture of connectivity (Van Dijck 2013). Spatial delimiters also merit reflection. Geography has served as a spatial parameter for historical research periodization in the past. However, these territorial foci have increasingly yielded to emphases on non-territorial networks of relations grounded in multi-territorial spaces. To what extent can a translation activity be defined as national, regional, international, or global, when it is project managed in one country and outsourced to translators and revisers in multiple countries, finally to be produced and consumed in a digital platform accessible by users around the world? These 'digital turn' reflections being made in many of the humanities and social sciences consider how methods and practices can engage observations of the multiple ways digital technologies are configuring social relations and professional activities (cf. Lupton 2014). In translation terms, what values motivate translation (material, economic, or symbolic) and how do they create or inspire the genesis of communities of practice?

7. Parameters and criteria

The production of knowledge raises critical questions for history and historians. Many revolve around establishing quality metrics and standards to measure the reliability and trustworthiness of primary and secondary sources, evaluating and interpreting them in relation to historical processes and forces, and discerning knowledge from opinion and ideology. In terms of the digital age, scholarly institutions and professional organizations face new venues and sources of knowledge production, where notions of quality, standards, and protocols are being defined by differing, at times conflicting, sets of criteria. Actions such as connecting, sharing, following and trending on social media platforms, and participating interactively on websites, blogs, wikis, and other social networking sites have led to new methods and tools for analyzing and interpreting human behavior in social groups and observing the production and spread of knowledge on the internet (Ackland 2013).

Most relevant to translation knowledge production in this context are the knowledge produced *by* translation and the knowledge produced *about* translation. Translations themselves, as artefacts potentially serving as primary sources, comprise various forms: electronic versions of texts, structured content (e.g. websites), user-generated data, etc., with the latter even including such instances as the posting of screenshots of original language tweets accompanied by textual translations. It also includes translation project assets such as the large databases of aligned bilingual parallel corpora (e.g. Linguee) produced through translation technologies. They serve not only as online knowledge repositories for public use, but also as data for research (e.g. universal translation patterns).

The knowledge produced about translation likewise serves as a source (primary or secondary, depending on the research focus) and comprises various forms:

- translation technology developer webinars;
- interviews by academics and professionals (YouTube);
- descriptions and case studies by translation services providers;
- professional translator and academic blogs and microblogs;
- descriptions and discussion forums for collaborative volunteer translation projects (TED Talks);

- online social networking sites for academics and professional practitioners
- online academic translation studies journals;
- online professional translation journals, magazines, newsletters;
- freelance translator portals; and
- online resources like WorldCat or Index Translationum that include entries of translated titles in their original language.

In the future, the spread of translation knowledge will only accelerate and proliferate. The tools and technologies needed to measure its scope and impact are evolving. As translation studies continues to develop the knowledge it produces about its own areas and objects of inquiry, it will contribute to our global understanding of human relations and communication across languages and cultures in the digital age.

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CHAPTER 2.6

Transfer modes

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Keywords: discursive techniques, institutional techniques, transfer studies, *translatio studii*, *translatio imperii*

1. Definition and situation

Like translation itself, knowledge about translation is transmitted through oral and written media, it crosses linguistic and cultural borders, changes its form, content and function from domain to domain, and adapts to new audiences that belong to different time and space settings. Transmitting, crossing, changing and adapting are universal cultural processes as much perhaps as the concrete verbal techniques by which these processes actually take place. Many of these techniques are well known and thoroughly studied within disciplines such as sociolinguistics, terminology, intercultural studies or translation studies, where they are frequently labelled as borrowing, copying, adaptation, localization, plagiarism, rewriting, translation, parody, pastiche, pseudotranslation, and some more (cf. G. Genette 1982). The emerging transdiscipline of "transfer studies" understood "as a field of research which investigates access to knowledge in the broadest sense of the term" (Göpferich 2010: 376) may help to design a broader theoretical framework for the study of both cultural processes and techniques.

Yet, there is hardly any historical research devoted to these techniques as they apply to the many forms and contents of translation knowledge. This chapter will consider the role of transfer techniques in the history of translation knowledge. Transfer techniques indeed shape translation knowledge in ways that may significantly condition the latter's afterlife, spread and impact, including oblivion. Success or failure depend not only on attributed quality by peers but on numerous other factors, such as hazard, time, place and language of production, the status of authors and publishers within the area of translation studies, the role of patronizing agents, the position of reflections on translation among adjacent intellectual and scholarly activities (such as grammar, rhetoric, comparative literature or contrastive

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linguistics), the number of readers and the nature of their interest in knowledge about translation, the type of material support used (printed, oral, audiovisual), etc. As a consequence of such factors or the combination of several of them, our understanding of the history of translation theories worldwide remains inevitably incomplete and heterogeneous, – a fact which does not preclude, however, the possibility of a rediscovery and re-spread of past thinking, processes to which transfer techniques may, again, significantly contribute.

For the sake of clarity, in what follows a distinction will be made between two major sets of transfer modes: those that focus on institutional instances and those that focus on discursive operations. Both are naturally interrelated, as are the items of each set. It should however be noted that these techniques should not be considered as discrete units locatable in one single taxonomy: some techniques overlap, others are inclusive. On a historical axis, for instance, the classical Latin *translatare* or *transferre* include *traducere* or translating proper, in addition to other techniques, whereas in Renaissance the French *traduire* turns into an independent designation for translating proper. It is naturally impossible to account for all the spatio-temporal variations of techniques even when restricting the scope to the transfer of translation knowledge.

One last note: the following will not dwell upon causal issues: why transfer of knowledge occurs may be approached through both a historical and a theoretical lens. The latter falls outside the scope of the present concern, while a study of historical causality exceeds the limits of an article: to explain why transfer occurs in a given time and place setting always requires a thorough analysis of the interplay between many contextual factors. And even when such an analysis is possible, explanatory hypotheses may remain unwarranted.

2. Modes of transfer

2.1 Institutional transfer

Institutional transfer applies mainly to categories such as agency (authors, translators, editors, publishers) and organizations (associations, conferences, research departments, disciplines; see Chapter 3.4 in this volume). Physical displacement of teachers, thinkers, or material objects like manuscripts, journals or books from one culture to another and their integration into new host communities may induce a shift of focus and interest in translation matters. In addition, central or hegemonic cultures may provide local versions of their organization, as happened during the long-term translation policies in many if not most of the dominated European cultures since our era. In Belgium, for instance, the successive French, Spanish, Austrian and, again, French regimes provided a more or less elaborated translation organization, which was not only sustained by law and politics, but also by educational infrastructures (schools, programs). The latter in particular may to a considerable extent be held accountable for the international and even transcontinental spread of translation knowledge from the Middle Ages onwards, a process that is part of the so-called *translatio studii*, i.e. the spatio-temporal transfer of learning, taking its main starting point in Greece and pervading Europe. Learning applies to the many domains of knowledge, as well as to the values, world views and beliefs that are transmitted in Latin (*transferre*) as well as in translations into the vernaculars (*traducere*): as the evolution towards *traducere* (into French or in other Romance languages) might suggest, transfer encompasses an awareness and understanding of the nature and function of translating (Stierle 1996) as well as of other techniques involved by transfer: "[…] the concept of *translatio studii* always involves texts […]. Reading, translating, commenting, interpreting, rewriting – all are common intertextual activities of the *translatio studii*" (Carron 1988: 574).

Additionally, this process is further supported by the so-called *translatio imperii*, i.e. the movement of rule or empire that shifted from East to West, from Antiquity till the Holy Roman Empire and expanding far beyond Europe, notably during colonization. So, the famous *Ratio studiorum* (1599), i.e. the Jesuit code of liberal education largely spread in Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, France, Germany, etc.), has further been exported and imposed on numerous colonies (a.o. India, Cuba, Mexico, and the Philippines), at least until the end of the 18th century. The program of learning languages in general and Latin in particular is based on well-established European methods of version and theme, sustained by the theory of *imitatio* that becomes prevalent at that time: "[…] the exercises assigned to the pupils shall be, for example, to turn into Latin passages dictated in the vernacular either in imitation of the author or as an exercise in the rules of syntax, to translate a passage of Cicero into the vernacular and retranslate the same into Latin, and then cull from the passage the choicest expression […]" ([1599]: 86).

Later institutions such as academies, publishers, scholarly organizations and universities as well as new media such as scientific journals, book collections, anthologies, scholarly meetings, interviews or internet blogs were used to distribute translation knowledge. Again, such institutions are not only carriers of transfer, some may also become objects of transfer, especially between cultures. Think, for example, of the reproduction or adaptation of existing models of journals, research structures and other forms of scholarly infrastructure. Similarly, major publishers align new translation journals to the conventions of the ones they already produce in other domains. The role of such transferred structures is considerable, not only in asymmetric settings such as the aforementioned dominating/colonial one, but also in settings that privilege one language or one type of academic discourse over another: from a diachronic perspective, one may refer successively to Latin, French and English. For instance, translating academic discourse into English may in some cases induce "epistemicide", i.e. the "destruction of the entire epistemological infrastructure of the original" (Bennett 2013: 169); it may however also promote a form of translator training that resists domestication (*ibid.*; see Chapter 3.5 in this volume).

Finally, the transfer of views on the way scholarly research is financed may have a considerable effect on the status and organization of translational reflection. During the longest part of the 20th century, one may note, both in Europe and the US, a strong prevalence of fundamental research over applied research:

> From the time of the ancient Greeks to the present, intellectual and practical work always have been seen as opposites. The ancients developed a hierarchy of the world in which theory was valued over practice. This hierarchy rested on a network of dichotomies that were deeply rooted in social practice and intellectual thought […]. A similar hierarchy existed in the discourse of scientists: the superiority of pure over applied research. (Godin 2006: 641)

This prevalence has led to a reduced support of the main type of translation research, i.e. applied translation research, in comparison with adjacent domains of the Humanities. Nowadays, this principle is being contested and adjusted, notably by the European research frame programs that favour applied topics with a high potential of societal impact.

Currently, the dissemination of translation knowledge undoubtedly represents a considerable part of the intellectual endeavour of translation research worldwide, not only because master and doctoral programs in translation studies internationalize considerably, but also because globalizing and localizing trends in research seem to develop concomitantly in many places. At any rate, it is at this time unfeasible to estimate the proportion taken by transfer issues in papers, meetings, teaching programs and the like, although tools like bibliometric and citation analysis may offer useful resources for future investigation (Zhang et al. 2015).

2.2 Discursive transfer

The idea is well-known: concepts "travel" in a physical as well as a mental sense: they move "between disciplines, between individual scholars, between historical periods and between geographically dispersed academic communities" (Bal 2009: 20). One should add perhaps that concepts also move between phases of thinking (from a single concept to a full-fledged theory) and between levels or kinds of thinking (from a theory-oriented to an applied-oriented kind, or vice versa). The content of concepts obviously changes during such movements. And the same holds for techniques and methods, as much as for ideas, world views, and all sorts of other intellectual constructs that undertake intellectual journeys. Yet, the question that interests us here is: *how* do all these configurations of knowledge travel in the domain of translation reflection, i.e. which techniques are applied to concepts, ideas, theories and methods in order to enable or facilitate their travelling? Some do not modify their form and shape, while others do, and to a varying extent. Needless to say, we are less interested here in causality issues, although one may generally assume that concepts and the like travel in order to fulfil some function in a receiving domain.

Let us first consider some of the classical means to achieve a transfer of content between disciplines, i.e. *tropes*, such as comparison, metaphor and metonymy (see Chapter 1.2 in this volume). Tropes proceed by mapping more or less adjacent domains, thereby making use of translation, if appropriate. These techniques also favour the adaptation of concepts within disciplines, e.g. from theory to practice. One may think of the trope of translation as communication based in communication theory and picked up by translation didactics. Another example of adaptation is the concept of translation norm, borrowed from sociology and thoroughly investigated by translation scholars before making its way into the translator's discourse.

As to larger constructs, such as methods and theories, they are handled in equally well-established ways, i.e. *copying* or *reproduction* and *translation*. For instance, past thinking taking the form of treatises has been transmitted since Antiquity in either popular or erudite editions, the latter enriched by introductions and footnotes, depending on the type of embedding that is provided, either large audiences of students and scholars alike (think of the British-American *Classical Loeb library* or the French Guillaume Budé Collection which contain bilingual versions of Cicero's, Quintilian's or Jerome's writings on translation) or the smaller public of scholars preferring critical editions, like the ones produced of classics such as L. Bruni's *De interpretazione recta* (1420–1426) or A. Tytler's *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (1791). In both cases, the embedding occurs less commonly within translation studies (viewed as a 20th century scholarly discipline) than within national literary history and classical studies. Translations of recent scholarly research naturally play an active role in disseminating concepts, ideas and methods within other communities of translation researchers, a technique that will be accompanied by resources like *borrowing*, *abstracting*, *paraphrase* and the like.

In retrospect, translation studies has more frequently been hosting *anthologies*, i.e. a technique of selecting – and if applicable translating – textual fragments of varying length (see Chapter 3.6 in this volume). These commonly serve didactic purposes and hence accomplish a kind of journey that goes from theory to teaching, while addressing other academic communities. In such cases, translating concepts and ideas may follow quite distinct patterns along an axis running from literal rendering to domestication. These patterns may depend either on the prestige of the source text: think of the competing translations in several languages of W. Benjamins *Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers* (1923); or they try to fit the homogenizing requirements on the side of the target culture, as may occur with English language anthologies of source texts belonging to remote historical periods and a variety of source cultures.

Travelling between practices or disciplines, or between scholars, or time and space settings, may solicit more transfer techniques, such as the selection and transmission of *catch-phrases* or *memes*. A meme "is simply an idea that spreads. The metaphor comes from sociobiology: ideas spread, replicate themselves, like genes do" (Chesterman 1997: 2). One could envisage the quotation of Jerome's famous "*non verbum e verbo sed sensum exprimere de sensu*" as one of the universal memes, i.e. pervading both practitioners' and scholar's discourses, and Toury's "translations are facts of target cultures" (1995: 29) as a meme that has circulated broadly among contemporary translation researchers. Quoted catch-phrases or tropes move rather freely, so to speak, because they have no specific textual and contextual or discursive setting nor an author, date, language, genre which might serve as points of reference. Also, they are more easily adaptable to target texts and are prone to enter argumentation structures that may also empower different and opposing viewpoints. Such embedding goes hand in hand with *paraphrase* and *summary*, techniques also widely used in scholarly research, especially within overviews, handbooks, introductory chapters of scholarly monographs or articles, interviews, courses and conferences. These techniques are undoubtedly responsible for the rapid spread, esp. during the past decades, of ideas or labels such as "manipulation", "cultural turn", "postcolonialism" and many more.

Still, the spread of ideas does not preclude *resistance* against the globalization of translation knowledge, in which local forms of knowledge run the risk of being marginalized by transferred concepts and methods (see Chapter 3.2 in this volume). Resistance is indeed rather common in many areas of translation knowledge. For instance, the massive import of Western ideas and techniques about legal translation since the colonial period has yielded vivid polemics worldwide during early state independence, notably in Asia (Halpérin 2014). Similarly, this risk is expressed in Chinese translation theorizing at the turn of the 20th century, which reveals a strong discontent "with the overdose of quotations of Western metadiscourse cited by academic essays" (Tang 2007: 364). Views on resistance may even entail accusations of *plagiarism* (in both directions) or may result in a sense of estrangement on the side of the host culture. Correlatively, it entails pleas in favour of the rediscovery of ancient national traditions and with the development of more *Chineseness* in translation reflection.

3. Pitfalls

A well-known criticism against the use of the concept of transfer is the shadow it carries of a seemingly unilateral and mechanistic move and thus of an encounter between active and passive participants, whereas cultures, as we know, interact in both directions, and with more participants. More research is needed here, e.g. on the basis of insights gained by the concept of "*histoire croisée*". It is also crucial here to take into account the effects of transfer of translation knowledge.

In addition, on a methodological note, a major difficulty arises when reconstructing past transfer, i.e. the given that, in contrast with translation relationships which link translation to at least one specific and commonly identifiable source text, transfer relationships are more complex to reconstruct since they vary more considerably in shape and content, but also because most of them keep a looser bond with their source. This hinders their identification and designation as instances of transfer. The difficulty is strengthened by the fact that historical agents do not necessarily recognize their status as transfer relations. This way, techniques and their outcome run the risk of remaining only partly observable. This may well explain why the transfer concept has been less successful so far in cultural research than the translation concept.

Finally, one should point at a lack of historical awareness among scholars dealing with the history of their discipline, which prevents them to take transfer issues more seriously. This being said, the oblivion of concepts and even of zones of past "translation studies" may encourage scholars to start digging into the matter, and unravel particular patterns of transfer that have perhaps unexpectedly contributed to the evolution of translation knowledge.

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CHAPTER 2.7

Turns

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Keywords: paradigmatic change, cultural turn, digital revolution, workplace/workspace, empirical turn

1. Definition

The concept of the "turn" as understood in Translation Studies 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* as verb and noun found in standard English dictionaries, along with the ensuing potential for misunderstanding are discussed in Snell-Hornby 2009: 42–43 (see also Bachmann-Medick 2007; 2016). 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 with a new pattern of reflection and discourse. 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 in this definition can only be assessed as such in retrospect, whereby a change of direction is perceived as being clearly visible and striking, perhaps even mounting to a redefinition of the subject concerned (cf. Snell-Hornby 2010: 366).

2. Historical background in translation studies

From today's viewpoint, the concept of the "turn" within the context of language studies recalls the "pragmatic turn" in linguistics during the 1970s. This is seen as a clear swing from the rigid dogmas of the then dominant transformational generative

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grammar – which ruled out all aspects of "extralinguistic reality" – to the more practical and flexible approach viewing language as action in relation to the world around and especially to the situation concerned. One of the major forces of this new paradigm 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, which paved the way for the future discipline of Translation Studies. (cf. Snell-Hornby 2010: 366).

Before the 1980s, translation was seen as a subdivision of comparative literature on the one hand (literary translation) and linguistics on the other (technical, commercial or specialized translation). Scholarly translation theory was limited almost exclusively to literary and sacred works and concentrated famously for many centuries on the dichotomy of word vs. sense. Theories of non-literary translation only emerged with the interest in machine translation in the late 1940s and, in keeping with the then prevailing linguistic theories, concentrated on the concept of equivalence between items of the target language (TL) and those of the source language (SL). SL items were clearly the point of reference, hence the approach was subsequently described as "retrospective".

Towards the end of the 1970s two groups of scholars developed a "prospective" view of translation concentrating, not on the source text, but on the status and 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, at first focusing on literary translation, cf. Hermans 1985), the other in Germany round Hans J. Vermeer (the skopos theory, initially focusing on non-literary Translation, cf. Reiss and Vermeer 1984) worked independently of each other, but in the mid-1980s they both presented insights which had a striking amount in common, paving the way for the emergence of Translation Studies as an independent discipline. Of crucial importance was their emphasis on the cultural context of the translation rather than the linguistic items of the source text (cf. Snell-Hornby 2006: 47–56). This development became known in English as the "cultural turn" (cf. Lefevere and Bassnett 1990: 4), which then proved to be one of the central concepts of the new discipline. Furthermore, even after 25 years, it has remained the most marked "turn" the discipline has yet taken, firstly in the prototypical sense of a clear swing from a source-text oriented, retrospective, "scientistic" approach, to one that is prospective, functional and oriented towards the target-text recipient. Secondly, with the cultural element the perspective was widened from mere "linguistic reproduction" to include non-verbal items, hence areas such as localization, translation for stage and screen, and with that a much broader, transdisciplinary concept of the term "Translation", as is represented in this dictionary.

Looking back to the 1990s from the perspective of two decades, we recognize some major trends that brought about fundamental changes in the discipline: these are based on the process of globalization along with developments in information technology and hence worldwide communication – the “digital revolution” – which have indeed revolutionized our lives and brought radical changes for the language industries. This has been called the “globalization turn” (cf. Snell-Hornby 2006: 128–145). Along with this there was the ever-increasing dominance of International English as the world-wide lingua franca, which is reflected both in Translation Studies and translation practice (see Chapter 3.5 in this volume).

Traditionally the translator was viewed as a solitary figure pondering over words and sentences and working at a desk in relative isolation. Due to the sweeping technological developments along with the new communication media however, the translator’s static workplace has now been transformed into a flexible, partially virtual “workspace” (cf. Wieringer 2016) independent of the office and made possible by the Internet. All this has affected the speed and modes of communication, as well as our concept of text or “language material”. The written text or spoken message has now been complemented or even replaced by various forms of multimedia communication, creating new text types (e.g. audiovisual or multi-semiotic), where verbal signs interact with pictorial images, pictograms, emoticons or icons: this became known as the “iconic turn” (cf. Bachmann-Medick 2007; 2016). Similarly, the expansion of translation knowledge and the notion of translation as a socially based act naturally led to a sociological approach which was subsequently called the “sociological turn” (cf. Wolf and Fukari 2007).

3. The empirical turn and later developments

The sociological approach complemented another “turn” of the 1990s which has been described as the “empirical turn” (see Snell-Hornby 2006). After decades of strictly theoretical debate on the one hand versus purely practical, even anecdotal reports on the other, there came the call for scholarly and scientific research based on empirical studies, particularly in the field of conference interpreting, which had hitherto been given only limited attention (cf. Gile 1994). There followed a long period of intense activity in interpreting studies, which emerged as a sub-discipline in its own right, further enriched by work in dialogue or community interpreting in diverse settings (especially the courtroom, hospital or police station). Such work was based on abundant empirical research, from case studies to surveys of various kinds and dimensions. The new technologies led to the development of video conferencing and, more recently, to video dialogue interpreting (specifically in highly sensitive medical settings, as with interaction between physician and patient), while another new field of research emerged with studies in sign language for the deaf and hard of hearing. During the last two decades spectacular progress was also made in screen translation, better known as audiovisual translation (AVT), with numerous studies on dubbing and subtitling.

With these developments two basic issues have emerged for the practice of translation and interpreting, hence for Translation Studies as a discipline and for the dissemination of translation knowledge. The first issue concerns the question of professionalism, the second the dominance of English as a worldwide lingua franca alongside the use and status of so-called "languages of lesser diffusion" in a globalized world. With the emergence of Translation Studies as an independent discipline during the 1980s came the academic upgrading of translator and interpreter training at university level: new departments were created offering specialized degrees up to doctoral level combining professional training and scholarly research. The aim was to raise the status of professional translators on the one hand and Translation Studies as a fully-fledged institutionalized academic discipline on the other. Hence the transfer of translation knowledge was to be the domain of highly qualified experts, whether practitioners or scholars, affiliated to recognized university institutions.

These intentions have been partially fulfilled, although there are disturbing signs of retrogression: on the one hand independent departments of Translation Studies have been established in various countries of the world, especially in Asia, on the other reputed institutes have been closed, notably in Europe, where the study of translation has partially been re-absorbed by traditional language departments. Similarly, audiovisual translation, both in research and practice, has made great advances, on the other hand the status and working conditions both in dubbing and subtitling have not improved, and with the universal availability of audiovisual material online, professional work may even be undermined by the practice of amateur "fan-subbing". Due to new technologies and increased international communication, progress continues however in conference interpreting, especially in "major" languages, whereas dialogue interpreting still lacks the status and professionalism it deserves. This is partly because it mainly involves so-called "smaller" languages of lesser diffusion where experts are hard to find, as became acutely obvious with the refugee crisis in 2015: communication with Syrian, Iraqi or Afghan migrants inevitably took place through anyone available with even rudimentary language knowledge, and authorities faulted the use of interpreters lacking the necessary expertise and unable even to detect which Arabic-speaking country the migrants came from (cf. Brickner 2016). At the time of writing this article the problem remains unsolved, and such situations have even become an unquestioned norm in dialogue interpreting with "smaller" languages in migrant settings, where a "turn" in the direction of professionalization would seem essential.

4. Conclusion

However, the real-life developments described above can hardly be described as “turns” in the basic sense of the word, and one wonders whether the term has any relevance in Translation Studies today. An analogy is nevertheless provided by the “geological turn” of 2012, as seen in an “interdisciplinary project grounded in the concept of the Anthropocene” (cf. Guzzo 2012). Parallels are immediately apparent in the interdisciplinary developments in Translation Studies in the 1990s, where the opening of perspectives from mere linguistic reproduction led to the cultural turn, and new technologies revolutionized the translator’s “working space”, this resulting in a new concept of translation. Translation Studies, and with it the transfer of translation knowledge has blossomed in recent decades, even tempting some scholars to envisage a “translation turn” (cf. Snell-Hornby 2006: 164–169). However, given the unchanged social status of translation and the translator – and especially in dialogue interpreting – this would still seem to be a distant goal.

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PART 3

Internationalising knowledge

CHAPTER 3.0

Introduction

Knowledge on translation and know-how about translation are not confined to specific places. Both have on the contrary widely circulated across borders, which in recent history have been predominantly state borders, language borders and cultural borders. This part deals with an array of aspects involved by the intellectual displacement of ideas, tools and values with regard to translation.

Internationalisation is a central feature of translation and hence of knowledge about translation. It regards both translation within political entities that are internally multilingual and translation between social and political entities that use different languages. It also regards the formation and evolution of the discipline translation studies, esp. since the Second World War, as e.g. witnessed by a set of new questions raised since the breakup of colonial empires and the liberation of many colonized nations. These questions address 'Eurocentric' concepts like 'fidelity' or 'equivalence'. However, the use of the label 'Eurocentric' was in turn criticised for being too reductive.

In fact, such issues reveal the dilemma that goes with the internationalisation of translation. On the one hand, the latter is an agent of the international if not global dissemination of ideas. On the other hand it puts a pressure on smaller or minoritized languages that lean on translation in building and exporting local or regional identities. Major languages like Greek, Latin, Chinese, Arabic or nowadays English have been or are used by non-native speakers and serve many minor communities. The global use of English in particular has stirred the debate on its ability to account for cultural and identity values as expressed in particular in literary and philosophical texts.

How does knowledge on translation cross borders? In a variety of discursive and institutional ways, which are currently multiplying. Traditional modes and media include anthologies, encyclopaedias, handbooks, theories; Wikipedia, blogs, or video recorded lectures and interviews, among others, currently complement and even replace these to some extent. Border crossing needs to be organized or sustained, a.o. by instances such as international, national, public and private institutions. Nowadays, the role of official institutions (European Commission, the United Nations, the Chinese government, etc.) in the recent development of training programs has become quite prominent, together with the trend to standardize the latter beyond national borders.

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Internationalisation is also steered and controlled by official politics that are responsible for the production, spread and valuation of translation activities and of knowledge about translation. Such politics have been shaped by many hegemonic regimes worldwide and focussed on the translation of legal and institutional texts, on the techniques and underlying ideas on translation, and on the design of administrative structures in charge of efficient execution. Politics of translation are closely interwoven with power relations between communities. Censorship is a clear example of tensions that emerge when foreign knowledge, including values, is transferred into a cultural space that perceives it as a potential threat for its social order. It is operated by religious, socio-political, cultural authorities, and more and more by financial factors. It may take various forms: pre-selection or exclusion of foreign texts, cutting passages of translations or prohibiting the latter.

CHAPTER 3.1

The history of internationalization in translation studies and its impact on translation theory

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Keywords: nation, internationalization, World War II, Eurocentrism, China

Because generative language results in the differentiation of speech communities over time, mediation across differences in language – and hence the practice of translation – has been a feature of human societies since the development of generative language by human beings at least 200,000 years ago. Not only did languages diverge, modes of mediating across languages, namely forms of translation, also have been variable with differences affected by such things as forms of divergence of the languages involved; customs and cultural differences; religious practices and taboos; the immediate contexts of translation including such things as ceremonies; and ultimately forms of writing, among countless other causes. Thus to understand the range of translational phenomena and to develop theoretic frameworks for translation, it is essential to have an international cross-cultural perspective.

1. Types of internationalization relevant to knowledge in translation studies

The earliest and primary sense of the English word *nation* is "an extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language, or history, as to form a distinct race of people"; the more modern sense of the word includes the stipulation "usually organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory" (OED, s.v.; cf. *American Heritage Dictionary* s.v.). The existence of very small groups of people that consider themselves distinct nations and that use translation continues in some areas of the Amazon basin, Australia (which recognizes more than 300 native languages), and other relatively isolated places. By definition, thus, translation implies communication between and among

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nations of every size because it involves negotiating differences of language that are characteristic of even relatively small nations of people distinguished by culture and history. Translation is therefore always an international phenomenon in the most basic sense.[1] Mediation between nations in the primary sense of the word often occurs through the multilingualism of participants in the communities, the use of a local link language, gestural and intersemiotic forms of communication, and oral translation.[2]

In preliterate cultures, oral translation has been and often still is unnecessary in transactions between neighboring nations because generally some members of any given community are multilingual, permitting easy communication among neighboring groups using distinct languages. Ease in multilingualism and hence communication among nations of this sort continues at present, for example, among native Sub-Saharan African citizens in many African countries. In some cases neighboring groups use languages that are sufficiently close in morphology, syntax, and phonology so that they are mutually intelligible or can easily be construed between groups, a feature of many native Australian communities at present.

Today, as for thousands of years, there are many political entities characterized by internal multilingualism. Some are the result of historical military supremacy (such as Canada resulting from the conquest of Native American territories by both the French and the British). Some (such as the USA and many countries in South America) result primarily from immigration, and some such as Switzerland and the European Union have been formed by voluntary association.[3] As a consequence there are many states incorporating multiple communities speaking diverse languages; such states include multiple nations in the primary sense of the English word *nation*. It follows that "internationalism" in translation studies needs to be understood and explored in two different senses: with reference to translation within political entities that are internally multilingual and with reference to translation between social and political entities that normatively use different languages.

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[1] The primary sense of the word continues to be used in the North American term "First Nations" in referring to communities that antedate European colonization. Clearly exploration of the concept nation in many languages will add depth to the understanding of internationalization and knowledge about translation.

[2] In this chapter translation and interpreting will be treated as the same process. On the role of intersemiotic forms of translation see Marais (2014). Note that the term "link language" is widely used in translation studies globally in preference to "lingua franca"; link languages historically have included Latin in the Western Roman Empire and later in Western Europe for centuries, and Swahili is an example used in large areas of Africa. At present English is one of the principal link languages globally.

[3] Obviously the linguistic diversity in the USA is not just attributable to immigration, but has also resulted from the conquest of Native American nations and French and Spanish colonial areas by English-speaking powers, among other things.

Moreover, in nations with a recognized "national" or official language, such a language has commonly achieved its position because of historical patterns of hegemony achieved in various ways. Thus, for example, many states have an official form of a language that is used throughout the state but that also exists in a variety of dialects, some of which are quite different from the official language and are spoken by a substantial number of citizens, as found in Germany and Italy for example.[4] In countries of this type, translation is generally circumvented internally by requiring the normative use of the official language in formal transactions and educational institutions. This method of managing multilingualism was probably typical of many ancient nations and empires, such as, for example, the Egyptian and Greek empires in the first millenium B.C. A similar situation was found in the Chinese empire as late as the nineteenth century, with China continuing at present to promote Mandarin as the national language in preference to the speech varieties of the south of China, for example.[5]

In addition to the mandated use of official languages, multilingual cultures and nations have also relied on the use of a link language to circumvent the need for translation. India is such a state, where there are two official languages of the government (Hindi and English) and 22 so-called scheduled languages recognized in the Constitution as having national importance, in addition to more than one hundred other major languages. Patterns of this sort are not new. Before the Renaissance, Western Europe used Latin as a link language after the fall of the Roman Empire, and the use of Latin for scientific purposes continued into the eighteenth century. After the Renaissance, moreover, Europe generally used French as the link language in diplomacy and communication within educated circles. Since World War II English has become a link language in most parts of Europe and even much of the world since the end of the Soviet Union.

Thus in investigating the question of internationalization and knowledge about translation, we must remember that internationalization is a multifaceted concept and that the relevance of internationalization is context specific in translation studies.

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[4] Here it's worth remembering the difficulty of defining "a language", epitomized in the aphorism that a language is something spoken by a people with an army and a navy. Thus so-called dialects in a country can be extremely different and not even mutually intelligible.

[5] Note that translation can be side-stepped to some extent in states with internal multilingualism by the use of a non-alphabetic writing system, exemplified by the Chinese character system which makes it possible to read a document by populations speaking diverse languages.

2. Early evidence related to knowledge about translation in international contexts

International translation in a formal sense has a history that can be documented for millenia. There are early words documented for both 'translation' and 'translator' in many languages indicating that there have been recognized translation practices of long standing. Early evidence documents translation involving internationalism within states and between states or cultures. Translation has been thought about and undertaken in normative ways for centuries in a variety of contexts.

An early example of the deliberate and self-conscious practice of translation and sustained thinking about translation as a mode of transmission for knowledge internationally is found in Chinese accounts of translating Buddhist sutras from Sanskrit into Chinese that began in the second century C.E. (see Cheung 2006). Such reflections about translation are also found in other early cultural traditions as well, notably in Greek and Roman texts in European tradition (see Robinson 1997).

Early institutions and even schools of translation can be traced to the imperatives of internationalism as well. For example, rewriting, commentary on, and explanations of obscure passages in the Hebrew Bible were forms of translation used by schools of midrash beginning in the second century B.C.E. and continuing to the present that have attempted to keep the scripture intelligible for the community, language change notwithstanding resulting from time and diaspora. A more recent example of a formal school for translators was mandated more than 150 years ago by the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858 that ended the international conflict between Great Britain and China.

3. Internationalization as the context for the formation of the discipline of TS

As a discipline organizing knowledge about translation and having as a goal the theorization of translation practice, the rise of translation studies is directly attributable to twentieth-century internationalism. The discipline emerged out of the internationalism necessitated by World War II, as well as the internationalization of world culture thereafter. Both during the war and in its immediate aftermath, the need to gather knowledge about translation and to understand and theorize translation became of critical importance because the war necessitated translation across so many languages. Most of the translation was directly relevant to communication and intelligence during wartime, legal settlements at the end of the war, and the postwar reorganization of the world. World War II and its consequences form the context in which the field of translation studies was developed.[6]

The coordination of wartime operations, the gathering of intelligence during the war, and negotiations with wartime allies and enemies after the war constituted the largest coordinated effort of communication in human history to that point. World War II involved contact and international communication among people around the globe from the largest nations (notably the Soviet Union and the United States) to small atolls in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, demanding linguistic expertise, translation, and decoding of more languages than had ever been undertaken simultaneously before. Experts in languages around the world were deployed in the war efforts. The Allies, specifically the US, had so-called war desks for most countries in their ambit (as well as equivalents for the so-called Axis powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan) that were crucial to the Allied war efforts and ultimately their victory.[7] All these groups depended on translation undertaken by competent and reliable experts.

After World War II the motivation for adequate communication across world languages continued and in fact was further heightened and accelerated by political developments related to postwar conditions that required increased attention to, expertise in, and knowledge about translation. Some of the postwar motivations were directly related to the outcomes of World War II itself. The settlements of the war both among allies and across enemy lines redefined the dominant spheres of influence and the link languages of the world, both of which readjusted their focus on the instruction and translation of specific languages. The new international groupings necessitated various types of translation which in turn intersected with redefinitions of the working languages that became dominant.

Such outcomes are demonstrable with respect to redrawing the lines of Europe, the partition of Germany, and the development of the Soviet bloc beyond the traditional borders of the old Russian Empire. Russian became the dominant link language for most of Eastern and Central Europe, as well as large stretches of Asia, ultimately including the People's Republic of China. Russian also functioned as a link language for many other socialist countries around the world. In Western

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[6] Although the war was a primary motivating factor in the development of translation studies as a discipline, investigations of translation as such and meta-reflections on translation had earlier occurred in the fields of archaeology, philology, and paleography, decrypting scripts and documents from prehistoric and colonial domains, which can be traced for at least two centuries before World War II.

[7] "Desks" as they were called were actually groups of people working at specific tasks related to particular nations.

Europe the language of science and a great deal of scholarship shifted from German to English, not least because of the flood of scholars and refugees who came as refugees from Germany and other countries of continental Europe to English-speaking countries, a migration pattern directly attributable to Nazi persecution of the Jews and others. French was superseded as the link language of Western Europe in favor of English, the language of the United Kingdom and the United States that together with the Soviet Union were the countries with the greatest claim to victory in World War II. These shifts necessitated new patterns of international communication and the reorientation of translation knowledge and practices.

The end of World War II was followed within a decade by the Cold War. The Cold War was a form of what can be called hostile internationalism, defined in terms of the opposition of the two main blocs of countries led by the USA. and the Soviet Union. It involved hostility not unlike that between the antagonists in World War II, but it also required cooperative internationalism involving translation among the allies in each bloc. The Cold War put a premium on the use of translation for security purposes, particularly because of the atomic threat posed by each side to the other. Hence knowledge about and understanding of translation was critical on each side of the Cold War by the mid-1950s, and both sides responded with renewed commitment to investigations of and investments in translation (cf. below on machine translation).

The Cold War interest in translation theory and practice was driven by more than concerns for security and intelligence. Each side was also involved in the production of propaganda in many languages as they competed for power, prestige, loyalty, and affiliation. In the case of the United States, such propaganda is obvious in the programming produced for Radio Free Europe; similarly some of the activities of the British Council had this goal.[8] We should also note the related rapid and systematic expansion of Bible translation in the postwar period, organized primarily in the US by various religious groups such as the American Bible Society, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Summer School of Linguistics.

The Soviet Union also had forms of organized propagandistic outreach with ideological goals including its world translation project involving the translation of Russian and Soviet classics both into the major languages of the world and lesser-used languages of countries whose allegiance the Soviet Union was specifically courting. The program also involved the translation of world literature from such nations into Russian. In the second half of the twentieth century, a similar program was developed in China for the translation of Chinese classics, the works of Mao, and so forth. Both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China controlled translation strictly at the level of the state, requiring membership in mandated organizations for translators.

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[8] Some propaganda efforts involving translation were also heirs to colonialist programs of translating European texts into world languages (see Fitzpatrick 2000).

The period of the Cold War was the era when systematic scholarly and theoretical investigations of translation began to be published in significant numbers, many of which continue to serve as foundational texts in translation studies. Such publications appeared in both English and Russian, as well as other languages, and they will be discussed at greater length in Section 4 below.

The breakup of colonial empires and the liberation of many colonized nations was yet another postwar phenomenon related to internationalization that contributed to the development of translation studies as a field of study, raising significant new questions about translation. The independence of former colonies after World War II was in part a consequence of the crucial role that many colonies had played during the war itself, shifting their status and power in relation to those of the colonizers by acting as partners in the international conflict. Many questions related to translation arose as colonies achieved independence including the selection of official languages, internal communication across native languages that had been neglected or suppressed by colonial rulers, and new patterns of international affiliations and communication. In some states the questions had crucial implications for power and prospects of peace internally, because colonial powers had arbitrarily divided up native nations (in the primary sense of the word) or joined former enemies in the colonial structure. The result for many of the new states was the necessity to renegotiate native languages, language policies, and the choice of link languages, all of which required the renegotiation of power among native groups. There were also important internal implications pertaining to translation related to education, government affairs, economic activity, and so forth, as well as relations with the world at large. Thus both internationalization in the world and internal internationalization meant that translation came to the fore as a necessary function in the formation of the new states. In most countries a renewed focus on instruction in national languages was at a premium, requiring the development of textbooks and other official documents in those languages, often involving translation from another world language. All these factors related to language, power, and internationalism made translation and knowledge about translation a priority.

In part inspired by the activities of colonies insisting on their freedom, other multilingual nations that were a legacy of earlier wars, political treaties, and historical circumstances also began to reexamine the question of multilingualism. Here Canada is a good example, and it is not an accident that one of the first translation studies journals, *Meta*, was founded in 1955 at the Université de Montréal. The founding of *Meta* reflects the scholarly interests of multilingual nations in translation, particularly those with disparities of power among the linguistic groups. Quebec offered a framework for modeling concerns relevant to translation studies in postcolonial contexts. Similarly Belgium revisited the question of language inequities among internal language communities in the postwar period, and again it is no accident that some of the earliest translation studies scholars came from this nation.

Scholars from other countries where internal language questions or tensions existed – Israel being a prime example – were also among the early leaders in internationalizing translation studies. Because so many Israelis were European refugees from the Holocaust, speaking many languages and coming from nations everywhere in Axis countries or occupied territory, Israeli scholars were another early group motivated to investigate and theorize translation. The complex internal internationalization of Israel involved multilingualism that had resulted from brutal historical events in a nation still emerging and still forming its own national language. Thus investigations of translation were given a very broad international contextualization by Israeli scholars, epitomized in the application of systems approaches to translation by Itamar Even-Zohar (1978, 1990) and his followers, notably Gideon Toury (1980, 1995).

A final important development related to internationalization and the rise of translation studies as a field in the decades after World War II was the development of computers and digital capabilities, and the exploration of the use of these tools for translation. The beginning of the digital age raised the possibility of using machines to translate the massive quantities of data being gathered for intelligence and security purposes in a vast number of languages during the Cold War. This was a development that had clear importance during World War II but it continued to be critical during the Cold War when the specter of conflict between hostile atomic powers loomed over international affairs. Thus the languages of both allies and enemies had to be mastered for purposes of global communication and security, involving the monitoring of communications around the world. In order to achieve competence in the use of computers for translating, however, much more systematic knowledge had to be amassed about the processes and pitfalls of translation. The impetus of these motivations for the systematic scholarly investigation of translation is clear in Anthony Oettinger's 1959 essay in *On Translation* (ed. Brower), perhaps the earliest exploration of computer translation with a theoretical edge.

Each of these waves of internationalization related to world politics and brought with it a specific range of experience in the practice of translation and specific knowledge about issues pertaining to translation that presented distinct challenges. In turn this concentration of new knowledge required integration and theorization. These are the contexts of internationalization in the mid twentieth century in which translation studies developed. It is evident that the field focused on international issues related to both translation theory and practice with respect to a very broad range of languages and case studies from the very beginning.

All of the twentieth-century historical factors related to internationalization played a role in the foundation and development of translation studies as a field and the growth of knowledge about translation. They prefigure the globalization that has characterized the growth of the field in the last three decades and many of the directions that the discipline will take in the twenty-first century. These geopolitical contexts prioritized better communication across a larger number of languages and demanded a broader understanding of the texts and contexts of translation. They required theoretical inquiry into translation that could serve as an international framework for practice. For all these reasons, after World War II internationalization motivated the coalescence of translation studies as a discipline with a broad mandate for knowledge about translation ranging from linguistic investigations to larger contextualizations of translated texts with respect to culture, politics, ideology, and the like. Very early in the development of the field, internationalization began to motivate investigations of technology for translating. Thus the internationalization in the twentieth century is central to the contours of knowledge about translation and the vigor of translation studies as a field in the twenty-first century.

4. Stages of internationalization in the development of TS as a discipline

4.1 Early internationalization in translation studies

Although there had been professional societies of translators, such as the Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs (founded in 1954), some of which credentialed translators (such as the American Translators Association, founded 1959), the beginning of translation studies as a scholarly field was signaled in the 1950s and early 1960s by publications with an international theoretical approach to translation. Notable are the publication of *On Translation* (ed. Reuben Brower, Harvard University Press, 1959), a broad overview of translation by prestigious translators and scholars in a variety of fields including the early essay by Oettinger on computer translation;[9] Eugene Nida's *Toward a Science of Translating* (Brill 1964) presupposing contemporary approaches to linguistics but moving beyond a limited focus on the linguistic aspects of translation to consider the cultural context and reception of translation; and J. C. Catford's short volume *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (Oxford University Press, 1965), introducing contemporary linguistic terminology into translation discourses.[10] All these publications featured material, problems, and examples that had a broad internationalizing purview and relevance. Issued by prestigious presses, they served as the intellectual bedrock for the emerging discipline of translation studies and mark the beginning of networked scholarly interest in internationalized translation discourses that led to the field as it now exists.

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[9] The volume includes the foundational theoretical essays on translation by Roman Jakobson and W. V. O. Quine, both of which continue to be anthologized in translation studies collections, as well as an essay by Eugene Nida.

Translation studies scholars began to network internationally at meetings principally in the 1970s. In promoting such networks scholars from Belgium and the Netherlands deserve credit as early leaders in the development of conferences and associations in the field of translation studies and in its internationalization, including James Holmes, José Lambert, André Lefevere, and later Theo Hermans. Lefevere was the most assiduous in seeking out those interested in translation studies internationally, in inviting new people to participate in translation studies meetings, in networking, and in encouraging arrangements for conferences and publications, Lefevere was motivated in his interest in translation by the multilingual nature of his country, notably the disparities in power and the complex ideological situation of language in Belgium. Looking outward to the world, Lefevere was an internationalist, having taught three years in Hong Kong and educated himself about Chinese culture in the early 1970s. As a faculty member at the University of Antwerp (1973–84), Lefevere worked closely with James Holmes who became one of the landmark early theorists of translation and defined the field of translation studies in his article "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (1987).[11] Together they built contacts throughout Europe, including colleagues in the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc (East Germany and remnants of the Prague school), as well as Israel, Turkey, and the United States.

By the mid-1970s, many of the local groups of scholars in translation studies had begun to intersect with each other. In the 1980s translation scholars founded new journals (for example, *Target*, was initiated in 1989 by Lambert and Toury), began to publish series of volumes on translation studies,[12] and sponsored international meetings. Some of the scholarly meetings during this period led to the formation of translation studies associations, for example, the American Literary Translators Association (ALTA), founded in 1978.

In the 1980s translation studies scholars from many countries began using the International Comparative Literature Association (ICLA) as a means to convene and to share their research. Series of sessions on translation were held at meetings of the ICLA in 1982 in New York City and in Paris in 1985, expanding the base of those interested in translation studies among literary scholars. International meetings were also sponsored by universities in Europe, notably a meeting in 1988 at the University of Warwick in the U.K. organized by Susan Bassnett and Lefevere that drew together both literary scholars and philosophers working on translation, and featured Gayatri Spivak as a keynote speaker. In certain ways this phase of the development of translation studies can be seen as culminating in 1994 with the first conference of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST), which has held triennial conferences ever since.

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[10] Catford was instrumental in shifting translation discourses from the realm of philology to linguistics.

[11] Born in the USA, Holmes moved permanently to the Netherlands in 1949 and taught at the Universiteit van Amsterdam from 1952 until his death in 1986.

[12] For example, the series published by Marilyn Gaddis Rose began in the 1980s.

In the first phase of translation studies, international explorations focused primarily on literary translation and literary case studies because many of the early founders of the discipline were trained as literature scholars. Nonetheless there was also a strong contingent of linguists interested in translation studies and philosophers were also involved. There was increasing internationalization of the field throughout the first phase, but during its early development the discipline of translation studies was dominated by Eurocentric concerns, data, scholarship, and perspectives, largely because those involved in the formation of translation studies were chiefly from Europe, North America, and Israel.[13]

4.2 Globalization: The second wave of internationalization in translation studies

Just as internationalization has multiple senses with reference to the concept of nation, it has multiple senses with reference to the nations of the world that are linked. By 1990 the field of translation studies had been well internationalized across most Eurocentric nations, though with less inclusion of South American and Australian scholars than those in Europe, North America, and Israel. In the 1990s, however, internationalization of the discipline began to be fully global, and the globalization now characteristic of most academic domains began to be evident in translation studies as well. The following treatment of the second wave of internationalism is brief because many of the developments are ongoing and information about them is easily accessible digitally and elsewhere in this volume. The focus here is on some of the most important historical steps toward the globalization of the field.

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[13] The term *Eurocentric* is used here in its standard dictionary sense, "considering Europe and Europeana as focal to world culture, history, economics, etc." (*Random House*, s.v.), to refer to the various world cultures that are primarily rooted in European traditions, including those in the Americas, Australia, and elsewhere. The term *Western* is problematic for geographical reasons obviously, but more importantly it evokes a contrast with *Eastern* that in turn has Orientalist connotations and has been associated with the exoticization and colonization of non-European cultures. The term is not pejorative but descriptive, and many Eurocentric cultures have internal populations that constitute nations in the primary sense of the English word, discussed at the outset of this article, that are based on non-European traditions.

The second wave of internationalization in translation studies was marked by the dramatic opening of China after the end of the Cultural Revolution. Beginning in the 1980s with a trickle of faculty and student visitors at first, Chinese students, faculty members, and professionals began to be authorized by the Chinese government to visit and attend European and North American universities and events. In certain respects this development marks the real end of the Cultural Revolution, signaling the willingness of China to allow its citizens to have free contact with other nations.

Exchanges were also welcomed by China. Eugene Nida became a pioneer in promulgating scholarship on translation in China, leading to the collaborative publication with Jin Di of *On Translation with Special Reference to Chinese and English* in 1984. By the 1990s discussions of translation related to China's historical practices, as well as those in the twentieth century, began to significantly expand the models of translation incorporated into discourses in translation studies worldwide, supplementing Eurocentric data. Thus, for example, China's translation history legitimated group translation and also required deeper consideration of ideological control of translation. As in many other fields of graduate study, the tentative stages of exchange gave way to large numbers of Chinese students pursuing M.A. degrees in translation studies, particularly in British universities, during the past two decades. The return of these students to China and visits by Chinese senior scholars in translation studies have contributed to the flowering of translation studies that is now characteristic of many Chinese universities. In 2015 China had more than 200 M.A. programs in translation and interpreting.

A key figure in the second phase of internationalizing translation studies from 1990s forward was Mona Baker who facilitated the process in several important ways. First, in the 1990s she founded St. Jerome Publishing dedicated to producing affordable volumes on translation written by translation scholars from around the world. Trained as an applied linguist, Baker was also instrumental in expanding the field beyond a tight focus on literary translation, thus increasing the range of translation practices and problems addressed. Cultures around the world and subjects ranging from technical and scientific translation to interpreting were validated as important subjects of study in the field internationally.

The following decade was a break-through period for translation studies in committing to a global perspective on translation (see, for example, Gaddis Rose 2000; Hermans 2006). These developments constituted a watershed for the field: no comfortable or credible retreat to a narrow or parochial view of translation was possible thereafter in any country. Baker also contributed to internationalizing the field by facilitating the formation of a professional association operating at the global level that sponsored regular meetings, namely the International Association of Translation and Intercultural Studies (IATIS). Since its initial meeting in 2003 in South Korea, IATIS has met triennially in South Africa (2006), Australia (2009), Northern Ireland (2012), Brazil (2015), and Hong Kong (2018). Simultaneously there have been other efforts at investigating a wider field of translation phenomena that have contributed to the globalization of translation studies. For example, Judy Wakabayashi and her collaborators have sponsored a series of conferences focusing on translation in diverse Asian venues from Japan to Turkey, from which a series of volumes has also resulted. Additional international organizations include the Asia-Pacific Forum which held its fifth meeting in October 2016.

The second wave of internationalization in translation studies has also seen the publication of key books and the creation of additional journals and publication series in the field, notably those issued by John Benjamins and Routledge both of which were begun in the 1990s. The expansion was necessary in order to accommodate the increased volume of scholarship being produced about translation with the global expansion of the field and the necessity for communication about a much larger international array of translation histories and practices, as well as the requisite expansion of translation theorization required by the additional data. Journals founded since 1990 include *The Translator*, begun in 1995; *Translation and Interpreting Studies* (*TIS*, founded in 2001 by the American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association/ATISA); *Asia-Pacific Translation and Interpreting Studies* (*APTIS*, the online journal of the Asia-Pacific Forum); and *Translation Studies* (founded in 2008).

Globalization has brought immense interest in translation studies in virtually every nation. Full internationalization of the discipline during the second phase of its development has enabled translation studies to keep up with current developments in translation theory and practice globally and to be a vital presence around the world.

5. The value of internationalization for conceptualizing the theory and practice of translation

In the transition from the first to the second phase of translation studies, the importance and value of reaching beyond Eurocentric concepts about translation was at first slow to be realized and valued, particularly by European scholars, but the importance of broadening the field by incorporating international data is now generally acknowledged. Because all cultures have normative standards of various sorts for translating and interpreting and because the standards within Eurocentric cultures are in many ways similar to each other, internationalization at the global level has supplemented the relative homogeneity of the practices and contexts examined in the first phase of translation studies and has provided a much broader range of data on which to base translation theory.

As the data were being amassed, between 2006 and 2010 Maria Tymoczko explored the value of internationalizing translation studies in a series of publications, notably *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators* (2007) and a group of articles (Tymoczko 2006, 2009, 2010). These publications call on scholars to broaden central conceptualizations of translation, indicating that the definition of the concept translation is extremely narrow in Eurocentric models compared with the global scope. The field's enlargement of data beyond Eurocentric norms thus requires broader perspectives on many aspects of translation including the agency of translators, the translation of culture, meaning, activism, and ethics. For understanding the processes of translation, at a minimum the benefits of integrating international models of translation open the gate to group translation, the performative and transformative translation practices typical of oral cultures, and the replacement of fidelity to the source text as the main value in favor of vigorous attention to the functionality of the target text in its new receptor context. All these features are found in many traditions of translation globally.

Particularly in an era when technology is changing at lightning speed and multimedia productions are the norm for many types of translation, paradigms congenial to performance and textual mutation in the processes of translation are essential for the vitality of translation studies in the future and for ensuring the preparation of translators for employment. In the global context now inhabited by all translators, it is essential to rethink presuppositions about the centrality of written texts, to enlarge the array of text types available for the construction of target texts, to redefine the roles of translators, and to go beyond current established practices. In fact such enlarged conceptualizations of translation practices have already been normalized in many commercial contexts serving globalized interests, particularly in multimedia frameworks of translation. Thus to remain relevant to dominant emerging commercial trends in translation, the field of translation studies must be agile in deploying global knowledge about translation to remain at the forefront of international practices.

The insufficiency of conceptualizations of translation is epitomized by the felt need to create special words in English – such as *localization, transcreation, transediting* – to differentiate target-oriented translations of multimedia texts and translations specifically geared to appeal to target-language contexts, particularly as disseminated in digital culture. The term *translation* in English and its counterparts in many other European languages carry with them a history and ideology of close adherence to the source text, largely because many modern terms for translation in European languages emerged during the late medieval struggles about translating the Bible; invented during that struggle, the terms bring with them an ethos of restricting the initiative of translators (cf. Tymoczko 2010).

These are merely a few examples of the benefits of internationalizing knowledge about translation; the contributions of the internationalization of the field will become increasingly obvious in future. Because every culture has its own blindspots and limitations with respect to its conceptualizations and practices of translation, the entire field benefits from mutually corrective internationalized data. With knowledge of these broader frameworks, translators themselves are challenged and inspired to exercise initiative, to diversify their skills, and to improve their own practices through understanding a wide variety of translation norms. Thus internationalization potentially confers benefits on every culture of the world by enlarging local dominant thinking about basic aspects of the theory and practice of global translation at a time when technological revolutions are necessitating rapid adaptation, change, and expansion of ideas pertaining to translation and its practitioners everywhere.

6. Resistance to the internationalization of knowledge about translation

Resistance to the internationalization of the field of translation studies and the study of translation has occurred in a number of contexts since World War II. In polarized conditions such as those during the Cold War or in an extremely closed society with doctrinaire control, at times there is resistance to external practices of translation and foreign approaches to and theorization of translation. Thus, in the Soviet Union under Stalin and in China during the Cultural Revolution, the practice of translation was tightly controlled and driven by internal ideological norms; publication of translations outside the stipulated norms was not permitted. As a consequence, practices of translation typical of cultures outside the ideological framework were resisted and hence only utilized privately by translators or circulated in samizdat.

Resistance to internationalism can also at times be a function of hegemony. In China since the end of the Cultural Revolution, for example, there continue to be scholars who argue against the importation of so-called Western ideas about translation theory and practice. They take the view that with its long and vigorous tradition of translation, Chinese culture can and should be self-sufficient with respect to translation, having no need of external views about either the theory or practice of translation. This may reflect a sense of cultural closure based either on diffidence or on a deeply rooted sense of Chinese cultural superiority. Similarly in Continental European countries, some translation scholars have been extremely resistant to opening translation studies to a global scope, again possibly motivated by a sense of cultural hegemony or residual colonialist attitudes.

Still another tangible form of resistance to internationalization is apparent in publication practices of translation studies journals that devote little space to studies of translation outside Eurocentric contexts such as Africa and Asia and that publish few authors from those contexts as well. Both practices can be demonstrated statistically at present. The pricing structure of many publication series on translation, including those issued by Benjamins and Routledge, is another phenomenon associated with Eurocentrism in translation studies leading to the exclusion of access to current research by translation scholars and practitioners in many areas of the world.[14]

As the field of translation studies becomes increasingly internationalized, however, and as globalization becomes the norm driving the practice of translation, these forms of resistance to the internationalization of the discipline will become ever more identified as limiting, discriminatory, and anachronistic.

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[14] I am indebted to Kobus Marais for the information about inequities in publishing opportunities related to translation content and scholars globally. See as well the arguments of Susam-Sarajeva (2002) who discusses the pressure on translation scholars to conform to dominant Eurocentric discourses.

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CHAPTER 3.2

Eurocentrism

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Keywords: cultural perspectives, geo-cultural views, Sinocentrism, essentialism, continentalization

Eurocentrism, Americentrism, Sinocentrism and Africentrism are concepts which express a similar essence: viewing events, phenomena or developments in the world through mainly one (historical, cultural) lens, that is to say a European, American, Chinese or African perspective. Since these terms derive from the decolonization period and are mainly used in the wake of postcolonial thinking, 'Eurocentrism' has been more productive than its counterparts. In academia, debates on mainly Eurocentric views have been conducted in several scholarly fields, like in the social sciences.

In translation studies (TS) the debates about Eurocentrism have remained relatively limited compared to other disciplines. Publications by Tymoczko (2007, 2009), Cheung (2009) and Wakabayashi and Kothari (2009) were illustrations of the raised awareness of the culturally determined use of standards and theories. They questioned and criticized the existing frameworks of discourses in TS and called for a geo-cultural broadening of the conceptualizations of translation beyond the European/Western ideas. Examples of such ideas are often considered central concepts in the history of European translation reflection, such as 'fidelity', 'equivalence' or 'transfer', the main Western metaphor suggesting *close* transfer "in which semantic meaning is privileged" (Tymoczko 2009: 405). As an alternative for this reduced interpretation of transfer, other metaphors were suggested, like Chinese *fanyi* including 'turning over', or Arabic *tarjama* including change and translational creativity. Other examples or conceptualizations which were said to be strongly Eurocentric were the sharp historical focus on written, literary and biblical discourse. Moreover, in the postcolonial discourse, such Western or European models were associated with "cultural and ideological dominance" (Tymoczko 2009: 414). As an alternative, Martha Cheung suggested that "it is

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politically correct – almost an imperative – to talk about promoting a translation studies that is non-Eurocentric" (2009: 229).

Although the epistemological relevance of pointing at cultural perspectives was generally acknowledged, the discourse about the concept of Eurocentrism in TS has also been criticized. First of all, because the use of a clearly geographically based term lacks nuance and may not be appropriate for a phenomenon that is a complex mixture of political, cultural and historical facts. Already preceding the Eurocentrism discussion in TS, Michael Cronin had deplored the essentialist use of 'European' as a convenient geographical shorthand: "The signal failure to account for the linguistic and translational complexity of Europe in part stems from the tendency by post-colonial critics to reduce Europe to two languages, English and French and to two countries, England and France" (Cronin 1995: 85–86). Similar critiques can be found in several contributions contained in a special issue of *Translation and Interpreting Studies* devoted to Eurocentrism in TS, which was later – slightly modified – also published as a book (van Doorslaer & Flynn 2011 and 2013). Peter Flynn and Luc van Doorslaer, for instance, asked whether theories and concepts "can actually be attributed to a given geographical space, let alone a cultural or regional mindset" (Flynn and van Doorslaer 2011: 116). Dirk Delabastita shared that skepticism at this stage of the discussion: "Inasmuch as Eurocentrism is a problem in Translation Studies, it will first of all need to be identified more accurately before it can be addressed" Delabastita 2011: 154).

Moreover, some of the above-mentioned facts in the Eurocentrism discussion have been criticized for being disputable and biased. Nam Fung Chang (2015), for instance, undermined quite radically some of the classical arguments of postcolonial thought in TS, such as the interpretation of English *translation* vs. Chinese *fanyi*. Earlier on, several authors had argued that the Chinese term has a much broader and more flexible meaning. Based on a re-analysis, Chang concluded that the Chinese conceptualization may be slightly different, but certainly not less narrow than the so called 'Eurocentric' notions. He also noted that anti-Eurocentrism might be Eurocentric in itself (2015: 238), just as some Chinese scholars are more wary about Sinocentrism.

Despite the shortcomings of the Eurocentrism concept, the discussion has shown that TS is intercontinentalizing and that it functions along the lines of several other disciplines in the fields of humanities and social sciences. It seems likely that parts of the discussion on Eurocentrism will reappear in different forms during the possible, future developments of a line of research called Comparative Translation Studies (see, for instance, Burak 2013).

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CHAPTER 3.3

Globalisation

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Keywords: globalisation, materiality, minority, untranslatability, migration

Globalisation is commonly defined as the intensification of worldwide social, economic and cultural relations which bring together distant localities so that local events are shaped by what happens many miles away and vice versa (Giddens 1990: 64; Friedman 2007). On a multilingual planet this implies the agency of translation as it is frequently translation which allows distant localities to be connected and to communicate with each other.

A historical account of globalisation and translation can involve several different types of investigation:

1. Identifying the emerging and competing conceptualisations of translation as justifying or calling into question the reach and effect of globalizing processes.
2. Exploring the role of translation in the development and operation of different imperial formations (French, British, Spanish, Ottaman, Islamic, Chinese) as examples of proto-globalisation.
3. Analysing the historical evolution of various forms of materialities of communication (writing, printing, telegraph, cinema, computers) and how these have shaped the role of translation in patterns of global dissemination.

Globalisation emerged as a key concern in translation studies in the early 21st century (Cronin 2003) though the key elements of late modern globalisation had already been clearly identified. The three features that distinguished globalisation in the late modern period from earlier forms of transnational communication and exchange were representational, institutional and material. At the level of representation, the perception of the world as a whole is starkly rendered by the photos of the blue planet from the Apollo space missions. The omnipresent image of the globe to signify ecological vulnerability is evidence of this banal globalism, the consciousness of the earth as one. In terms of institutions, the period after the second world war sees an exponential growth in the number of supra-national or transnational

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institutions (United Nations, European Union, World Health Organisation) and international non-governmental organisations (Amnesty International, Greenpeace). The material shift is evident in the move to a reticular or network based economy where through the medium of information technology processes of production and consumption can be organised and monitored on a global basis.

Globalisation and translation: Sites of enquiry

If translation facilitates the operation of supra-national institutions and is central to the functioning of globalised capitalism through the localization industry, then how are we to judge the value of translation itself. Is its role a progressive or a regressive one? Theorists such as Emily Apter (2006; 2013) have argued that one of the difficulties in the era of globalisation is that mobility gets fetishised. Mobility becomes a supreme value and anything that impedes the global circulation of meaning is derided as retrograde and reactionary. Hence, an interest in the 'untranslatable' as that which stands in the way of or complicates the passage of one meaning from one language or culture to the next (Cassin 2015). Lawrence Venuti, while generally sharing Apter's suspicion of global hegemony of particular languages and particular economic interests contests the notion of 'untranslatable' claiming that it is based on a highly conventional understanding of the nature of meaning in translation (Venuti 2016). Putting meaning into global circulation does not violate a pure, unadulterated original meaning but points up the inherent plurality and instability of all meanings. Part of the dilemma that is addressed in the Apter/Venuti debate relates to a recurrent concern in translation knowledge around the centrifugal and centripetal function of translation in a global age. Translation, on the one hand, is a crucial agent in the global dissemination of ideas (Montgomery 2002) but it is also equally a key player in the development and definition of national languages and cultures (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 25–100). In other words, when translation is considered primarily in messianic terms, carrying ideas across borders and languages, the tendency can be to overlook the definitional thrust of translation in constructing local, regional or national identities. This preoccupation is all the greater for minority languages which can find themselves under intense pressure in the context of globalised, economic activities that favour the expansion of dominant lingua francas (Branchadell and West 2004). Reflection on translation becomes central to assessing the linguistic response of minority or minoritized languages to the expansion of the reticular economy. This response cannot be dissociated from the materialities of communication that allow translation as an activity to be carried out (Littau 2011: 261–81). The affordability, portability and ownership allowed by the material medium of print will see a massive expansion in the amount of translated material put into circulation in the Renaissance period and beyond. In the era of globalisation, a key concern in assessing the development of translation knowledge is in investigating the effects of the medium of information technology (the computer and the internet) on the representation and practice of translation (Pym 2004; O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013; Cronin 2013). If the bidirectionality of Web 2.0 has allowed the proliferation of user-generated translation content and the emergence of fansubbing and wiki-translation does the global translation promise of Google Translate lead to reductive and highly instrumentalised notions of what translation in global settings might involve? Technologies, of course, appear in various guises and one of the challenges for translation scholars is how to deal with the global nature of the broadcast media whose carrying capacity and range has been greatly enhanced by everything from the development of geostationary satellites to the advent of internet radio. How does translation affect the nature of the news or other programming that is disseminated and to whom it is disseminated (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009)? In an era of the globalisation of conflicts, where foreign armies are deployed thousands of miles away, the role of translation becomes crucial not only in engagement with local populations but in representing these conflicts on a global stage (Rafael 2016). One area of recurrent conflict on that stage is the movement not of goods and services but of people. Migration has become an important interface between globalisation and translation, especially though not exclusively in the area of community interpreting (Inghilleri 2012). The right to translation as a basic human right in terms of access to justice, education and health is challenged by populist discourses around integration and compulsory acquisition of the host language. As the urbanisation of the planet proceeds apace, it is cities which most often are confronted with issues around language difference and translation (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). The task for translation scholars is to think about the operation of translation in an era of the diminished importance of the nation-state and the increased importance of the global city (Cronin and Simon 2014). It is clear that in the case of all the sites of enquiry that have been invoked here, it is necessary to understand shifting patterns of translation knowledge through diachronic as well as synchronic studies.

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CHAPTER 3.4

Institutionalization of translation studies

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Keywords: academisation, association, dissemination, MT, pluridisciplinarity, publication, training, research

1. Introduction

Translation (including interpreting) is said to be one of the oldest practices regarding verbal communication. As a professional occupation, it is rather new (essentially since World War II) while the institutionalization of Translation Studies (TS) is even more recent (from the 1970s onwards)[1] (Lambert 2013: 8–15). Therefore, we can refer to institutionalization both as an ongoing process and a partial result, meaning that the historical and geographical aspects are still in progress. The institutions are not stable in a fossilized landscape. The recognition of TS, its institutionalizing is related to the development of the studies of translation – a discipline understood as a set of claims, assumptions, and optional norms, in other words a body of knowledge, and as a social activity, with its own community. The division between disciplines has a powerful social anchoring, an effect on knowledge production and dissemination. Any discipline has moving boundaries, open to and determined by other disciplines. It is in fact a poly-discipline whose autonomy is subject to the academic situation.

In recent decades, we can see that the academic situation has changed under the pressure of ICT (Information and Communication technology), globalization (rankings of universities), internationalization (research networking and funding) and employability (cooperation between university and industry, training and labor market).

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[1] The term existed for instance in Russian, Bulgarian, already in the 1920s, before it was "translated" into English.

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The institutionalization of a field of knowledge is generally connected to a language and cultural policy. For instance in France, Nicolas Oresme (14th c.) and Jacques Amyot (16th c.), tutors and advisers of the kings Charles V and Francis 1, are the sources of what can be called the French tradition of translation: with Oresme, translation can be considered as the beginning of scientific French; with Amyot, translation is both seen as an adaptation and a philological fidelity – this model has become one of the models of French prose. Translation was then a visible activity (the word itself appears around 1500 with that meaning rather than as an end-product), and a discourse on translation could be formulated when languages started to be more delimited and the notion of original emerged. Today, as in many other countries, the French Ministry of Culture has set up a system of grants for translation and translators: that is one way in which the State perpetuates one of the royal functions of the past (Berman 2012). Institutionalizing can develop on at least two levels (id.): vertical (with financial support provided by international, national, public and private institutions), and horizontal, regarding the self-organization of the translators in associations, networks and other kinds of communities. This socio-professional regularization is part of the institutionalization, with an impact on specific training programs of translators – regularization and training in turn influence the vertical development of the field.

The field of TS, with its mechanisms of recognition, acceptance, consensus, authority, interests and power struggles (Bourdieu 1976: 89) began to establish itself only recently. Those struggles aim at defining the field, its scope, its boundaries, and its methods. Its agents seek to maintain or change power relations on the basis of their habitus (acquired through experience and socialization), and the various types of capital they possess (networks of relationships, level of education, titles, hierarchical status, honorific distinctions, possibilities to obtain funding, access to means of publication, etc.).

It is within this framework that we organize the following sections. In order to cope with the institutionalizing of TS, we will try to describe the genesis of some TS institutions, the development of the field and where we stand today. Here and there, we will also refer to the institutionalization of translation (associations, signals of professionalization, etc.) because both processes (in TS and in translation) are interrelated.

2. An often neglected (res)source

A strong paradox is not to be forgotten when one tries to trace back the genesis of TS: while the practice of translation and interpreting is much over two thousand years old, and writings about them exist in the ancient Greece and Rome to the mid-20th c., it is not, however, until the 1950s that academic and scientific publications tackled translation – a few years after the beginning of some training programs and the organization of the practitioners.

The new scholarly initiatives developed mainly outside universities, with Machine Translation (MT). The history of MT starts with the need to translate between Russian and English during the Cold War (Hutchins 1986). The USSR and the US invested money and intelligence in spying on the industry and military development on the other side of the Atlantic. Warren Weaver, generally considered one of the fathers of information theory (with Shannon), was among the few scientists who understood and promoted how computers could also be used to compute words, not only numbers. His influence in 1947–1949 about the goals and methods in MT, the recent success of cryptography, and the development of cybernetics (with Norbert Wiener) led to the founding of several MT programs in the US; the first public demonstration of the Georgetown-IBM experiment system took place in 1954. Similar programs began around the same time: for instance, in Moscow (with A. Ludskanov, J. D. Apresjan, and J. N. Marčuk), in Tokyo (with A. Okajima and M. Nagao) and in Grenoble (with B. Vauquois and C. Boitet). The first MT conference was held in London in 1956. Bar-Hillel who in 1951 began his research at MIT, was one of the first researchers to delineate the sphere of action of MT, pointing out in 1960 that Fully Automatic High Quality MT of unrestricted texts (general as well as domain-specific) was not attainable. However, at the beginning of the 60s, the rise of Generative Grammar (with Chomsky) stimulated the research again, based on linguistic universals and language invariants: computer languages served as a motivation and test bed for this theoretical framework. MT at that time did not consider knowledge of source and target languages and knowledge of the topic to be translated *sine qua non* conditions to ensure a high level of quality of translation, even though some researchers were aware of multiple meanings, semantic difficulties, connotations, and ambiguities. Translation was perceived as a mechanical transfer of words, with no capacity to infer, to abstract, to extrapolate, to generalize, or to make associations from previous knowledge (Melby 1995). Nevertheless, there was a need and the ambition to uncover information behind the Iron Curtain and in the States. The Association for MT and Computational Linguistics was formed in the US in 1962. The Automatic Language Processing Advisory Committee (ALPAC) was launched in 1965, although in 1966 the ALPAC report made it clear that the research had failed to fulfill expectations and funding was reduced. That did not imply the end of the research: in 1970–1972, the Logos MT system succeeded in translating military manuals during the Vietnam War. What is worth noticing here is the role of the Pentagon and other Ministries or Departments of Defense or State Security in the development of studies in translation, subsidized indirectly by the financial support of MT projects. This was all before J. Holmes' paper delivered in

Copenhagen in 1972 on “the name and nature of TS” (J. Holmes 1972/1988). Today, especially after the September 11 attacks (2001), armies and intelligence services are in need of translators and interpreters, not only in conflict or war situations and military operations but also in espionage, communication interception, and intelligence assessment.

Now, if we turn to training programs, we must admit that the first of these were related to a certain extent to military requirements and functions. We can mention here the first official creation of the post of military interpreter in 1929 at the Military Institute of Foreign Languages (now the Military University), the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages /MSPIFL (1935) where a school of languages was revived as early as1930, and which became in 1964 the famous Maurice Thorez Institute, renamed in 1990 the Moscow State Linguistic University. In 1945, alumni of MSPIFL interpreted at the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials where the simultaneous interpreting mode is said to have been experimented with for the first time, IBM providing the equipment. Other examples of schools are Heidelberg (1933), Geneva (1941), Vienna (1943), and Germersheim (1947) where buildings had been used before by the Allied Army, ESIT in Paris (1957) which moved into premises occupied before (1959–1966) by NATO Headquarters. In Canada, schools in Ottawa (1936), McGill (1943) and Montreal (1951) were founded to cope with English and French, even if bilingualizm was not official at that time. In Turku and Tampere in 1966 (Finland), or in Antwerp in 1961 (Belgium), training programs were first dependent upon Business Schools. In Aarhus in 1961 (Denmark), this is still the case.

An archeology of the motivations behind launching a school in translation and/or interpreting should be undertaken. Can we identify strong convergence in the history of all these entities despite the diversity of their institutional status today (university, polytechnics, vocational school, continuing education, private company, etc.)?

TS as an academic polydiscipline emerged in the1960–1970s. We can say that works by the Russian Fedorov (1953) and Jakobson (1959), the Czech Levý (1957, 1963), the French-Canadian Vinay & Darbelnet (1958), the French Mounin (1963) and Seleskovitch (1968), the North-American Nida (1964), the Scottish Catford (1965) prepared the way for Holmes’ speech in 1972, often given as the starting point of the new field, pollinated by different existing disciplines (linguistics, contrastive linguistics, applied linguistics, poetics, stylistics, comparative literature, and philosophy) (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016). The name, scope and definition of TS were heavily discussed in the 1970s, and the designation of TS begun to be dominated by higher education institutions (Departments, Schools) and associations – revealing the ambiguity of “studies” (a field of scholarship and/or training programs). 1972 is a symbolic milestone: a group of mostly Western literature scholars from Belgium, the Netherlands, Israel, and Germany wished to undertake research in translation within a dedicated discipline (Lambert 2013: 13–16). For two decades, connections with other centers (in the Soviet Union, such as in Moscow, and in Eastern Europe, such as the Prague Institute open in 1963) were scarce, the Cold War being reflected in international contacts and mobility. However, in parallel with academization, international and national organizations such as the UN (1945) and its specialized agencies, the OECE/OECD (1948), NATO (1949), Comecon (1949), the Common market/EU (1957), and bilingual Canada (1969), most of the NGOs did institutionalize translation as a service, as a profession. As said before, institutionalization should be read more as a historical dynamic, with occasional shifting patterns of power and changing locations of dominant authorities, than a static state of affairs. Dissemination of TS also means reorientations,[2] with new researchers taking part in the discussion (e.g. from Turkey, China, etc. over the last 20 years), older strong positions becoming weaker, and networking enlarging the possibilities both for consensus and for controversies. Some scholars have claimed that TS is under the spell or Eurocentrism (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016: 6). Can we still claim so today when the world map of TS is changing and TS has become institutionalized in many more countries, such as China, Japan, Brazil, and South Africa, and when Europe has never been a homogenous continent (in the 1950–1980s with the division between West and East, and in the 1990–2000s with the acknowledgment of the diversity of intellectual heritage)? TS has no single origin, even though Western Europe and the States belong to the First World (with an imperial and colonial history) and could be seen as the source of TS. Of course, this hegemony still prevails linguistically (English as a lingua franca) and symbolically (with the international ranking of universities).

3. A broad sense of training

Training will here be understood in a broad sense: not only teaching translation and training translators but also learning from others through different types of meetings.

In the past, there were institutions historically legitimized, such as the Houses of Wisdom and the system of Jesuit Education, or those mythical, such as the so-called Toledo School of Translators.

The Houses of Wisdom developed mainly between the C8th and the C13th. In those intellectual centers of learning and transmission of knowledge, scholars of Muslim, Jewish or Christian background shared information and ideas, translated texts in Greek, Syriac, Persian, Hebrew, Sanskrit, etc. from different fields of the

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[2] See G. Toury (2009) about the changes in the topics, the countries of contributions, the types of authors in *Target* between 1989 and 2009. *Target* was then one of the 13 journals in TS, as opposed to the more than 120 today.

Humanities (philosophy, logic, poetry, and history) and sciences (mathematics, astronomy, medicine, alchemy, chemistry, zoology, and geography). The most famous house remains the one based in Baghdad, during the Abbasid Empire (see Chapter 1.1 in this volume), but other centers with their library, their department of translation and their venues for discussion, existed in Cordoba, (C10th), Cairo (C11th), and Fez (C14th).

Another example of the past is the *Ratio Studiorum* (Plans of Studies) for Jesuit education. Here, we do not have premises or houses but instead a document aiming at a standardized system of training. Published in 1599, this collection of regulations for school officials and teachers was elaborated by an international team of Jesuit priests from Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Flanders, the Netherlands, and Sicily (1584–1586). It was then tested and commented upon until 1598 and revised many times between 1832 and 1987. It touched upon many different issues, from the length of the classes, the textbooks, and the introduction of marks, to the Greek and Latin authors to study and the methodology (or the use of reading, repeating, discussing). It also gave rules for languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin). This *Ratio Studiorum* was implemented in a network of 400–670 schools between 1599 (the Order was founded in 1559) and 1773 (when the Society of Jesus was dissolved). Knowing the role of the Jesuits in continuing the transmission of knowledge, science, and culture between, for instance, China and the West (in the C16–17th), such an official plan cannot be overlooked in the history of translation and translators (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 93–101).

The final example to be mentioned is the Toledo School of Translators (C12–13th). Historians do not agree on the concept of “School” (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 109–114, 188–193). Toledo was a crossroad with the Islamic world and a local network of translators with various backgrounds and status (scholars, monks, teachers, physicians, etc.), coming from different horizons (from Flanders, Scotland, England, Italy, Germany, etc.). There was no college and no courses, but the number of translations from Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin is so great and from so many different areas (philosophy, ethics, algebra, geometry, astronomy, chemistry, medicine, biology, magic, astrology, Bible, Qur’an, and religious treaties) that we can consider Toledo at the time to be a multilingual center of importance for learning and translation. This does not preclude an understanding of the variations between the two centuries regarding on the one hand the relations between the authorities (Church and King) and on the other hand the differences between translation and creation. In addition to this quantitative dimension and the diversity of languages, it is also worth noticing the translation methods used there at different time periods: in some cases, translators worked directly from Arabic to Greek or Latin; sometimes, they worked as a pair – from Arabic to Greek and from Greek to Castilian; in other cases, a translator dictated his version to a scribe who wrote down the

Castilian text (later reviewed by one or several editors). Those teams prefigure contemporary ways of translating in virtual or face-to-face teams with a division of labor facilitated by digital technology. The term "Toledo School" is perhaps now outdated and overly simplistic, but the collective effort achieved in Toledo remains important and diverse (translating, compiling, annotating, adapting, commenting, and spreading knowledge): it took into account the complexity of relations between the Arabic, Jewish and Catholic traditions; it promoted languages such as Castilian and Ladino; it underlined the role of translation in the transmission of scientific and philosophical knowledge to medieval Europe and the changes in that heritage; it opened translation to new methods and it gave new responsibilities to translators as mediators, introducing new ideas and announcing the Renaissance.

A last word about the past and the present: most Academies, from the *Akademia* founded by Plato (4th BC) to the literary and scientific Academies launched in the C16–17th (usually today state-funded) have ignored translations in their debates, even though the correspondence of the scientists in the C17–18th (Royal Society of London created in 1662, Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris (1699), and in Russia (1724), in Sweden (1739), etc.) reveal the importance of translation in their exchanges and in the development of different sciences and medicine. In fact, in many cases, most of the Academicians translated.

What about training today? It is quite difficult to compile a complete list of training programs for future professional translators/interpreters because of the different status of the schools (see Section 2) and the names of the programs (independent or part of another field of studies). Therefore, the few lines below do not pretend to offer an exhaustive view of the current situation. In Europe, an estimate reveals more than 250 programs but within EMT (European Master's in translation) only 63 have been selected. EMT is an EU network of programs in translation, set up in 2009. At the core of each curriculum is a common set of basic skills in translation (https://ec.europa.eu/info/european-masters-translation-emt_en). The aim is to harmonize the goals of the programs, not the content and the methodology of the training, in order to ensure a good match between graduate competences and employer requirements. EMT members foster cooperation and exchange good practices in the training of future highly qualified translators, including, for instance, internships. In North America, the situation has been rather static in the last few decades, although the need for interpreters and translators has increased since September 2001. Canada still focuses strongly on national bilingualism, even though Spanish today plays a larger role than it once did in certain curricula. In South America, there are a few programs, but only Brazil seems to have really invested in TS. In Asia, China has officially boosted the training: there are now 205 MA programs in T & I, organized in a network, and 230 BA programs. The growth has been very rapid over the last ten years. In Africa (e.g. in Cameroon and South Africa), the number of programs and working languages are rather limited A new project called PAMCAT (Pan African Masters Consortium in Interpretation and Translation), supported by different international organizations (EU, NU) since 2012, has set out to promote the development of training courses and already has the participation of universities in Buea, Accra, St Louis, Nairobi, and Maputo. The project wants to harmonize the procedures for selection, teaching and certification of training.

On the whole, three features at least stand out: the weight taken by official institutions (European Commission, the UN, Chinese government, etc.) in the recent development of programs, the trend to standardize them beyond national borders, and the distinction between translator training and interpreter training – both more and more on the Master's level. The institutionalized training today[3] differs from that which was offered until the 1990s when training was more dependent on local contexts and traditions and/or integrated into foreign language programs (Caminade and Pym 1998; Pym 1997; Lambert 2013: 16–22).

A historical overview of institutionalized training is still to be undertaken – from the Colbert decree (1669) about French-born students as interpreters for Turkish, Arabic and Persian, through the foundation of the Oriental Academy in 1754 by Maria Teresa, to the establishment of the Egyptian translation School *Al-Alsun* in 1835 and the efforts of the Yangwu group in China at the beginning of the C19th to create institutions for the training of specialized translators in shipbuilding and weapons manufacture. What is important is that different waves of institutionalization have taken place over 200 years, the most recent after the 1990s reflecting the changes in globalization, in Europe (the Bologna Declaration in June 1999, enlargement of the EU in 1995 and 2004), in technology, and in translation practices and thus also in the nature of university education with an increasing emphasis on vocational objectives.

Another change to be noticed is the development of doctoral programs in TS and the summer schools in TS such as CETRA (since 1989), TRSS (Translation Research Summer School) – a joint initiative of three British Universities which has run from 2009 to 2013, the Barcelona PhD summer school since 2009, the international PhD course in Translation Process Research in Copenhagen since summer 2011, the summer school for TS in Africa since 2012, and the TS Doctoral and Teaching Training Summer School since 2012, co-organized by five different universities from Slovenia, Finland, Spain and Turkey. The syllabus, the resources, the pedagogical approach, and the results are different between all those schools, and their outputs still need a thorough evaluation and comparison. However, the contribution of the CETRA

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[3] CIUTI (Conférence internationale d'Instituts de T & I) should be mentioned here: launched in 1964, this discussion platform tries to ensure the quality of graduates from its 47 full member institutions. http://www.ciuti.org/about-us/history/

Chair to the development of the TS community cannot be overlooked: more than 500 students from all over the world have attended one of the sessions and a large number of them have become university teachers/professors in different countries. As to the doctoral programs, once again a historical overview is out of the scope of this entry. Suffice it to say that an International Doctorate in TS is under way with the creation of a network in 2016 in order to support different selected programs and promote mobility as well as quality assessment (www.est-translationstudies.org/committee/doc_studies/TS-docAugust2015.pdf)

Training also includes research. A new trend in that respect is the increased number of international groups and networks carrying out thematic research – a similar development to the more globalized university training. A list of 45 research centers has been compiled by EST (European Society for TS): from Oslo to Alicante, from Geneva to Sydney, from Lisbon to Hong Kong, research in TS goes beyond national borders (www.est-translationstudies.org/resources/research_groups.html)

Part of the institutionalization is also the set of procedures to call, appoint, and promote teachers, professors, and researchers at the University, and to select translators/interpreters in regional and international organizations (EU, UN, OECD, etc.). In countries such as France, since TS is not officially listed in the CNU (Conseil National des Universités), the development of the field of TS is dependent on Section 10: people who apply for a position in translation must be competent in comparative literature. In Finland, professors working in TS can be appointed under foreign languages; although one professor in the last 40 years received a chair in TS while another received it in multilingual communications. This uncertainty reveals the uncertain status of TS, even today, after 50 years of active research. Regarding the recruitment of translators/interpreters, professional associations produce signals of recognition and define requirements for professionalization, such as formal qualification, working experience, acceptation of a code of ethics, and sitting for a test or exam. Accreditation can be under legal authorities, especially for sworn translators, and conference and/or community interpreters (see for instance NAATI in Australia, ATIO in Ontario/Canada). Those signals and mechanisms are partly challenged today by portals (e.g. Proz.com, Aquarius, Translators café) for whom training or qualification as such are far less important in the ways in which they certify their members (Pym 2014).

Last but not least, symposia, thematic seminars, conferences, congresses of academic associations (EST, ACT, IATIS to name a few – see Section 4) and professional associations (e.g. FIT/Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs) play a certain role in the production and dissemination of knowledge. A number of them are driven by an institutional strategy rather than an academic one: a department striving to strengthen its position on the national level, the wish to legitimize a new program or to reinforce the legitimacy of a degree in translation. A longitudinal study of these should clarify the motivations behind their organization, their objectives, the list of themes they seek to address, the selection criteria of the plenary speakers, the real level of internationalization they reached, etc. Such a study would demonstrate influences, trends, and what is unsaid at most of the meetings, and also changes in the medium- and long-term in TS.

Training programs, doctoral studies, research organization, procedures of appointment and recruitment, different types of meetings, etc. are increasingly controlled by a narrow set of entities. They are all submitted to an internationalization process. One of the latest associations established worldwide is WITTA (the World Interpreter and Translator Training Association): its inaugural assembly in November 2016 was held in Guangdong (China). This newly founded association has as its goal the bringing together of governmental, industrial, teaching and research institutes to promote translation education. These two factors – internationalization and calling to various stakeholders – are clear signs of how training is evolving.

4. Ways of dissemination

The dissemination of TS really began in the 1980s. Some scholars have sought to represent the changes in TS with different metaphors: Ladmiral (1987) differentiated four "ages" and then in he referred to the "law of three stages" (Ladmiral 2009). Chesterman (1997) used the concept of "meme" while Snell-Hornby (2006) favored the concept of "turns", believing in precursors, pioneers, masters, and disciples according to a certain conventional history made of proper names and key dates (see Chapter 2.7 in this volume). Those examples are efforts from inside the TS community to organize a kind of socio-historiography of the new discipline, even before its metalanguage was discussed. They might be justified by the rapid growth of associations and publications in the last 40–50 years, consolidating the field to a certain extent – institutionally more than epistemologically.

Many learned international and national associations were founded over just a few years. In chronological order, we have CATS/ACT (Canadian Association of TS, 1987), CEATL (Conseil européen des associations de traducteurs littéraires, 1990), EST (European Society for TS, 1992, whose many officers and members over the years have been CETRA staff or alumni), ABRAPT (in Brazil, 1992), JAITS (in Japan, 2000), AIETI (Associación Ibérica de Estudios de Traducción e Interpretación, 2003), ATISA (American TIS Association, 2003), and IATIS (International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies, 2004). The newest association is ATSA (in Africa, 2014). We can add here sister associations such as LISA (in localization, between 1990 and 2011) and IAMT (for MT, since 1991). All have their own procedures of selection for membership, their own mechanisms and rituals of recognition, acceptance, and authority, and their own congresses, committees, and awards, all contributing to the relative strength of TS as a social group. They have managed to bring together scholars from different backgrounds and methodological traditions – to such a degree that TS seems to be inclusive regarding research on all forms of translation and interpreting. TS developed and continues to develop at various speeds in different countries but remains an international discipline with different branches. Recently (September 2016), an umbrella association of associations, INTISA (International Network of T & I Studies Associations) was launched to promote TS in all its forms, to mutually enhance its status and the public recognition of the 12 members (associations from Japan, Germany, Greece, Brazil, USA, Korea, Africa, South America, ESIST/European Association in Screen Translation, AIETI, EST, and IATIS), to ensure the widespread distribution of information, to develop and share materials and activities for research and training. This new step in networking in TS goes hand in hand with the associativity of our contemporary societies, questioning the old hierarchies and ruling powers.

In parallel to scholarly associations caring about describing practices, we have international and national professional associations which are increasingly looking for research insights and often worrying about training and certification. At the international level, a few can be mentioned here: the FIT/Fédération internationale des traducteurs, 1953, which today brings together more than 80,000 translators working in 55 different countries and is represented in 90 national associations – its congresses from 1954 to 2017 have enlarged views, approaches, issues and problems in relation to translation, interpreting and terminology. We can also name AIIC (for 3,000 professional conference interpreters, since 1953), WASLI (World Association of Sign Language Interpreters, established in 2003), WATA (World Arabic Translators' Associations, 2004), EUATC (European Union of Associations of Translation Companies, an umbrella body for 22 national associations throughout Europe, since 2009), IAPTI (International Association of Professional Translators and Interpreters, also since 2009), and IAOP (International Association of Outsourcing Professionals, since 2013). To these organizations can be added the different associations of Language Service Providers and the Language Industry which also frequently offer training courses and certification, such as GALA (Globalization & Localization Association, founded in 2002, which today has 374 members from all over the world), and AILIA (Language Industry Association in Canada, since 2009). The different lists above, of course, are not exhaustive.

Another type of professional center is the house of literary translators, for instance in Straelen (Germany, 1978), Seneffe (Belgium, 1996), Tarazona (Spain, 1997), Arles (France, 1987), Athens (Greece, 1987), Visby (Sweden, 1993), and Annaghmakurring (Ireland, 1995), etc. These venues (11 of them grouped together since 2000 in RECIT/

Réseau européen des Centres internationaux de traducteurs littéraires) help with accommodations, financial support, and collaboration, etc. in order to improve the quality of literary translation and the visibility of literary translators. In addition, the PETRA network has existed since 2014, a European network of institutions dedicated to the education and training of literary translators; the eight founding members (academic and non- academic) include CEATL, five national entities and the University of Utrecht. The interesting challenge in this specific development is the call from Japan, Mexico and non-European countries to also be allowed to become part of this international body.

In terms of publication space, TS today covers a large spectrum of opportunities. First, we have various series: BTL (Benjamins Translation Library, 132 volumes between 1994 and April 2017), Routledge which combines textbooks, readers, guides, and handbooks, but has a list of 60 monographs in TS (including 26 titles in "Advances in TS"), Rodopi with 36 references in "Approaches to TS" launched in 1970 by J. Holmes, Peter Lang with 21 volumes since 2011 in "New Trends in TS". It would be interested to analyze the statements of these different collections – their goals and how they have, or have not, explicitly defined "translation", and also the changes in their editorial board in order to consider the distribution of the geo-linguistic authorities. Some series have disappeared after a boom, such as "Translation Practices Explained" (St Jerome publishing, Manchester), been sold to Routledge, or are no longer active, such as "Topics in Translation", 1997–2011 (Multilingual Matters). Not to be forgotten: there are various series published by universities (Ottawa, Arras, Gallaudet, Cambridge, Edinburgh, etc.). Secondly, there is a set of anthologies, Introductions to TS, readers, encyclopedias, handbooks, and as a kind of archeology of the different discourses on translation or perhaps as a fashionable sign of digest, zapping. This accumulation of so-called fundamental texts, major topics, and basic issues could be considered a loss of impetus within TS or, equally, a way to gather what is perceived as fragmented, or a means to assert the legitimacy and visibility of the field. The list of such books is rather long from the 1990s to today. Thirdly, TS is disseminated through academic journals. An estimate gives about 125 titles in the world – more than 50 were launched in the 2000s and most of these have a local/regional readership. The number of major international and peer-reviewed journals is indeed limited to a dozen: *Babel* (1955), *Meta* (1955), *TTR* (1988), *Target* (1989), *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* (1993), *The Translator* (1995), *Interpreting* (1996), *Hermeneus* (1999), *Across Languages and Cultures* (2000), *Journal of Specialized Translation/Jostrans* (only online) (2004), *Translation Studies* (2008), and *Translation Spaces* (2012). A survey of all the journals should indicate their aims and scope, their distribution, their impact, their indexation, the composition of their editorial board, and – if there are no referees, how the articles are selected and revised. Other issues worth studying are the dates and conditions of launch: can we talk about waves (1990–1995, 2005–2010)? What are the consequences of open sourcing and online production on the journals? What journals are available where TS is not yet really recognized? For instance in China, the influential journals that published in the field of translation and TS were for a long time related to foreign language (learning/teaching/research); today, there are specific journals with translation or TS in their title (e.g. *Translation World*, 2016). Fourthly, we can refer to online publications – including websites dealing with certain TS topics or scholars, and lectures and interviews on You Tube. Since 2015, EST has been leading a Wikiproject to improve the quality of information on the web about translation and TS and to update bibliographical references and data about concepts and terminology. Regarding bibliographies, there are now very few in our field: TSB (*TS Bibliography*, J. Benjamins – since 2004, currently with 28,000 annotated records; in 2015 TSB acquired and integrated the content of *TS Abstracts Online*/TSA originally launched by St Jerome in 1998), and *BITRA* (since 2001, managed by an individual from the University of Alicante). In both cases, anybody can study the number of references by subfields, according to languages, and over time. In fact, bibliometric analyses in TS have really only started in the last ten years – counting publications, citations, and working languages, looking at assessment criteria, ranking journals, measuring impact and/or quality in TS research, and the effects of the use of English as a lingua franca in TS, estimating the visibility of TS, and mapping new trends, etc. (see Chapter 3.5 in this volume) Fifthly, a rather under-evaluated issue in TS: How are translation and TS subsidized, by whom and under what conditions and circumstances? Nobody can envisage research and regular publications without funding from academic, national, or international institutions (e.g. through UNESCO, the EU, etc.) nor translations in social sciences or even in literature without grants, especially when a country at the "periphery", with a minority or a "lesser-used" language, needs to ex-translate its literary texts, in other words, needs to find out translators able to render those texts into foreign languages. Who provides the funding (foundations, Ministries, National Research Centers, or universities)? What are their criteria for the distribution of the money? What types of projects are subsidized? What are the annual prizes and awards for what kind of translation? A study like the one carried out in 2010 by H. Buzelin (2015) on how the Centre National du Livre (CNL) in France supports literary translations and translators, on how each proposal is processed, is a good example of what could be done in several countries and with many international organizations.

Institutionalization and dissemination are multifaceted. What is described succinctly above is only an invitation to go further. Many questions remain open, in particular in relation to oral and written interventions which help bring about the development process in TS: Who are the authors and speakers – PhD students, young scholars, teachers, or professors? What is their background? What is their authorial position, their ethos? How do they obtain credit and credibility? What are their working languages? What are the types of discourse presented as theorization? What is the role of networks and discussion lists in the production of texts today? Are there dominant themes at a given time, in a given place? What are the most cited works? Who are the dominant reviewers at a certain time, for certain journals? Who write book reviews? The list is near endless.

5. To conclude

Over time, throughout history, thoughts on translation have developed from a low degree of organization to a high degree of institutionalization. Nevertheless, the key question remains: To what extent do universities recognize translation as a specific program, as an autonomous research degree (and not under the label of applied linguistics or modern languages)? This relative lack of institutional recognition is confirmed, for instance, by the fact that TS journals assessed by international entities such as ERIH (the European Reference Index of the Humanities) still come under Linguistics. Although research into translation and interpreting has gained in volume and improved in quality, full academic recognition has not yet been achieved, and, further, laymen in many societies still believe that translation is merely a mechanical substitution of words. There are tensions and contradictions in the institutionalizing process of TS, partly because of the geographic, thematic and methodological diversity (or fragmentation?) of TS, partly because of academic inertia concerning setting up new fields of knowledge and questioning the traditional division of disciplines which has served the establishment of universities since the C19th, according to the Humboldtian model of higher education. This remains true despite the new competitive market-oriented universities. In a way, one can say that TS reflects the conflict between the idealiztic and the market-driven, neoliberal approaches. By mixing research and vocational training, departments or schools of T & I are facing a kind of double-bind, confronted by a set of paradoxes and dilemmas (formulated here in a simple way):

- between specializations (the translation of religious or literary texts, the corpus-based TS are often in different departments from the translation of non-literary documents)
- toward more internationalization and/or more local demands
- accepting language diversity and/or using a lingua franca
- working with standards and protocols defined by scholarly institutions and/or facing new venues and sources of translation knowledge production (see Chapter 2.5 in this volume)

- complying with contextualized corpora and/or taking into account the effects of digitalized big data
- continuing the current role of teacher and researcher and/or considering repercussions of digitalization of work and tuition on their position (and on the structure of the universities in favor of the online learning business)
- perpetuating an individualistic view of research and/or looking for innovative solutions (networking, cooperative research, etc.)
- retaining the dominant conceptual and theoretical frameworks and/or questioning, decolonizing our own knowledge (tracking the ideological and geographical understatements, assumptions and claims of our theories, understanding the historicity of our own mindset and perspectives.

In other words, why does TS matter and to whom?

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CHAPTER 3.5

Universal languages

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Keywords: lingua franca, universal language, sacred language, universal grammar, artificial language

According to the medieval cleric and translator John Trevisa (1387), God in his mercy had ordained "a double remedy" for the cacophony and confusion produced by the Tower of Babel: *translation* ("that some man learneth and knoweth many divers speeches, and so between strange men, of the which neither understandeth other's speech, such a man may be mean and tell either what other will mean") and a *universal language* ("that one language is learned, used, and known in many nations and lands") – by which he of course meant Latin, the lingua franca of medieval Europe. Hence translation and universal language are perceived as alternative responses to the pragmatic need for translingual communication, a complementarity that persists in modern linguistic parlance in the distinction that is sometimes made between "translation cultures" and "lingua franca cultures" (e.g. Ostler 2011).

However, such pragmatism was unusual at the time Trevisa was writing, as he himself effectively acknowledges in the dialogue that follows. Up to and beyond the Early Modern period, debates about a 'universal language' tended instead to be couched in mystical or religious terms, and were concerned primarily with rediscovering languages postulated as original or perfect, considered to be embodiments of God's creation. It was only from the 17th century that attention turned to the need for a global language that could serve as a vehicle for science, trade and education, and foster world peace. Today, discussions tend to centre around perennial question relating to linguistic universals and/or political and practical matters arising from the role of English as lingua franca of the globalized world. All have intersected with translation in different ways.

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1. Original or sacred languages

The notion that there once existed a single primal language with which God had literally called forth the world is central to the Judaeo-Christian tradition and has thus played a big role in Western debates about translation over the centuries. That mystical Ur-sprache (which Jews equate with the Hebrew of the Torah) was understood to be congruent with reality in a way that no other tongues have ever been; hence, the words of the sacred text had a materiality and prophetic value that precluded any kind of rewriting, including translation.

The belief that the original divine language was motivated and performative rather than conventional and representational is not exclusive to Judaism. It is found in other religions (such as Islam) and was also present in the Classical tradition (as for example in Plato's dialogue *Cratylus*). Indeed, phenomenologists of religion (e.g. Eliade 1971/1954) have suggested that performativity is a defining characteristic of archaic ontology, while the understanding of meaning as representational, and therefore translatable, is a decidedly modern development. Hence, the question of translatability is intimately bound up with that shift from a performative to a representational understanding of meaning.

In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, two major paradigm shifts were necessary before this process was complete: the fusion of Judaism with Hellenistic philosophy in 1st century Alexandria, which introduced the all-important notion of *mediation* into the Jewish worldview, legitimizing the translation of sacred texts and enabling Christ to be understood as the incarnation, or translation into flesh, of the divine *logos*; and the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, which made the scriptures into the ultimate source of religious authority, shifting the emphasis away from the ritualistic utterance of the divine word to contemplation of its sense (Bennett 2018). However, the notion of the mystical primal language that does not represent or express but merely *is* did not disappear with the onset of Christianity. It was retained in the Jewish interpretative traditions of Midrash and Kabbalah, resurfacing in the 19th and 20th centuries in what George Steiner (1998/1975) calls the 'hermeneutic' approach to translation theory. In Walter Benjamin (1923), for example, the translator is a quasi-messianic figure, tasked with releasing in his own language "that pure language which is exiled among alien tongues".

Today there are signs that the process may be going into reverse. In the ongoing debate about untranslatability (cf. Cassin 2014; Apter 2008), performativity is reclaimed as a central feature of philosophical texts, devolving to some extent the understanding of meaning as inextricably bound up with form.

2. Artificial languages

From the 17th century onwards, there were a number of attempts to develop artificial languages that could eliminate the bias, redundancy and ambiguity inherent in natural languages and facilitate human understanding and progress. These took place in a very different paradigm to that in force throughout the medieval period. Now the emphasis was on achieving objective knowledge of the physical world and man's place in it, and on enabling communication between scientists of different cultural backgrounds. The early attempts, such as the 17th century philosophical languages of George Dalgarno (*Ars Signorum* 1661) and John Wilkins (1668), and the *lingua generalis* of Gottfried Leibniz (1678), involved the *a priori* construction of philosophical grammars of supposedly universal concepts, which were then used to generate a range of invented terms. However, due to intrinsic flaws, none of these managed to gain much traction as a universal language of science, and the natural vernacular languages (English, Dutch, German, Italian, French, Russian, etc.) took over the role instead, gradually developing the grammatical resources necessary for the linguistic construction of objectivity and the generation of technical terminology (Halliday and Martin 1993; Gordin 2015).

In the 19th and 20th centuries, there were new attempts to create artificial languages for idealistic purposes, but these International Auxiliary Languages (IALs), as they were called, were now based on natural languages rather than created from scratch. Some, such as Volapük, Esperanto and Ido, were amalgams of various tongues, and as such, aspired to absolute neutrality and universality; however, they were limited in this aim by the fact that they tended to suffer a kind of 'Babelization' whenever demands were made of them beyond the merely pragmatic. That is to say, as soon as they were required to serve as a vehicle of culturally embedded values (when literary texts were translated into them, for example), their neutrality was compromised and they began to behave like natural languages.

In the 20th century, a number of IALs were created that were essentially simplified versions of English (e.g. Basic English, Simplified English, Attempto Controlled English), obtained by limiting the vocabulary and grammatical structures in order to reduce ambiguity and facilitate learning. However, these too have been criticised for a lack of neutrality on the grounds that the very selection of structures and words for inclusion in their repertoire is an ideological act that – ironically – often privileges native speaker perspectives. They have therefore had limited uptake.

3. Lingua francas

The modern term 'lingua franca' denotes a language that is used for the purpose of communication between people that have different mother tongues and which has developed to serve a pragmatic end, such as trade, religious evangelism, science or diplomacy. Defined for the first time in 1951 by UNESCO, the term actually derives from the 'Frankish language', or commercial pidgin that developed on the Mediterranean from the 15th to the 19th centuries. However, not all lingua francas are pidgins. Many instead are *koinés*, i.e. fully fledged languages of a region that have been spread by empire or cultural hegemony (such as the Greek spoken in the Hellenistic world, Roman Latin or contemporary English).

According to some authors, a defining feature of a lingua franca is its lack of cultural overlay, and indeed some lingua francas (such as Medieval Latin, Classical Chinese, Sanskrit, Classical Arabic) were spoken by no one as a mother tongue. This dimension is particularly pertinent today in the light of contemporary debates about English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), with some authors (e.g. Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins 2007) arguing that ELF has already developed characteristics that mark it out from native-speaker varieties. Translating into or out of ELF thus raises particular challenges, which have now begun to be addressed by theorists (cf. Taviano 2010; Taviano, ed. 2013).

However, few lingua francas are as neutral as these authors suppose, due to their inevitable association with structures of power. Those that began their lives as imperial languages remain culturally charged long after the demise of the colonial power, sometimes becoming vehicles for soft power in the aftermath of empire (Phillipson 1992) or suffering rejection, as happened with Russian after the breakdown of the Soviet Union or with German after the Second World War. Indeed, some scholars hold that languages encode ideology in their very structure, arguing, for example, that the English used by international organisations like the OECD is a tool of symbolic power (Kaess 2017) or that English Academic Discourse – the lingua franca of knowledge in the globalized world – is an agent of epistemicide (Bennett 2007). From this perspective, the cultivation of alternative language communities such as *francophonie*, *hispanofonia* or *lusofonia* may be understood as part of an attempt to offset the drift towards a linguistic monoculture.

The prestige accruing to major lingua francas also impinges upon the translation economy (cf. Heilbron 2000). Typically, there will be a great deal of translation done *out of* the lingua franca (as contents generated in it are disseminated to monolinguals of other language communities) with very little *into* it. This creates a substantial 'trade surplus', bringing further ideological and cultural ramifications.

4. Universal grammar

One of the issues that has impinged most directly on the theory and practice of translation is the question of whether human languages are actually underpinned by universal structures that enable equivalences to be produced in the act of translation. The notion of a universal grammar has a long pedigree. It was articulated in the medieval period by Roger Bacon and the Modists, in the 17th century by the Cartesian grammarians of Port Royal, and again in the 18th century by a Scottish school that included figures such as James Beattie, James Burnett and James Harris. Its most famous contemporary representative is of course Noam Chomsky, whose transformational generative grammar underpinned many of the linguistic approaches to translation popular in the second half of the 20th century. These approaches (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958; Catford 1965; Nida 1964), which were mainly prescriptive, conceived translation as the substitution of a series of source text structures by 'equivalent' forms in the target language, listing techniques by means of which this could be achieved. However, they fell out of favour from the 1980s onwards when the attention moved away from structure to function and to the role that the translated text was playing in the target culture.

Despite all these attempts and developments, there has never actually been a truly universal language in the real world due to the Babel effect mentioned above. A living language that serves many different communities and functions naturally develops in different directions to allow the expression of particular or local meanings, and over time, these tend to evolve into mutually unintelligible varieties, as occurred with Latin. In the case of English today, although that process is offset by modern communications which reinforce centripetal tendencies, new hybrid forms of the language are now being assertively promoted in different parts of the globe as vehicles of complex multilingual identities, raising a whole set of complex questions for translation (Meylaerts 2006; Klinger 2015).

Indeed, it has been suggested that English may actually prove to be the last lingua franca if translation technology continues to develop at its current pace. Ostler (2011) argues that we are on the verge of a whole new paradigm shift that will see a move away from a lingua franca economy to a translation one, this time supported by mobile translation applications that will enable instantaneous conversions of written text and speech. While this situation is clearly not so far away with regards to pragmatic texts, it remains to be seen if this will ever extend to literary and philosophical texts, the kind of works that transport vital cultural and identity values, and have been the site of ideological tussles over the centuries.

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CHAPTER 3.6

Forms and formats of dissemination of translation knowledge

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Many textual forms circulate between cultures by means of translation. Throughout the day, one is persistently faced with translated messages encoded in the form of meaningful discourse. They range from the labels on shampoo, conditioner, shower gel, toothpaste, cereal and milk cartons, advertisements on outdoors, instruction manuals, bus or subway tickets, to written or oral text on screens, on the bus, on car computers on smartphones. All these textual forms reach us before entering the office. And the list could go on.

However, it is only recently that the scope of translation as product has been acknowledged to be so wide and worthy of study. Initially circumscribed mostly to canonized literary texts, reflection and research on translation gradually widened the scope of its object of study. If we briefly sketch the evolution of this concept, this expansion started by considering verbal records in writing of different discursive transactions (beyond canonized literature and fiction), and it is only in recent decades that it also comprehends oral communication as well as audiovisual or multimodal texts.

Following Trosborg (1997), who anchors her approach on M. A. K. Halliday's proposals within systemic functional linguistics, some genres adopted by translation may be distinguished in terms of three sets of criteria. First, translation genres differ in terms of **field** (in the ideational component) flexibly understood as both the subject matter and linguistic content e.g., the use of domain-specific discourse enables the distinction between medical, legal, technical, scientific, academic discourse, and their genres. Second, translation genres also differ in terms of **tenor** (in the interpersonal component), which may involve different communicative functions and different producer and receiver profiles and relationships,

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allowing for the distinction between professional, novice, amateur, individual, team or crowd-produced translation as well as between human and machine(-aided) translation (in terms of producer) or the distinction between private and public textual forms in terms of receiver, ranging from, e.g., a question interpreted for a specific addressee to answer, an article translated and published in a magazine or a program translated and broadcast for a very wide audience, or narrowcast for a specific audience, or a book translated for children, or a set of instructions to operate a gadget, encompassing a variety of power relations. Third, translation genres will also vary in terms of **mode** (in the textual component), which once extended to encompass channel and medium of both source and target text allows for the distinction between visual, aural or audiovisual/multimodal texts, including written and oral translation (or interpreting), dubbing, subtitling, audio-description, etc. Additionally,

> multi-semiotic texts (…) are dominant in our culture(s) today (…) From stage production to Audiovisual translation, from children's illustrated books to advertisements (printed, TV or video-clips), from tourist brochures to comics, from websites to videogames, most texts to be translated/localized are now multi-semiotic texts (…) Texts are not only becoming more multimodal (using different systems of signs) but also multimedia (using different media, e.g. a press article can be remediated on a website or smartphone). (Gambier 2013: 67)

The very availability of such texts and their translations in electronic format and various platforms, in turn, allows for extremely differentiated reading and reception experiences. It is quite different to read Hamlet's most famous soliloquy in a public library, to watch one of its many famous screen adaptations at home or in a theatre movie, or to read or watch it in a hand-held electronic device (such as a smart phone or a tablet), while cycling in the gym, lying in the sun at the beach or listening to its audio version while running through the woods.

The scope of translation has also widened over the years of research on this concept, encompassing intralingual and intersemiotic translation, besides interlingual translation (sometimes also mentioned as translation proper), as initially suggested by Jakobson (1959). Since the 1980s it has also become a more flexible concept defined as a result of both similarity and change, involving maintenance but also omission, addition and shifting. Translation is thus understood as resulting from the translator's individual reading of a source text, and from his negotiation of two different languages, and two different constellations of cultural references and participants in communication. Over time, translation has been redefined as a means for intercultural communication involving modification, under the influence and constraints imposed by the target context for which (and often in which) the translator, as expert in intercultural communication, works. It, thus, comprehends, e.g., texts previously labelled (free) versions, adaptations, condensations, or summaries. Lefevere (1982/2012) adds further flexibility to this concept by equating it with refraction and rewriting. As suggested by this author, translation is further expanded to also encompass criticism, commentary, editing, historiography, teaching, collections, series and anthologies, play production, or screen adaptation. In view of this, translation knowledge has evolved through time to redefine translation in an increasingly flexible and encompassing way which allows for the consideration of such diverse forms and formats as anthologies, collections or series, school and university syllabi, criticism, encyclopedias, handbooks, readers, companions, summaries and notes, journals, or monographs. Given its malleable redefinition, this phenomenon also includes blurbs, translators' notes, glosses, prefaces and postfaces, editorial introductions, theories and treatises, Wikipedia entries (see Chapter 5.1), not to mention the myriad multimodal, multimedia and interactive textual forms currently available. For some, such mediated forms of intercultural communication and dissemination create the only image of the foreign Other they will ever know.

Knowledge about translation is, thus, disseminated implicitly via the circulation of such diverse forms of translation as the above-mentioned ones but it is also explicitly made available by diverse forms of direct dissemination.

Crossing this sometimes fuzzy frontier between forms in translation and of translation knowledge, throughout the ages since Herodotus (5th century BC), both translations, translators and translating have been the object of reflection, ranging from mild and friendly discussion to sometimes also violent contention. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that textual forms assumed by translation knowledge are extremely variable. They encompass differing degrees of domain specific discourse about translation, translators and translating (field); different participant profiles and power relations between authors and their addressees, as well as various communicative functions, and private or public discourse (tenor); and a growing variety of modes, channels and media, which are currently multiplying in kaleidoscopic re-combinations made possible by technological development (mode). Translation knowledge is, thus, disseminated explicitly resorting to letters, dialogues, anthologies, critiques and reviews, encyclopedias, handbooks, readers, introductions, journals, monographs, translators' notes, glosses and prefaces, theories, treatises, and more currently Wikipedia, blogs, chatrooms, newsgroups or video recorded lessons, lectures and interviews available via *online* platforms such as Moodle, YouTube or Vimeo, among others.

Many texts have proven so influential upon translation practice and research that they are mentioned as major milestones. However, upon closer scrutiny some of them only cursorily deal with the topic of translation. Irrespective of their influence upon the study of translation over time, they address a wide variety of topics, and say "relatively little about translation," as in the case of Martin Luther's famous "Circular Letter on Translation" (1530) (Lefevere 1992: XIII). In other cases, works are fully focused on addressing what translation and translating is, or has been over time, irrespective of their length. The latter span from dictionary or encyclopedia entries to full-fledged monographs, or even anthologies, collections and online portals entirely devoted to Translation Studies.

Introductions, prefaces, translators' notes, glosses, postfaces, commentaries, or dedications by translators, included in the printed volume, on the electronic page or book containing the translated work, often present what is claimed to be the predominant global strategy for the translator, as well as a reflection on their main reasons and motivations. These sometimes come in the guise of *caveat lector* or a *captatio benevolentiae* note, in either case as a way of winning the reader to the translators' side by making them aware of probable flaws exhibited by the translator and the translation for which the translator preemptively asks for forgiveness and goodwill. Introductions to pseudo-translations (*i.e.*, original works presented as translations) may also shed light on the topic of what translation may be, since they tend to focus on what a translation should be. None of the above examples should, however, be taken at face-value since such reflections tend to be evaluative and prescriptive, by presenting a view on translation that does not necessarily correspond to actual practice. Sometimes they may even present negative proof of a predominant practice the author or translator wishes to see changed. Nevertheless, they should not be discarded as sources of relevant information about attitudes towards translations, translators, translation agents or translating.

Translators often comment upon their work and offer their reflections on translation and translating in texts published together with their translations (peritexts), consequently, examples abound. To quote but a few, one might select: Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt (1606–1664), whose translations were the first to be considered "belles infidèles" and who includes comments as a preface to his translation of Lucian; John Dryden's (1631–1700) "Dedication" to his translation of the *Aeneid*, who comments on translators being bound to the author's sense as a slave is; Antoine Prévost (1697–1763) who adds a preface to his translation of Richardson's *Pamela*; Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), who also includes a preface to his translation of Tacitus; Victor Hugo (1802–1885), who offers his comments on translation as a preface to the translations of Shakespeare published by his son; or Edward Fitzgerald (1809–1883), who offers his views on his preferred strategy of naturalizing translation in his preface to *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. One need only browse through the table of contents of several published anthologies collecting such texts or excerpts to witness how they multiply in more recent times (see, e.g., Robinson 1997/2015 or Venuti 2000/2012).

Blurbs, editorial statements, often oriented by marketing purposes whilst disseminating a work, an author, a genre, for an audience belonging to a different culture and speaking a different language, may additionally convey an underlying or implicit definition of translation. This may become apparent by means of praising what is considered to be a model translation, be it a source-oriented and "faithful" rendition of the author's many accomplishments or a target-oriented and "fluent" or appealing rendition in the target language, which may even serve to enrich it; a full-text version or the original work, or a condensed and scrupulously abridged version; a new and innovative rendition of an already translated work or a reprint of a version by a famous translator, whose status is thus transferred to the text. Similarly, adaptations and condensations for children, summaries and notes for school students may also present and define translation as quite different textual forms.

Criticism offers another set of texts, heavily permeated by subjective factors and/or marketing and economic interests, among other factors, as academic or journalistic, as descriptive-explanatory or evaluative practice (Paloposki 2013: 184). Reviews and critiques published in journals and magazines, in print or online, in blogs followed by fans, disseminated within book clubs, aired by television and radio programs, or commented during a show or newsreel tend to recreate and disseminate the image of an author, a work (of fiction or non-fiction), or a whole oeuvre in a receiving culture and implicitly convey a definition for a model translation.

Letters or epistles may be defined as written communication addressed to a person, a group of people or an organization, either handwritten or printed, corresponding to varying degrees of formality and to different communicative functions. From Flaccus Quintus Horatius' (65–8BC) "Letter to the Pisones" or *Ars Poetica*, Saint Jerome's (345–419/420) "Letter to Pammachius," Saint Augustine's (345–430) "Letter to Saint Jerome," and Martin Luther's (1483–1546) "Circular Letter on Translation," thoughts about translation have been expressed in discussions held by means of hand-written, printed or, more recently, electronic letters. Privately sent or publicly circulated and published, such letters have been vehicles for the discussion of translation. Currently, some research projects about translation also resort to email exchanges by translators, editors, anthologizers, publishers in order to study the genealogy of translations and to profile various contributions for a published translation. Such textual sources allow for the uncovering, consideration and study of a sometimes quite varied translator agency, which goes well beyond the name of the translator printed on the title page or shown onscreen, taking credit (or blame) for the end product.

Dialogues (understood as a literary work in the form of a conversation) **and the more recent phenomenon of interviews** (defined as an oral or written interaction in which a reporter or writer asks questions to one or several people so as to obtain information for publication in periodicals or for broadcast, e.g., on radio or television), both fictional and authentic, have often been used to address the topic of translation. The English translator John of Trevisa (1362–1412) adds his views on translating as a fictional dialogue published as a preface to his translation of *Polychronicon*, Petrus Danielus Huetius (1630–1721) also chooses this form to discuss the best way of translating. Currently published in newspapers, magazines or in scientific journals, interviews are another vehicle for the dissemination of knowledge about translation. The publication of a major work of world literature in re/translation or of a translation by a well-known public figure, such as a famous literary author or a prize-winning scholar, motivate such interviews published in periodicals for a wide readership or a more specific range of experts. One such example is the *Los Angeles Review of Books* interview with the North-American translator of the 2012 Chinese Nobel prize laureate Mo Yan, Howard Goldblatt, whose English versions have been used for the production of several indirect translations (Sparks 2013). Such interactions in the form of oral or written conversations have nowadays become increasingly more open and flexible in terms of format, formality, number of participants, and even use of real identity or of aliases, by the widespread use of newsgroups, *online* chat rooms, blogs or other social media. Such platforms allow access to the explicit theorization of both professional and untrained translators, as well as researchers on translation. One such example is Anthony Pym's YouTube channel including interviews with translation scholars (https://www.youtube.com/user/AnthonyPym).

Rules and treatises on translating may be defined as a systematic written exposition about a topic, which thoroughly and methodically addresses facts, principles and conclusions. Authors and translators have also contributed to a reflection on translating by means of more concrete and systematic recommendations on specific techniques they consider should be followed. Accordingly, treatises and rules on translating have also been published over the years such as Leonardo Bruni's (1374–1444) "The Right Way to Translate," Antoine Lemaistre's (1608–1650) "Rules of French Translation," to Gaspard de Tende's (1618–1697) "Rules of Translation," to name but a few examples. More recent reflections upon translation strategies, tactics, techniques, and procedures, both descriptive and prescriptive, could also be quoted in this regard.

Essays (short written analysis or interpretation of a topic, often presenting a personal point of view), **articles** (short written nonfictional text constituent of a larger publication such as a journal, newspaper, volume of proceedings, etc.), **monographs** (longer nonfictional texts presenting a learned approach to a specialized disciplinary area), as well as readers, anthologies and collections(including selected pieces, passages or whole scientific texts) fully dedicated to translating include Etienne Dolet's (1509–1546) "On the way of Translating Well from One Language into Another," or Alexander Fraser Tytler's (1747–1814) *Essay on the Principles of Translation*. More recent examples include the anthology *Translation/History/Culture,* edited by Lefevere (1992) and spanning twenty centuries, from the Roman orator Cicero (106 BC–43 BC) to the German scholar Willamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931), Robinson's (1997/2015) *Western Translation Theory from Herodotus to Nietzsche* or Venuti's (2012) *The Translation Studies Reader*. The latter offers a chronological rearrangement of essays or excerpts devoted to translation, which are also organized in terms of the autonomy or dependence of translation and translating regarding both the source text and culture and the target culture, and focuses more on 20th-century contributions.

Collections fully devoted to translation knowledge include the "American Translators Association Scholarly Monograph Series," "Benjamins Translation Library," "FIT Monograph Series/Collection," "Handbook of Translation Studies," by John Benjamins; the series "New Perspectives in Translation and Interpreting Studies," "Routledge Advances in Translation Studies," "Routledge Handbooks in Translation and Interpreting Studies," "Routledge Studies in Translation Technology," "Thinking Translation," "Translation Practices Explained," "Translation Studies," "Translation Theories Explored," by Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group; or the collections "Topics in Translation," "Translating Europe," by the British editorial group Multilingual Matters/Channel View, among others. Most publishers now make their publications in electronic version available online, e.g. the online collections of works on Translation and Interpreting Studies by John Benjamins (https://benjamins.com/) or the Routledge Translation Studies Portal (http://cw.routledge.com/textbooks/translationstudies/) and even in open-access mode. Work-in-progress knowledge on translation is also frequently available over the Internet, since researchers often include electronic versions of their publications in their professional homepages or have social academic media profiles (e.g. in academia.edu, or researchgate.net), among others, which also offer the possibility of *online* publication of pre-print versions and even online collective commenting by peers prior to publication.

Introductions to Translation Studies and Theories, understood as learned and accessible summary prose, mainly produced for beginners, presenting selected approaches to the study of translation and translating, have also been published especially following the major boom of publications by researchers in Translation Studies since the 1980s. Several introductory volumes have been published since the 2000s, such as Munday (2001/2016) and Gentzler (2001), presenting helpful guidance on main authors and proposals to reflect upon translation. Snell-Hornby (2006) organizes the field of translation studies according to precursors, pioneers, masters and disciples, thus offering a "who is who" of the discipline, as well as according to turns, such as the cultural turn of the 1980s, and the empirical and globalization turns of the 1990s (to which many other could be added). Pym (2010/2014) offers a selective and critical panorama of six major paradigms of Western Translation theories since the 1960s – natural and directional equivalence, purposes, descriptions, uncertainty, localization, and cultural translation. Brems *et al.* (2015) point towards future tracks of the discipline in their metadisciplinary reflective work, *The Known Unknowns of Translation Studies.*

Among recent forms of dissemination of translation knowledge are **reference books** on Translation Studies, such as handbooks and encyclopedias, which are vital reference tools for research on translation. Among the most prominent are the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker and Malmkjær 1998; Baker and Saldanha 2008), *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies* (Munday 2009), the four volume *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2010–2013), *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies* (Malmkjær and Windle 2011), *A Companion to Translation Studies* (Bermann and Porter 2014), or the more recent *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies* (Millán and Bartrina 2017). Additional forms for the explicit dissemination of knowledge about translation are also specialized **glossaries** of key terms in translation studies such as the *MonAKO Glossary* (Chesterman s.d.), *The EST Translation Studies Glossary* (2014), or Anthony Pym's tentative glossary of research terms (Pym 2011).

Oral presentations such as **lectures** (a class or a learned oral presentation before an audience), **conferences** (formal meetings between a group of invited and self-proposed delegates for the presentation and exchange of views about a topic), or **congresses** (larger formal meetings often between members of an association or society for the presentation and exchange of views on a range of topics) are also used to disseminate reflections about translation. From Schleiermacher's (1768–1834) thoughts about naturalization or foreignization included in his lecture "On the Different Methods of Translating," to the currently hundreds of conferences, lectures, round-tables on translation offering platforms for high-quality dissemination of knowledge on translation we have come a long way. Currently, there are also many lectures available online (via e.g. YouTube or Vimeo), or accessible via live streaming of conferences on Translation Studies. One only has to choose to access current up-to-date knowledge on translation. Besides national associations, two main international associations organizing regular congresses are the EST – European Society for Translation Studies (http://www.est-translationstudies.org/; offering online streaming of congress plenary lectures), founded 1992, and the IATIS – International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies (http://www.iatis.org), founded 2006. More recently, in 2016, an International Network of Translation and Interpreting Studies Associations (INTISA) has also been founded. In the near future, further platforms and channels for the international dissemination of translation knowledge are expected to emerge.

Paper or electronic **databases** (defined as a large collection of data, currently often in electronic format and accessible online, for swift search and retrieval) and **bibliographies** (lists of descriptive information about writings addressing a specific subject) on translations and on translation knowledge are further means of making knowledge on translation more accessible. The former include, e.g., the 2010 database on translated literature in Portugal "Intercultural Literature in Portugal 1930–2000: A Critical Bibliography" (http://www.translatedliteratureportugal.org/eng/index.htm). The latter include the "Bibliography on Interpreting and Translation – BITRA" (https://aplicacionesua.cpd.ua.es/tra_int/usu/buscar.asp?idioma=pt), and the "Translation Studies Bibliography – TSB" by John Benjamins (http://benjamins.com/online/tsb/), offering up-to-date and comprehensive bibliographies of works on translation.

Histories of literature, works on language, literature or rhetoric are additional examples of reflections on translation included in works addressing a wide variety of topics or dedicated to a different theme. They include Charles Batteux's (1713–1780) "Principles of Literature," Johan Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749–1832) "Writings on Literature," the history of literature by August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845, "History of Romantic Literature"), or Percy Bysshe Shelley's (1792–1822) "A Defence of Poetry." Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) offers his reflections on translation within his work on rhetoric entitled "On the Orator," Roger Bacon's (1220–1292) thoughts on translating are included in his work "On the Knowledge of Languages," and Joachim du Bellay's (1522–1560) often quoted remarks are included in his work on the French language, *Défense et illustration de la langue française*. Even if less common, national histories of literature also mention translation even if more often as a practice by well-known authors cited for their major works. More currently, we have witnessed the publication of histories of literature in a given language, which explicitly include reference to translated works (see, e.g., Carter and MacRae's *The Routledge History of Literature in English: Britain and Ireland*, 2nd. ed. 2001).

Histories of translation are ambitious projects, therefore, translation history has been addressed mainly by means of case studies published as articles or chapters in larger publications. Against this backdrop, an example such as the fifteen volumes published in a series by the 1985–1997 German research project "Sonderforschungsbereich: die literarische Übersetzung" stand out. The series entitled *Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung* were published between 1987 and 1997, and address the cultural history of literary translation into German since the Romantic period.

This wide spanning panorama of forms and formats making translation knowledge available either implicitly or explicitly is still lacking in additional examples both from Oriental sources and on many more translation forms besides written translation (interpreting, localization, etc.). The range of such forms and formats is also bound to grow since technological development provides further innovative platforms for the dissemination of knowledge, also about translation, translators and translating.[1]

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[1] Most examples in this chapter are drawn from Lefevere (1992), Robinson (1997/2015) and Venuti (2000/2012). Additional examples from other languages and intellectual traditions both in and outside Europe might be mentioned. For further information, see e.g. 21st century publications focusing mainly or exclusively on non-western reflection and views on translation in Asian traditions (Chan 2004; Cheung 2006; Hung and Wakabayashi 2005; or Hermans 2006), with special reference to Tymoczko (2006), which focuses on debunking western-thought assumptions on translation and suggests to broaden both the definition of this phenomenon and, as a consequence, its study by considering non-Western conceptualizations focusing less on translation as resemblance and more on it as dissimilarity.

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CHAPTER 3.7

Translation politics and policies

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Keywords: politics, policies, power, empire, civil rights

1. Definition

In its widest sense, politics can be defined as the "total complex of relations between people living in society" (Merriam-Webster). Likewise, the term policy refers to "a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions" (Merriam-Webster). A history of translation politics and policies and their effects would consequently cover the complete knowledge about translation, translators, translation strategies, their goals and effects on society, and so much more. Definitely, what one would gain in terms of scope in such a breathtaking enterprise, one would risk to loose in terms of situated understanding. This essay however would like to focus on a more restricted and at the same time more challenging and innovative history of translation politics and policies. In a more restricted sense the two concepts appear to be closely intertwined, politics referring to "the art or science of government" and policy to "the conduct of political and public affairs by a government or an administration" (Merriam-Webster).

2. Translation of legal texts

The translation of important legal texts and their role in shaping societies worldwide is thus part of translation politics and policies. Although the first French Empire (1804–1814) quickly vanished, the Code Napoléon (1804), a codification of the civil law of France, survives, "still serving as the basis for the legal systems of France and many European countries, as well as other parts of the world" (Kranzberg 1959: 26). The Code spread as a consequence of the conquests of Napoleon in Belgium, the

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Netherlands, Luxemburg, some parts of Germany, northern Italy, and was kept there for some time (in Belgium e.g. even until now) after Napoleon's defeat. From 1830 onwards, "the real era of dissemination and expansion of the Code began" (Kranzberg 1959: 39): in Greece (1827), The Netherlands (1838), Portugal (1867), Spain (1889), and in the Americas. Next to Quebec (1866), the "Bolivian Code of 1831 is a simple translation of the French Code. The Chilean Code of 1865 is also founded on the French Code, including many literal borrowings; Ecuador, Colombia, Uruguay, Argentina borrowed liberally from the Chilean Code, so the Code Napoleon indirectly inspired their codes." (Kranzberg 1959: 40) What translation strategies were adopted and what was their effect in the respective societies still remains an open question for Translation Studies.

Translations of legal texts have also played important roles in international relations between states. Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* (1836), to give just one example, was "one of the most popular texts of international law of the nineteenth century" (Liu 2004: 108) and was translated in French (1846), Spanish (1854) and Italian (1860). Its Chinese translation (1860) "marked a turning point in the government's dealings with the outside world (…) leading to the creation of the foreign affairs office (…) as well as the foreign legations in Beijing." (Liu 2004: 109)

3. Power issues

Throughout history, the politics and policies of translation were closely related to power issues. Surprisingly, as noticed by Dollerup (2002) and Stahuljak (2010) Translation Studies has until recently mainly focused on power issues in literary translation. The last decade has witnessed increased attention for the role of translators and interpreters in present-day conflict situations (see e.g. Inghilleri 2010). Still, also in the past, they fulfilled important roles in diplomacy and international politics. Since Antiquity translators and interpreters have served as mediators and negotiators in military and political transactions: in the Roman Empire, in Italian Medieval diplomacy, in 16th century Conquest of Mexico, in the Ottoman and Austrian Empires (see e.g. Federici 2014). In 17th century (especially Dutch) colonial Taiwan, interpreters "served as political instruments for consolidating or expanding the ruling power" (Chang 2014: 152). Conversely, a lack of interpreters may seriously hinder an Empire's expansion plans. During early 17th century British Empire e.g., British ambassador Thomas Roe complained about a lack of interpreters in his efforts to obtain protection and legitimacy from the Mughal court for British companies to trade and build factories (Powell 2002: 217). According to Dollerup (2002:194) interpreters have usually been in the employ of the more powerful party and have often been strongly controlled by the dominant power, especially since they were often children, women or slaves. Needless to say that translators and interpreters often risked their lives. So e.g. during the Chinese Qing dynasty (1688–1911), "the translation of the names of Portugal and Spain nearly cost a Qing dynasty official his life" (Yangsheng 2009: 252).

4. Translation and empire

Translation politics and policies were also powerful tools for managing internal affairs in past multiethnic and multilingual empires, such as the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258), the Inca Empire (1438–1533), the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), the Spanish (1402–1975), Austro-Hungarian (1848–1918), Russian (1721–1917), Ottoman (1299–1922), British (1603–1997), and French (1804–1814) Empires etc. By their very formation, empires are translinguistic force fields which depend absolutely on communication (Pratt 2015: 351) and therefore employ translation and interpreting as a method of communication between occupiers and occupied (Rafael 2015: 85) but also as a means of domination and exploitation. Empires need to redistribute linguistic landscapes and competences in order to organize "regulated practices, hierarchies of command, and judicial processes." (Pratt 2015: 352–353) They also need to create imperial subjects, making sure the newly occupied adhere to the new and foreign authority. In what language(s) were rules communicated, people sentenced, contracts drafted? Was everything translated into the indigenous languages? Did the imperial power rather opt for monolingualism and non-translation? Or was there a combination of both? To administer in indigenous languages is "to empower them and their speakers; to do so in the arriving imperial language means incomprehension." (Pratt 2015: 353) Once again large-scale systematic accounts on empires' translation politics and policies are lacking and research is scattered among different fields. Let us give some preliminary data which all point to the crucial role of translation in the conduct of political and public affairs.

In the Abbasid Caliphate translation into Arabic "fortified Arabic as the sole language of politics. (…) Caliphal efforts at empire building and maintenance established Arabic as the common link between subjects and rulers, a prerequisite for imperial service and etiquette signifying power and sociocultural assimilation in one of the most remarkable literate empires in world history" (Yücesoy 2015: 386). The Incas used Quechua as the imperial lingua franca but allowed certain conquered people, such as the Aymara, to keep their language. Since Quechua lacked a written form, interpreting must have been an important tool to assure communication between rulers and people but until now the politics and policies of Inca translation remain a blind spot in Translation Studies. The Spanish Empire took over the Inca policy: it did not impose Castilian as the imperial language and remained strongly multilingual. Between 1580 and 1640, the Spanish Empire spread over four continents and ruled over language communities "with different scripts, from spoken languages in Africa to Maya glyphs in America and Japanese characters in Asia" (Gruzinski 2009, quoted in Behiels et al. 2014: 113). Translating and interpreting were essential for communication between and administration of the different communities. The *Secretaría de Interpretación de Lenguas*, created by Charles V in 1527 translated from and into no less than 14 West European languages (Latin, Greek, Castilian, Catalan, Valencian, Portuguese, Tuscan, French, German, Dutch, English, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian (see Behiels et al. 2014). Only toward the end of the colonial period Castilian became the hegemonic language of the emerging Latin American nation-states . What that meant for translation remains an open question.

Although the decree of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) enforced the use of French for all acts of justice, at the dawn of the French Revolution (1789) only 50% of the people could speak some French and in 1863 still 25% didn't understand French at all (Dullion 2012: 1087). France, together with its annexed territories, remained a very multilingual space until late in the 19th century. This explains why translation played an important role in communication between authorities and citizens. In 17th century Alsace e.g., royal officials printed directives and posted bills in French and German, and made oral announcements in Alsatian dialect. Eventually French never became the administrative or everyday language in the Alsace. A similar policy prevailed when Corsica was annexed in 1768.

5. Translation and civil rights

Since the French Revolution (1789), the link between language, translation and the state became gradually more important. Inspired by Enlightenment ideas of liberty, popular sovereignty and constitutional government, the 1789 *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* [Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen] laid the basis for freedom and democracy and was a fundamental document for the creation of human and civil rights. It proclaimed that the state should represent the general will of the citizens, that all citizens were equal before the law and should have the right to participate in legislation directly or indirectly. Citizens were expected to speak, to understand and to identify with (a) shared language(s), which had to ensure their democratic right to control the authorities and to communicate with them, to understand and obey the laws made in their name, to vote, to receive and understand official documents, to create feelings of national belonging and national identity, etc. As a consequence, authorities needed to regulate language use in the public sphere in order to comply with the new ideas of citizenship and popular sovereignty. In whatever language policy authorities try to implement, ranging from institutional monolingualism to multilingualism, translation policies form a crucial part (see Meylaerts 2011). However the role of translation policies in creating and securing civil rights remains once again largely under-researched in Translation Studies. In what follows, we will briefly refer to state of art knowledge about the Austrian, French, Belgian, American and Canadian cases.

Formed long before the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian empire did not partake in the national homogeneity of the north-western European nation-states. Still, translation policies did play their part in ensuring communication between the German, Hungarian, Czech, Polish, Ukrainian, Romanian, Croat, Serbian, Slovakian, Slovenian, Italian, Hebrew and Yiddish speakers living within the Monarchy (Wolf 2015). The 1867 Constitution declared all ethnic groups and languages equal, and from 1861 onwards deputies progressively used other languages than German for their speeches in Parliament. Until 1874 these speeches were translated into German (Wolf 2015: 62). In spite of the profoundly multilingual character of the Monarchy, public administration mainly rested on multilingual civil servants who were not officially appointed as translators or interpreters and sometimes were not even paid for the job. "The institutionalization of translating and interpreting was therefore probably never as great as the pluricultural Monarchy's gigantic administrative apparatus might lead one to expect" (Wolf 2015: 67). Not surprisingly, the gap between the enormous demands for translation and interpreting in daily encounters between citizens and authorities on the one hand and the poorly organized and institutionalized translation practices, was the object of numerous complaints and conflicts (Wolf 2015: 67–72) and made translation and interpreting "explosive issues." (Wolf 2015: 71) Interestingly, and not surprisingly since the courts are "a sensitive indicator of linguistic tolerance and of a state's commitment to implementing its language policies" (Wolf 2015: 72), interpreting and translating in court was well regulated by law from the early 19th century. Moreover, already in 1787 a decree ordered that legislative texts issued in Vienna had to be translated in the different regional languages (Wolf 2015: 82). Although modalities changed over the years, the principle of a centrally organized translation bureau in Vienna, bringing the law to the people in the different languages of the people, and thus securing the rights and duties of the citizens was upheld until the collapse of the Empire in 1918 (Wolf 2015: 86–90).

As already said, the French revolutionaries inherited a profoundly multilingual territory. Their first (and logical) answer was official multilingualism: between 1790 and 1793 all decrees had to be translated in all regional languages of France so that citizens had access to the law in their mother tongue. But this official and democratically inspired multilingualism came soon to an end: in 1794 a decree proclaimed official French monolingualism. The idea was that a shared national language was the best guarantee for citizens to control the authorities, to be free and to inspire patriotism. Still, because of the gap between official regulations and practices on the ground, translation into regional languages and into the languages of the occupied territories largely continued. As has e.g. been shown by (D'hulst 2014) for the Northern departments (the actual region of Flanders), translation, interpretation and other types of transfer practices into Flemish, both centrally and locally organized, were omnipresent in all types of public communication until 1814. Similarly, in the Alsace between 1852 and 1870, translation into German had to ensure citizen's access to the law (see Lévy 2004 [1929]). Yet again, what was precisely translated by whom, when, how and with what effect, remains an open question. Here lies an important task for Translation Studies.

Soon after the creation of Belgium in 1830, Belgian authorities, following the French model, realized the importance of a shared language and implemented a French-only policy. Since the majority of people were Flemish (dialect) speaking, this official and centrally organized non-translation policy went together with a myriad of central and local, official and unofficial translation practices right from the start. Unofficial translations of laws, decrees, regulations, circulars etc. were published by private persons in volumes or periodicals to serve Flemish city councils, judges, lawyers, etc. Moreover, many 19th-century newspapers published legal chronicles, reproducing (i.e. translating, summarizing, commenting, paraphrasing) Parliamentary debates. At the local level some town and village chanceries never switched to French and continuously kept Flemish as their sole language of governance. Other chanceries continuously operated in French, whereas still others only added Flemish around 1900. Communication with their Flemish inhabitants was made possible through a fuzzy aggregate of informal translations, going from circulars, posters, bills, to oral summaries during the Sunday sermon in Church for the illiterates.

In the British colony of Lower Canada (1791–1841), created by the Constitutional Act (1791), French was the official language but both French and English were used in Parliament. Civil law would first be drafted in French and then translated in English, criminal law would first be drafted in English and then translated in French. In reality, between 1792 and 1867, all laws were drafted exclusively in English and then translated in French. This system was largely continued after Canada's independence in 1867 (see also Dullion 2012).

The revolutionary colonies of what would become the US were "markedly polyglot" between 1750 and 1850. 25% of the European immigrants didn't speak English, the Natives spoke Amerindian languages and more than 20% were slaves, speaking

African languages (Shell 1993: 104–105). Since 1750 discussions were held about the usefulness of and choice for an official language. Still, neither the 1779 Constitution nor other official documents named an official language and the members of the Continental Congress agreed that any language could be used for communication between authorities and citizens (Stevens 1999: 387). Before being adopted, the Constitution was translated into Dutch and German (1788) for the German- and Dutch-speaking populations of Pennsylvania and New York (see also Mulligan 2016). Also, some treaties with the Indians and the Spanish "seem to have meant to guarantee some sort of official language parity with English" (Shell 1993: 104) and an early "congressional committee recommended that (…) the laws be translated, and printed in the German language" (Shell 1993: 110). The vote on whether the language in the Assembly, the courts and the records should be German ended in a tie (Shell 1993: 110). Eventually English would become dominant, without being assigned the status of official language in all states. However, once again, we lack any understanding of the (undoubtedly central) role played by official and unofficial translation in the history of US nation building.

6. Conclusion

As will have become clear, the history of translation politics and policies in a restricted sense is still in its infancy. Here lies an important task for Translation Studies. Let this short essay be a plea for collective, interdisciplinary research which will open a fascinating domain of study with high societal impact for Translation Studies and other disciplines involved. Knowledge about past translation politics and policies will shed light on the complex processes which contributed to shaping democracy and citizenship in history but has also the potential to inform today's decision makers and authorities. Research into translation politics and policies also teaches us to include translation phenomena in the informal domain into the purview of translation studies. If we want to know if authorities and citizens were really able to communicate with each other, we should study both official and non-official translation processes at various levels of governance and their complex interaction processes.

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CHAPTER 3.8

History of reception

Censorship

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Keywords: margin, new censorship, constitutive censorship, structural censorship, regulatory censorship

1. Definitions

How does a host culture receive the foreign ideas, thoughts and values, i.e. knowledge, communicated in a source text that attempts to enter its socio-culturo-political space? Given that knowledge – both literary and non-literary – is a locus of power, it comes as no surprise that foreign knowledge transferred into a receiving cultural space should come under close scrutiny by those who control access to it in their efforts to maintain social order (Bourdieu 1980). Consequently, non-threatening foreign knowledge will be welcomed, whereas knowledge perceived as a potential threat may be blocked access or made to conform to the target culture worldview.

Throughout history, socio-political, cultural and intellectual elites – including translators – religious authorities, and their respective institutions have controlled access to literary and non-literary knowledge alike. Control of access by receiving culture authorities can take various forms, including pre-selection of foreign texts or their exclusion from the target culture, preventive or prior censorship that can range from cutting passages in a target text to prohibiting its publication, self-censorship (proof that prior censorship has accomplished its purpose) and post-censorship (unsuccessful prior censorship).

The limits imposed by a receiving culture on the transfer of foreign, in particular literary, knowledge has piqued the curiosity of Translation Studies researchers since the "margin" concept was proposed by André Lefevere (1984: 128). Translators choosing not to stay within the margin of what cultures consider to be acceptable expose themselves to "risk and peril, from the lack of social prestige involved in samizdat-type publication, or publication in little magazines or with small presses,

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to the loss of jobs, or the blacklist, to other, more drastic measures" (ibid.). For the past three decades, if not longer, scholars have been examining source text transformations at the hands of translators assuming the role of target culture guardians (Holman and Boase-Beier 1999, cited by Merkle 2002: 9), cultural blockage resulting from source-text exclusion and creative subversion in response to censorship (see Wolf and Tomaszkiewicz respectively, in Merkle 2002), self-censorship (see Rădulescu, in Merkle 2010), productive censorship (Baer 2010), market censorship (Woods 2012), and so forth, in order to come to a better understanding of the meaning and manifestations of censorship in translation. Researchers continue to grapple with what the definition of censorship should encompass. For example, should children's versions of adult literary works be considered censored, or have they simply been adapted to meet the needs of younger readers? Is the textual manipulation of literary works to conform to the religious, social or moral norms of the target culture a form of censorship? These questions are still studied by translation researchers at least in part because of the pervasive influence of the equivalence model's insistence on the complete and accurate transfer of the source text during the translation process. Yet, those who translate and study translations know only too well just how difficult it is to produce source and target cultural and linguistic equivalence for the simple reason that languages and cultures are asymmetrical.

1.1 Terminological and semantic evolution of the concept

In the "West," the term censor can be traced back to the Roman office of censor established in 443 BC. Romans considered censorship a legitimate means of moral and political regulation (Newth 2010). The Catholic Church assumed a censorship role during the Inquisition, an institution originating in the 12th century and continuing into the 19th century. The invention of the printing press in Europe in 1445 increased the need for censorship on that Continent in response to the work of such "heretics" as Martin Luther, and the Protestant Reformation (ibid.). Two famous translators put to death for religious heresy were William Tyndale (1494–1536) and Étienne Dolet (1509–1546).

Use of the English word "censor" was first documented, according to the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Little 1972: 282), in 1533. The definition: "[a]n official whose duty it is to inspect books, journals, plays, etc., *before publication*, to secure that they shall contain nothing immoral, heretical, or offensive or injurious to the State [my italics]" was added to the dictionary in 1644. Today, preventive or prior censorship, the two terms used interchangeably, in totalitarian or autocratic states often come to mind, for modern Western societies generally limit preventive censorship to mass media (see Olshanskaya, in Seruya and Moniz 2008), film, television (see Gambier, in Merkle 2002) and children's literature (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2003). By contrast, controlling and regulating mechanisms are designed to protect the privacy of citizens (Martin 2016: 10–11), while at the same time organizing the public space through self-censorship and market censorship.

The latter subtle method of controlling the reception of foreign knowledge is a widespread phenomenon in liberal democracies. In *Censoring Translation*, Michelle Woods (2012: 31) studies the case of the playwright Václav Havel, whose plays were first censored for political reasons by the communist regime of the former Yugoslavia before being subjected to market censorship during the production of the plays for Anglo-American audiences between 1960 and 1990. British theatre circles constantly applied pressure to rewrite Havel's plays to the point of cutting parts of the "translation," thereby reducing his theatrical works to political objects in order to sell theatre tickets.

The "new censorship" has broadened the conventional concept of censorship to include "cultural selection processes (such as canon formation), economic forces, social exclusion, professional marginalization, silencing through specialized discourses, communicative norms, and other forms of control and regulation" (Müller 2004: back cover). Censorship, here, is seen as everywhere and inevitable, which can have the perverse effect of trivializing the concept. The new censorship encompasses regulatory (repressive), interventionist and institutional censorship (ibid.), as well as "constitutive censorship" (see Freshwater, in Müller 2004: 227–233) and structural censorship (Bourdieu 1980: 91), regulatory censorship and structural censorship setting repressive regimes apart from liberal regimes (Müller op. cit.; see also Merkle 2002; Billiani 2007). Manifestations of discourse regulation that impact message content, those authorized to speak, to whom, when and where are united under the new censorship (Müller 2004: 1).

The past 25-odd years have given rise to a renewed interest in censorship that can be attributed to the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc since the fall of the Berlin Wall which made archival material available, in addition to contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the concept of censorship (ibid.). It is now considered naïve and simplistic to perpetuate a binary model that opposes the democratic Western world and free speech to autocracies and fettered speech, and essential to consider the complexity of censorship when discussing it (Kuhiwczak, Merkle and Stavans 2011: 366–367).

In all of its manifestations, censorship invariably creates a conflictual situation in which is opposed, overtly or covertly, the dominating person or institution who controls the reception of foreign knowledge and the dominated who is subjected to, at times severe, control.

2. Studies

Thematic issues of *TTR* (Merkle 2002, 2010) and collected works (Billiani 2007; Seruya and Moniz 2008; Ní Chuilleanáin *et al*. 2009; Ballard 2011) have been devoted to various aspects of how censorship impacts translation and translators throughout the world, with a concentration of studies from Western contexts (Europe, including the former Soviet bloc, and Israel). In addition, Rundle and Sturge (2010) have examined the impact of translation on political control. The broad range of research would seem to justify the sub-discipline status proposed by Ní Chuilleanáin *et al.* in 2009, bolstered by the inclusion of entries on censorship in Translation Studies encyclopedia and handbooks. Furthermore, numerous chapters (e.g., Üstünsöz 2015, on censorship and translation in Turkey) and articles (e.g., Tan 2015, on translation and censorship in the People's Republic of China) have been published in translation-specific volumes or in volumes that fall under other disciplines (e.g., comparative literature, history, political science). The relationship between censorship and translation continues to be a timely topic generating broad academic and professional interest.

3. Questions, drawbacks and limitations

Translation Studies has been at the avant-garde of research into censorship as a direct result of its examination of intercultural encounters. Jane Dunnett (see Merkle 2002), among others, has examined Holquist's "permeability" of censorship (also cited by Freshwater, in Müller 2004: 234) in autocratic regimes, while Louise Brunette (see Merkle 2002) has studied the distinction between norms and censorship in professional translation, and Carol O'Sullivan (2010: 121–122) has introduced the useful concept of the "third-person effect." Kuhiwczak, Merkle and Stavans (2011: 366–367) and Martin (2016: 10–11) suggest that in order to appreciate the complexity of censorial forces it is necessary to move beyond traditional, and simplistic, binary schemas of creation and oppression, for censorship can promote creativity, the censor can be censored, and censorship can be socially useful, even in liberal societies.

The history of censorial reception is as old as the history of translation itself. Our comprehension of censoring agents, their strategies, and what motivates and constitutes censorship varies from one socio-political context to another and over time. These various historical and geo-political contexts in which the same concept is broadly (and at times uncritically) applied have created a "slippery concept" according to Helen Freshwater (in Müller 2004: 225), whose pertinence has been undermined. For example, is it conceptually productive to liken the political correctness associated with democratic regimes to the repressive censorship characteristic of totalitarian regimes? Nonetheless, given that liberal regimes tolerate far more research on censorship than autocratic regimes do, it seems clear which regimes exert tighter control over access to and the reception of foreign knowledge.

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PART 4

Historicizing knowledge

CHAPTER 4.0

Introduction

Like anything else, knowledge is inscribed in time, it changes, adapts, enters oblivion, is rediscovered, etc. The temporal nature and structure of knowledge gives the historical approach its specificity, that is however difficult to capture. One way is to distinguish periods, or combined timescales (short-term, middle-term, long-term), the former being e.g. confined to the life of a single translator, the latter to sociological constraints that are at play in the Anglophone book market. Another is to aim at a contextualized reconstruction of the past that avoids simple presentism or anachronism.

Over time, historians have designed a number of approaches of which many are of relevance to translation historians. This part includes a small selection of approaches that present a high interdisciplinary potential. A preliminary step is heuristics: any historian needs access to written or digital sources of information. Less researched sources for translation historians are literary and publishers' archives that contain personal papers of translators and publisher's records. Depending on the historian's interests, they may contribute to projects on short-term and long-term issues: in the first case, they feed translation microhistories focusing on individuals, events or specific locations, in the second they sustain the construction of collective images of translators or the design of translation regimes.

Comparative history based on the use of analogies between two or more societies or periods is an almost natural ally to translation history, since it often relies on translations during comparison. Conversely, translation historians may deepen comparison by looking at the specific role of translators, or the ideological shifts effected in translations. Along the same lines, connected history, with a focus on the transcultural and multidirectional circulation of people, goods (including texts), and ideas, offers ample common ground with translation history, while it helps to open up new avenues. For instance, textual and knowledge transfer proceeding through translation may correct the linear view on hegemonic power on colonies by highlighting influences emanating in various directions.

Other approaches are more recent and rely on different sources, such as audio or video interviews that may offer content of interest to translation historians, e.g. retrospective in-depth interviews that shed light on the interpretation process during Tokyo war crimes tribunal or interviews with academics who study translation, interpreting, terminology and related fields. Memory studies are concerned with

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the ways in which the past is constructed in the present. When transmission occurs across national or linguistic borders, it may proceed through translation of interviews or testimonies and hence raises questions of authenticity and remediation.

A border case is counterfactual or virtual history, since it is speculative and appeals to imagination. Translation historians may nevertheless be interested by questions such as: what has not been translated (and could have been) at a given point in time? What if emergent "translation studies" of the 1970s had retained more of its East-European counterpart? Counterfactual history seemingly makes sense only when one accepts it as one of the many possible narratives to construct the past.

CHAPTER 4.1

Temporality

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Keywords: temporality, presentism, anachronism, periodization, synchrony, diachrony

> *The historian in fact never departs from historical time. Time sticks to his thought like soil to the gardener's spade. Of course he may dream of escaping it.*
> (Braudel [1958] 2009: 197–8)

1. Premise

In the context of this volume I have interpreted temporality as meaning temporality in historical reconstruction and narrative, and not temporality in the philosophical sense. I have also worked on the premise that translation history is no different to any other history, except, perhaps, in the importance that it attributes to language (cf. Rundle and Rafael 2016: 28; Cohen 2016: 903–4 & n. 22); and certainly not in terms of its relationship to temporality. This means that we face the same problems and the same theoretical issues as other historians and that there is much we can learn from discussions that have already taken place in history 'proper'. This will be reflected in what follows.

2. Timescale

2.1 The *longue durée* and multiple temporalities

The temporality of our lives is commonly theorised in terms of three different timescales: (i) the short-term scale of our everyday lives; (ii) the middle-range scale of our lifetimes and of the broader historical processes which we experience; and (iii) the long-term scale of changes that are too slow for us to be able to perceive them, sometimes described as environmental time (cf. Gross 1985: 53).

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One of the most significant conceptualizations of historical temporality is that put forward by the Annales School and in particular by Fernand Braudel, who posited the "multiple and contradictory temporalities of human lives" (Braudel [1958] 2009: 173) and coined the term "*longue durée*". Braudel argued that historians should move away from *histoire événementielle*, the history of discrete events traced in a linear sequence of cause and effect, which he felt was the proper dimension of journalists and chroniclers. Instead we should try to construct long-term history from which the underlying cycles of social and environmental change could be made to emerge (cf. Braudel [1949] 1972; Iggers 1997: 57).

The Annales group sought to identify long-term historical processes and stable structures and adopted an interdisciplinary approach that actively engaged with material and statistical research from other fields such as geography, anthropology and economics (cf. Bloch [1940] 1965; Braudel [1949] 1972): producing a history without "frontiers or compartments" (Burke 1992: x). And it was only by adopting a *longue durée* perspective that the significance of the data collected could be understood, as Braudel explains here in reference to the use of sociological data:

> I am delighted to see a map showing the distribution of the homes of the employees of a large firm. But if I don't have a map of their previous distribution, and if the time between the two surveys is not sufficiently great to allow one to see this as part of a large change, what is the question we are asking, without which the survey is a waste of time? (Braudel [1958] 2009: 186)

In other words, a long-term temporality also serves to provide an interpretative framework that gives meaning to research that is more focused on the short term (Braudel [1958] 2009: 176). According to this approach the long duration is the most important because it is the concept against which we judge and understand the other two temporalities we are aware of:

> A great deal of how one's own life is understood, or even how one's everyday experiences are apprehended, both leans on and subsists within what is acquired from the *longue durée*. (Gross 1985: 54)

Another important aspect of Braudel's approach is the idea of multiple temporalities, whereby the long- and short-term can co-exist and combine. One of the ways in which we can describe long-term social processes is by means of quantitative and qualitative research that looks in detail at specific contexts and establishes sets of relations within them. These relations can be described statistically, in terms of models that can then be extended mathematically to describe a more long-term process. The concept of multiple temporalities is also significant because it implies that there is not a single unifying history, with its underlying idea of a linear and coherent sequence from the past towards the present. Rather, there are multiple histories that coexist but do not necessarily coincide and with no ultimate teleological goal (cf. Bloch [1940] 1965; Braudel [1949] 1972).

The Annales historians adopted the *longue durée* and multiple temporalities so that they could describe the social and economic structures that are the basis of the lives of ordinary people. Their perspective shifted from a historiography focused on the grand narratives of nations and their leaders – what Iggers (1997: 7) vividly calls the "rapid pulse of political history" – which was necessarily focused on short-term events, to a more sociological historiography which was more quantitative, more economic, more structural and that looked more to the long-term. From this perspective, historical subjects are defined as much, if not more, by their context as by their actions and individual experiences:

> But, most of all, there has been a shift of traditional historiographical temporality. A day, a year might seem appropriate lengths of time for a political historian. Time was the sum of days. But if one wanted to measure a price curve, a demographic progression, wage trends, variations in interest rates, the study of production (more hoped for than achieved), a close analysis of trade, it required much longer measures of time. (Braudel [1958] 2009: 176)

Lawrence Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995) is probably the best known example in translation history of the adoption of both a *longue durée* and multiple temporalities. Venuti draws on the experience of individual translators (including his own) and on evidence collected on individual translations and their reception to construct a long-term picture of the kind of cultural and aesthetic pressures that are at play in the Anglophone (principally US) book market – a picture that is at once both historical and sociological.

The success of Venuti's study, and the widespread diffusion within translation studies of some of its key concepts, is also typical of the way in which we first perceive and then assimilate *longue durée* processes that are, in theory, beyond the range of our personal experience. These are processes that remain unperceived until a historian has the necessary insight to bring them to light; but then, once they have been brought to light, we find continual confirmation of them and they become a part of our understanding of the present:

> By hypothesis, participants cannot perceive these sorts of [long-term] processes. Instead, they constitute a more hypothetical historical structure that may nonetheless play a future role in the narratives participants tell about themselves. A slow process of climate change may be imperceptible at a given point in time. But once it is identified and articulated by the analytical historian the construct may come into popular consciousness; what was previously invisible may become part of the furniture of the popular narrative. (Little 2010: 19)

2.2 Microhistory

Another well-known historiographical approach which is characterized by its choice of timescale is microhistory (see Chapter 4.3 in this volume.) The most influential proponents of this approach are the group of Italian historians lead by Carlo Ginzburg and Giovanni Levi who emerged in the late 1970s, centred around the journal *Quaderni storici*. Probably the most famous example of this method is Ginzburg's detailed microhistory of the life of the sixteenth century Italian miller, Menocchio, in his book *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980). There is also a German school of microhistory, known as *Alltagsgeschichte*, which developed in the 1980s at the Max Planck Institute for History in Göttingen (cf. Iggers 1997: 106–7 and p. 114–17).

The Italian *microstoria* approach was conceived as an alternative both to Marxist macro perspectives on history and to what Ginzburg and his colleagues saw as the impersonal and dehumanized social history of the Annales school, whose wealth of statistical evidence gave little account of how people actually experienced their lives:

> Braudel's house of history, as Levi notes, has many rooms permitting a variety of outlooks and approaches but there are no people living in it. (Iggers 1997: 107)

The studies produced using this approach tend to adopt a short timescale, with a focus on small, relatively stable, communities, and often in the medieval period. Microhistory is generally considered to have been less successful in reconstructing life in modern, urban, environments that are subject to more rapid change (Iggers 1997: 113) and where, possibly, the life of the 'ordinary' individual is more difficult to observe within the context of a much larger and more heterogeneous population.

In some ways, the macro approach of the Annales school and the micro approach of the Italian microhistorians shared a common objective. They wished to write the history of ordinary people and the societies or communities in which they lived. In both cases, this focus on ordinary people was intended as a reaction against earlier historiographical methods:

> that 'traditional history' that saw the 'so-called history of the world' dominated by protagonists who resembled orchestra directors. (Ginzburg 1993: 13)

But their respective choices of temporal perspective meant that they went about achieving their objectives in very different ways. The Annales school used the study of social structures and categories in order to deduce how ordinary people lived: reconstructing the contours of their lives, lives that did not leave behind many individual historical traces. Theirs was an approach that did not see a historical value in singular events but rather in events that could be placed in a series and therefore be considered representative. The microhistorians, on the other hand – relying on an anthropological approach and on finding suitable primary sources – used these sources to reconstruct the lives of a few individuals within a very small community, with a focus on their experience of events and social conditions. Furthermore, as Ginzburg stresses, "*The Cheese and the Worms* does not restrict itself to the reconstruction of an individual event; it narrates it" (Ginzburg 1993: 23). In this acknowledgment of the literary side to their endeavour, Ginzburg marks another important distinction between microhistory and the Annales approach, which sees history very much as a social science.

In its push to foreground the marginal and narrate the lives of those who live on the periphery, one might expect there to be a natural affinity between microhistory and the desire within translation studies to bring the translator out from behind the scenes. Jeremy Munday (2014) has explored the potential of a microhistory of translation based on the archival minutiae that translators have left in their wake (see Chapter 5.3 in this volume); Sergia Adamo (2006) has discussed the application of microhistory to translation history; and Kathryn Batchelor and Sue-Ann Harding (Batchelor and Harding 2017) see affinities between their approach and microhistory in their study of translations of Frantz Fanon. But it is not a method that has been widely adopted, by which I mean with explicit reference to *microstoria*, possibly because of its anti-anachronistic stance which would sit awkwardly with the kind of committed and activist stance that is present in much translation history; a point that Adamo (2006: 91) has raised in reference to Anthony Pym's *Negotiating the Frontier* (2000), and which also applies to Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995) and to the volume *Translation, Resistance, Activism* edited by Maria Tymoczko (2010) – to cite some influential examples of committed translation history (I shall return to the question of anachronism below).

On the other hand, a micro approach, in the sense of research with a short-term timescale and narrative span, is clearly very widely used in translation history, where much research is presented in the form of case studies and profiles of translators and translation practice. The purpose of many of these studies, more or less explicitly, is to expand the narratives of cultural history to include lives and work whose significance has usually been underestimated or ignored. Consider *Translators through history* edited by Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth (1995), and *Charting the Future of Translation History* edited by Georges Bastin and Paul Bandia (2006); or, specifically on interpreting history, *Languages and the Military* edited by Hilary Footitt and Michael Kelly (2012), and *New Insights in the History of Interpreting* edited by Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón (2015).

3. Synchrony and diachrony

In his study on the philosophy of history, Daniel Little argues that a compromise between the macro and the micro scales is actually the most fruitful approach, one he calls “meso-history” (2010: 92):

> The choice of scale is always pertinent in historical analysis. And in many instances, I believe that the most interesting analysis takes place at the meso-level. At this level we get explanations that have a great deal of power and breadth, and yet that are also closely tied to the concrete historical experience of the subject matter.
> (Little 2010: 17)

In as much as it also posits a combination of the synchronic and the diachronic, *histoire croisée* could also be seen as an approach that combines short and long-term temporalities, even though its temporality is not its most defining characteristic:

> One of the contributions of *histoire croisée* is that it makes possible the articulation of both of these dimensions [diachrony and synchrony], whereas comparison favours the implementation of a synchronic reasoning, and transfer studies tend toward an analysis of diachronic processes. Crossed history, in contrast, enables the synchronic and diachronic registers to be constantly rearranged in relation to each other. (Werner and Zimmermann 2006: 50)

This raises an interesting point about translation history. All historians engage in a diachronic investigation of some sort, with its own specific timescale, features, perspective and objectives. When historians interact with each other on the basis of a common ground that is defined in relation to this diachronic dimension, then their dialogue will be centred on their shared historical knowledge. But when translation historians enter into conversation with each other (or with other translation scholars), what they have in common is usually not a historical subject (i.e. the diachronic dimension) but their *a priori* interest in translation, a synchronic category which is the premise and defining principle of their research. Their dialogue will therefore tend to be centred on this premise rather than on the history. The potential for the exchange of historical knowledge is improved if a comparative category is devised that is historical in its own right and can provide some diachronic depth to the implicit dialogue between these different histories.

Let me try and illustrate this with the example of two volumes that I have coedited: *Translation Under Fascism* (Rundle and Sturge 2010) and *Translation Under Communism* (Rundle, Lange, and Monticelli [forthcoming]). The question I want ask here is: what would be the result if we were to adopt a more synchronic approach and unite the studies in these two volumes in a single hypothetical volume on translation and totalitarianism? From one point of view, the comparison would clearly be interesting: methodologically it might resemble the many volumes and special issues that have come out on translation and censorship, where different historical contexts are made comparable by a common theme and by a synchronic, one might say social, interest in translation. On the other hand, the nature of fascist and communist regimes was very different – despite the superficial resemblance of some of their modes of repression and control – while the aim of these studies is to use translation to enhance our understanding of the specific nature of these two ideologies and their many iterations. So it would not make sense from a diachronic (historical) point of view to place these regimes together as if they were merely different variations on a common theme; and any attempt to compare them would be historically very complex, if not suspect. For similar reasons, we took the decision in *Translation Under Communism* to focus solely on those states within the Soviet sphere of influence (commonly referred to as the Eastern Bloc), so as to avoid making superficial historical comparisons between regimes from radically different cultural and historical backgrounds.

4. Perspective

This leads us to the choice we as historians must make concerning which perspective to adopt towards our research object; a decision that involves both the temporal and ideological dimensions and which depends fundamentally on what interests us, how we select our material, and what our purpose is in doing our research. As Little (2010: 15) puts it:

> Events and actions happened in the past, separate from our interest in them. But to organize them into a narrative […] is to impose a structure of interpretation on them that depends inherently on the interests of the observer. There is no such thing as "perspective-free history." So there is a very clear sense in which we can assert that history is constituted by historical interpretation and traditions of historical interest – even though the events themselves are not.

As well as satisfying our interests, a historical interpretation may also satisfy an ideological aim to which we are committed or, more simply, we may find ourselves interpreting the past in terms that are derived from the present. Alternatively, we may choose to avoid any form of historical anachronism and seek a contextualised approach that attempts to reconstruct a historical context in its own terms.

4.1 Presentism/anachronism

It is interesting to note that it was an objection to the presentism prevalent in historical reconstructions of science that led Thomas Kuhn (1970) to develop his highly influential concept of paradigm shifts as he sought a way of accurately representing and preserving past scientific endeavour that was more respectful of its merits, that did not – with the benefit of hindsight – reduce it to its 'mistakes', and that did not project onto the past, academic traditions that had only existed in the more recent present:

> Scientist-historians and those who followed their lead characteristically imposed contemporary scientific categories, concepts, and standards on the past. Sometimes a speciality which they traced from antiquity had not existed as a recognized subject for study until a generation before they wrote. Nevertheless, knowing what belonged to it, they retrieved the current contents of the speciality from past texts of a variety of heterogeneous fields, not noticing that the tradition they constructed in the process had never existed. In addition, they usually treated concepts and theories of the past as imperfect approximations to those in current use, thus disguising both the structure and integrity of past scientific traditions.
> (Kuhn 1977: 149; quoted in Spoerhase 2008: 50)

The way to avoid this kind of presentism, Kuhn argues, is for the historian to forget all knowledge of the current state of research and "learn science anew from the historical sources" (Spoerhase 2008: 51). There is, however, a difference between scientific history and human or social history. In the hard sciences the current paradigm that inevitably conditions our understanding of a past paradigm – where the two are scientifically incompatible with each other – is based on what we think we know at a specific moment in time about the physical world around us. But in history and the social sciences, I would argue that a paradigm shift does not so much change what we know empirically as how we choose to interpret the evidence and the narrative that we construct from it. In other words, there is a much less strict incommensurability between different paradigms in social history. Consequently the 'risks' of presentism are rather different to those outlined by Kuhn.

A classic example of the perceived dangers of presentism in social history is what the British historian Herbert Butterfield called the "Whig fallacy," where the past is teleologically interpreted in terms of the present, usually to fit a narrative of history as progress (Butterfield 1931). This is already a much more relevant way of framing the issue of presentism for translation history because there can be no question that there is a significant body of research in translation studies whose aim is to understand the historical role of translators and translation with a view to influencing the way in which cultural exchange is understood and conducted in the present. This is true of Pym (2000), Tymoczko (2010) and Venuti (1995), that

I cited earlier. The presentism of these studies is, of course, entirely conscious and transparent, and its effectiveness is due to the fact that the committed position of these authors is widely shared by the translation studies community.

But there are also many examples of more contextualised approaches to translation history that are less concerned with the implications of their findings for the present and are more focused on a non-presentist reconstruction of the past. It is not possible to provide a comprehensive list here, but this is generally true, for example, of the range of studies that have been published on translation, fascism, and censorship; although the TRACE group, which works on the censorship of translation in Franco's Spain, explicitly positions itself within the frame of Descriptive Translation Studies and its more positivist programme (cf. Merino and Rabadán 2002).

4.2 Periodization

Our perspective on our historical subject will also depend on the periodization we adopt. Establishing a periodization in our historical subject involves both choosing a timescale that is defined on the basis of our sources, and establishing periods that become frames against which we interpret those sources.

In the volume on *Translation Under Fascism* (Rundle and Sturge 2010), which I cited earlier, for example, a clear difference emerges between the pre- and post-WWII regimes, one that is reflected in their respective attitudes to translation. In pre-war Italy and Germany, both countries which defined themselves in opposition to Western democracy, it still seemed possible to police cultural borders, and translations were correspondingly viewed as a form of cultural invasion. In post-war Spain and Portugal, on the other hand, where the geopolitical context had changed significantly and these two ultra-Catholic regimes gradually became tacit allies of the West in its antagonism with communism, it was no longer feasible or desirable to police the cultural borders in the way Italy and Germany had tried to do, and translations were not singled out for special treatment or viewed to the same extent as a form of cultural invasion.

The studies published by the TRACE group on censorship in Francoist Spain also provide an interesting example of how periodization can act as a frame against which to interpret historical sources. The Franco regime lasted almost 40 years, leaving behind such a wealth of archival material that a large group of researchers was required in order to analyse the material systematically. As well as dividing their studies into different areas of interest such as theatre, literature and cinema, and deciding to start by focusing on translations from English, the researchers of the group also select their periods based on how the regime evolved. So Rioja Barrocal (2010), for example, looks at the period 1962–69 known as the *apertura*, in which the regime adopted a more flexible censorship policy; while Gómez Castro (2008) looks at the final few years of the regime in the 1970s, when the regime's censorship was no longer in the hands of the church. The character of the regime that emerges from these individual case studies is directly related to their choice of period and the policies they describe can only be understood in relation to this periodization.

5. Conclusion

The tension that exists between the diachronic and the synchronic, between the macro and the micro, between the specific and the more general, is a defining characteristic of translation history; a type of history that includes a unique heterogeneity of temporalities, methods, sources and types of insight. And, as I have argued elsewhere (Rundle 2012), how we resolve that tension very much depends on the kind of insight we are seeking and the kind of discourse/knowledge we would like to contribute to.

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CHAPTER 4.2

Archives

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Keywords: archives, personal papers, records, (in)visibility, organizing principles

Research in the field of Translation Studies on individual interpreters' and translators' *life* and *work*, on past translation *projects* and on *translation cultures* of particular historical periods benefits greatly from archives and archived records, in other words from:

> materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator, especially those materials maintained using the principles of provenance, original order, and collective control; permanent records.
> (Pearce-Moses 2005:30, online)

As such, archives enclose not only translations but also information on translation procedures and translators. An obvious example are a translator's personal papers, including his or her correspondence with editors, publisher and other patrons, drafts, contracts, and diaries that are typically available in private archival holdings, in publishers' or public national archives. All these provide information on past working conditions, practices, personal networks and decision-making as well as on the professional hybridity of individual translating persons. Similarly, a publisher's records can further unveil a broader framework of a translation event with its dynamic power relations as well as economic and commercial constraints (see e.g. Munday 2013, 2014; Paloposki 2017). Issues of translation culture in general, for example emergence, presence and roles of the translating and interpreting figure as well as his or her perceived professional identity in the particular society, translation regimes, expectations, ideological constraints, censorship, and collective images of translators and interpreters, can be addressed using official files, news materials, photographs, and audio-visual recordings held in various local or national government, business, university and library archives as well as specialized repositories (for the "visual perspective", see Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf 2014).

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Consequently, the choice of archives and the concrete search (‘detective work’) depend on the specific research interests. Beyond that, the search procedure is also a function of visibility or invisibility of the particular research object (translator, translation, translation event or context) and organizing principles applied by the persons, groups and organizations in question or later by the archiving institutions. The issue of visibility can be associated with the public and discursive profile of individual actors or settings. High-profile translators, recognized either as prolific literary translators, as translators of prominent authors or through their other (e.g. scholarly or literary) activity (for examples, see Pym 2000; Munday 2014; Wakabayashi 2012), and interpreters who worked for prominent political persons or are identified with high-profile settings are all more probably included in archival collections than one-off translators or ‘habitualized interpreters’ (Wolf 2015: 49–66) on the lower level of power structures, who seem to disappear in distributed records or remain anonymous, if not unrecognized altogether. Like lists of translations, catalogues and biographical data (Pym 1998: 38–54), an established translator’s archival files offer themselves relatively easily as practical source materials for historical analysis. In contrast, their social and discursive marginality together with archival invisibility often calls for a different approach. A translation historian must start from a context or setting that can be identified as or *assumed* to be a “translation space” (Cronin 2006: 68; Kujamäki 2014), either on the grounds of its multilingual or multinational nature or its communicative needs, and must contextualize the interpreting and translating figure in this setting (Kujamäki and Footitt 2016). This figure may be hidden behind many designations other than ‘translator’ and ‘interpreter’, depending on the attribution either favored by past actors or adopted in the given translation space (see e.g. Paloposki 2016). The following step comprises the identification of institutions and authorities responsible for the functions of this space, including translation and interpreting, in order to, finally, locate the archival holdings that have the potential to provide information on translation activities.

After these stages, the amount and method of digging is strongly influenced by the organizing principles of the given archives. Literary and publishers’ archives are often organized according to a person, task category, topic, project etc., but archives may also strictly follow the principles of provenance and original order, as is the case in the Finnish War Archive of the Finnish Defence Administration: The materials (correspondence, war diaries, minutes, maps and other historical sources) are organized and maintained in the order produced or received by the particular military unit, at a particular time and in a particular place. As translators, interpreters, and other cultural and linguistic mediators of the Finnish military during WWII did not constitute any organizational categories of their own, they generally do not manifest themselves as lists or folder categories, which is why search words such as ‘interpreter’ or ‘translator’ are of little help in database registers. Therefore, after having worked out spaces – such as prisoners-of-war camps – where mediation practices between cultures can be assumed to be pertinent and a translating or interpreting figure could be unearthed, the translation historian must take up a very broad search across the records produced and collected in the particular units. The search produces isolated documents that can contribute to lists of persons involved in translating and interpreting and lead to further personal or official documents, all of which may gradually uncover power structures in the given translation space and help us to piece together its translation practices, networks, and issues, both economic and social.

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CHAPTER 4.3

Microhistory

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Keywords: scale of analysis, anomalies, agency, case studies, reflexivity

Historians have often explored historical structures and processes through the prism of overarching ideas such as nationalism, modernisation or (post)colonialism. Although these macro-perspectives can also provide translation historians with valuable insights, they risk reductionism and causal determinism and potentially overlook historical specificity. In response to such drawbacks and the practical challenges of research on a grand synthesising scale, Carlo Ginzburg (1980) and other historians developed an approach known as microhistory, which also has relevance for translation historians.

Microhistory entails three main features – (1) intensive investigation of a particular object, typically (but not necessarily) on a small scale and of an obscure nature; (2) the challenging or refining of generalizations, revealing implications that transcend the specific object of study (microhistory does not mean the questions explored are trivial); and (3) an emphasis on the agency of individuals or groups that are either exceptional *or* representative in some way, situated within a broader context. The reduced scale of analysis makes research more feasible, textured and empirically grounded, better conveys personal experience and, in the view of Bandia (2014: 116), allows a focus on "marginalized subjects and the actual and daily practice of translation". The emphasis on 'history from below' aligns with trends in social history and cultural theories. In fact, Rundle (2014: 7) argues that microhistory is not particularly innovative, since translation historians are already open to "foregrounding the experience of the ordinary man or woman and bringing what was previously considered peripheral into the centre of our narrative." As noted above, however, this is only one aspect of this approach. Microhistory also highlights the links between social ties and "systems of belief, of values and representations" (Chartier 1982: 32) and is more appealing to general readers.

In terms of specific methodology, Ginzburg advocated using clues or anomalies (e.g., conflicts between long-term structures and events of shorter duration) as "a

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sign of a larger, but hidden or unknown, structure" (Peltonen 2001: 349) – an aspect of this approach that has been rather neglected by translation historians, who have focused more on the *scale* of analysis. Another feature is the reflective incorporation into the narrative of "the procedures of research itself, the documentary limitations, techniques of persuasion and interpretive constructions" (Levi 1992: 110). Alongside the textual sources commonly examined by translation historians, data sources relevant to a microhistorical approach include records written by translators and other relevant stakeholders (see the 2014 article by Munday, whose view of microhistory inclines towards the study of individual translators), demographic, financial and familial records, and the documents of political, judicial, religious and other authorities.

Translation microhistories might focus, for instance, on the life, work, connections and influences of an 'ordinary' translator in order to explore larger themes. Another approach is to study a relatively short period of particular significance (e.g., a year of rapid technological change) so as to examine the impact of larger trends. A further possibility is in-depth studies of the semantic evolution of specific concepts (e.g., democracy, independence) as they travel across space or time. Another example would be an examination of local conflict over translation norms in the face of language planning by a centralizing state. A study of the introduction of a printing press to a particular town or of a typeface for the local vernacular could explore the impact of technology on translation. A specific location could be studied to understand the links between (1) translation and (2) war, trade or religion. The translation zones referred to by Apter (2006) – for instance, diasporic language communities, border cultures, media spheres – also offer rich potential (Wakabayashi 2016: 157–158).

Microhistory is not synonymous with local history, yet certain aspects overlap, and a micro-level focus has been applied to socio-spatial studies of translation in multilingual cities by writers such as Cronin (2006), who adopts a "micro-cosmopolitan" approach, and Simon (2006), who discusses "linguistic micro-climates" (215) (see also Simon 2012, 2016), as well as in a special issue of *Translation Studies* 7 (2), *The City as Translation Zone* (2014); see Chapter 5.8 in this volume. None of these writers are self-described microhistorians or explicitly mention microhistory. Prime subjects for localized studies of the historical *reception* of translated works include libraries (e.g., Tatlock 2016) and reading groups.

Nor is microhistory synonymous with case studies, although both approaches seek to test or correct historical generalizations. Brown (2003: 18) notes that "Case studies rarely seek to pose wholly new questions or to assert original interpretations. Nor have case studies been so fully engaged in the use of the narrative form." In one of the few works so far to use the term 'microhistory' in relation to a study of translation, Fan (2015) seeks to reconstruct through online comments the collaborative process of creating "a digital news translation produced by a volunteer translator and published by the largest online translation community in China" (201). Methodologically, however, this resembles a case study (a term that Fan also uses) rather than a microhistory as defined by the above-mentioned features, and Fan's interpretation of "microhistory" equates it narrowly with the "genesis" of the translation (203).

Criticisms of microhistories focus on their selectivity and lack of representativeness, although generalizability is *not* the goal and each micro-context sheds light on the broader context. Another issue is the link or discrepancies between micro-experiences and macro-level conclusions or historical structures. Emphasizing details risks veering into trivia and atomization that obscures larger forces, patterns and structures. In practical terms, it is difficult to apply such an intensive approach to large and complex entities.

Such limitations can be overcome by a complementary approach that shifts back and forth between the micro- and macro-scales in order to clarify or bring out different aspects of the object of study or in line with the particular research question. "By means of this principle, the local comes to be a 'particular modulation' of the global and, at the same time, a 'different' version of macro-social realities" (Werner and Zimmermann 2006: 42).

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CHAPTER 4.4

Comparative history

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Keywords: referential model, integral model, Americas, Imperial China, conceptual history

1. Introduction

In his *Dictionary of Concepts of History*, Harry Ritter (1986: 55) traces the concept of comparative history to the beginning of history as a discipline. He posits that, as the Greeks started recording past events, they established comparisons between themselves and the histories of other peoples. However, it is not until the second half of the nineteenth century that historians become aware of "comparative history" as a concept and attempt to elaborate definitions. Ritter himself defines comparative history along the following lines:

1. An orientation toward the study of the past, based on the use of analogies between two or more societies or periods.
2. A sub-discipline of historiography characterized by the systematic comparison of carefully defined ideas or institutions in different societies.
3. A specific method of historical explanation in which developments in one social situation are explained by comparing them to developments in other social situations. (1986: 55)

On the other hand, Bouchard (2008) suggests two major models to do comparative history: the *referential* model and the *integral* model. The former establishes a comparison between two or more areas or societies, but one of them acts as a point of reference for comparison (2008: 29), while the latter treats all the objects of study equally in order to extract a general principle. Bouchard stresses that this is carried out by establishing statistical correlations, looking for causal effects or testing a hypothesis (2008: 30).

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2. Methods and problems in comparative history

In comparative history research, methodological approaches have been predominantly quantitative (Mahoney 2004), which often leads to an oversight of causational analysis. Mahoney suggests the study of temporal processes (2004: 84–92) and of descriptive inference (2004: 93–96) to supplement statistical analysis, while Lange (2013) has discussed a number of elements that, in his view, might need to be combined in this discipline: comparative methods, which include narrative and statistical tools; within-case studies, which explore the determinants of a phenomenon (e.g. causal narrative); and data, case selection and theory.

While comparative history can help revaluate previous historical analyses and interpretations, it also presents a number of problems: case studies may not be representative, historians may not be able to avail themselves of the data necessary to draw comparisons, the sources may not be reliable because of a lack of accuracy or objectivity. Thus, comparability may be a major issue. Bouchard also notes that doing comparative history poses problems such as the definition of the units of comparison, the scale of analysis (transnational, multinational, infra-national) or the ways of conducting the research (Bouchard 2008: 25).

Language can also be problematic, as the same terms may be used with different meanings over time and in different cultures. This is connected with translation, which is instrumental in the dissemination of knowledge, pertaining to the comparative history of literature, of world's religions, of science or of the cinema. In fact, language is problematic in many ways. First, languages are invariably linked to the societies being compared, and the relationship among them is not usually one of equality. Consequently, a dominant language can impose terms and models upon the other(s) during the comparison process because names and concepts may be so "complicit" that they hinder "translation and comparison" (Bouchard 2008: 29). Second, historic discourse is constructed by means of linguistic acts, or as Vidal Claramonte puts it, the discourse of history translates reality and this takes place in a specific context (2014: 207). This entails that any history will inevitably involve several acts of *translation*, understood in a very general sense.

3. Comparative history and translation studies

As regards Translation Studies, translation scholars as well as researchers from other disciplines have paid attention to the use of translation in different times and societies by focusing on specific geographical areas (China, the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Americas…) and research issues (censorship, the translation of the chronicles of the Spanish conquest). Hence their approach can be described as referential. Mackenthun (1997), for instance, has explored the discursive construction of empire in the Americas by using original and target texts. Her approach is referential in that her point of departure is the United States of America. Her emphasis is on English texts by authors like Richard Hakluyt and John Smith, which are compared to the Spanish chronicles written by those that took part in the construction of the Spanish empire, such as Bartolomé de las Casas (Mackenthun 1997: 66–69) and Bernardino de Sahagún (Mackenthun 1997: 88–97). Mackenthun's use of the concept of translation is, for the most part, metaphorical, although she also mentions a number of translations as linguistic acts with a precise ideological purpose, e.g. *The Spanish Colonie* (1997: 66). On the other hand, Valdeón also takes a referential approach in his *Translation and the Spanish Empire in the Americas* (2014), although the point of reference here is Spanish America, which serves to elaborate on the rivalry between England and Spain in the early modern period, and on the promotion of an English overseas empire by means of translation. Valdeón turns his attention to Spanish texts and how these were used by English ideologues (often in a selective manner) in order to support the establishment of English settlements in North America and replace the Spanish in other parts of the continent.

Finally, relying on the many archival records available, Lung (2011) has studied the role of interpreters in imperial China. Although the documents have allowed Lung to study the importance of interpreters in several periods of China's imperial past, she also acknowledges the difficulties involved in organizing the material, which kept changing her perception of the evolution of the practice through time. This also meant that the imposition of a pre-existing research framework upon the object of enquiry was not entirely valid (2011: 151), and, in turn, may point to the flexibility needed when approaching and comparing different periods and/or societies.

On the other hand, translation studies could also be the object of comparative studies, as demonstrated in a collection edited by Tyulenev and Zheng (2017). In their introduction, Tyulenev and Zheng claim that comparative studies often occur at the meso- or macro-level as they enable scholars to enlarge their fields of enquiry and ask "big questions" (2017: 198). Translation studies has now accumulated a sufficiently large body of knowledge to justify both referential and integral comparative studies.

4. Possible research questions

From the above discussion, we can conclude that translation and comparative history are intrinsically linked. When historians compare two or more societies or periods, they often rely on translated documents, irrespective of the problems that may arise as a consequence of the ideological manipulations of the translator(s) and other agents involved in the process. On the other hand, as translation scholars delve into the history of their discipline and compare different periods and/or societies, historical manuscripts and the narratives written by historians can inform their research.

Translation scholars could certainly contribute to an interdisciplinary debate with historians and history theorists by exploring a variety of issues such as:

1. The use of translations in historical writings concerning two specific periods for which translations have been used as main sources. Among the questions that may arise, we could mention: Have historians of certain periods/areas used the same or different translations of source texts? Have historians themselves intervened as translators of sources texts? To what an extent have translators manipulated the original texts? For instance, William H. Prescott, a renowned historian and Hispanist, used original Spanish manuscripts for his *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847), many of which he translated. The relevance of historians and translators as a focus of research in Translation Studies responds to Pym's claim that we should study translators rather than texts (2014).
2. However, the study of the texts would also be fundamental to understand changes in historical perspectives, and, therefore, to carry out comparative history. While agents (that is, those who translated, who used translated texts, who translated and used texts, and so on) such as Prescott are essential to analyse historical accounts, the texts themselves are crucial for the study of different periods and societies. For example, John Stevens and Clements Markham's English versions of Cieza de León's works, published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively, could provide different insights into the ideological beliefs of the periods in which the translations were produced (Valdeón 2012). Additionally, they may also contribute to analysing the historical evolution of the rivalry between England and Spain.
3. The role of translators and translations in the evolution of societies can also be the focus of comparative research. While many translators operated in the service of a state (Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 204), many others used their language skills to contest the power of the state and provide alternative narratives, which were later used by historians.
4. Another relevant issue is the stability of the concepts used by historians in the study of two given periods: has the evolution of language and its society impacted historical accounts? Have new translations provided a better or a different understanding of two periods or two societies? As conceptual historians have posited (Koselleck 2004: 86), languages and their evolution lie at the basis of how history is construed, and, therefore, can throw light on how historical perspectives about those periods and societies may have changed.

5. The metalinguistic problems concerning the concept of translation itself: Have historians used the term "translation" in the same way as translation scholars? Has the understanding of the concept changed when comparing different periods? Have historians belonging to different traditions used the concept in the same way? Here it is worth pointing out that even linguistically-minded historians have used "translation" differently, making the concept problematic. For example, White posits that historians use "some version of a theory of language to assist them in their work of "translating" meaning across the historical continuum" (1987: 188), but, on the other hand, he has also used translation as interlinguistic mediation (1973: 160). This problematizes the relationship between Translation Studies and History. A comparative approach to this issue could throw light on the complex and understudied relationship between the two disciplines.
6. Comparative studies can also be applied to the history of translation studies itself, as pointed out by Tyulenev and Zheng (2017), since the discipline has reached a level of maturity that justifies both the use of referential and integral models. The articles in the collection by Tyulenev and Zheng opt for the first model.

Finally the questions raised by Bouchard (2008) concerning comparative history and D'hulst as regards translation history (e.g. what has been translated in certain periods and/or societies and why, where translations have been published, etc, 2010: 399–403) are of interest in the exploration of the interface between the two disciplines.

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CHAPTER 4.5

Connected history and *histoire croisée*

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Keywords: *histoire croisée*, transnational history, networks, transfers, reflexivity

The field of Translation Studies tends to focus on translation as bounded by a source and target culture, often problematically equated with nations. Yet this notion of a bilateral, linear transfer overlooks multilateral encounters (e.g., relay translations) and intertwinements that are diffuse and interdependent rather than compartmentalized. Since translation history is characterized by the portability of texts across time, place and languages, translation historians can learn much from relational approaches in the field of history (e.g., connected history), which destabilize narratives of delimited cultural and spatial entities and discrete temporalities.

The concept of connected history was proposed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam (1997), and it overlaps with approaches such as shared history and transnational history. These emphasize the multidimensional, transcultural circulation of people, goods (including texts), and ideas through processes such as trade and colonization, both along the networks of movement (reciprocal or otherwise) and in the junctions where different flows converged (e.g., port cities). Although globalization is especially pronounced today, the world has always – and particularly since the late fifteenth century – been interconnected through explorers, merchants, missionaries, the military, migrants, diplomats and other travellers. By land, sea and air, they have carried their languages and texts with them, resulting in a confluence and reconfiguration of knowledge and thinking, often underpinned by religious, political or commercial – rather than intellectual – motives.

Connected history analyses synchronic and diachronic historical processes that interacted on various *levels*, including above and below that of the nation (global, [inter]continental, oceanic, regional, local, etc.), and in diverse *directions*, including not just between the 'center' and periphery but also from periphery to periphery, as well as from the elite to the lower classes and vice versa. Whereas the processes of contact and subsequent absorption that are involved in globalization are often studied from a top-down, structural perspective, the interdependence of

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specific places can often be fruitfully examined in terms of decentering and of the convergence of (and tension between) macro-processes or structures and more micro-level, situated aspects.

A connected perspective can enrich translation history by examining textual transfers (see Chapter 2.6 in this volume), knowledge transfers and relevant technology transfers (e.g., printing), as well as the people, institutions and events that supported or hindered these, and the ensuing reception. This vantage point can help reconstruct direct and indirect social, intellectual and textual webs (e.g., using network analysis to study interpersonal or creative and scholarly ties among translators and related stakeholders, or examining the circulation, reception and integration of translated works). It can also help explore processes (rather than static entities) – including continuities, intermittent intersections and cross-fertilization (hybridization etc.), as well as disentanglements, dislocation and deviations. Additionally, Bandia (2014: 115) suggests exploring "specific themes or tropes … over vast geographical expanses or regions, or simply across national linguistic and cultural boundaries" – e.g., "broad transnational entities such as Francophony, Lusophony, Hispanophony, Germanophony, Anglophony". Such entities have sometimes taken the form of empires or civilizations (e.g., China's centuries-long influence in Asia), but with connected history the focus is not just on the hegemonic power or the impact on its colonies and satellites but also on their mutual constitution and the influences emanating in various directions.

One emphasis is on reception, not as a passive process but in terms of how the elements in contact and their environments (Pratt's 'contact zones'; 1992) actively responded to these interactions and transactions – i.e., how agents in the past chose to adapt (localize and transform) ideas and cultural products in the new context (even re-exporting them in altered form to the source culture) and how new elements were produced in the process. Werner and Zimmermann (2006: 38) note that intercrossings involve "resistances, inertias, modifications – in trajectory, form, and content – and new combinations".

One feature that distinguishes *histoire croisée* ('crossed' or entangled history), a relational approach advocated by Werner and Zimmermann (2006), from similar, earlier concepts such as connected history is that it highlights not only enmeshments between different places and between different layers at the same place, but also between the historian and the object of study. This results in an explicit focus on self-reflective scholarship – a concept that is familiar to many Translation Studies researchers through the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, for example, and one that is a major emphasis in Michaela Wolf's chapter on *histoire croisée* in the context of translation history (2016). Löblich and Averbeck-Lietz (2016: 32) sum up *histoire croisée*'s main methodological principles as "*reflexivity* (languages, terminologies, traditions, and researcher–object relations) and *historicization* (both of objects and categories of analysis), as well as adjustability of categories and scales during the research process". *Histoire croisée* unsettles reified analytical categories (e.g., nation, society, system, colonial, indigenous, centre, periphery, global, local, East, West, tradition, modernity) by historicising them and highlighting their hybridity. Its emphasis on the historian's positionality (e.g., within or outside of the language and culture being studied or as embodying multiple perspectives) reinforces the value of collaborative and cross-disciplinary inquiries that interlace different viewpoints.

Löblich and Averbeck-Lietz (2016: 32) suggest that *histoire croisée* resolves "several problems of comparison and transfer studies: stable national frames of reference, the invariability of categories, the deficit of historicization, and the assumption of linear processes between predefined points of departure and arrival." Nevertheless, relational approaches still imply comparison between the situations before and after a transfer so as to better understand its exact nature (Kocka and Haupt 2009: 20).

Although the notion of connectedness is implicit in much research on translation, approaches specifically envisioned as relational are yet to have a noticeable impact on the study of translation history. D'hulst (2012) sets forth the principles of *histoire croisée*, but Wolf (2016: 231) maintains that "Reiter's work (2013) on eighteenth-century interpreters at the Vienna Habsburg Court is the only one to have thoroughly adopted the *histoire croisée* approach". Wakabayashi (2016: 162) mentions examples from translation history that would lend themselves to a relational approach, as well as some studies that have adopted an analogous approach without explicitly adopting this framework. To these we could add works such as Hofmeyr's *The Portable Bunyan* (2004, which combines a micro-level focus on a single text with a connected perspective on its linguistic travels) and Langermann and Morrison's edited volume *Texts in Transit in the Medieval Mediterranean* (2016). *Any* study of translation history – connected or otherwise – can benefit from reflexivity.

Criticisms of relational approaches include the argument that an emphasis on connections is merely stating the obvious, as well as their lack of relevance in situations of no connectivity (although *obstacles* to connectivity merit attention). Moreover, not all contacts are meaningful, and relational approaches do not provide specific guidance on how to explore the nature of historical connections – e.g., "where and on what scale we should look for it" (Couldry 2000: 94). Delfino and Gräser (2014: 114) state that *histoire croisée* "principally focuses on pre-modern or non-Western societies not yet heavily structured into nation-states", but there is no inherent reason for any such restriction. In fact, Laqua (2011: 2) argues that "transnational histories demonstrated that borders are not so easily dissolved, and that nations, and comparisons made between them, remain an important concern" – a comment that acknowledges the relevance of the traditional unit of the nation but situates it within a broader context. Despite certain limitations, relational approaches provide a useful additional framework for understanding translation history, depending on the nature and aims of a particular study. They also, however, offer considerable challenges in terms of the need for expertise in more than one language and area or period. Yet this is precisely where translation historians may compensate for the weaknesses of some historians, who might lack the necessary multilingual competence.

Nowadays digital media – e.g., in the form of crowd-sourced translations – make interconnectedness ever more possible. In turn, digital humanities can help with the substantial task of a relational translation history. For instance, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software highlights aspects such as scale and proximity, and software such as Gephi and Circos can help with network analysis.

Wein (2015: 4) stresses that not just the data, but the "*theoretical* level needs to be transnational, too" – a vital point that problematizes the dominance of Eurocentric epistemologies and scholarship in Translation Studies and emphasizes the importance of open, permeable borders not just geographically over time but also intellectually in the present. A greater awareness of both convergences and divergences can enhance our understanding of translation history as it happened across borders of all kinds, both natural and artificial. Bringing a similar awareness to the disciplinary or epistemological level of Translation Studies, including an ongoing emphasis on reflexivity in scholarship, can only benefit the field and continue to shake up Eurocentric concepts of translation and translation history.

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CHAPTER 4.6

Oral history

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Keywords: oral history, translation history, interviews, oral translation

1. Definition and context

An oral history is an in-depth, retrospective audio or video interview conducted for the purpose of preserving a narrative of historical significance (Yow 2015: 2–3). It differs from other interviews – such as those conducted by journalists for a news story or by academics for a research project – in that the interviewer's goal is to create a recording that will be stored at a library, an archive, or another accessible location so that it can be consulted by others (Ritchie 2015: 8). However, the term oral history refers to both a *product* (a recorded interview) and to the *process* of collecting, analyzing and preserving such interviews for future use (Ritchie 2015: 1–2; Yow 2015: 4–5). As such, oral history scholarship focuses not only on practical issues, such as best practices for conducting, transcribing, archiving and publishing recorded interviews (Ritchie 2015; Yow 2015), but also on analyzing the content of oral history narratives and exploring closely related issues such as narrative performance and subjectivity (Portelli 1991; Thompson 2000).

While some of the first oral history interviews focused on the stories of the elite (cf. Thomson 1998: 24; Yow 2015: 3), oral historians have increasingly focused on preserving interviews with people who are under-represented in historical records: members of the working class, cultural minorities, indigenous peoples, etc. (Thomson 1998: 24–25). And while early oral history recordings once had to be physically preserved at institutions like universities and research centres, technological advances have allowed interviews to be made more widely available through online archives.

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2. Examples

Although oral historians often rely on translators and interpreters during the interview and transcription process, not much scholarship connects oral history and translation studies (Reeves-Ellington 1999; McDonough Dolmaya 2015). One recent project, though, did combine both fields of study by requiring translation students to conduct, transcribe and translate an oral history interview in order to help these students develop both their critical thinking and translation skills (Cifuentes-Goodbody and Harding 2016).

Despite the lack of formal oral history projects within translation studies, a significant amount of historical translation studies research has drawn on oral sources, often to complement archival records and secondary sources. Retrospective interviews informed many of the biographical profiles of literary translators in Whitfield (2005, 2006), for instance, and were used by Takeda (2010) to shed light on the interpretation process during the Tokyo war crimes tribunal. Ben-Ari (2008)'s study of pulp fiction translated in Israel in the twentieth century would arguably not have been possible without retrospective interviews with translators and other agents involved in the projects. Although most of the translation studies research that draws on oral sources has not explicitly used oral history processes, in some cases, the methods and motivations for conducting and analyzing interviews are similar to those of oral historians: Ben-Ari's project (2008: 2) was inspired, for instance, by a desire to "to put a face to […] anonymous figures" (Ben-Ari 2008: 2). In this way, translation studies research does incorporate one aspect of oral history: the analysis of retrospective, in-depth interviews.

Rarely, though, has translation studies intersected the other, primary aspect of oral history: conducting and preserving in-depth interviews for future use. In only a few cases have retrospective interviews with translators, interpreters or other agents been made widely available for future use by other researchers. Bowen et al. (1990), for instance, published an interview with Irena Dobosz, about her time as an interpreter with the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in the 1950s, Skinner and Carson (1990) published excerpts from a longer interview conducted in 1988 with Thomas Carson, who worked as an administrator in the Office of Chief of Counsel for War Crimes during the Nuremberg Trials and was responsible for hiring interpreters and translators at that time. Anthony Pym has also conducted and archived various interviews with more than 80 academics who study translation, interpreting, terminology, and related fields (Pym 2016). Although none of these interviews are explicitly described as oral histories, they are retrospective – focusing on events that occurred decades earlier – and, at least in the case of Bowen et al. (1990) and Skinner and Carson (1990), the interviews seem to endorse the oral history principle of "shared authority" (Yow 2015: 2) – given that both the interviewer(s) and interviewee are listed as co-authors. Typically, though, these interviews also differ from oral histories in that they do not delve into biographical details beyond those directly related to the interviewee's professional duties.

The journal *Translation Review* regularly publishes interviews conducted with translators – usually literary translators – and many of these interviews, though not explicitly described as oral histories are retrospective, lengthy and intended to serve as a historical record of the translator's professional life. In Stalling's (2014) interview with literary translator Howard Goldblatt, for example, the two spend some time discussing how Goldblatt learned Chinese and first encountered Chinese poetry before moving on to questions about Goldblatt's translation process.

A final example of oral history and translation studies intersecting is Reeves-Ellington's (1999) work on the challenges of translating oral history interviews. Although she does not interview translators or interpreters, Reeves-Ellington does explore various strategies for translating into English the 32 oral histories she collected from Bulgarian women of various ages and social backgrounds between 1994 and 1995. In her analysis, Reeves-Ellington argues for translation strategies such as poetic transcription and the preservation of oral rhetorical elements to help make each narrator's individual voice more visible and therefore better address the performative aspects of oral history narratives.

3. Limitations and drawbacks

Oral history interviews that are collected and preserved according to the best practices recommended by oral historians require a substantial investment in time and labour: interview transcription is a time-consuming activity, and automated software is not yet sophisticated enough to accurately tackle the process (Shopes 2012). Audio and video recordings of oral history interviews may need to be edited, which usually requires training and specialized software.

Archiving the recordings can also pose a burden to researchers, who need to find a repository for the tapes and/or digital files, such as a public archive or a university library. Alternatively, if existing institutions are unwilling or uninterested in housing the recordings, researchers would need to create a repository that will be accessible to others. Whether the recordings are archived in a physical or online location, researchers will also need to contend with copyright, privacy, and libel concerns (Jarvis-Tonus 1992; Ritchie 2015). Moreover, when preparing the accompanying informed consent documents, researchers would need to anticipate future uses of the interviews while also ensuring permissions cover new technologies (Ritchie 2015: 174, 274).

Translating oral history interviews also poses numerous problems. While oral historians who conduct interviews in one language and transcribe them in another do not always comment on the translation process, Reeves-Ellington (1999) has discussed the inherent challenges of rendering the idiosyncrasies of an individual's speech into another language, including how to best represent the paralinguistic elements of oral histories, such as pauses and softness of voice, and how to treat rhetorical style, such as repetition, unfinished thoughts and incoherent passages.

The fallibility of human memory and the potential unreliability of oral testimony is another limitation of oral history: interviewees will inevitably forget (or even mis-remember) details when recounting their narratives (e.g. Portelli 1991), and they may omit aspects that would cast themselves or others in a bad light (e.g. Layman 2009). Interviewees may also be concerned with whether they are saying the right thing in a way that the interviewer would like (e.g. McKenna 2003). Many oral historians (e.g. Portelli 1991: 45–58; Yow 2015: 26), though, choose to see the inherent subjectivity of oral narratives as both a strength and a weakness. To address this subjectivity, oral historians will often analyze not only the narrative itself (what the narrator actually said), but also the narrative event (the way the narrator tells the story), in an effort to better understand "the meanings we give our past and present" (Yow 2015: 26).

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CHAPTER 4.7

Memory studies

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Keywords: historical trauma, testimony, war, Holocaust, transnationalism

Memory studies began to emerge as a discrete discipline in the 1980s. The twenty-first century has seen an explosion of interest in memory studies, evidenced in the founding of the journal *Memory Studies* in 2008 and the publication of substantial surveys of the field. Memory studies research is primarily concerned with the ways in which the past is constructed in the present. It interrogates how individuals, groups or nations use the past to construct their identities. The discipline's primary academic point of reference is Maurice Halbwachs' discussion of the concept of 'collective memory', first published as *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* in 1925. In Germany, Halbwachs was the central reference point for influential research by Astrid Erll (2011) and Aleida Assmann (1999) and Jan Assman (2011), whilst in the UK, Susannah Radstone's (2011) work draws on the disciplines of cultural studies and psychoanalysis. In France, Pierre Nora's multi-volume work *Les lieux de mémoire* (1997), published between 1984 and 1992, has been enormously influential. Terminology in the field is contested, with some scholars preferring to speak of 'cultural' memory (Jan and Aleida Assman) or 'social' memory (Olick 2007). The field has been further refined with the introduction of concepts such as *multi-directional memory* (Rothberg 2009), *postmemory* (Hirsch 1997) and *prosthetic memory* (Landsberg 2004)). Memory studies research has examined the historical traumas of the twentieth century, notably the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship, the Second World War and the Holocaust, the post-war German Democratic Republic, and wars of decolonisation such as the Algerian War (e.g. Stora 2005). More recently, discussions of 'transnational', 'transcultural' and 'cosmopolitan' memory have sought to examine memory as a phenomenon that is simultaneously *located* and *mobile* (Levy and Sznaider 2002; Radstone 2011).

Although there is a growing recognition that the transmission of memories takes places across national borders, explicit consideration of the role of interlingual transfer in transnational memory transmission is still rare. The concept of

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‘translation’ is often used metaphorically to describe the mediations of memory – the transformations that inevitably take place when past experiences are brought into language in the present. But this should not obscure the role that actual interlingual transfer plays in the articulation and transmission of memory. Influential studies which do connect interlingual translation and cultural memory include Emily Apter’s *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature* (2006), Bela Brodzky’s *Can These Bones Live? Translation, Survival and Cultural Memory* (2007) and Sherry Simon’s *Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory* (2012). Siobhan Brownlie’s *Mapping Memory in Translation* (2016) is a notable recent addition to the field. Research on translation and Holocaust writing (Davies 2014) has demonstrated that dissemination of knowledge about the Holocaust, in its very nature a multilingual event, depends on translation, though this fact is rarely acknowledged. The translation of testimony is a particularly rich area for research, since it raises crucial questions of authenticity and remediation.

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CHAPTER 4.8

Counterfactual history

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Keywords: Aristotle, causality, generic identity, historiography, integrational linguistics, universalism

1. Definition and context

Counterfactual or virtual history (other terms include: alternate history, parallel worlds, what-if stories, *histoire conjecturale*) is a speculative branch of historiography, with strong advocates since the 1990's (Hawthorn 1991; Ferguson 1997), that addresses actual social, political, intellectual, economical issues by imagining the potential effects on the course of history of facts that did not occur: "It is, at the very root, the idea of conjecturing on what did not happen, or what might have happened, in order to understand what did happen" (Black and MacRaild 2007: 125). Famous examples are: What if Hitler had died during Operation Valkyrie of July 1944? Or: how would U.S. economy have looked like in 1890 had there been no railroads? Counterfactual history may help to lay bare both present contingencies and seemingly marginal facts that took place in the flow of events which together make up history. Because of its appeal to imagination, counterfactual history frequently also takes the form of fiction (e.g. pseudo-historical novels and science fiction).

Counterfactual history is rarely practiced in the history of translation studies, at least in an explicit way. Covertly, however, it pervades the narrative of many issues of translation history, such as the question of what has not been translated (and could have been), of decision making processes (that could have followed different paths), of oblivion at large (the emergent "translation studies" of the 1970s could have retained more of its East-European counterpart). It pervades in particular so-called shifts or turns that characterise the history of recent translation research and, more generally, committed approaches toward translation. The postcolonial turn is a case in point. As translation knowledge has been imposed worldwide during European colonization, it has been tempting, for many, to imagine how non-European or non-Western thinking about translation would have evolved if

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that very thinking had not been based predominantly on imposed European models of grammar, rhetoric or poetics. Yet, the same hypothesis may be raised for the evolution of the European way of thinking about translation itself. The fact that translation typology and the unclear generic status of a translated text continue to spark debate may serve as an illustration of this hypothesis. Even if translation has been attributed generic qualifications throughout its history, it does not itself carry the properties of a distinct genre: although a translation of a poem, novel, tragedy, contract, pamphlet, interview, treaty, article, etc. identifies with its generic source or with the genre of the target language, it does not possess a proper generic identity.

2. Examples

When approached through the lens of counterfactual history, this issue brings us back to Greek Antiquity, "a polyglot and tangled universe" (Gruen 2011: 253), but also, within its Athenian intellectual elite, a place of sophisticated modelling of universal categories, notably since Aristotle, whose approach towards language and thought is markedly taxonomic and ontological, as made clear e.g. in *Péri hermêneias* (*On Interpretation* I, 16a, 3–8): "Now spoken sounds are symbols of affections in the soul, and written marks symbols of spoken sounds. And just as written marks are not the same for all men, neither are spoken sounds. But what these are in the first place signs of – affections of the soul – are the same for all; and what these affections are likenesses of – actual things – are also the same" (Aristotle [1984]: 25).

Correlatively, the pre-eminence of the general over the particular impels Aristotle to look for *kinds* of rhetoric and *kinds* of art forms. Take poetics. One of the major categories used by Aristotle in his *Perì poiêtikês* (*On Poetics*) to qualify the poetic art is "species" or genre. Species have their proper "capacity", e.g. "the canons of plot construction needed for poetic excellence; also the number and character of poetry's components, together with the other topics which belong to the same enquiry – beginning, as is natural, from first principles" (*On Poetics* 1447a, 8–13). Such capacity enables species to enter a classification. The two main species are epic poetry (*diègèsis* or exposition) and tragic poetry (*mimèsis* or imitation), to which Aristotle gives three additional characterizations: media (e.g. language), objects (the characters in action) and modes of representation. Many examples of species are given to illustrate the validity of the distinct categories.

The unfolding of the framework is based on ontological principles, whereas the exemplification of species is based on products in one language only, i.e. Greek. No mention is made of translation or any other form of interlingual transfer. Why? Do such practices lack proper substance and should they not be qualified as a species as a result? Or do they lack *poiesis* or art and become tokens of *praxis* and thus activities which enjoy less prestige, which in the longer run will make them useful for learning purposes only? Let us consider the second hypothesis: it is generally accepted that Greek culture awarded a higher status to original work in Greek, being considered superior to the language and cultural productions of the barbarians (Baslez 1984). For some, as Edward Said, it is precisely this idea of superiority which is at the origin of a widespread cultural binarism which later extends to Rome: "In Classical Greece and Rome geographers, historians, public figures like Caesar, orators and poets added to the fund of taxonomic lore separating races, regions, nations and minds from each other; much of that was self-serving, and existed to prove that Romans and Greeks were superior to other kinds of people" (1995: 57). Could the preceding explain why the ontological classification of language and language productions has overlooked plurilingualism and exchange techniques between languages and cultures? At any rate, *metaphrasis* (translation) has not been approached as a substance, nor as a species, but has made its way as a form of rewriting, a rhetorical exercise. Its history may have led to translational subgenres, such as the medieval *genus exercitationis* that gives translation a proper place between the learning of grammar and rhetoric, or the *belles infidèles* which is considered a literary genre during French and European Classicism, but these are no more than rhetorical or stylistic variations, which Gérard Genette labels "la poussière de petites formes" (1979: 33).

When examining current translation research on genres, one cannot but assess the fact that the main focus is on the search for criteria by which translation reproduces the type or genre of the original (for an overview, cf. Gambier 2013). Only exceptionally, studies consider specific cases which fall outside the scope of the source typology: pseudo-translation, grammatical translation, etc., as does Katharina Reiss, among others: "If there is a difference between the original text function and the function of the translation, the text typology relevant to translation as well as the establishment of the given text variety are of no significance at all for the question what mode of translating should be adopted to attain functional equivalence. In that case a typology of translation should replace the text typology in order to supply suitable criteria for the mode of translating" (Reiss 1981: 131).

3. Pitfalls

The causality hypothesis is considered as one of the weaker pillars of counterfactual history, although the same remark applies to most causal or deterministic claims made by historians (Mordhorst 2008), and in spite of the fact that for other scholars, like Max Weber, the counterfactual approach is the only solid way to establish the *historische Bedeutung* of true events (Weber 1922: 268). One should therefore distinguish between more plausible and less plausible counterfactuals, only the first ones being based on consistent sets of arguments. Still, even in such cases it cannot be proven that the content and forms of translation knowledge, including its generic features, would have evolved in other directions if, as in the case analysed, Greek Antiquity – or Aristotle himself – had developed a system of categories that would have taken into account language variation, multilingualism, interference and translation. In fact, some of Aristotle's work, including his *Poetics*, remained largely unknown during many centuries, up to its rediscovery by 16th-century Italian theorists (Aristotle [1995]: 4). Nevertheless, the main principles of *theoria* have been transmitted via other models, such as logic, grammar and biology. Significantly, later efforts to debate principled or universalistic approaches towards language by ones that account for back and forth movements between universalism and language diversity and translation, as was the concern of Wilhelm von Humboldt and of early 20th century anthropologists Franz Boas and his followers (cf. Leavitt 2011), have not replaced the former ones. The same holds for more recent approaches such as integrational linguistics, which competes the thesis of languages as fixed codes and chooses to replace it by an ontology of linguistic diversity (Harris 1998).

If a different past can be imagined, then it is equally possible to forecast future evolutions. For instance, present-day thinking about cultural translation has started to question language itself as a valid criterion for conceptualizing translation. It has also predicted upcoming changes, such as new turns, a further globalisation of translation studies, or the decline of "Western" translation theory. In fact, straightforward thinking about translation has always been making use of cognitive tools, and even of the most basic ones, like metaphor and metonymy, which are the embryos of theories.

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PART 5

Analysing knowledge

CHAPTER 5.0

Introduction

Analysing translation may take various forms, of which this part brings only few examples. As mentioned by Burke (2016: 82), analysis is a way of 'cooking' the raw material, by transforming data or information into knowledge. It refers thus to ways or techniques of handling information, such as description, classification, comparison, interpretation, criticism and synthesis. All may occur at the same moment and materialize in different forms: e.g. theories, handbooks, overviews, prefaces, reviews, some of which overlap, simply because their content and function may change. A theory may develop within a letter, a review or a preface, while worldviews and practical hints for translators may very well belong to a theoretical work on translation.

This part will look at knowledge resulting from a small set of analytical practices of translation that have evolved during the last decades of the 20th century. The study of the translation category envisaged here includes pre-translation (source texts), post-translation (assessment of equivalence between source and target texts, of quality), and of course the process of translating, as well as other elements of translational communication: paratexts, agents, space, etc.

Text analysis proceeds by applying specific models, such as linguistic classifications of translation shifts at micro levels, discourse analysis, or systemic and sociological macro level models. All naturally yield different types of knowledge that rarely integrate both levels. Many analytical practices combine textual and other features. Hermeneutics assumes that meaning is no longer to be found in the source text, but should be discovered by a 'translator-relevant-text-analysis'. The latter considers the translator as a reader engaged in an empathic dialogue with the text. Deconstruction is a critical way of reading that considers meaning in source texts and translations to be both stable and instable, and meaning analysis needs therefore an understanding of the text's context, relational network and contemporary reception.

Analysis may consider translations as full or partial representations or substitutes of source texts. In the latter case, like with localism, the type of relation is a metonymical one, i.e. it selects specific translation activities, creating meaningful links between translation and its geographic, historic and socio-cultural context. This has led to an exploration of the links between specific locale (cities, airport, markets, etc.) and translation or other forms of language traffic. Similarly, ethnographical

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views on ‘thick description’ and ‘thick translation’ attempted to show the contiguity between local experiences or practices and their broader socio-cultural contexts.

Sociological understandings of translation have followed a number of paths, from functionalist views that consider translation as part of a network of dynamic relations and that seek to discover the rules (or norms) underlying those relations to openly sociological viewpoints. The latter acknowledge that norms imply power relations and that translation relates to other social practices and translators to other professionals.

Another form of analysing translation emerges from feminism and gender studies. The agents of translation are also constructed in their identity; their position reflects the relationship between genders at a given time in a given society, marked in a more or less strong way according to the types of languages involved.

CHAPTER 5.1

Translated texts / paratexts

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Keywords: implicit and explicit theories, paratexts, Arabian Nights, paratranslation

The study of translations was largely regarded as a text-based activity until the emergence of descriptive translation studies and the cultural turn in the 1980s. While the attention of translation scholars turned to the larger socio-cultural context and the multiplicity of agents active in these contexts in the later decades, translated texts and the paratexts surrounding them remain as major sources of information. Translated texts give away invaluable data about the behaviour of translators, as well as a society's expectations from translation at any given time. When studied diachronically, within a carefully selected corpus, translations shed light on the evolution of translation practices and the changing approaches and strategies of translators. Studies on retranslations (see Chapter 1.7 in this volume) are particularly pertinent for revealing the historical dynamics of translation. The availability of paratextual data to complement or challenge textual findings is an added advantage for such studies.

Translations and their critique have been used as part of the first attempts at theorization on translation, starting with the Ancient Greek and Roman discourse on translation. These quasi-theoretical statements have served to formulate sets of rules or principles to follow while translating. In the process, translations were used as negative or positive examples. One example among many is Aulus Gellius, who used passages from Virgil's translations from Greek poets as examples to underline the value of creativity in literary translation in his *Attic Nights* (Robinson 1997: 20–22). Likewise, translators of the Bible have criticized previous translations while proposing their own approach. In his famous letter to Pammachius, St. Jerome sets forth his literal translation strategy and offers a number of examples from the Septuagint, pointing out the shortcomings, additions and omissions in this first Greek version of the Old Testament which seem to underlie his decision to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew (Robinson 1997: 22–30).

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Translated texts continue to inform our thinking on translation. Let us consider the translations of the famous *Arabian Nights (Thousand and One Nights*) into various languages of the world and how they have helped shape our views on translation from both historical and contemporary perspectives. Even before its translations into various languages are explored, *Arabian Nights* presents interesting insights for the mutability of narratives through rewritings. The tales cannot be traced back to a single source text and are largely believed to have initially derived from Indian and Persian sources (Irwin 2010: 48). Textual evidence suggests that the stories were transmitted both through oral retellings and written recordings (Marzolph et al. 2004: 660). Today, the title *Arabian Nights* is known to refer to a number of pre-modern manuscripts and three Arabic editions printed in the 19th century (Beaumont 2004: 1). *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia* offers a long, but incomplete list of the translations of the work into 16 languages, with some languages featuring up to 8 retranslations (Marzolph et al. 2004: 724–7). Imagine the wealth of information that these translations offer the researcher. Some researchers have indeed taken on the challenge of addressing the differences among the translations, including Jorge Luis Borges as early as in 1936 (1999). The topic continues to fascinate scholars of translation and literature and textual analysis is pivotal in their investigations.

What specific data can one expect from a study of the individual translations and retranslations of *The Arabian Nights*? If a source text-target text comparison is carried out (despite the challenges of tracing the text used as the source), or when retranslations in the same languages, or across various languages are investigated in a critical light, strategies and techniques of translation will surface that may end up displaying set patterns, reflecting a general trend in a given time or society (i.e. Shamma 2005). Omissions or additions may lead to findings about the exercise of censorship or self-censorship (i.e. Marzolph et al. 2004: 515–7) or about the way *Arabian Nights* was tailored to suit different audiences such as children (i.e. Lathey 2010). Issues about relay translation would certainly come to the fore in nearly all of the translations covered by the encyclopaedia, as direct translations from Arabic editions of the tales started relatively late in the case of western languages. In a diachronic perspective, the *Arabian Nights* translations offer textual evidence for the shifts in power relations and hierarchies between the source and target cultures, as well as changing norms and vocabularies of the target languages. However, it is evident that regardless of the type of findings, and the values, expectations or ideologies that emerge from these translations, they cannot be severed from their larger cultural contexts. The most concrete links that connect translated texts with their immediate or larger socio-cultural contexts are their presentational features, in other words, their paratexts.

Elaborated in detail by the French literary theorist Gérard Genette (1987) paratexts represent the threshold between texts and the outside world. In the case of translated texts, they can be in physical contact with the translation itself such as covers, prefaces or footnotes (peritexts), while they can also be elements that are detached from the text but represent instances of discourse in circulation about a translation, such as reviews or criticisms (epitexts). Based on her analysis of an extensive corpus of paratexts, Dimitriu (2009) has identified an array of functions that prefaces serve and concluded that prefaces to translations can help bridge translation theory and practice.

Although paratextual studies are a recent phenomenon, and the term coined only in the 1980s, paratexts have existed for as long as books have, and they have always played a pivotal role in the way they have been presented and received. Paratextual features have accompanied the development of the book market, and although they have evolved and changed in time, they continue to enable direct communication between publishers and readers. As early as in the Renaissance, publishers, or sometimes authors or translators, created paratexts that would serve to promote the title and introduce not only the book, but sometimes their own work (Banou 2016: 53). As the printed book continued to grow as a widely available object, it built itself a growing intellectual, symbolic, economic, human, social and aesthetic capital, which was inextricably linked to its conditions of production and consumption, i.e. its market and the ways in which the product was presented and offered in this market through its paratexts (cf. Banou 2016: 8–9).

While translation practice is often shaped by unverbalized, "implicit" theories held by translators, paratexts in all sizes and shapes, provide fruitful ground for the articulation and justification of translation strategies and decisions, in other words, they may become a breeding ground for the "explicit" theories translators have about their work (cf. Koller 1995: 196: also in Hatim and Munday 2005: 171). Nevertheless, the scope of a paratext may well reach beyond the text that it surrounds. There are various historical examples to how translators have used paratexts to express their personal views, not only on the text they have translated, but also on the historical and social context they operate in. A colophon from the 14th century is a prime example. Kristina Nikolovska has studied a colophon written by a monk called Isaija to the first Slavonic translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (1371). In the colophon, which had a marked apocalyptic character, Isaija discussed the political events of his day and expressed his anxiety at the face of the changing balance of powers in the Balkans. This colophon has also defined the academic discourse on Slavonic identities for many centuries to come (Nikolovska 2016).

Concentrating on the paratexts of historical translations and retranslations may also reveal invaluable data about how translators, their patrons, publishers or editors conceptualized and positioned the works in question, including their marketing strategies. Guyda Armstrong's study on the paratexts of 17th-century English translations of the *Decameron* is an example of how much paratexts may reveal about the historical contexts for the production and consumption of translations. By concentrating on the material features of translations, instead of their texts, the author unearths how paratextual modifications "reveal changing characterizations of Boccaccio and his works" and argues that the translations did not originate from a singular textual operation, but were rather the outcome of the specific book culture of Stuart England (Armstrong 2007: 40).

Going back to the example of the *Arabian Nights*, prefaces, footnotes, reviews, etc. supply essential information that help link the many retranslations with their readers and the socio-cultural space where they are published. Richard Burton's highly controversial translation bearing the title *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885) was known not only for the highly eroticizing translation strategies he utilized, but also for the many footnotes Burton added to the book, as well as his *Terminal Essay*. Burton used the paratextual additions in order to relay his expertise on oriental sexual customs, while also harshly criticizing Victorian morals, so the footnotes and his essay had a much broader socio-political motive (Marzolph et al. 2004: 507). Another example demonstrating the social entanglements of paratexts is the most recent translation of *Arabian Nights* (Binbir Gece Masalları – 2016) into Turkish. This retranslation is only understood fully when analysed in connection with its peritext and epitext. The cover of the 4-volume retranslation presents it as a direct, full and illustrated translation. This information serves to set this specific translation apart from other editions available in the market (indirect and partial translations) and defines its raison d'être. Meanwhile, an interview with the translator, Ekrem Demirli, offers much more information about the motives behind this retranslation and positions the translation as a step towards completing the "map of Islamic culture", fully exposing the cultural aspirations behind the translation ("Binbir Gece Masalları İlk Kez Arapça Aslından Çevrildi" 2016).

The growing emphasis on paratexts in translation studies has also resulted in the emergence of a new perspective on translation practice, that of "paratranslation". The founders of the approach suggest that paratranslation refers to the analysis of the "time and space needed to translate any paratext that surrounds, wraps, accompanies, extends, introduces and presents the translated text" (Yuste Frías 2012: 118). Yet, paratranslation is not limited to the translation of paratextual elements, it is also a symbolic reference to all the activities and translators partaking in the presentation of translations (ibid, 119).

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CHAPTER 5.2

Process research

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Keywords: translation process, decision making, problem solving, multi-method approaches, methodology

1. Introduction/definition

Process research involves the systematic investigation of how translation products come into being. The defining characteristic of all process research is a focus on translating as an activity rather than on translation as a product or as a societal phenomenon. Although often most strongly associated with expertise and cognitive research (see Chapter 6.4 in this volume), process research is actually related to many aspects of translation studies. Depending on the interests of the scholars involved, the object of study can range from the micro level of an individual translator's decision making to the macro-level influences on that translator's process, such as context, organization, and societal expectations. Process research can also include what in localization contexts is sometimes referred to as the translation lifecycle, covering the stages from when a decision is made that a translation is needed until the delivery of the final target text.

In his seminal mapping of the discipline of translation studies, Holmes referred to process-oriented descriptive translation studies as being concerned with the "process or act of translation itself" and "what exactly takes place in the 'little black box' of the translator's 'mind' as he [sic] creates a new, more or less matching text in another language" (1972/2000: 177). More recently, Vandepitte (2008: 576) has suggested an ontology in which process-oriented translation studies is one of four foci of the discipline (the others are matter-oriented, cause-oriented, and result-oriented translation studies), and encompasses research into translation competence (development), translation teaching, and the profession. As explained in the next section, process research has evolved in line with technological developments in data collection and methodological developments with respect to what phenomena are considered relevant. Much of the research has been driven by a

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motivation to understand problem solving, decision making, and the entire process better in order to improve translator training (e.g. PACTE 2005 – see Chapter 7.2 in this volume). More recently, however, claims have been made about the relevance of translation process research to other disciplines that focus on human cognition, learning, and/or human-machine interaction (e.g. Ehrensberger-Dow, Göpferich, and O'Brien 2015).

2. Evolution of process research

From its beginnings, process research has been empirical and evidence-based. Various understandings of what constitutes the translation process and what is available for observation have driven progress from exploratory investigations through to recent multi-method large-scale projects (see Jääskeläinen 2011 for an overview). Initially, the focus was on trying to access what happens in the translator's mind during the process of converting a source text into a target text. Lacking the possibility of direct observation, early process research employed a technique proposed by Ericsson and Simon (1984) to encourage people to 'think aloud' while translating, and the transcriptions of these verbalizations, so-called think-aloud protocols or TAPs, served as data. Krings (1986), in what is considered a landmark in process research, actually investigated post-editing of machine translation output done by language students rather than translating done by professional translators. Nevertheless, his systematic approach to analyzing TAPs and his identification of problem indicators inspired other researchers who were interested in the translation process and pushed methodological developments as certain limitations to the method of think-aloud were acknowledged. These include the influence on (i.e. reactivity) and slowing down of the process as well as the recognition that professional translators do not talk about much of what they do, possibly because their automatized processes are not accessible to conscious reflection or because they are too inhibited to do so (see Jakobsen 2002). Nevertheless, TAPs and variants such as dialogue protocols continue to be a useful source of data to address questions such as strategies, competence development, and criteria for revision (e.g. Göpferich 2009).

Analyzing corrections, revisions, and intermediate versions as target texts are produced can provide insights into the translation process, but the reconstruction of the complete process is limited by accessibility to the drafts at each relevant stage. The development of a keystroke logging program designed specifically for translation work done on a computer (i.e. *Translog*; Jakobsen 1999) opened up the possibility of tracking all versions of the emerging target texts without unduly influencing the process and permitted finely-granulated investigations of different phases of the process. In addition, indicators of interruptions to the flow of the translation process, such as pauses, revisions, and typing errors, can be analyzed in order to support hypotheses about comprehension, linguistic issues, problem solving, and formulation challenges that might be related to directionality (i.e. translation into the translator's first or other working language).

Whereas keystroke logging permits deep analyses of the act of target text production, other methods such as direct observation, video, and screen recording allow researchers to determine which online, paper, human, and other resources are used at what points during the process and how professional translators might differ from other groups in their use of internal and external resources (e.g. PACTE 2005). Newer techniques that track eye movements and changes in pupil size (e.g. O'Brien 2010) or record brain activity (e.g. electroencephalography or EEG) are allowing additional research questions to be addressed, such as the focus of attention and mental load during different parts of the process or during various types of tasks. Another advantage of methods that are not directly related to written text production is that they can be used to research the interpreting process, possibly but not exclusively in comparison with other modes of translation (e.g. Tirkkonen-Condit and Jääskeläinen 2000).

Another source of data that has proven very valuable in process research is retrospective verbalization (as opposed to the concurrent verbalization of TAPs). Retrospection can be elicited through post-task interviews and questionnaires or by replaying keystroke logs or screen recordings and asking participants to comment on their processes. The latter technique mitigates some of the issues associated with forgetting and selective memory, since the recorded activities associated with the processes are available to stimulate recall (e.g. Hansen 2006). Although it must be assumed that what participants comment on is only a fraction of the considerations that they actually make during the translation process, the rich cues provided by screen recordings or gaze plots from eye tracking have proved to be very effective at stimulating verbalization and reflection. Used as a primary source of data, retrospective verbalizations can be analyzed similarly to TAPs for indications of problem solving, decision making, strategies, competence, and self-concept, with comparisons being drawn between groups that differ with respect to language combination, level of education, and/or experience.

A milestone in process research was its early commitment to multi-method approaches and above all to triangulation of data sources and results (see Alves 2003). This included calls for integrating considerations of the products into process research in order to make claims about the interrelationship (e.g. Englund Dimitrova 2005). Rather than a return to solely product-based research, this has broadened the focus to far beyond the 'little black box'. Process research has expanded to encompass an understanding of cognition as embedded and embodied and to increasingly appreciate translators as agents who are situated within and affected by social and environmental contexts (e.g. Risku 2014). The implications of this broader view are reflected in the diversity of phenomena that are currently being studied within the framework of translation process research (e.g. affect, creativity, expertise, intuition). Just as technological developments have driven methodology in process research, they have also changed the nature of the translation process itself as professional translation becomes less about translating from scratch than about deciding between or rejecting options provided by translation memory and machine translation engines (e.g. Carl, Bangalore, and Schaeffer 2015). The studies outlined in the next section exemplify the range of phenomena that have been examined and the methodological approaches that have been taken in recent process research.

3. Examples of process studies

Researchers in Denmark have been investigating the translation process since the mid-90s, exploiting and developing techniques for data collection and analysis (e.g. Hansen 2006; Jakobsen 1999). In the meantime, the group from the Centre for Research and Innovation in Translation and Translation Technology (CRITT) has increasingly focused on the micro level of the process, aligning text production activities from computer logging of keystrokes and mouse movements with gaze information from eye tracking in a number of cross-sectional studies involving different groups of participants (e.g. students, translation professionals, and non-professionals), various source and target languages, and tasks (e.g. reading, translation from scratch, post-editing). Their large database of processes has been made available to other researchers in order to encourage innovation, replication, and comparisons.[1] With what they refer to as user activity data, it is possible to address questions such as the effects of source text characteristics (e.g. word frequencies, metaphors, syntactic complexity), translation direction, differences between tasks, parallel processing, and resource use during the process (see Carl et al. 2015 for examples).

Cross-sectional studies are more common in process research than longitudinal studies, but researchers in the *TransComp* project followed a select group of students over six semesters of their undergraduate program in order to study the development of translation competence (see Göpferich 2009). The project was carefully designed to control for the order of source texts and comparisons were drawn between the performance of students at different stages of education and that of professional translators. A multi-method approach, combining techniques such as keytroke logging, screen recording, verbal commentaries, and questionnaires, was used to allow investigations of decision making, problem solving, and creativity as well as to contribute to model building and validation to explain the acquisition of translation competence. In another example of good practice in process research, detailed information about the participants, source materials, transcriptions, and target texts have been made available on the project website to encourage collaboration, replication, and follow-up studies.[2]

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[1] sites.google.com/site/centretranslationinnovation/tpr-db

Attempts are made to increase ecological validity in process research by using authentic source texts, providing realistic translation briefs, and allowing access to external resources. However, most of the studies outlined above were carried out in relatively controlled settings such as university laboratories and classrooms rather than at professional translators' workplaces. This is partly attributable to the constraints imposed by the data collection methods that were used (e.g. computer logging and eye tracking) and partly because of an interest in comparing non-translators or students with professional translators.

In process research that focusses on the situated activities of professional translators, certain compromises have to be made with respect to the comparisons of interest and other techniques deployed. *ErgoTrans*, an interdiscplinary study of the physical and cognitive ergonomics of the translation workplace, included direct observations, ergonomic assessments, screen recordings, video recordings, questionnaires, and interviews in an attempt to capture and investigate authentic processes of freelance, institutional, and commercial translators.[3] The reality of professional translation activities became clear during the study, including the role of language technology, human-computer interaction, working conditions, and organizational structures. Certain comparisons are not possible in process research conducted at the workplace because of the impossibility of controlling for the variety of source texts, tasks, and language versions encountered, but detailed examination in the form of case studies can provide insight into translation practice and the impact of external influences on the complex phenomenon of human translation (e.g. Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb 2016).

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2. gams.uni-graz.at/fedora/get/container:tc/bdef:Container/get

3. zhaw.ch/linguistics/ergotrans

4. Criticisms, shortcomings, and directions

Common criticisms of process research have been directed at the exploratory, mostly descriptive nature of many of the studies, the small numbers of participants, the lack of standardized methods, and the consequent difficulties with replication. The research desiderata remain similar to those outlined by Krings (2005) almost 20 years after his seminal publication. Validity continues to be an issue with respect to tasks and participants, since temporal and economic constraints can limit process researchers to testing hypotheses with convenience samples of students rather than with professional translators. A focus on the process rather than the resultant products can make it easier to convince professionals to participate in studies but, without a consideration of the products, claims about the impact of certain aspects of the process are speculative at best. In studies focusing on the development of competence, comparisons between the processes of students and professionals are based on assumed correlations of education and/or experience with competence, quality, and/or efficiency. These assumptions may be reasonable but still need to be validated in some other way, especially since notions of translation quality – usually considered a good indication of competence – can differ depending on socio-cultural, functional, and temporal factors. Most non-literary translators are subject to strong economic pressures that require them to adjust their translation processes in order to maximize efficiency. An understanding of how translation processes under ideal conditions differ from those in the workplace can contribute to preparing future graduates for the changing realities of professional translation.

Despite decades of work, process research has not yet managed to break into the black box of the translator's mind. There have also been criticisms that the psycholinguistic nature of some process research risks ignoring the most interesting aspects of translation as part of a communicative event. However, much has been learned about human translation through examinations of the isolated act. Reflections about methodological rigor (e.g. Muñoz 2012; O'Brien 2010) are contributing to progress in the field as it expands to considering the phenomenon of translating as an activity situated in translators' physical, organizational, and socio-cultural environments and not just in their minds.

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CHAPTER 5.3

Translation analysis

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Keywords: appraisal theory, comparative analysis, discourse analysis, sociological analysis, systemic functional linguistics (SFL), text analysis

1. Introduction

The broad cover term 'translation analysis' encompasses a wide range of methods and concepts that are central to translation studies. Translation analysis may be applied to pre-translation – text analysis of the source text features undertaken by the translator prior to translating a text – or post-translation, where it entails the assessment of the equivalence between source text units and target text units after translation and is undertaken by the translator or reviser as part of the translation process or by the analyst engaged in a comparative analysis of source text and target text. Translation analysis has traditionally focused on the textual product and may be either prescriptive, centring on quality assurance through the corrections of errors in trainee and professional translation, or descriptive, with the aim of describing the patterns of translation that occur in a specific text or group of texts and of deducing the motivations behind such patterns and/or the sociological and extralinguistic factors that have caused them.

The selection of the model for the analysis is crucial; it reflects the analyst's perspective and determines to an extent the type of results produced. There has been an evolution over the past decades, from static linguistic classifications of translation shifts to detailed analyses of textual features pre-translation to more dynamic functionalist and discourse analysis, narrative theory and other sociological models, which treat translation as an act of intercultural communication demanding an extension of analysis to increasingly sophisticated features of context.

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2. Comparative analysis

There are many different forms of comparative analysis of source texts and target texts. Indeed, one of the main problems arises from the fact that there is no consensus as to the terminology or metalanguage to be used: different scholars use different terms for the same or overlapping concepts. Early forms of text analysis involved the classification of small linguistic or semantic changes in translation, known as 'shifts'. A classic taxonomy in this style is that of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), who worked on what they called a 'comparative stylistics' of French and English. Their classification used the following microlevel categories of 'procedures': (1) Borrowing, (2) Calque (a literal translation that becomes a fixed expression in the target language), (3) Literal translation, (4) Transposition (change of word class), (5) Modulation (change of point of view), (6) Idiomatic translation (replacing an idiom in the source text with a target language idiom with a similar meaning), (7) Cultural adaptation. Of these, the first three are described as forms of a 'direct translation' strategy, the last four as 'oblique translation'. This was an attempt to relate microlevel translation 'procedures' at the word or phrase level to the overall macrolevel translation 'strategies', though it should be noted that other theorists use the term 'method', 'technique', 'solution' (Pym 2016), 'tactic' (Gambier 2010) or even 'strategy' itself for Vinay and Darbelnet's 'procedures'.

The advantage of such a classification is that it provides a systematic framework of analysis that in principle may be applied to any text pair and language combination, though there is evidence that some of the categories (e.g. calque) are more language dependent. One essential consideration is whether the shifts are 'obligatory' (i.e. they occur because of systemic differences between the languages, for example the English adjective-noun order rendered as French noun-adjective) or what is called 'optional' (where the translator has the choice of several valid translation equivalents, such as in the translation of an idiom). Optional shifts are generally far more interesting because they are products that portray the translator's linguistic intervention and can be used to deduce possible motivations. The application of taxonomies to the analysis of the translation product facilitates the identification of patterns of translation that is central to the branch of descriptive translation studies (DTS) (Toury 1995/2012). It represents an advance on Toury's 'ad-hoc' approach to analysis which sat uneasily with DTS's systematic aim of identifying trends, making generalizations about translation and building up a picture of probabilistic 'laws' of translation. To this end, a considerable amount of data is needed and such studies have benefited greatly from the advances in the use of electronic corpora of translations (see Setton 2011; Zanettin 2012).

However, several question marks still remain. These include the selection of the unit of translation analysis. The taxonomy above relates just to individual words and expressions, although Vinay and Darbelnet extend the analysis to higher levels of linkage and message. But these are segments determined after the event and without recourse to data about the translation process. Ballard (2010) takes a different line and sees that 'a unit of translation is initiated by a translator when [he/she] applies a translation strategy to a segment or element of the source text'. To delineate such units would require experimental research into the translation process, using eye tracking, think aloud protocols, retrospective interviews, etc. (see Chapter 5.2 in this volume).

Another problem is how exactly are shifts to be determined and how does the micro influence the macro, and vice versa. There is also inevitably some degree of subjectivity in the assignment of categories; empirically it would be more reliable to enlist the help of external evaluators rather than simply relying on the opinion of the single researcher. Furthermore, the amount of data generated by such analysis may be overwhelming, so it is important to restrict the scope of the investigation to a manageable and representative sample of text. Some later taxonomies have focused on the translation of certain categories of items, such as culture-specific references (e.g. Franco Aixelá 1996 and Leppihalme 1997) or have explored influences on Vinay and Darbelnet and proposed modified lists of translation 'solutions' (Pym 2016). More studies have also expanded the analysis and borrowed from literary theory (e.g. Genette 1997) to incorporate paratextual elements such as footnotes, prefaces and covers (see Chapter 5.1 in this volume).

3. Text and discourse analysis

Translation analysis took a major leap forward in the 1960s and 1970s with the study of dynamic features of the communication situation (see Chapters 6.1 and 6.3 in this volume). The work of Eugene Nida (e.g. Nida and Taber 1969) focused on the idea that equivalence of meaning is not static and that a translation should be tailored to the audience and their needs, through what Nida termed 'dynamic' or 'functional' equivalence. Other key considerations that affect the translation, developed notably by Reiss and Vermeer (1984/2013) and which now form the basis of any translator training course, are text type (informative, expressive, persuasive), genre (e.g. a political speech) and purpose (also known as 'skopos'). Text analysis models for pre-translation tasks provided a checklist of linguistic and extralinguistic features (sender, recipient, instructions, etc.); Nord's functionalist model (2005) is perhaps the best-known. Despite such a comprehensive analysis, it is still not clear how far a particular feature (e.g. of genre) will shape the translation produced.

One key and more dynamic sociolinguistic model of discourse derives from Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1978; Halliday

& Matthiessen 2014). It views language as 'social semiotic', that is, language has 'meaning potential' for enacting social relationships. It has been applied by translation theory because of its systematic mapping of meaning choice at different levels of the communication process (see Munday and Zhang 2015). The key area of the process for translation theory has been Register, which in SFL mediates between higher-level concepts such as context of culture, discourse and genre and the lexical and grammatical resources which convey meaning. The three Register variables are:

1. Field, which is what the text is about. It is linked to the ideational function of language. Key lexical and grammatical features include process types (verbs) and transitivity patterns, subject-specific vocabulary and nominalizations.
2. Tenor, which is the interpersonal relationship between writer/speaker and reader/listener, enacted through the use of pronouns (tu/vous), commitment (modality), and evaluation (through adjectives, which are known as 'evaluative epithets').
3. Mode, which is the form of text (written/spoken, formal/informal) and the resources of thematic structure (developments in the sentence, where new information tends to be focused at the end of a clause) and cohesion, which create coherence in a given genre and text type (see Blum-Kulka 1986/2004).

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) was developed primarily for the analysis of English in educational contexts, although it has shown its usefulness in broader sociocultural contexts, including critical discourse analysis (CDA), which seeks to uncover the linguistic manipulation of power in political texts (e.g. Fairclough 2001, 2003). SFL was introduced to translation studies mainly in the work of Juliane House on translation quality assessment (see the latest version in House 2015) and by Hatim and Mason (1990, 1997). The latter's work has been fundamental in the study of ideological shifts in translation.

The discourse analytic model may be applied to interpreting as well as translation and to a certain extent to audiovisual translation. Both modalities, however, require modification of the model to deal with their peculiarities: thus, a discourse analytic approach to interpreting will need to take account of interactional or conversation analysis approaches (Wadensjö 1998) while analysis of multimodal texts has to deal with the visual and audio elements that contribute to the meaning-making. Some current studies draw on transcription models such as Baldry and Thibault (2006; see also Taylor 2003), and analytical models such as Kress and van Leeuwen (2006).

Weaknesses of the SFL model include its focus on the surface level realization of meaning, with a consequent neglect of implicit, hidden meaning, which is so important for translation. Use of the model to compare source text and target text also creates problems when the two languages use different linguistic configurations to communicate the same meaning: for example, an investigation of thematic structure in English will typically show that the thematic elements (the first ideational element in the clause) are subject pronouns or nouns operating as subjects. In languages which omit subject pronouns and/or operate with different structures (for example, Arabic which is a VSO language) the thematic structure will be completely different (see Baker 1992/2011). In order to take account of such problems, analysis will typically focus on identifying the 'markedness' of the pattern. A feature is marked if it stands out in some way for being unusual; it is unmarked if it conforms to typical patterns of the language. For instance, the English 'I believe you' will normally be unmarked and will normally be translated into an unmarked form in the target language, so 'Believe I you' in a VSO language. A marked English form (e.g. the emphatic expression 'Believe you me!') would normally require the translator to use a marked form in the target language.

4. Appraisal theory

Recent work in the SFL tradition has seen appraisal theory applied to the analysis of translation. Appraisal theory is part of the interpersonal function of Tenor and was developed by Martin and White (2005) for the analysis of evaluation in predominantly educational and journalistic texts in English: the parameters of appraisal comprise: (1) the type of attitude conveyed (affect, judgement or appraisal), (2) the strength of the attitude, known as graduation, and (3) engagement, which is the commitment of the writer/speaker to the attitude expressed and the space offered to the reader/listener to react.

The application of appraisal theory has been used for identifying 'critical points' of translator intervention and the shift of values in the target text. There are several reasons for such shifts: one of the most interesting is due to cultural differences between source and target locales, most evident perhaps in the adaptation or 'transcreation' of advertisements designed to appeal to very different target cultures. Appraisal theory is well adapted to political texts, where there is often strong ethical judgement conveyed: Munday (2012) includes a detailed analysis of interpretations and translations of President Obama's inauguration speech in 2009. It shows that simultaneous interpreters generally maintain the basic attitudinal expression but tend to reduce the intensity of evaluation through the omission of intensifiers such as *very* and *even*, the translation of value-rich 'non-core' words (e.g. *toiled*) by more basic words (e.g. *worked hard*) and the downplaying of metaphors. To a lesser extent this also manifests itself in the written translations, so it would seem that there is a trend to avoid the saturation of evaluation. Other work by Zhang and colleagues in Macao (e.g. Zhang and Pan 2015) have looked at public information notices and shown how appraisal resources are used differently in Chinese and English, reflecting the distance and hierarchy in institutional discourse and dissemination of information.

5. Sociological analysis

Analysis in the previous sections has moved from the micro to the macrolevel of institutional and governmental discourse and the role played by language, and translation, in constructing and reinforce hierarchical relationships. We should stress that translation studies has been very open to the application of macrolevel models adapted from sociology or literary studies. In the 1970s the work of Even-Zohar (see 1978/2012) projected polysystems theory into translation and in the 1980s and 1990s work of Lefevere (e.g. 1992) and others considered translation to be a site of potential ideological manipulation (see Chapters 5.9 and 6.2 in this volume). While some scholars used a CDA approach (see above) to reveal the ways in which translation may convey, distort or subvert a political or cultural message, others have increasingly turned to other sources of theoretical inspiration. These include Baker's (2006) work on narrative theory and those who have adopted a Bourdieusian sociological model (e.g. Inghilleri 2005; Hanna 2016) or Latour's actor-network theory (Buzelin 2005). An excellent example of the latter is Boll's (2016) analysis of translation strategy for Spanish-language poetry published by Penguin in the 1960s and 1970s.

6. Concluding remarks

Translation analysis sets out precise and detailed frameworks and vocabulary for the identification, classification and critical discussion of examples, features and patterns in source and target texts. However, the selection of model of analysis depends on the research goal. Access to an archive of correspondence and drafts goes a step further and enables the reconstruction of the motivations behind the decision-making that has moulded specific translations, expanding conventional text analysis by incorporating an element which for too long was overlooked: the translators themselves. Translation analysis may also be supplemented by interviews with the participants or by other experimental methods such as think-aloud protocols, keystroke-logging and eye-tracking to give a rounded picture of the translation process as well as the product.

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CHAPTER 5.4

Hermeneutics

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Keywords: translation studies, hermeneutics, cognitive science, creativity in translation, subjectivity in translation

Hermeneutics is commonly defined as the science or art of interpretation. In this definition lies a fundamental ambiguity which opens the way to criticism, especially when it comes to translational hermeneutics (TH): if it is a science, shouldn't it prove so by developing a methodology?

1. TH in the context of Translation Studies (TS) dominated by linguistics

1.1 Chasing the "Phantom of Objectivity" (Stefanink 1997)

In the 1950s, when Translation began to be studied systematically as a scientific discipline, the role of linguistics was to guarantee the necessary objectivity for the purpose of machine translation.

Texts were considered *static* entities liable to being decomposed into semantic unities reproduced, in turn, using the words of the target language. Subjectivity intuition and creativity were explicitely excluded due to their lack of systematicity.

1.2 The introduction of the reader's subjectivity into the comprehension process

With Martin Heidegger, and his follower Hans-Georg Gadamer, philosophical hermeneutics were introduced into twentieth century thinking, and, with Fritz Paepcke, into TS.

Researchers like Hans Robert Jauss, with his *reception aesthetics* and Wolfgang Iser with his theory of the "*implied reader*", Roland Barthes with his "*lecture plurielle*"

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and Umberto Eco with his "*opera aperta*", paved the way for a fundamental aspect in TH: the integration of the reader into the analysis of the translation process.

2. What Is the contribution of hermeneutics to TS?

2.1 A new conception of meaning

For hermeneuts, meaning is no longer to be found *in* the text and discovered by a more and more refined *translator-relevant-text-analysis*. Meaning is "between the lines" (Schleiermacher 1977: 315) or, as formulated in Stefanink /Bălăcescu 2017 "between the isotopies of the text". Ricoeur's (1896: 156) metaphor for meaning "in the orient of the text" suggests that it comes forth through the reader's interpretation. The meaning, which is to be translated, is the translator's mental representation of such (Stefanink and Bălăcescu 2017: 305).

2.2 A new conception of creativity supported by cognitive science

If meaning is to be found *between the lines*, it is not necessarily linked to its material representation by the words of the source text. This opens the way to creativity. Creativity has to be conceived as a *problem solving activity,* conditioned by a holistic text approach. This conception of creativity is supported by recent research in cognitive science, as e.g. Fillmore's *scenes-and-frame semantics*, which highlights the role of vizualisation in the process of understanding. Similarly, creativity is supported by Lakoff's chainings theory which encourages translators to give way to the *associative chainings* triggered in their minds during the reading act (Bălăcescu and Stefanink 2003).

2.3 A new epistemological approach: Dialogue, empathy, and metaphor instead of analysis

2.3.1 *A holistic approach. The hermeneutical circle. Subjectivity*

This new conception of creativity does not give room, however, for an unbridled imagination in the interpretation process. TH cannot agree with Derrida's idea of "dissemination" which is centered on the polysemy of individual words. Hermeneutic translators trust that texts have a meaning. It is with reference to this global meaning of the text that they consider the meaning of individual words. The progressing comprehension of words is framed by the overall meaning of the text. In the process of understanding there is a permanent back-and-forth movement between the individual text elements and the global meaning of the text. Their meaning is interdependent. This is one aspect of the hermeneutical circle of understanding.

The other aspect concerns the relationship between the reader / translator and the text. An objective perception of the text's meaning is impossible, a fact that is supported by neuronal philosophy (Stefanink and Bălăcescu 2015: 600–604). The translator does not understand the text through a network of pertinent features, as structural linguistics has been teaching us, but through a network of neuronal ways, "engrams" (memory traces) which are the result of recurrent experiences in our everyday life.

2.3.2 *A progressing process of comprehension based on "Fore-Understanding" and "Completion" in an Empathic "Dialogue" with the text*

It is with this engrammatic network engendering *prejudices* that the translator approaches the text. Prejudices are commonly considered to be a negative factor linked to subjectivity which must be eliminated in order to assure objective perception. For Gadamer (1960), however, prejudices have to be integrated into the process of understanding. Understanding comes through an empathic *dialogue* with the text. The translator approaches the text with these prejudices, the Heideggerian *Vorverständnis* [fore-understanding]. As the reading process progresses, this (provisional) fore-understanding is permanently adapted to the new information coming from new textual elements which are triggering engrams stocked in the reader's memory. This process of comprehension of the text can be considered as *completed* when the Gadamerian "*Horizontverschmelzung*" [fusion of horizons] is completed and the translator's gradually progressing fore-understanding comes to be consistent with the initial intuitive global *Vorverständnis*. The translator has, at that point, constructed his/her mental representation of the text's meaning. The act of translating consists in rendering this mental representation in the target language according to Heidegger's concept of *Auslegung* [explicitation].

2.3.3 *New instruments for the access to meaning: Somatics and a new epistemological status of metaphor*

TH considers the reader/translator as being wholly implicated in the process of understanding, with all his/her intellectual, physical and emotional being. Paepcke (1986: XVIII) calls it the translator's *Leibhaftigkeit* [corporeity]. Robinson (1971: 34) speaks of the translator's *somatics*. A striking example is given in Stefanink/ Bălăcescu 2017, where the translators' understanding is overwhelmed by *visual* impressions appealing to his/her senses rather than to logical analysis and explaining translational choices which, if at first glance may seem completely irrational, turn out to be appropriate metaphorical solutions induced by associative chainings and conditioned by cultural differences.

This intuitive appeal to metaphorical solutions is encouraged by the new epistemological status assigned to metaphor in philosophical hermeneutics. For Ricoeur metaphor is "the central problem in hermeneutics" and there exists a "*vérité métaphorique*" (1975: 11, 310). Metaphor is not simply a-theoretical seeing but introduces "seeing as" into the process of cognition itself (Heidegger 2008: 189–92). This view of philosophical hermeneuts is supported by the results of cognitive research: "metaphors allow us to understand one domain of experience in terms of another." (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 117).

2.4 A new conception of the text

The importance given to the senses revives a conception of ancient rhetoric for which a written text was, in fact, only the transcript of a spoken text and was to be rendered as such in the translation. For Gadamer (1978: 261) "Hermeneutics can be defined as the art of making spoken and written texts speak again."

When Gadamer says that the text is an appeal ("*anspricht*") to translators, he means an appeal to the senses. Literary texts appeal to the *auditive sense*, inviting the reader to read it aloud (be it in sub-vocalization). Stefanink/Bălăcescu (2015) gives such an example leading to a creative problem solving supported by the *rythm* of a sentence, which in this case is fundamentally relevant to the meaning.

More generally, recent research in TH has shown the importance of *tone* in translation. Tone is the predominant factor in establishing text coherence. To miss the tone in translation is to miss the translation.

2.5 A new conception of the translator's task

In conformity with this new epistemological approach, the hermeneutical concepts of the translator's task diverge. In Schleiermacher's conception the translator should interpret the text in order to reconstruct and translate the author's intention.

For Stolze the translator enters into a *game* with the text, where s/he is at the same time a player and played, culminating in a *fusion of horizons,* which then leads to a semi-conscious autopoetic formulation impulse in the target language. The game's rules are represented by *categories of attention* to be strictly observed in the (grounded) understanding process as well as in the act of text production.

In contrast, Ricoeur stands in the French tradition of Mallarmé and Valéry, together with Barthes who proclaimed "The Death of the Author". It is the reader's task to "*appropriate*" the meaning through the "*arc herméneutique*", consisting of a fore-comprehension of the text which the reader must "*complete*" through a methodological, immanent text interpretation.

2.6 A new criterion for quality assessment

These new elements in translation theory require new criteria for quality assessment. Where analytical approaches could (seemingly) rely on logical and rational steps leading to (an illusive) "objectivity", the hermeneutical approach relies on what is called (in the socio-philosophical studies of Jürgen Habermas) "*konsensuelle Wahrheit*". For the translator this means that s/he must provide "*intersubjektive Nachvollziehbarkeit*" [inter-subjective plausibility/traceability] by describing the path that led to creative problem solving (Stefanink 1997). This is the basis for the Gadamerian "dialog" which is supposed to lead to Habermas' "consensual truth". The philosophical foundation for this perception of subjectivity has been laid by Husserl (1977^2: 7) who claims that truth which has been "purified by mutual criticism and has been resisting any criticism" is considered as equivalent to objectivity in scientific discourse.

3. Facit and outlook

The hermeneutic approach can be said to be close to the practitioner's reality: it integrates the unavoidable subjectivity of the translator with his intuition and his creativity, the translator does not have to feel himself any longer "guilty" ("*traduttore-traditore*") when yielding to his/her creativity. Hermeneuts are, however, aware of the fact that TH does not have the recognition it deserves, due to what its critics claim to be its lack of scientificity.

Nonetheless, the hermeneutical approach is perfectly compatible with the principles of scientific research as developed by Karl Popper. It is also supported scientifically by recent results of cognitive research as shown in Cercel (2013: 99–148).

Several initiatives should be taken to overcome the distrust that some translatologists still feed against TH. These concern terminology, empirical research, and interdisciplinarity.

- Terminology should be clarified by means of cross references elucidating the similarities and the differences between the different representatives of TH. Emblematic concepts such as the German "*Horizontverschmelzung*" (Gadamer) vs. the French "*Distanciation*" (Ricoeur) are symptomatic of cultural differences in thinking traditions. The fundamental task, however, will be to convince the critics of the legitimacy concerning a metaphorical terminology from an epistemological point of view.
- For Empirical Research *ethnomethodological conversation analysis*, borrowed from sociological studies and introduced into TH by Stefanink (1995) allows a satisfactory study of the translation processes.

- This step into interdisciplinarity should be complemented by another one into cognitive science in order to find the possible legitimating explanations for creativeness in TH. Whereas Gadamer rejects any methodology, trusting the truth to reveal itself in a process of Heideggerian "*Selbstentbergung*", Ricoeur pleads for testing the pertinenence of hermeneutic principles by applying them to other sciences.
- Translation is certainly a privileged terrain for such a testing and our experience strongly speaks in favour of a cooperation between philosophical and translational hermeneutics together with cognitive science.

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CHAPTER 5.5

Deconstruction

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Keywords: deconstruction, philosophy of translation, undecidability, Derrida, critical translation studies

Translation Studies (TS) has always had a somewhat troubled relationship with philosophy. Since the very beginnings of the discipline, various philosophical musings on translation have been given pride of place in TS readers, and several authors have introduced eclectic selections of philosophical ideas, but no coherent or systematic paradigm of the "philosophy of translation" exists (Pym 2007). Among different philosophical approaches, deconstruction as practiced by the French philosopher Jacques Derrida has been given a prominent position, and it has long been a stable element in introductory text books and handbooks on translation studies. This prominence creates an impression of relevance and popularity, but in reality deconstruction is little known, poorly understood and seldom bears influence in mainstream TS thinking.

It is not difficult to understand why this might be the case. Deconstruction is a complex and controversial network of ideas that defies definitions, and Derrida's writing style is intentionally obscure and literary, alienating some readers and creating obstacles for smooth translation. Why, then, in spite of all the impediments to easy accommodation did this quirky postmodern approach capture the imagination of several TS scholars? Deconstruction emerged in TS literature in the 1990s, at the time when the young discipline engaged with a number of other contemporary poststructuralist theories as well (Koskinen 2000). Derrida also discussed translation explicitly in numerous publications (e.g. 1985). His views allowed for a rethinking of the source text as unstable and *undecided*, re-emphasized the Benjaminian ideas of translation as its *sur-vival* and *supplement* (Benjamin 1923/2000), and created openings for a renewed emphasis on the ethics of translation, focussing on empowerment (Arrojo 1998), *undecidability* (Jones 2004) and *responsibility* (Koskinen

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2000).[1] A separate branch has also developed to discuss the complexities of translating Derrida's own writing (e.g. Venuti 2003/2013; see also Davis 2001: Chapter 5), with or without a link to the notion of *abusive fidelity* coined by Philip Lewis (1985) to explain the kind of translation practice he saw deconstruction as leading to.

1. Controversies and misunderstandings

The notions of instability and undecidability of meaning have made deconstruction suspect of supporting nihilistic and laissez-faire attitudes towards reading. This is a misunderstanding. In any text or concept, the argument goes, stability and instability co-exist, and it is as important to understand the traditionalized understandings, institutionalized meanings and coded repetitions as it is to recognize the moments when this *iterativity* creates openings for meaning beyond those accepted and intended (Derrida 1988: 115–116; see also Davis 2001: Chapter 3). As a way of reading, deconstruction requires both careful cartography of the text and its context, and imaginative attention to its moments of hesitance that can challenge and push forward our thinking (on the logic of *both/and*, see Derrida 1988: 116; Koskinen 2000: 94–96).

Deconstruction has also been claimed to promote a-historical interpretations, but as Kathleen Davis (2001: 2–4) argues, it is in fact relentlessly historical. Deconstruction's ethos of unavoidable ambivalence helps the researcher of historical topics to avoid easy categorizations and operates as a cure against the perils of presentism. Also relevant is the emphasis on the partial and limited nature of all claims to knowledge, and on the impossibility of anyone escaping their own context of reading. Several key terms of deconstruction also highlight the temporality of reading: texts bear *traces* of other texts and other contexts; meanings are *deferred*; translations provide texts with an *after-life*.

Deconstruction can be seen as a mind-set, a systematic way of reading texts closely, critically and paying particular attention to the *aporias* and moments of *différance* in them (see e.g. Koskinen 1994; Davis 2001). This reading requires the reader to acquire an extensive understanding of the text's context, relational network and contemporary reception, as well as to practice a careful method of reading that resists smooth progress and easy interpretations, and instead goes against the grain of the text, attentive to the blind spots, double meanings and internal contradictions that allow the text to mean more and differently than the author intended. This kind of organized doubt is highly relevant for a researcher who needs to approach classical and canonized texts from different eras. The same systematic reading can and should also be applied to the canonized texts in Translation Studies. With its in-built structures of source and target languages/texts/cultures/meanings, translation is a dualistic activity, and translation theory is therefore particularly prone to develop simplifying binary oppositions. Deconstruction, then, is particularly suited for overturning and unsettling them. For example, Lawrence Venuti's well-known duo of foreignization and domestication tends to be interpreted as an either/or relationship, whereas a deconstructive reading of Venuti's texts reveals an unavoidable *double bind* between them: a translation is *always already* both domesticating and foreignizing (Koskinen 2000: 47–59).

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[1] Key terms of deconstruction are marked with italics in this text; for definitions, see Davis 2001.

2. Relevance of deconstruction in current translation studies

The current climate in Translation Studies does not favor philosophical musings. In the 1990s when deconstruction was first widely discussed, the emerging discipline was more theory-driven, and more prone to engage in complex theoretical discussions. During the 21st century, the focus has been more on methods than on theories, and complex philosophical discussions have largely been eshewed in favor of operationalizable models and empirical datasets such as digitalized corpora and survey data. While the focus on empirical evidence is in many ways welcome, this development has further marginalized approaches such as deconstruction, which do not bend into the format expected in empiricist thinking (see also Pym 2007).

Still, a reinvigorated deconstructive ethos would allow contemporary Translation Studies to disentangle a number of currently pressing issues in novel ways. One such issue is the dichotomy of man vs. machine, and the increasingly agentic nature of various CAT tools and machine translation systems in translation work. New technological possibilities are changing the scene of translation and rapidly remoulding our understanding of what translation is. Still, relatively few studies in TS have begun to unwrap the consequences of translating – among other areas of life – entering what critical theorists such as Rosi Braidotti (2013) call post-anthropocentrism. Translation Studies is a humanistic discipline at base, and during the 21st century the increasing predominance of sociological approaches has further emphasized the study of human actors. A deconstructive move of overturning the assumed primary of the human translator (and the accompanying assistant role of the technology) would help in re-evaluating the complex interplay of the human and machinic forces in translation.

Another current global issue is how globalization, urbanization and mass migration are changing our linguacultural landscapes and creating new forms of injustice. In addition to its foundational anthropocentrism, Braidotti (2013: 152) identifies methodological nationalism as "a potentially fatal flaw at the core of the Humanities". In Translation Studies, this discussion has hardly began, and another urgent task thus is to acknowledge the nationalistic foundations of translation and interpreting in general and translator and interpreter training in particular, and to reinvent new forms of them to address the needs of contemporary societies. Derrida's later texts, in particular, can support a deconstruction of both the nationalistic heritage of TS and the overly positive ideas of translation as an always beneficial and harmonious force. For example, Derrida's (2000: 3) unpacking of the concept of hospitality "which allows itself to be parasitized by its opposite, 'hostility'" can be fruitfully exploited in rethinking the tasks of the translator and interpreter in contemporary multilingual societies and in re-visioning the representation of other voices through translational practices (Vidal Claramonte 2014).

In addition to multilinguality and immigration, deconstruction can shed new light on a number of other contemporary issues. These range from the sobering effects of deferral and undecidability on misplaced MT/TM hype, to the specters of Marx (Derrida 1993) in relation to network economy in translation industry, and to the notion of gift (Derrida 1992) in the context of volunteer translating and interpreting. Deconstruction can also be fruitfully combined with digital tools and corpus studies, which can in fact be seen as one method of deconstructing the text's meanings (see e.g. Nabugodi 2014). In current TS, there is indeed a lot of space for new contributions to the philosophy of translation. There are also signs of a renewed interest in deconstruction and other approaches (e.g. Mathiasen 2016). The return to fundamental philosophical questions such as those posed by deconstruction would also support the growing need for critical translation studies and, in particular, for the reinforcement of critical pedagogy approaches in contemporary translator training (Arrojo 1993/2012: 106–108; Koskinen 2012).

In his earlier texts, Derrida's emphasis is on careful reading and conscious attempting to overcome common sense meanings and current *doxa*. In his later work, issues such as otherness, foreignness and foreignizing gain more impetus, allowing deconstruction to gradually extend beyond its earlier textual focus and obsessive etymological reasoning. Still, it is a valid criticism that deconstruction does not really manage to escape its focus on textuality (Braidotti 2013: 30). It is very useful in untangling nets of meanings in texts, and in shaking preconceived interpretations, but it is not a constructive tool to move forward from there. To get beyond ambivalence, one needs to engage with other, more positive approaches as well.

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CHAPTER 5.6

Localism

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Keywords: localism, translation history, translation studies, translation theory, metonymical approach

Inductive reasoning is not new in the history of human thought, and yet what is arguably novel is a tendency towards a detailed, painstaking contextualization of small-scale phenomena. This has been given different labels in several disciplines in the last few decades: microhistory, new historicism, thick description, etc. Localism is another term for this tendency, although it seems to be more frequently used to distinguish local(ized) forms of government from centralized ones, the emphasis of the former being on local communities and their identity.

The term was first applied to Translation Studies (TS) by Tymoczko (1999) and exemplifies a type of research focused on specific translation activities, aimed at mapping the details of their linguistic, historical and cultural contexts. Tymoczko's main insight is her ability to establish a strong link between localism and metonymical modes of conceptualization in TS.

Translation has often been represented as a metaphorical process, striving towards a faithful reproduction of the ST by insisting upon an ideal notion of equivalence. A metonymical approach, on the other hand, works on relations of contiguity and connection and ends up by producing complex images that do not aim at replacing the ST, but, rather, stand in a dialogic relation with it. From a methodological point of view, metonymic processes work comparatively creating meaningful links between translation phenomena and their geographic, historic, socio-cultural context.

The intrinsic partiality of translation has been exposed by many scholars (cf. Lefevere 1992; Venuti 1995). Yet its metonymic nature, as a representation of the ST in which parts of it substitute for the whole, had never been given prominence before the appearance of the localism concept. Other disciplines, such as ethnography, had experienced a similar interpretive turn earlier. Geertz's "thick description" (1973) – a dense narrative strategy relating the images it creates to broader comparative concerns – transcends a mere descriptive scope: in fact it establishes a contiguity between local experience and its broader socio-cultural context.

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Dichotomies, born out of a metaphorical logic, have been increasingly criticized in TS: their either/or perspective makes it difficult for researchers to investigate those ambivalent, or idiosyncratic cases characterizing the practice of translation. A different logic, working via association and connection would avoid the danger of generalization, being committed to fully depicting the complexity of translation activities. As a consequence, "localised" descriptive studies of translation may become emblematic for the theory of translation as a whole, providing pluralistic modes of perception, hence stimulating new theoretical thought (cf. Agorni 2007).

Analyses inspired (more or less explicitly) by this methodology have already been produced in such varied fields as translation history (Agorni 2002), postcolonial studies (Tymoczko 1999), travel writing (Polezzi 2001) and museum studies (Sturge 2007). At the same time, however, the risk that a focus on the local might lead to interpretations of culture as inexorably fixed had been voiced by Hall as early as 1991. Chesterman (2008) also warned us against the danger that practices such as localism may produce an unnecessary restriction of scope, precluding a vision of broad, general translation patterns – a risk that, however, should be counteracted by the fundamental comparative nature of this approach.

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CHAPTER 5.7

Ethnography

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Keywords: thick description, descriptive translation studies, cultural translation, auto-ethnography, thick translation

1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the century, there has been a steady increase in the number of studies in translation that use ethnography. This interest has arisen in the margin of and is predated by an even greater interest in sociology as an approach to studying translation. The influence of the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu has been considerable in this respect. However, many scholars may be unaware that much of Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus arose from his work as an ethnographer in the early stages of his career (Blommaert 2005). The purpose in this entry is to trace developments in ethnography within Translation Studies and to explain why ethnography can offer a sound basis for studying various forms of translation in their social contexts. This will firstly involve giving a brief outline of ethnography as such, while at the same time establishing links with and parallels in Translation Studies. This will then be followed by a discussion of some of the issues and points of criticism that need to be tackled with respect to the relations between both disciplines.

2. Ethnography and translation: Developments, borrowings and parallels

Ethnography forms the cornerstone of anthropological inquiry and broadly speaking involves "the study of human behavior in the natural settings in which people live" (americananthro.org consulted 13/02/2017). Such studies were traditionally associated with smaller cultures and ethnic groups but, following trends set by the Chicago School of Anthropology, there has been a long tradition of ethnographies that turn their gaze to the societies the researchers come from or "back towards the west" as it were, the seminal study by Whyte (1943) being a case in point. The

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branch of anthropology dedicated more specifically to the study of language use in society and how it constructs cultures and identities is usually called Linguistic Anthropology in the United States (Duranti 1997) and Linguistic Ethnography in Great Britain and elsewhere (Snell et al. 2015). Curiously, translation, as it is commonly understood and examined in TS, has only enjoyed sporadic interest over the years and has seldom formed a major focus of attention in these disciplines up until very recently. However, some work has been dedicated to translation as such as an integral part of anthropology, the edited volume by Rubel and Rosman (2003) being a case in point. To further complicate issues, "ethnography," according to the famous anthropologist, George Marcus, "is cultural translation":

> Cultural translation, which is what ethnography is, never fully assimilates difference. In any attempt to interpret or explain another cultural subject, a surplus of difference always remains, partly created by the process of ethnographic communication itself. (Marcus 1998: 186)

There are clear parallels to be drawn between Marcus's position on cultural translation and the whole debate on equivalence that was conducted in the 1990s in TS (Pym 1995) and by extension also that on the role of linguistics and cultural studies in TS (Baker 1996). Back then, Baker already noted the increasing politicization of approaches to TS mainly stemming from cultural studies, which would later result in what became known as "committed approaches" to translation (Brownlie 2003). This trend had already begun in ethnography and that resulted in the ground-breaking publication, *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986). In the meantime, Asad's chapter in this book became standard reading for translation scholars and students alike (Asad 2009). The chapter discusses the power imbalances involved in translating in and out of dominant cultures and languages: an important area of inquiry in TS research for some time already.

The concept of cultural translation has since gained currency in Translation Studies albeit in a somewhat different guise (for a discussion, see D'hulst 2008 and Conway 2012). This is also the case for other concepts and research methods that hail originally from Ethnography: viz. thick translation (Appiah 1993, i.e.) or thick feminist translation (Massardier-Kenney 1997; Wolf 2003) both of which were coined in analogy to Gilbert Ryle's term "thick description" (Ryle 1971; Geertz 1973). That such concepts may take on different meanings and be used in different ways once they cross into Translation Studies or into any other discipline is something that has to be kept in mind. For example, though "thick translation" and "thick description" may share certain features or points of departure, a thick translation is not the same thing as a thick description of translation (see also Flynn 2005 and 2010).

In order to arrive at a cultural translation the researcher must first conduct and write up a thick description of the subject under study. A multiplicity of methods can be used to arrive at such a description, including but not limited to:

> unobtrusive direct observation, participant observation, structured and unstructured interviewing, focused discussions with individuals and community members, analysis of texts, and audio-visual records.
>
> (americananthro.org consulted 28/06/2016; for a more detailed discussion, see Geertz 1973: 3–30)

Furthermore, each of the facets of thick description have been continuously discussed, refined and critiqued in the ethnographic literature (for a prospective debate, see Marcus 1998: 57–78 and 179–253). For the purposes of this volume, such a thick description will also often involve the actual act of translating from one language or set of repertoires into another and, as Asad (1986) notes, more often from a minority language into a dominant one. This stems from the fact that the people being studied may not use what are considered standard forms of language in everyday communication, the standard forms of language cultural translations are mainly written and communicated in. On closer scrutiny, the ethos underlying thick description is not unlike that of Descriptive Translation Studies albeit less textual in nature. Both approaches point to the importance of detailed description as a vital aspect of any scholarly inquiry. Many of the methods and related (research) concerns touched on thus far in relation to ethnography, including ethics among others, have become increasingly visible initially in Interpreting Studies and more broadly in Translation Studies research. It is also clear from the above that TS and its various delineations of and approaches to the study of translation has a lot to offer to ethnographers (see Sturge 2007).

3. Ethnographies of translation as such

What happens then when translation in any of its guises becomes the focus of ethnographic inquiry? Researchers in interpreting and in community interpreting in particular have taken naturally to ethnography as the immediacy and highly interactional lived nature of the translation events involved in their studies lend themselves to such an approach (Angelelli 2004). A more recent trend in this area is the use of auto-ethnography, which is designed to provide a systematic analysis of the self and his or her language and other practices viewed against the larger social backdrop in which they take place (Jordan 2002). Such research will typically involve situated in-depth micro-studies at given sites such as churches, clinics, and schools or focus on marginalized groups and has been and can equally be used to study translation and interpreting.

Ethnography has been extensively used to study (language) practices and relations in institutions and has also resulted in striking studies of institutional translation and interpreting: viz. Koskinen's ethnography of translation at the European Parliament (Koskinen 2008) or Duflou's ethnography of interpreting at the European Parliament and Commission (Duflou 2016). Having said this, the number of sustained ethnographies of translation or interpreting are limited, most probably because of the demands put on the researcher while doing fieldwork and the methodological complexity involved in carrying out a thick description. Most of the studies so far seem more like flirtations rather than a full engagement with the scope of ethnographic method and its basic assumptions. This brings us to one or two open questions regarding the relation between ethnography and translation and ethnographies of translation as such.

4. Ethnographies of Translation: Some open questions

The flirtation with ethnography alluded to above results in what Marcus (1998: 18) has called the relative "thinness" of some contemporary ethnographies.

> The anthropologist really does have to find something out she doesn't already know … The space of potential discovery and increased understanding of processes and relationships in the world (which require a bedrock of very thick description indeed) is taken over by a discourse of purpose and commitment within a certain moral economy. (Marcus 1998: 18)

Though Marcus recognizes the vital importance of critical ethnography (or what Brownlie (2003) calls "critical" description in TS) it cannot be "done" at the expense of thick description. Hence, there is more to all this than merely mentioning that a given study drew on an "ethnography" of a given site or on "ethnographic fieldwork", as if this would somehow magically suffice in lending it an aura of authenticity. This has much to do with ethnographic views on knowledge construction and subsequent further theorization. Knowledge is co-constructed while engaging with a given area of human activity and any theorization on this area results from and is subject to these engagements. In terms of ethnographies of translation, the knowledge acquired during such studies is not simply "distilled" by the translation scholar, after which the data can be safely discarded. This means that we or others may have to revisit the data to discover new insights, that narrative accounts and other forms of translational data become permanent rather than temporary features of research (Hymes 1980: 98). This entails a more long-term engagement with translation, which can serve as a buffer to hasty thin over-theorizations and redefinitions of the field.

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CHAPTER 5.8

Translation zones / spaces

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Keywords: space, zone, site, narrative, imagination

A translation space is a site of language exchange, a place of heightened language awareness, where language traffic and interchange are accelerated or contested. Such zones of encounter and conflict enable, promote or intensify relations across languages.

A historical account of translation spaces would involve several layers of investigation:

1. Analyzing the conceptual developments which direct attention to the importance of space as an essential element in studying translation
2. Identifying spaces which have generated translation events during specific historical periods
3. Surveying the representations of translation spaces in art and imaginative literature

1. Space and translation studies

Space became an important preoccupation of the new discipline of Translation Studies under the influence of the powerful intellectual movements of the 1980s – post-structuralism and especially post-colonialism. Seen as artefacts of the material world, translations were tracked across trajectories as extensive as the globe or as confined as a city street. No longer could translations be viewed as abstract linguistic entities studied only in relation to semantic equivalence: they were recognized as realities imbricated in social, political and economic power relations and acting within a broader cultural scene. The contexts of communication became of foremost importance: the specific locale and circumstances of translation were crucial to understanding the power relationships regulating the transfer of languages and

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literatures across the globe. It became clear too that theory was also situated in specific geographical locales and reflected (but was not constrained or determined by) the concerns of academic work issuing from 'smaller nations', nations which carried the burden of translation in contrast to the traditional colonial powers. It was acknowledged that many parts of the globe were neglected in the study of translation flows, with little information on the history of major translating traditions outside Europe and North America, or indeed the very conceptualization of translation outside the Greek-Latin tradition. Globalisation has intensified this relationship of the local to the universal. Translators no longer need to cross oceans or traverse continents in order to instruct themselves in cultural difference. Spaces of diversity are now increasingly found at home – on whatever continent that home is found. And so the carrying across of translation happens across the small distances of villages, neighbourhoods, or households.

Cultural geographers agree that place is produced through action, through constant reiterative processes which have been called 'time-space routines', 'body-ballets' or 'paths' – the ways that people and objects move through space and time over a given period of time. These paths 'produce human and object biographies that coalesce to produce places' (Cresswell 2009: 4). It's an easy move to include language as a practice which gives meaning to place, and to translation as the activity that reflects the multiple realities of particular sites – either as a sequential replacement of one memory over another or the simultaneous interactions of meanings. At the same time, translation will function differently according to the kind of place in question. Augé's introduction of the 'non-place' is relevant here (1995). For Augé and the many thinkers who have responded to this strong evocation of hypermodernity, non-places (airports, shopping malls, service stations, autoroutes) are marked by mobility, by a lack of attachment, by circulation and by random consumption of messages which is equivalent to a kind of non-communication (e.g. texts, screens). Non-place is not to be understood as the opposite of place, but as a pole on the spectrum of place-ness. The role and function of translation will be marked by the type of place in which it is practiced.

This relatively recent predominance of space as an intellectual paradigm and as an active ferment in Translation Studies does not mean that spatial considerations were entirely absent from previous thinking about translation. The medieval notion of *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii* (see Chapter 2.6 in this volume) saw the progress of intellectual and religious history as a movement from one centre of power to another. The spatial and linguistic aspects of the Latin *translatio* were melded, as the centre of Christian civilization was deemed to move from Rome to Paris, for instance. But, though the Western term for translation puts emphasis on the movement across space (*translatio*) in contrast with terms from other traditions, (for instance the Hindi *anuvad* meaning 'speaking after'), the study of translation within the humanistic tradition was largely dominated by concerns with time: with creating a continuity of tradition within the Western world.

Translation Studies integrated spatial concerns by introducing new terminology reflecting the materialist and spatial concerns of the discipline. The notion of the 'translation zone', adapted from Mary Louise Pratt's 'contact zone', and explored by Emily Apter (2006), has been explicitly and implicitly adopted by a number of theorists (Cronin 2016, Simon 2012, Baer 2011, Wolf 2016) concerned with exploring socially situated translation practices which are not anchored within or delimited by national contexts.

2. Studying sites of translation

The broad category of translation zones calls up border cultures of all kinds – those created across the contact zones of city neighbourhoods, or at the arrival points of seaport, airport, train station, or in the in-between zones of the hotel or the market or yet again at the nodal points where virtual and material realities intersect. The varying spatial dispositions of cities and their diverse language histories have given rise to a growing literature on their distinct translational histories: the multilayered over-writing of Central European cities like Lviv, Vilnius or Czernowitz; the mythical language past of New Orleans; the continuing conflicts of language in Istanbul; the work of mediation in Antwerp.

Material spaces can no longer be studied in isolation, but are understood as created and shaped by forms of communication, including virtual communication. Indeed, forms of virtual communication can act upon and transform material reality, for instance the spatial disposition and visibility of immigrant neighbourhoods has become less marked as migrants interact with one another via virtual means rather than relying on the visual clues of the traditional migrant shops. (Cronin, in Simon 2016)

In the explosion of research focused on socially situated practices of translation, scholars have been actively seeking out practices of translation situated outside the traditional purview of textual analysis: the informal economy (Marais 2013), publishing houses (Buzelin 2006), military institutions (Baigorri-Jalon, 2011; Heimburger 2012), Nazi concentration camps (Wolf 2016), the conference rooms of Cold War diplomacy (Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf 2014), refugee camps (Moser-Mercer 2013–2016), political spaces of dissent (Baker 2016) and cities (Simon, 2006, 2012; Cronin and Simon 2014). Interest in the translation of justice has turned attention to the Nuremberg trials, the founding of the United Nations and the trials of the International War Tribunal as well as refugee hearings today (Ellen Elias-Bursac 2015 and Inghilleri 2012).

It is not incidental that many of these studies deal with zones of conflict and violence. Focusing on more politicised spaces, in accord with Foucault's understanding of space as control and *biopower,* these studies understand translation as operating in collusion with disciplinary powers on the one hand and in the liberatory activities of dissent on the other. It is in this context that it is relevant to speak of spaces of *forced* translation – where policing or surveillance results in constraints funnelling language traffic in one direction only.

3. Picturing translation spaces

A historical study of translation spaces would include representations of spaces and structures associated with the multiplicity of languages. These could be mythical sites such as the Tower of Babel (richly represented in an iconographic tradition by no means limited to the famous images by Breughel), or the image of St. Jerome, text and quill at hand, in the library of a humanistic scholar (*studiolo*). Jerome in his study was a favourite image of Renaissance painters, including many of the best-known artists of the European Renaissance, such as Durer, van Eyck, Antonello da Messina, Ghirlandaio, and Caravaggio. Rather than showing Jerome as an ascetic in the wilderness or in the pomp of his cardinal's robes, they portray Jerome translating in the contemplative surroundings of the library. Here is the scholar and translator at work, accompanied only by his customary companions: his faithful lion and his Cardinal's hat. Some of the representations of Jerome include an angel guiding his pen. This is explicit reference to the fact the Jerome is working in concert with the Holy Spirit, that his space of translation extends vertically towards the heavens. Landscape references to the Holy Land indicate that Jerome had chosen to live a monastic life in Palestine, in part so that he could consult Jewish rabbis on the difficulties of Hebrew. Jerome is very explicitly placed at the intersection of east and west, of divine and secular expression.

Centuries later, the Franco-Israeli filmmaker Nurith Aviv ('Traduire', 2011) showed translators also at work in their studies. Each of the translators of Hebrew literature is shown in the specific site of his-her work: the intimate space of the study which is also situated in a city, in a country. At the start of each interview, the camera shows a panorama of the environment in which the translators work, the skyline of their city, and then moves inside where the figure of the translators slowly emerges from the shadow and materializes within the walls of their working space.

An exploration of representations of translation in literature and film, particularly, would highlight sites of language negotiation – the violence of contact zones, the in-between spaces of hotels and bridges, the confusion of cosmopolitan cities, the mobility of ships, trains and airplanes, and trace the shifting iconographies and imaginaries associated with translation. In particular, one could trace the shifts between place (culturally rooted, specific locations) and non-place (the zones of hypermobility) in the imaginary associated with translation.

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CHAPTER 5.9

Sociological models and translation history

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Since Antiquity, translation has been both a practice and an object of discourse. In the early 1960s, it laid claim to the status of a science. A decade later, it aspired to become a discipline in its own right. More recently, it has transformed into a world vision. Indeed, within the humanities, translation has come to be seen as an essential ingredient of contemporary societies as well as a key concept for understanding them. The present contribution provides a brief account of how this rapid expansion and shift occurred, i.e., from translation as a strictly linguistic operation to translation as a world view.

The first section contextualizes why and how a sociological perspective developed within translation studies (TS) and, more particularly, in translation history. From a diachronic perspective, the second section presents several sociological models that have been introduced into the discipline. The succeeding section provides examples of translation-and-interpreting research programs that combine sociological models with a historical perspective. A brief assessment of work achieved thus far – its contributions and its limitations – is offered in the conclusion, along with suggestions of new avenues for further reflection.

1. From text to context: The rise of a sociological perspective on translation

In the early 1970s, a "new disciplinary utopia" (Holmes [1988] 1972: 67) was born, with a group of scholars claiming that translation was too complex an object to be accounted for through the sole prism of linguistics. The new discipline developed rapidly by borrowing concepts, methods, and models from older and more established disciplines. While linguistics, philosophy, and literature provided a foundation, the social sciences (history, psychology, anthropology, and sociology)

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were soon integrated as well. Beyond this surface interdisciplinarity, the emerging field structured itself along two main lines of tension. The first relates to the scope of the object. It opposed a restricted definition of translation as an operation on languages only to a broader definition of translation as a social, political and cultural action as well. The second line of differentiation appeared with the rise of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). For Gideon Toury, its main instigator, DTS was to be the very core of translation studies, which, following James Holmes, he defined as an empirical science driven by the search for translation laws. This precise yet ambitious agenda, laid out to ensure the "discipline's *controlled evolution*" (Toury 1995: 10), had a side-effect: it relegated works that pursed other goals (e.g., *applied* and, to a lesser extent, *historical* research, translation criticism), to a more peripheral position (Crisafulli 2002). Hence, these two structuring oppositions (language-focused vs. cultural, and empirical vs. hermeneutic) are two dimensions along which the new discipline's boundaries were being negotiated; the first relating to the scope of a researcher's definition of translation, the second to his/her epistemological position along the art vs. science continuum.

Functionalist approaches played a key role in the move from a restrictive to a more inclusive sociological/cultural definition of translation. Throughout social science history, functionalism has usually referred to the doctrine (best exemplified by the works of Evans-Pritchard, Malinowski, and Radcliffe-Brown) that permeated social anthropology in the 1940s and 1950s (Dortier 2005: 249–253). In translation studies, however, the term is misleading, as it was initially advanced by way of two distinct models: polysystem theory and skopos theory. The former draws from "Dynamic Structuralism (Functionalism)" as developed in the 1920s by Russian Formalists (Even-Zohar 1990: 3). In Itamar Even Zohar's writings, functionalism and structuralism seem to be used interchangeably to refer to any (social) science that defines its object as a network of dynamic relations and that seeks to discover the rules (or norms) underlying those relations. As such, polysystem studies provided the first solid framework for DTS. Although the six constituents of the literary system identified by Even-Zohar (1990) in his polysystem theory (i.e., institution, repertoire, producer, consumer, market, and product) were derived from Jakobson's scheme of communication, the model as a whole – as its author takes care to mention – bears many resemblances with the literary theory developed by French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (Even-Zohar 1990: 3). Skopos theory, on the other hand, is a translation model developed by German linguists, Hans J. Vermeer and Katharina Reiss, for the context of translator training (and, to some extent, that of translation criticism) (Nord 2010). This theory defines translation as a purposeful communicative action (rather than a strictly linguistic operation) in which quality should not be assessed in terms of linguistic equivalence between a source and a target text, but in terms of the target text's ability to fulfil its purpose. In this model, "function" is used in a general sense, referring, simply, to the *purpose* defined for a translation (which is largely dependent on text-types) rather than to an overarching scientific paradigm.

Though they stem from somewhat different backgrounds and pursue distinct goals, polysystem and skopos theories share certain characteristics. Both entail a form of contextualization. They analyze translation in relation to a wider view, whether literary system or communicative intention. Both are dynamic, regarding translation as a situated process and trying to account for its various elements. And each is target-oriented, assuming that modes of translation depend on the intended position/role/function of a translation in its particular context. These three characteristics enabled the polysystem and skopos models to pave the way for the development of a sociological perspective on translation. Contextualization, however, is not the only ingredient of this perspective shift. Considering translation as a social practice is also tantamount to recognizing, firstly, that translation norms and our very definitions of translation are not given but are constructed, contingent, negotiated, imposed and, sometimes, contested. In other words, their formation and reproduction imply power relations that should be accounted for in translation historiography. Secondly, a sociological perspective also seeks to understand how translation relates to other social practices. It explores how translators relate to other professionals involved in making products called "translations" and, more generally, how they situate themselves in society. It also means questioning the contributions and relevance of the new discipline to other fields of the humanities.

2. Changes in time and space

In the mid-1990s, the concerns listed above were explicitly addressed. Beyond the rapid expansion of the field, a number of additional factors became relevant. Of these, the most important was, perhaps, the need to counter a widening gap between applied research produced mainly by and for practitioners, and theoretical research (as defined in the original DTS program). This gap reflected, to a large extent, the positivistic paradigm into which this program emerged, and the unsustainable position – internally and in relation to other social science disciplines – in which it put the new discipline. At this juncture, sociological discourse – constructivist sociologies in particular – came to be seen by researchers as an opportunity to foster reflexivity and cohesion within the discipline. It was also deemed a way to better problematize, rather than deny, the relation between theory and practice, ultimately more clearly positioning TS within the humanities (see Gouanvic 1999; Simeoni 1995; Wolf 2007). Sociology, it was felt, could provide "bridge" concepts (Chesterman 2007) and establish a stronger theoretical basis for historical accounts of translation practices (Simeoni 2007).

Systems and *norms* were the first of the social science concepts to be introduced, mainly through the works of Even-Zohar and Toury, respectively, within the polysystemic framework. *Systems* implies a non-random relationship between translation and other social practices, one in conformity with laws and norms that are based on logic that must be uncovered by researchers. Norms, unlike laws, are context-bound. They do not refer to explicit rules or standards, but rather to empirically-observable recurrent patterns of behavior that reflect (implicit) shared values. Polysystem theory, while paving the way to a sociology of translation, was criticized on two levels: its underlying determinism and its disembodied nature. In the absence of human (f)actors, it seemed as though translation norms and systems formed and reproduced themselves in an almost mechanical way. The concern for and study of translating agents, developed in the early nineties, could be seen as an attempt to overcome this limitation. In sociology, the concept of *agency* is corollary to that of *structure*; it expresses one's ability to escape the constraints imposed by social structures, the ability to act according to one's free will.

It is no coincidence that Pierre Bourdieu's field theory was the first – and remains the primary – sociological model to be imported into translation studies. Indeed, other than the cultural and academic backgrounds of the scholars who introduced it (mainly, French researchers, Jean-Marc Gouanvic and Daniel Simeoni), Bourdieu's theory of the cultural field was immediately in line with the polysystem model on several levels, offering a solution for overcoming its main limitation by paying more attention to social agents and practices. The notions of *habitus, hexis* or *symbolic violence,* for example, central to Bourdieu's model, allowed for the acknowledgement of tensions underlying the formation and reproduction of translation norms, and of the active role translators play in this process. Likewise, the concept of *symbolic capital* could offer an explanation (among others) of the reasons underlying translation decisions. Finally, Bourdieu's reflection on the production of knowledge and the reflexivity his model encourages was useful for problematizing the relation between translation scholars and their object of study.

Although bypassing the main pitfall of the polysystem, field theory has its own limitations. The model has often been criticized for being too deterministic – although this objection could relate more to Bourdieu's use of it than to the model itself. Another criticism, this one of direct relevance to translation, is that the theory's national basis (hence its difficulty to account for multicultural or boundary phenomena) and its monolithic nature, the latter compromising the analysis of movement between fields or the study of agents with multiple loyalties. Therefore, while this theory remains influential and useful, other sociological models with a constructivist basis, such as those developed by Bernard Lahire or Anthony Giddens, were later introduced. As in the social sciences, network theories also proved useful for producing meso-analyses of cultural exchanges through translation as well as analyses of specific translation communities or translating institutions.

More recently, post-humanist sociologies, such as those developed by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon (for *actor-network theory*), and Andrew Pickering (for the *mangle of practice*), have also made their way into translation studies. By revisiting the notion of agency to include non-human actors and the material world, these models provide interesting frameworks to study the relations between (1) translators and what has traditionally been called "translation tools" and (2) translations and other forms of hybridization. In translation history, this recent concern for materiality has favored a convergence between translation and book studies. As post-structuralist thinking gained ground in the humanities, translation became a metonymic catchword accounting for processes of (cultural and semantic) transfer, processes of hybridization, and boundary phenomena. The social scientists who promoted translation as an explanatory concept and, sometimes, a world vision (Jacques Derrida, Andrew Clifford, Homi K. Bhabha, and Bruno Latour, among others) were often criticized within TS for showing little interest in interlingual transfer. However, one may ask whether the role of translation scholars does not include an analysis of both the potential benefits and the limitations of their models to the core object of Translation Studies.

Taken together, definitions of translation and perspectives thereon have continued to broaden over the last four decades. The focus has moved from language to texts, and thence, to texts in context. The understanding of "context" itself has fluctuated. Referring initially to specific periods, cultures, or nations, "context" was later defined in relation to translating agents, institutions, communities, and networks (social as well as socio-technical), until the very distinction between text and context was called into question by post-humanist network theories. In terms of its epistemology, translation studies underwent another evolution, namely, a move away from the search for universals and norms toward the ever-closer analysis of translation practices considering the immediate social, economic, and material environment. This move, representative of a wider trend that swept the social sciences and contemporary societies, reflects a growing wariness of deterministic models, an increased value placed on agency, and an extension of the very definition of agency (to account for collective as well as non-human actors). Ultimately, even the mere possibility of predicting or generalizing is called into question. At this point, the researcher could only hope to provide inspired and accurate descriptions highlighting the complexity of the social practices under study. Interestingly, such an objective brings historical and, more generally, interpretative approaches back to the forefront.

The various perspectives discussed here – from the most to the least deterministic, and from the most restrictive to the most inclusive definitions of translation – should not be read as a succession of *turns* where each paradigm replaces its precursor, but rather as distinct and complementary viewpoints. To some extent, these perspectives have always coexisted; it is, rather, their relative position and popularity that have changed over time. For example, while the development of a sociological eye in Translation Studies may coincide with a general refocusing on translating agents (see Simeoni 1995), system theories have remained relevant and an active part of the landscape, as evidenced by the renewed interest in Niklas Luhmann's work, both in sociology and in DTS (see Tyulenev 2012).

3. Examples of translation studies based on sociological models

This section lists a few examples of contributions that have used sociological models in translation history. Beyond Even-Zohar's attempt at highlighting the connections between polysystem and Bourdieu's field theory (Even-Zohar 1990: 3–43), works such as Annie Brisset's *Sociocritique de la traduction* (1990, and 1996 in English translation) and Lawrence Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995) can be considered landmarks in the development of a social history of translation. The contexts being studied differ greatly in nature and scope (theater translation in Québec, from 1968 to 1988 for Brisset; literary translation practices in the Western world, from the seventeenth century onward for Venuti). Nonetheless, both studies draw on Michel Foucault's *Archeology of Knowledge*, in order to reach a common goal: showing how translation practices and discourses are socio-historical as well as political constructions. In doing so, both studies provide a challenging demonstration of how power relations and ideologies underlie the formation of translation norms and the reproduction of certain myths (e.g., the translator's invisibility).

A few years later, Jean-Marc Gouanvic (1999) and Daniel Simeoni (1998, 2001) introduced Pierre Bourdieu's model by demonstrating the heuristic value of concepts such as *symbolic capital, field,* and *habitus.* In his study of how science fiction entered the French literary field through translation in the 1950s, Gouanvic clearly outlines how Bourdieu's cultural sociology, with its focus on social agents "playing" according to the rules of a particular field, can be used to bypass the main limitation of the polysystem framework. For his part, Simeoni (1998) explains how the concept of *habitus* may help us refine and rethink our understanding of translation norms. With a much broader scope, his 2001 thesis proposes a sociological reading of early translation discourses and practices by Cicero and St Jerome, in order to identify the origins of what he refers to as the translator's primary habitus, a habitus of voluntary subservience. His investigation leads to an understanding of the socio-historical conditions underlying the translator's invisibility (or subservience) that differs significantly from that offered by Venuti (1995). While the latter highlights external determinants imposed on translators, such as copyright regulations, Simeoni locates the origins of the translator's primary *habitus* in the translators' own practices and, more specifically, in those of St Jerome himself. In a later work, Simeoni (2007) discusses the potential contribution of sociology to translation history, particularly to the writing of translator *sociographies.* Recent elaborations on the concept of translator habitus, based on multiple case studies, can be found in Nouss & Buzelin (2013) and Vorderobermeier (2014). Borrowing from a different sociological tradition in line with Polysystem Studies, Sergey Tyulenev, following Theo Hermans and Hans Vermeer, shows how Niklas Luhmann's Social System Theory (SST) could be applied to translation, specifically to the building of a macrosociology of translation (see Tyulenev 2012).

Among recent attempts at writing social histories of translation, research projects intersecting book and translation history are particularly interesting (see, for example, Hosington 2015, and Belle and Hosington 2017, on printed translations in early modern Europe). Although literary translation has enjoyed a privileged position within DTS, scientific translation has been the focus of growing research in social history. A few examples can be found in the work of Olohan and M. Salama-Carr (2011), Olohan (2013), St-Pierre (2013), and Buzelin (2014). While sociological analyses of interpreting practices may have been flourishing for a number of years (see, in particular, the work of Baraldi and Gavioli (2012) and Inghilleri (2014)), social histories of interpreting have been, in comparison, few and far between. In this respect, the volume recently edited by Takeda and Baigorri-Jalon (2016) offers several examples and avenues of research that have begun to fill this gap.

4. Critical assessment and future avenues

In Europe, history and sociology developed antagonistically (Simeoni 2007): while the former aimed at retracing past events in detail, using primary material, the latter initially sought to understand the laws governing contemporary societies, using primarily quantitative data. Some of the old dichotomies may linger, but since at least the 1970s, as these disciplines, along with anthropology and others, were forced to redefine themselves, the landscape has become much more complex and the boundaries more porous. The same applies to the opposition between *textual* (i.e., linguistic) and *contextual* (i.e., cultural) approaches in translation studies. Surely, few scholars today would deny the fact that (1) both perspectives are essential, complementary, and mutually enriching (even in a single study) and that (2) these perspectives are not the only ones from which translation practices can be analyzed. Indeed, the study of translation institutions and networks provide alternative perspectives through which, when viewed, the text/context dichotomy tends to fade.

The so-called "sociological turn" coincides with a shift in focus within TS from translated texts to those who produce them. In translation history, this shift has manifested itself since the 1990s in the increased production of translator biographies and portraits. In this context, sociological concepts have provided theoretical bases from which those biographies could be shaped and written (Simeoni 2007). Hence, sociology's first and primary contribution to translation historiography is, without a doubt, theoretical in nature. Sociology has offered and can continue to offer conceptual frameworks enabling translation histories to be simultaneously greater in scope (avoiding anecdotism), more reflexive (by problematizing the relation between theory and practice), and less biased towards canonical figures. Indeed, a number of scholars have been arguing in favor of micro-histories or sociographies of less visible – and largely forgotten – translating agents and practices (Adamo 2006; Santoyo 2006; Simeoni 2007), for example, translators who went against the norms of their time, community interpreters, pseudo-translations.

Still, much remains to be done. First, the imbalance between research on literary translation or general printed translation and research on other types of interlinguistic transfer (e.g., interpreting, specialized or multimodal translation) persists and is probably even more acute in the subfield of translation history. Second, although Pierre Bourdieu's concepts and field theory may have offered powerful tools with which to analyze translation and interpretation as social practices, their popularity in translation studies may have overshadowed other models that could be equally though uniquely relevant. In that respect, while post-humanist sociologies and theoretical models raising translation to the status of a world vision did make their way into translation studies, the possibilities and limitations of a dialogue between those models of society and DTS could be more thoroughly investigated. Finally, the call for a socio-history of translation studies (Gambier 2007) has remained largely unanswered.

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CHAPTER 5.10

Feminism, gender, and translation

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Keywords: feminism and translation, gender issues, women in translation

In the late 20th century, feminism came to the fore as one of the many social activist movements that rocked post WWII Anglo-America and Europe. This broad western women's movement that promotes and continues to struggle to assert the civic, political, personal, cultural, and social interests of women and improve women's status underlies all later developments and discussions around the term "gender" and the ideas that term refers to. It also underlies the study of "gender" in the field of translation studies, since the emphasis on language, which was developed in early feminist theory and practice, resonates with all aspects of translation, from the selection of texts to be translated, to the production of translations and their dissemination, including work on histories of women's presence in translation and the considerable effects of translated "sacred texts" on the real lives of women. Feminist theorists, writers, and wordsmiths first noted the socio-political use and abuse of conventional language to denigrate, undermine, and misrepresent the female segment of the population (Spender 1980), and then seized the opportunity to amend and innovate this conventional language, and become active forces for change. Translation studies that take heed of these developments cannot avoid seeing the impact of this broad political feminist movement on language, on language transfer, and on transnational, feminist, cultural manifestations.

The impact of feminism on translation studies has been as much political as literary or pragmatic. Indeed, it was through the work of feminists translating innovative and experimental literary texts in the 1970s that the first initiatives of "feminist translation" were launched. With those translations came the realization of the politics involved; after all, human language has its uses in constructing, addressing and managing sexual difference. In working with the language of the other text, in adapting it, changing it, indeed, in translating, translation tampers with another culture's management of sexual difference, and can therefore have, or be assigned, political intent, political effect, and raise political resistance.

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This chapter, written from an Anglophone perspective, will briefly develop the effects of feminism on translation and translation theories in the 1970s and 1980s, to then move on to the use of the term “gender” and the wider meanings it acquired in the 1990s as well as their effects on translation studies.

1. Feminism in translation: Challenging conventional language

Strong developments in the 1970s and 1980s around women’s social status in Anglo-American and western European societies demanded changes in the traditional use of language so that the female segment of society be properly represented and recognized. These ideas were quickly applied to literary translation, with translators such as Carol Maier (1985) remarking on the adjustments they, as feminists, felt obliged and empowered to make. In Canada, experimental feminist writing produced in Quebec, which tampered with the traditional grammar and syntax of French, required equally experimental techniques for its translation into English, and this spawned ideas about “feminist translation” (Godard 1990: 89–91). Bible translators in many other languages of the west began to apply feminist ideas to their work on sacred texts, seeking to adapt them to new times of greater “inclusiveness” (Simon 1996: 118–124). This was revolutionary work for several reasons:

1. revisions of sacred texts are always sensitive since any changes can perturb the balance of power between the sexes that they seek to establish and maintain;
2. the decision of literary translators to openly proclaim their feminist usurpation of the author’s authority was, at the time, unheard of; and finally,
3. the invention of an approach to translation labelled “feminist” instilled a political impetus into a textual practice long considered servile, secondary, and therefore feminine (Chamberlain 1988: 454–472).

2. Developments: From feminism toward the term “gender”

As activist writing by women of colour, authors such as Gloria Anzaldua or bell hooks, gained ground in English in the 1980s, certain feminist ideas came to be seen as maintaining white women’s privilege at the expense of other women’s interests. This severely undermined the movement, and the terminology changed. The term “gender” came into broader use, to eventually also refer to various sexual orientations, their cultural representations, and the socio-political effects of gendered identities, behaviours and activities. The term “gender” softened, even concealed, the political tone of the term “feminism”, and it became more scholarly and less political to work on "gender issues" in translation rather than feminism in translation. In the late 1980s, with the work of lesbian thinkers such as De Lauretis (1991) or Butler (1990), the term "queer" emerged signifying a refusal to operate with the traditional binary of female/male, and often pluralizing the term "gender" to "genders". Locating one's "gender(s)" somewhere along a cline between the extremes of male and female, and understanding this as both a physical and a discursive performance, became central to Anglo-American identity politics. The discursive element of queer "gender" identity and politics lent itself to study in translation, with scholars such as Keith Harvey (2000, 2003) and Elizabeth Lewis (2010: 3–22) focusing on the language used to connote homosexuality and its translation or translatability under certain conditions.

3. Case studies

3.1 Translating the Bible

Mary Phil Korsak's translation of the book of Genesis (Korsak 1992) applies methods of feminist reading, interpretation, and translation to this ancient text, and her translator's postscript quietly demonstrates the feminist translator's power to re-interpret a "sacred text". In so doing, she questions the validity of all the other versions of these texts which have so affected women's status and rights for the past two thousand years. Korsak's word for word translation of Genesis touches on the names (and the hierarchy) assigned to the first humans in the creation story of Genesis II. Conventional translations give the names Adam and Eve/Eva, and lay out the text to show that Adam, a man, was the first human from whose rib Eva, a woman, was derived and built. This story has, over many centuries, helped justify various kinds of discrimination against women. Korsak's translation and her translator's notes, however, show that the word traditionally rendered as "Adam" is a common noun, which is linked to the recurring term *adamah* [ground] from which the "adam" is created. She translates accordingly, and the "adam" becomes the "groundling", a genderless human figure made of and from the ground. From the side of this figure a lump of dirt is removed and fashioned into the first sexed human being, *Havva*. While conventional translations render *Havva* as "Eva", the name is, in fact, meaningful. It means "Life". In Korsak's feminist reading and translation, then, the first human created according to this myth is a woman, whose name is Life. She is not a creature made from the rib of a man named Adam, and is therefore not in a lower hierarchical position than the first man. In this translation, the "groundling" does not acquire a masculine sexual identity until well after the woman is created. A careful feminist rereading and retranslation of this ancient text strips away centuries of patriarchal interpretations. Similar work is currently being done in regard to the Quran (Hassen 2016).

3.2 Translating gay self-presentation

The translation of discourse pertaining to homosexual identity has been the focus of Keith Harvey's work. He examines details of "gay" discourse in literary and theatre texts, and studies the results of translations of such materials. While he is sceptical of concepts such as "gay community", he describes external identity formation in gay (and doubtless other marginalized identities) as concerned with "self-presentation" through behaviour, gesture and language. He argues that fluency in and attentiveness to coded linguistic behaviour is a feature of gay self-presentation in the face of pressures from the dominant (binary) culture. And yet, gendered minority cultures differ across cultural and linguistic borders in their external "semiotics" of identification; for example, a gay European man may self-present quite differently from a gay Moroccan or South African man (Harvey 2000: 151–153). Such difference can be exaggerated in translation, producing an effect of "othering" or exoticizing the gay aspects of a text; it can also be understated, as Harvey shows in his study of "gay" texts from the United States translated in France, into an environment where gender identity may be assigned a diminished role (Harvey 2003: 119).

3.3 Translating gender in non-fiction texts

Work on gender and translation in non-fiction texts is still rare, but developing. One example is Kathy Davis' *The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves: How Feminism Travels Across Borders* [*OBOS*] (2007), which examines the translation history, experiences and outcomes of an early US-American feminist book on women's reproductive health. At least twenty foreign-language editions and seven adaptations of the text currently exist, and provide a valuable source of information on what Davis calls the "lines of difference" (2007: 9–10) that this book has crossed. The global translation and dissemination of the book has involved continuous processes of "confrontation, negotiation and transformation" with meanings changing irrevocably through their "re-articulation in another language and context" (Davis 2007: 79). The negotiation of social and political differences that impinge on women's health come to the fore here. They demonstrate how relative scientific information can be as different cultures take very different views and produce different translations of a book on women's health. The "politics of location" that this evokes have yet to be theorized in mainstream translation studies.

4. Open questions: Beyond the Anglo-American/Euro contexts

The "politics of location" have an enormous impact in translation studies of gender-focused texts, whether feminist, queer, homosexual, or otherwise LGBTQI, since no translations or academic studies occur in a social or political vacuum. This "politics" needs to be acknowledged and examined in all work on sensitive materials around human sexual difference. Similarly, translations of other text-types need to be studied as well: for example, the impact of highly sexualized US-American media products worldwide, or of the "gender-mainstreaming" discourse that is circulated worldwide through documents produced by organisms such as the United Nations or international aid agencies. Important contributions can and need to be made in this regard from other languages and cultures of the world.

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PART 6

Disseminating knowledge

CHAPTER 6.0

Introduction

The history of translation studies can be seen as a moving, unstable, field, clearly marked by intense exchanges with other fields of knowledge, – a process recently labelled “interdisciplinarity”. This part is devoted to a handful of fields that have shared knowledge with translation studies, in a variety of ways: theories, concepts, methods elaborated within a discipline can enrich, disturb, revitalize another discipline. And so, philology, linguistics, literary studies and more disciplines have pollinated Translation Studies. Conversely, it is today the turn of Translation Studies to shake up the borders of other disciplines, such as Cultural studies, Comparative Literature and Cognitive studies. In addition, some disciplines have always used translation as a tool of dissemination, such as Religious studies, Law studies, Political studies.

Therefore we can consider dissemination as a twofold concept: as an exchange between disciplines – up to the birth of a new discipline, and as a mean of distribution, circulation of ideas – up to “global” knowledge production. We cannot forget, even if the topic is absent in this volume, the role played by translation in disseminating and giving access to scientific knowledge, philosophical debates, medical knowledge and know-how, international political and diplomatic matters: the dissemination, thanks to intralingual and interlingual translation, transforms “local” knowledge.

History of disseminating knowledge is both inheritance (accumulation, storage of knowledge) and transmission, with transformations. Border crossings are always a challenge and reveal how knowledge is travelling. To translate is also to disseminate, to blur the borders between people, texts, cultures, disciplines, which are too often categorized in dichotomies and hierarchies. As translators display complex cultural allegiances and also often physical mobility, Translation Studies moves across time and space, between different disciplines, and thrives on different sources – towards a rhizomatic proliferation based on connection, heterogeneity and multiplicity.

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CHAPTER 6.1

Linguistics

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Keywords: historical linguistics, psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, translatability, translation process

The relationship between modern linguistics and translation theory has been described as a contentious one (Fawcett 1997), with reciprocal links often disregarded in favour of the sovereign status of each field. This entry aims to synthesise how linguistic reflection, in the sense of theoretical reflection on language from antiquity to the present, triggered conceptualisations of translation as an act of interpretative transfer between two languages. It will start with ideas from general linguistics to continue with the interdisciplinary approaches in textlinguistic, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic translation studies (TS).

1. General linguistic/philological ideas on translation

Reference works on the history of linguistics or the language sciences on the whole make only scant reference to translation (i.a. Lepschy 1994–1998). The *Concise history of the language sciences: from the Sumerians to the cognitivists* is exceptional with a full chapter on the "History of Translation" (Kelly 1995) in Section XI Special Applications. As translation was considered a secondary activity to the 'noble' arts of literature (see e.g. Rener 1989), it was not a relevant area in one of the earliest discussions of linguistic reflection in ancient Greece (starting in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.), viz. the question whether the relation between word form and meaning was natural or arbitrary. Reflections on this topic always concerned the Greek language only. Even when contacts between Greek speakers and speakers of other languages increased in the Hellenistic period and translations into Latin became increasingly numerous, extant writings did not reflect on inter-lingual contacts.

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Three centuries later, the first translation of the Old Testament into Greek, the *Septuagint*, revealed a mythical-religious interpretation of the relation between word and meaning. Hebrew, the language of divine creation, necessarily reflected original essences, so that the Jewish translators of the *Septuagint* translated literally, word-for-word, to retain the referential power of the Scriptures. Non-Arabic converts to Islam, on the other hand, had to learn Arabic to read and understand the Quran because of its status as a holy text. Translations were not valid for ritual and official use. Similarly, Indian linguistics, which predated language theorising in Western Europe, was inspired by the need to preserve the transmission of the sacred Vedic texts in Sanskrit and translations would only be produced in the nineteenth century.

From Antiquity to the late eighteenth century European ideas on translation were grounded in a "common theory of language and communication" (Rener 1989: 7) inherited from classical Greece and Rome. Essentially, translation was seen as an act of interpretation – the terms for translation being *hermeneia* in Greek and *interpretatio* in Latin. This activity engaged with the language arts of grammar and rhetoric, both of which handled the material of language in two phases, first as independent words (*verba singula*) and then as groups of words (*verba coniuncta*).

The word-based frame of linguistic reflection also resonates in medieval positions on the interpretative scope of translation that were formulated in the context of missionary activity: medieval translators like St. Jerome (Latin translation of the Bible, 4th century) and John Exarch (Bulgarian translation of St John of Damascus' *Theology*, 10th century) followed Cicero (*De oratore*, 2nd century B.C.) and Horace (*Ars poetica*, 1st century B.C.) in arguing in favour of translating the sense of words rather than keeping to a literal word-for-word translation. Exarch stated that a translation which corresponds literally from one language to another is impossible because of intrinsic linguistic differences such as the morphological gender of words.

Later, speculative grammar discussing the *modi significandi* (c. 1200–1350) integrated grammatical description into philosophical theory, thus separating linguistic study from its original role as a tool to interpret literary works. Modistae like Peter Helias (12th century) and Roger Bacon (1272, *Greek grammar*) ushered in the concept of a universal grammar: the differences between different languages were considered accidental since every part of speech is distinguished by a particular mode of signifying reality. In spite of a universal semantic structure, however, Bacon argued against the possibility of translation on the basis of the Augustinian theory (4th–5th centuries) of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, itself founded on Aristotle's sign theory.

In terms of linguistic art, the relationship between languages was conceived as hierarchical, with the classical languages being considered richer in expressive possibility than the vernacular tongues of Europe. This remained an underlying model even after the Bible was translated into modern European languages during the Reformation. But with the rise in linguistic study of the vernaculars in the Renaissance, reflections on translation, too, multiplied. The earliest programmatic views recognised the individual genius of the vernaculars. Etienne Dolet's essay *La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre* (1545) denounced word-for-word translation in favour of respecting the "propriété" of each language to express the intention of the author. If the translator translates classical languages into languages that are less rich in art and diction, he should not introduce Latinate words that are not common in the modern tongue. Likewise, the contemporaneous pamphlet by Joachim du Bellay, *Défense et illustration de la langue française* (1549), considered translation to be an impediment for creativity in the vernacular language rather than an enrichment if it imitates classical models.

The rise of the European vernaculars, the concomitant decline of Latin as a lingua franca and the discovery of exotic languages in the New World contributed to new linguistic developments in the seventeenth century rooted in philosophical revolutions. Philosophers such as Francis Bacon and Leibniz advocated the creation of a new universal language of 'real characters' that would establish an unambiguous connection between words and ideas and overcome the shortcomings of natural languages and translation. Also to John Locke (*Essay concerning human understanding*, 1690, book III, v. 8) words did not carry the same meaning across languages and were therefore fundamentally "untranslatable".

Confronted with linguistic diversity, language study looked for the unity in accidental differences. The modistic notion that there was a universal thought structure shared by all (civilised) mankind was continued in philosophical and general grammar of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Port-Royal authors, Antoine Arnauld and Claude Lancelot, of the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660) assumed that the analysis of thought was the same everywhere and common to all men regardless of individual linguistic differences. The 'natural' order of ideas can be captured in universal rules of general grammar. Translation in this perspective becomes an operation that moves an utterance to its "homologue" in another language relying on the same prototype of thought; identity of thoughts underlies mutual translatability.

In the eighteenth century, the search for universal paradigms was matched with historical questions for linguistic roots and origins that would build into theories of linguistic relativity. The monogenetic assumption of one original human language implied that exotic languages were held to reflect features of the early more primitive stages of language. Pierre-Louis de Maupertuis (*Réflexions philosophiques sur l'origine des langues et la signification des mots*, 1748) predicates the "incommensurability" of languages by stating that these remote languages seemed to be formed according to cognitive structures that could not be translated into European tongues. This relativist position also underlies reflection on translation practice. Charles Batteux (*De la construction oratoire*, 1763) remarks that the first prerequisite for a translator is knowledge of the "génie des deux langues" joined in the process of transfer. Alexander Fraser Tytler (*Essay on the principles of translation*, 1797) likewise observes that linguistic fidelity cannot be achieved because of the different genius and character of languages.

The nineteenth century saw the development of modern theoretical and methodological conceptions of comparative and historical linguistics, focussing on the study of Indo-European languages. Interlingual interest focussed on listing lexical correspondences between sets of words and morphemes in groups of languages. But reflection on translation can be found in the work of Wilhelm von Humboldt. His theory of language (*Über das vergleichende Sprachstudium in Beziehung auf die verschiedenen Epochen der Sprachentwicklung*, 1820–1821) stresses the creative linguistic ability inherent in every speaker's mind: language is a dynamic activity (*energeia*), not just a product (*ergon*). The capacity for language is universal but, like Herder and Destutt de Tracy in the eighteenth century, Humboldt asserts that the individuality of each language is peculiar to its group of speakers. As words are not just signs of ideas but factors in the genesis of ideas, word-for-word translation and full equivalence are not possible: language diversity collocates with diversity of world visions and the genii of nations. The linguist Heymann Steinthal would later reaffirm the idea that real translation from one language to another is not possible since language is independent of logic (*Grammatik, Logik und Psychologie*, 1855).

The pre-modern reflections on language and translation described above mostly prioritise the word and its representative function and thus mainly focus on the non-observable ideas assumed to be communicated in language. In modern times, the study of language involves the other complementary perspective (Kelly 1979), viz. a focus on language as observable data. As sciences developed in the 19th and the 20th centuries, specialist approaches to translation arose, among which the domains of structural linguistics, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics.

2. Structural linguistic, text linguistic and sociolinguistic ideas on translation

Twentieth century ideas from the areas of structural linguistics, text linguistics and sociolinguistics have been amply described elsewhere (Malmkjær 2011; Koller 1979/2011; Angelelli 2014) and can only be briefly rendered here. Although de Saussure's core ideas about a century ago, distinguishing *langue* from *parole* and stressing that the *signifiant* was different from the *signifié,* may not have included any explicit references to translation or even influenced thought on translation directly (Koerner 1971), his systematic and structuralist approach did emerge in Vinay and Darbelnet's *Stylistique comparée du français et l'anglais* (1958) and Catford's *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (1964), who both identified and classified linguistic and stylistic differences between source texts and their translations.

At the same time, Chomsky's focus on language as something cognitive and his attempts at describing human language competence inspired people such as Jäger, Kade, Neubert, Schmidt and Wotjak (often referred to as the Leipzig School) to contribute to what they called a Science of Translation. Recognising that everything can be expressed in all languages, be it differently, they considered translation as a special case of communication and concentrated their efforts at discovering the mental mechanisms underlying the transfer of meaning from one language to another.

Many linguistic approaches to the concept of translation are also explained in Koller (1979/2011), who himself stressed the holistic functions of texts and their relevance in translation. One of his central ideas is that of equivalence and the various forms it may take: while Kade's formal typology of types of equivalence in his *Zufall und Gesetzmäßigkeit in der Übersetzung* (1968) mainly relied on the number of equivalents that could be found between words from two different languages, Koller proposed a meaning-related or functional taxonomy of denotative, connotative and text-normative equivalence types with the last type allowing the translator, for example, to obey the textual norms of the target culture to translate a text, even if they differed from those of the source text. Such a text-linguistic or communicative/pragmatic view of translation activities also underlied work of other scholars, such as Katharina Reiß's *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik: Kategorien und Kriteren für eine sachgerechte Beurteilung von Übersetzungen* (1971) and Christiane Nord's *Translating as a Purposeful Activity. Functionalist Approaches Explained* (1997).

Other linguistic views stressed the broader context of translation and the essential role of social features in language and texts: sociolinguistic approaches emerged that stressed the roles of translators and interpreters as individual agents that engage with social structures or regard the transfer that takes place in translation not only as some material displacement of texts, but also as making accessible what is cognitively transferred in and by the texts to the target culture, thus widening the scope of translation to include intralingual translation. For instance, Ian Mason's contribution to Angelelli's volume paid attention to power relations in interpreting settings (2014) or Maurice Pergnier's *Fondements sociolinguistiques de la traduction* (1978/2017) drew attention to the specific social conditions of linguistic transfer which allow the seeming untranslatability of segmented phrases to become translatable because of the meaning that can be transferred intersubjectively.

3. Psycholinguistic ideas on translation

Psycholinguistics pays considerable attention to many psychological and cognitive processes that are component features of language comprehension and production, but not necessarily to the complex act of interpreting itself. Psycholinguistic approaches drop the issue of translatability at large and take word and sentence translation as their starting point for an understanding of cognitive characteristics of the translation process. As a strong analytic approach, psycholinguistics recognises the different levels of linguistic organization (phonology, lexicon, syntax, semantics, pragmatics) and distinguishes between different types of language processing (auditory comprehension, reading comprehension, speech production). Its focus on very elementary features of these processes, and in particular their phenomenological distinction between comprehension and production, means that the majority of their studies may appear to be quite remote from translation where co-activation of the two processes is the bread and butter of most research. Nevertheless, ideas from both domains have cross-fertilised one another. One of the most reliable findings in psycholinguistic research, for instance, is the facilitation of lexical access for items of high lexical frequency (Balota and Chumbley 1984), which has been implemented for translation and interpreting teaching purposes with Gile's (1995) 'gravitational model'. Comparable studies of lexical access have expanded to cover bilinguals in general (Costa and Santesteban 2004), a research topic that also involves the processing of cognates (see also the notion of 'false friends' in language pedagogy) and is related to word translation activities (de Groot et al. 1994) and the notion of (lexical) priming.

Priming is a finding that identifies cognitive facilitation that is triggered by linguistic overlap between earlier and current processing. It takes place between native and non-native languages not only at the lexical level, but also in syntax (Schoonbaert et al. 2007) and is strongly suggestive of source-language interference in translation (van Hell and de Groot 2008). These types of priming provide strong evidence for form-based language processing, a concept that is in line with Levelt's (1989) influential 'blueprint of the speaker' model of language processing but hard to reconcile with 'vertical', meaning-based approaches to translation (Paradis 1994). Evidence in favour of the latter from translation research (e.g. Dam 2001) may plead for a better distinction between 'lexical' and specifically 'semantic' types of priming.

Psycholinguistic studies have also shown the variegated impact of memory and proficiency in the co-activation of comprehension and production in simultaneous interpreting (Christoffels et al. 2006), and the impact of task type on comprehension (Macizo and Bajo 2006). As an emerging issue, there is growing discussion of the role of planning scope in language production (Allum and Wheeldon 2007), which relates to translation's more comprehension-heavy concept of "Units of Translation".

4. Neurolinguistic ideas on translation

While psycholinguists study the psychological and cognitive factors that affect the use of language in humans in general, neurolinguists' enquiries into translation mainly focus on the questions of how and where the cognitive processes of translation are undertaken in the human brain (see Chapter 6.4 in this volume). Building on investigations into the process of translation, neurolinguistics is now exploring the functions and organisation of the mind during translation by looking at its biological substrates, and how mental processing during the task of translation engages with neural structures and arrays (Shreve and Diamond 2016: 141), which has been greatly supported by the development of powerful high-spatial-resolution neuro-imaging technologies, such as EEG (electroencephalography), PET (positron-emission tomography) and fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging). Their initial focus of interest was "translation asymmetry" culminating in the Revised Hierarchical Model (Kroll and Stewart 1994), which conceptualises different brain activity for L1–L2 translation than for L2–L1 translation. More right hemispheric coherence has been reported when interpreters translated into their second language, and language areas in the left brain areas have been revealed to be more highly activated when processing L1 or interpreting into L1. Chang's detailed comparative study of L1–L2 (Chinese-to-English) and L2–L1 (English-to-Chinese) translation (2009) showed that the former direction of translating was more cognitively demanding, due to the higher number of activated brain areas recruited, which indicated that the predictions suggested by the Revised Hierarchical Model were valid at the textual level.

Research on simultaneous interpreting (SI) (Hervais-Adelman et al. 2015) revealed reduced recruitment of the right caudate nucleus during SI as a result of training, which demonstrated the impact of SI training on the function of a cerebral structure that is not specifically linguistic, while it is involved in a variety of domain-general executive functions. García explored the interpreter advantage hypothesis (García 2014), lexical translation in bilinguals (García et al. 2014) and translation with an injured brain (García 2015). Present investigations into English-Chinese translation at Durham University return to the topic of directionality, this time in sight translation, looking at sentence level using fMRI as the main data collection method.

Neurolinguistic approaches have opened up an effective way to probe into the "black-box" of the translating brain. But due to their comparatively short history and high demand on research facilities, research projects that have directly measured the neural activities of individual translators are still limited. Apart from researching some popular questions such as translation asymmetry and lexical translation equivalence, many other questions and hypotheses will be examined when more translation scholars and neuroscientists get involved in collaborative projects. Tymoczko (2012) has suggested that the neuroscience of perception and memory, and the plasticity of the brain in the case of translators should be looked into as priority research questions. It is equally important to investigate translation at the micro level of the brain and the macro level of translations as text, as mediation between cultures and ideological intervention.

The limitations of neurolinguistic TS are primarily threefold: firstly, the ecological validity of the research has been greatly compromised by the high demanding experimental environment. For example, the fMRI method only allows for testing of sight translation or interpreting (under unnatural circumstances by lying on a fMRI bed), as the subjects are requested to keep their heads as still as possible. Secondly, teamwork which includes translation scholars and neuroscientists is usually essential, as the expertise required to set up neuro-psychological experiments and interpret the neuro-imaging data is normally beyond the training of most translation researchers at this point. Translation scholars need to work closely with their neurolinguistic collaborators in order to overcome the difficulties of data collection and analysis (Shreve and Diamond 2016). Thirdly, the implementation of neurolinguistic research on translation is heavily reliant on sufficient grant support, since the cost of purchasing or renting neuro-imaging facilities is usually much higher compared to other behavioural and cognitive translation experiments. Even so, the fascinating and enlightening findings about the mysterious "black-box" of the translation brain already achieved through neurolinguistic investigation will inevitably attract increasingly more researchers to this "known unknown" area in TS.

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CHAPTER 6.2

Literary research

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Keywords: philology, comparative literature, positivism/hermeneutics, structuralism/post-structuralism, donor/receptor roles

The histories of literary research and of translation studies are mutually illuminating from a range of different angles (Delabastita 2010). They show some striking analogies, to begin with. Compare, for instance, the ways in which the two fields acquired an 'academic' or 'scholarly' status, following centuries of *'prescientific' discourse* about literature and translation, respectively, or the ways in which their trajectories have been shaped by a dynamic tension between their striving for autonomy and their dependence on several adjacent research fields, with linguistics standing out here for both, being at different times perceived as a privileged partner or as an intrusive neighbour (see Chapter 6.1 in this volume). Or compare how the two fields have from their beginnings faced the challenge of having to straddle 'scientific' ('empirical-science') and 'humanistic' ('liberal-arts') epistemologies and methodologies.

From a different angle, the history of translation provides crucial insights into the history of literary research. After all, the continuities and discontinuities in the thinking about literature can only be understood if we factor in the linguistic and the translational histories of the discipline's discourses. The impact of texts always depends on the languages in which they were originally published, as well as on the languages into which they have been translated (and have *not* been translated), and *when* and *how* and *by whom* such translations were made. We know such things to be true for the spread of literary texts and reputations, but they apply no less at the meta-level of literary studies, as they do to any other research field.

Adopting yet another angle, the present entry will briefly survey main historical trends in Western literary research to see if and how they have fed into the study of translation. There is no 'official' beginning to the establishment of literary studies as an academic discipline and many antecedents could be found, but the publication of Hippolyte Taine's *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863–1864), written on the

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basis of Auguste Comte's principles of positivist science, may plausibly stand as a milestone in its history. If we accept this for the sake of the argument, and also agree to link the beginning of academic translation studies with the publication of Eugene A. Nida's significantly entitled *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964), the academic emergence of literary studies would, symbolically, anticipate the birth of translation studies by an exact century. This long gap will need to be accounted for in what follows. It wasn't until the 1960s–1970s that literary studies became truly effective as a 'donor' discipline by equipping the fledgling field of translation studies with useful concepts, models and methods, by enabling it to derive social legitimacy from the prestige of literature as a highbrow art form, and by offering it a particularly fertile and challenging research domain (literature very much being a 'heightened' form of language use both by its frequent recourse to textual density and creativeness and by its multiple social, cultural and ideological determinations). But, as we shall see, today literary studies' donor status has been much diminished (and possibly turned around even), as we now see translation studies and literary studies operating and interacting on a more level playing ground and in far more complex disciplinary configurations.

1. The long nineteenth century

The *professionalization* of literary studies resulted in a significant part of literary criticism moving from general magazines, coffee clubs, and reading rooms to specially designated research institutions such as the universities. This process happened in most Western countries somewhere along the 19th century. Relevant contexts helping to account for it are many and closely intertwined, but the list would have to include the industrial revolution, imperial expansion, economic growth, the push for more participatory social and political structures, the growing need for reliable civil servants and teachers, and, crucially for our purpose, the efforts of *nation states* in Europe to consolidate their position by developing a national consciousness and a nationally unified culture.

Such programmes of nation-building encouraged the construction of the so-called *national philologies* (English Studies, *Germanistik*, *neerlandistiek*, etc.) in the 19th century, which involved a major scientific effort integrating literary history, historiography, textual criticism and diachronic linguistics to 'reconnect' the nation with its deep linguistic, literary and cultural 'roots'. Methodologically, this work was permeated by the philosophy of science known as *positivism*, which wanted to extrapolate the methods of the natural sciences to various new domains in the human sciences. This explains why the focus was on 'objectively' observable facts, on origins and causalities. One of its aims was to reconstruct (or, rather, construct) a prestigious literary tradition for the nation. The link between *canon-building* and nation-building is easy to understand: the canonised authors are expert users of the nation's common language and become icons of its excellence and longevity, their works embody and stabilise the nation's common identity, and they invent or reproduce appropriate myths of common origin and of national heroism or virtue. Needless to say, this historical focus on the emancipated nation and the proud self-sufficiency of its literary canon left little room for the study of translation. This national and historical bias of literary research, with the marginalisation of translation it implied, was to last deeply into the 20th century.

The dominance of positivistic nation-oriented historical literary research was strong but not hegemonic. It was compellingly challenged by adherents of *hermeneutics*, a theory of interpretation associated with philosophically oriented thinkers such as Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911; see Chapter 5.4 in this volume). Hermeneutics resisted the bringing together of the natural sciences and the human sciences on common epistemological and methodological platforms. Whereas the former (the *Naturwissenschaften*) aim for rational and objective explanations in their study of material reality, the latter (the *Geisteswissenschaften*) ultimately deal with concrete life-experiences of individuals, involving complex interrelations of thought, emotion and intentionality that can never be reduced to rational explanation. What is needed in the humanities, therefore, is understanding (*Verstehen*) rather than explanation (*Erklären*). The significance of 19th-century hermeneutics for our present purpose is double. First, its emphasis on the partly subjective nature of the interpretation of texts and historical events and its rejection of the objectivist model creates the blueprint for a methodological *conflict between 'scientific' and 'humanistic' approaches* to literature – a conflict that was to be replicated a century later in translation studies and is still with us now. Second, the arguments of hermeneutics were to be taken up and variously developed by 20th-century philosophers such as Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Paul Ricœur, and others. From George Steiner's *After Babel* (1975) onwards, influential work in translation studies was to grow out of this intellectual tradition, examining, mostly along philosophical lines of inquiry, how translation amounts to an act of interpretation and which conditions make such translational interpretations possible or (according to more recent and more sceptical views) problematic. This line of work has flourished mainly in German, with representatives such as Fritz Paepcke and Radegundis Stolze in the forefront, but the internationally influential writings on translation by Walter Benjamin, Antoine Berman, Jacques Derrida or Lawrence Venuti, too, can in their own specific ways be seen as 20th-century exponents of the anti-positivistic tradition.

While hermeneutics rejected the positivist mind-set of 19th-century literary research, we also have to note a very different kind of corrective reaction, targeting its nationally defined frameworks. We are referring here to the field of *comparative literature,* which set for itself the task of complementing the often blinkered view of the national philologies by investigating cross-national literary contacts, dependencies, movements and reputations. Growing out of an interest in 'foreign' literatures, finding inspiration in Goethe's ideas about a *Weltliteratur* (world literature) supposedly common to all humanity, and following the example of so many other 'comparative' disciplines in the 19th century, the field of comparative literature gradually took shape. Comparative literature was later to receive a major boost following the debacle of WWII, when it developed a new dynamic that was to benefit the creation of translation studies in the 1970s. But until then, the discipline did little to encourage systematic research into translation. In reality, comparative literature scholars usually confined their interest to 'major' writers in the 'major' European languages which they read. Where their multilingual skills let them down, translations were silently or grudgingly allowed as an imperfect substitute for the original texts. Translations thus had an instrumental function at best but were rarely regarded as having any significant artistic merit or scholarly interest of their own. The root causes for this were a static concept of literature (with the canon, whether defined at national or comparative/international levels, being seen as a kind of 'pantheon' of immortal writers) and the lingering romantic concept of literature as a form of self-expression (perhaps reflecting the ideology of liberal humanism and capitalist notions of investment and ownership), which put a disproportionately high value on individual creativity and original authorship, leaving translation as a 'derivative' form of writing nearly invisible on the radar of literary research. Such views pervaded most thinking about literature in the 19th century; they also defined the outlook of the national literary historians discussed above.

2. The period 1914–1970

The period of WWI saw the breakthrough of *modernism* in literature and the arts more generally. Modernism is an umbrella term covering a massive 'new wave' of widely different artistic and intellectual developments but what many of these share is a new emphasis on internationalism and on radical innovation, as well as a more depersonalised view of art. The combination of these features challenged the cult of the traditional national canon and the romantic view about the primacy of original authorship that had prevailed until then, and that had kept literary translation so low on the list of research priorities.

The new artistic views and practices of modernism were reflected by many changes in academically based literary criticism. These show too many variations to permit easy generalisations, but we can say that the modernist-inspired changes in the landscape of literary research did *not* on the whole lead to greater critical energies being spent on translation, despite the openings created and despite several modernist writers *themselves* intensely practising heterolingualism (T. S. Eliot, James Joyce, etc.) and translation (Ezra Pound, the Zukofskys, etc.). Reasons for this arguably include the strong focus that literary critics with modernist tastes tended to put on *literary technique* as displayed in individual literary works – a focus that was reflective of the modernist investment in complexity of artistic design and in technical innovation (e.g., stream of consciousness, free verse, non-linear representations of time, etc.) as well as of the movement's firm rejection of 19th-century historicism and/or of Marxist-style contextualisation. The enormous success of the '*new criticism*' in the English-speaking world provides a typical instance of this logic. The new critics specialised in ('intrinsic') close readings of literary texts which were largely isolated from their ('extrinsic') communicative and historical contexts in order to be interpreted as complexly structured works in which content and expression interpenetrate each other to make up a single and indivisible, multifaceted but ultimately coherent artistic structure. In such a view translation is doomed to become a barely thinkable impossibility. Robert Frost's famous quote that "poetry is what gets lost in translation" can be read as a specific instance of the new critics' more comprehensive '*heresy of paraphrase*', according to which the meaning and truth of a poem are unique to the singular poem and can exist in no other way than in the exact wording of the poem itself. Our sobering conclusion is that the new criticism, which was the most popular literary theory in the West until the 1970s, could not accommodate the idea of translation in positive terms.

Because of its disregard for context, history and politics and its narrow focus on the 'intrinsic' properties of each unique text, the work of the new critics later came to be labelled dismissively as being 'formalistic'. That same word had earlier started to be used to identify and stigmatise the Russian formalists, who were active in Russia in the short period 1917–1930 (any kind of 'formalism' was soon supressed by the authorities and forcefully replaced by the orthodoxies of Marxist literary theory). This terminological overlap is confusing inasmuch as it obscures significant differences between the Russian formalists and the new critics. While the latter were averse to theory-building and took the irreducible singularity of individual texts as their guiding principle, the Russian formalists were interested in working towards more general models of literature and its historical evolution, thereby progressively developing a functional perspective (e.g., Yurij Tynjanov). From the late 1920s onwards this functionalist line fed into the work of the Prague School, which is also sometimes tarred with the brush of 'formalism', and where it further combined with Saussurian linguistics, semiotics, aesthetics, and several other influences (e.g., Jan Mukařovský) to produce an impressive scholarly tradition which also included Roman Jakobson ("On Linguistic Aspects of Translation", 1959). This tradition was later to influence the pioneering work of Jiři Levý (*The Art of Translation*, 1963, but not available in English until 2011), as well as, from the 1970s onwards, the foundational papers by Anton Popovič, James S Holmes, José Lambert, Rik van Gorp, Raymond van den Broeck, Itamar Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury, Susan Bassnett, André Lefevere, Theo Hermans, and others loosely or more closely associated with *polysystems theory* and the birth of descriptive translation studies. Several of these scholars were also active in literary history and/or in comparative literature (e.g., as members of the International Comparative Literature Association) and had been looking for sufficiently flexible and wide-ranging frameworks in their endeavours to get a conceptual grip on the complexities of literary evolution and cultural interactions.

However, before further discussing developments in the 1970s and beyond, we have to remind ourselves that in many literary departments in the period 1914–1970 'old school' literary history along national lines continued to be widely practised, as did the kind of comparative literature that had little time or patience for translation. We should furthermore note that several other new forms of literary research arose from 1914 onwards, sometimes exercising a nearly absolute rule (e.g., Marxist approaches in countries under communist regime), in other cases occupying more specialised niches (e.g., psychoanalytical approaches, Bakhtinian dialogism and myth criticism), but without ever making much of a difference to the widespread neglect of literary translation.

3. From the 1970s onwards

We might just as well have taken James S Holmes's 1972 paper "On the Name and Nature of Translation Studies" as the true manifesto and official beginning of academic translation studies rather than Nida (1964) or other possible contenders. Arbitrary as such decisions are bound to remain, the dates give a sense of how the breakthrough was being prepared in the 1960s, how it materialised in the 1970s, giving the new field greater visibility and recognition in the 1980s to lead to its proverbial success story in the 1990s. This rise into greater prominence in higher education and research was ultimately due to the rapid *internationalisation* of the world itself – of its technologies and economies, its communication systems and transport systems, its wars and its subsequent efforts to avoid or at least manage future conflicts (cf. the creation of new international organisations, in response to the atrocities of WWII). Societies in this brave new world simply needed more professionally trained translators as well as a better understanding of the possibilities and pitfalls of interlingual and intercultural contacts. From the 1990s translation studies developed a clearer (or more blurred, perhaps?) profile as an ***'interdiscipline'*** by multiplying its interactions with other disciplines, but in its pioneering days linguistics and literary studies were definitely among the main 'donor' disciplines contributing to its conceptual and methodological armamentarium. Look again at some of the early names we have mentioned: Holmes had a literary background and Nida drew on linguistics (while Jakobson attempted to integrate both fields).

In retrospect, the flowering of *French structuralism* in the 1960s turns out to have been of major historical importance for the development of literary studies and, more indirectly but nonetheless substantially, of translation studies. It promoted the application of Saussurian-inspired linguistic and semiotic models to literary, cultural and social phenomena. Soon the shift to post-structuralism was initiated, most radically so in Derrida's *deconstruction* (see Chapter 5.5 in this volume).

The structuralist milieu also promoted the translating, anthologizing and rereading of earlier work by the Prague structuralists and the Russian formalists. As we have noted, it is this strand which appealed strongly to a new generation of literary scholars and provided them with a solid basis for the elaboration of *polysystems theory* from the 1970s onwards. They traced out a methodologically ambitious and empirically oriented research path to study the functions of translation within and between cultures. This lineage has later in poststructuralist circles caused this work to be lumped together with linguistically based approaches and to be dismissed as a latter-day form of 'positivism' or 'formalism'.

Three interrelated aspects of 1960s and 1970s French structuralism need to be highlighted, because they opened up, virtually at least, a massive conceptual space for the study of translation in the following years.

First, most structuralists strongly promoted literary *theory* at the expense of literary history. The pendulum of historical evolution was fairly quick to adjust this theoretical bias, but it did result in the development of a plethora of new terms and concepts which have in a permanent way enriched the metadiscourse of the language sciences – including (later) translation studies. To take one example, the subfield of narratology received a major impetus from structuralists such as Barthes, Bremond, Genette and Todorov; it goes without saying that later scholars studying the *translation* of narratives owe a tremendous intellectual debt to their conceptual work. Structuralism led to similarly important advances in fields such as *stylistics, semiotics* (see Chapter 1.9 in this volume) and *rhetoric* (see Chapter 1.10 in this volume) (including the study of tropes – see Chapter 1.2 in this volume). Most of this work was done within monolingual frames of reference, but it was waiting to be usefully applied and extended within the comparative and multilingual perspectives of translation studies.

Second, structuralist thinking resulted in a radical *'decentring' of the individual literary text,* which had for so long been the central preoccupation of literary criticism (as, most typically and most influentially, in the new criticism). For instance, elaborating on Bakhtin's notion of dialogue, Julia Kristeva introduced the concept of *intertextuality,* which emphasises that texts necessarily and productively enter into multiple relationships with other texts and discourses. Such a view validates translation as one among many other transfer modes that make up the intertextual fabric of culture. Similarly, another leading structuralist critic, Gérard Genette, popularised notions such as *metatextuality* (a metatext being a text that refers to and is 'about' another text, the so-called prototext) and *paratextuality* (paratexts 'surround' the text 'itself' and serve as frames or filters that shape how it will be read), both of which have served translation studies well (see Chapter 5.1 in this volume).

Thirdly, structuralism has been instrumental in *'decentring' the literary canon* by showing much analytical interest in 'popular' culture. This helped to make literary studies and subsequently translation studies far much more inclusive by raising formerly 'marginal' domains of literary culture to the status of valid research objects and thus preparing the opening up of literary studies to (and even its partial absorption into) later cultural studies. Even though it sometimes took several more years for these virtualities to be realised, this created at least in principle the possibility of devoting scholarly attention to 'secondary' forms of writing (e.g., translation, adaptation) and to 'lower' genres (e.g., Hollywood films, children's literature), and indeed to their combination (e.g., the dubbing or subtitling of films, the translation of children's literature).

Of course, not all of the preparatory work in the literary criticism of the 1960s and early 1970s belonged to the sphere of structuralism, however loosely defined. For instance, the decentring of the individual text was also a central theme in various *reader-oriented approaches*, which, partly building on the hermeneutic tradition, radically shifted the central focus from the text to its reception and its readers (e.g., Wolfgang Iser and Hans-Robert Jauss, both affiliated to the University of Constance in Germany). This potentially enabled translation to be taken on board as a form of *interpretation*, or as a metatext documenting the original text's *reception.*

Likewise, the decentring of the traditional literary canon was not the exclusive achievement of the structuralist movement either. For a start, this process was generally informed by postmodern and consumerist values and attitudes in wider society, where we see the commodification of 'high' art going hand in hand with the stylisation of 'popular culture'. In addition, literary studies and subsequently translation studies underwent the impact of various across-the-board counter-hegemonic movements taking traditional artistic canons to task for being too white, too masculine and/or too middle-class. *Marxist influences* and the agendas of various identity groups became and remain important drivers of projects to widen or even to radically confront the canon and to redefine the conceptual frameworks and the very objectives of literary studies, injecting them with strong doses of political activism. The massive success of *feminist approaches* and *postcolonial* *studies* in the literary research of the 1980s and 1990s testifies to the importance of these trends, which very soon also impacted on work done in translation studies, where they showed up at the heart of the strongly publicised 'cultural turn' (e.g., gender, Eurocentrism – see Chapter 5.10 and 3.2 in this volume).

4. The new millennium

It would be a bad case of tunnel vision to confine the origins or relevance of either gender studies or postcolonial studies to the field of literary studies. Both are very broadly based and deep-rooted social as well as intellectual movements; their concepts, values, political positions and discursive patterns range far beyond any individually distinguishable academic fields. Such complications cast doubt on the traditional binary and unidirectional model of one 'donor' discipline (say, literary studies) feeding concepts, methods or insights to another 'receptor' discipline (say, translation studies).

Both literary studies and translation studies have in the past two decades or so witnessed more **turns** (see Chapter 2.7 in this volume) than we can record here; the marketization of Academia and the pressure to 'innovate' and to meet quantitative targets (publications, rankings, funding) are surely influential factors here. The growing trend to embrace interdisciplinarity and to adopt mixed-method strategies in individual research projects further complicates the picture. Establishing the genealogy of influences has therefore become a more complicated affair than ever before. Take, for example, the domain of study sometimes referred to as the sociology of translation and whose rise from the 1990s onwards is often presented as the 'sociological turn' in translation studies (with a new focus on agents, agency, capital, field, habitus, network and the like). It has resulted in sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu and Bruno Latour becoming household names in translation studies. But which was the donor discipline here? Bourdieu especially has also made a strong impact in literary studies (e.g., the work of Pascale Casanova), where it became part of an existing tradition of literary sociology whose pioneers include the Frankfurt School and the likes of Pierre Althusser, Lucien Goldmann and Pierre Escarpit. There are surely ramifications that link sociologically inspired work in translation studies with these various literary and cultural sociologists; but then, the network connecting literary studies, translation studies and sociology is too complex to be disentangled in terms of neatly definable one-way influences. 'Reversed' patterns can actually be observed: sociologically based translation studies by scholars such as Gisèle Sapiro can now be seen to play an innovating role in literary studies, for instance.

Interesting recent developments in literary studies involve themes and theories such as *cognitive research* (see Chapter 6.4 in this volume), *digital humanities,* *ecocriticism, global literature, heterolingualism, imagology, intermediality, memory studies, narrative theory, nationalism studies,* and so on. The same themes and theories also feature in contemporary translation studies, but, for the reasons just given, it would be simplistic to attribute such analogies and convergences to any direct or even indirect 'influence' of literary research on translation studies. And perhaps here too, as with the sociology of literature and translation respectively, there are even research areas where the formerly prevailing donor and receptor roles are reversing – inasmuch as the model still applies at all. In today's globalised digital world, with its translingual, intermedial and multicultural circulation of texts, and the permanent demand for rewriting and recontextualisation that goes with it, translation studies may well be showing some of the ways ahead for literary research.

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CHAPTER 6.3

Communication Studies

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Keywords: communication, communication theory, translation theory, methodology, history of concepts

1. Introduction

An awareness that translation and the various functions pertaining thereto can also be explained in the context of a communicative perspective has accompanied Translation Studies discourse for decades. The process of differentiating Translation Studies from Literary Studies or Linguistics as an autonomous discipline has thereby intensified the perception of such communication-theory-based perspectives. It is therefore not surprising that many of the relevant contributions of the classics of Translation Studies include numerous independent reflections such as whether translation can be fundamentally analyzed as a form of communication, which communicative roles (conscious or latent, intentional or coerced) translators assume, and to what extent translation-related social transformation effects can be made transparent within a communicative paradigm. This reception clearly encouraged a transformation in the awareness of problems in the discipline and the manner for tailoring theoretical constructions in Translation Studies, as well as reflection on methodology and the orientation of empirical research.

Translation Studies and Communication Studies share obvious structural similarities in their relationship to the object of research (House and Loenhoff 2016). In their own ways, both disciplines analyze (a) changes and transformations in conditions which can only be achieved through the use of signs and symbols (b) they examine the inherent logic and dynamics arising out of this process (c) they explore dependence on individual competences, as well as the socio-historical, cultural, and technological conditions for realization (d) finally, they investigate associated problems of success and the efficacy of these processes vis-à-vis multiple sources for variance.

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2. Emancipation from transport and transfer models of communication

As early as 1964, Nida sought to develop fundamental theoretical assumptions for Translation Studies – not based on semantic or logical categories, but rather from a communicative perspective which understood language as a communication tool and identified the central problem of meaning "in terms of the communicative event" (Nida 1964: 43). The discussion focuses on goals and purposes of communication as the decisive point of orientation in the translation process. Despite its reliance on the information-theory-based sender-receiver model for communication (Shannon 1949) and the related metaphors of transport and conduit (Reddy 1979), Nida's approach provided a remarkable new awareness of problems from the perspective of a theory of communication. Not only was translational communication already tendentially conceptualized as an emergent entity, there was also a recognition of the transmission model's relative lack of complexity, and its tendency to neglect synchronicity, recursiveness, and potential changes in meaning through repeat, context-relevant implementation (1964: 48) reminiscent – among other things – of Derrida's later (1972) programmatic representation.

The motif of conceptualizing the translation process as component of a larger communication process, and especially the search for a theoretical basis for an independent Translation Studies intensified the debate on communication models and their transformation into models for translation. Nonetheless, a foundation in information theory – with its semantics of coding, decoding, and recoding, and its identity-based concept of meaning – remained essential to such reflections, particularly those which remained epistemologically close to realism or the acceptance of a positivistic and materialistic copy theory of knowledge (Kade 1968).

An orientation predominantly occupied with the tasks of the "sender" largely ignores the active role of the "receiver" or recipient, allowing the translation process (as well as communication, as its paradigmatic model) to decompose into isolated individual actions. Such a perspective conceptualizes translation or communication as multiple, separate achievements, by attributing intentionality to all actors involved (Kade 1968: 18) and allocating a failure in this process to a mistake on the part of one or more of these agents. First and legitimate intuitions regarding the fundamental contingency of communication and its societal conditions were regarded as mere "blurrings" of this model. The additional incorporation of situational dimensions and recursive effects led to a variety of translation-related variants of the "transport model" which however were unable to overcome its inadequacy and its aporetic structure.

A pragmatic approach to the problem of meaning and a rejection of Model Platonism in information theory and cybernetics has been gaining force within far-reaching (but certainly not all) aspects of both Communication and Translation

Studies, due in part to the *linguistic turn* and its skepticism toward logic-semantic-based language analysis and Speech-Act Theory derived from *ordinary language philosophy*. Hence the communicative success of a translation is no longer evaluated by the probability of transfer and correct coding, but rather by conventionalized practices within the language community and cooperative relations among the participants. The resulting central prioritizing of the reconstruction of speaker intentions has led – in some areas of theory building in Translation Studies – to a further delegitimation of information-theory-based translation models. As a functional approach which prioritizes the goals and purposes of translation (or interpreting) as recipient dependent, and so culturally sensitive, Skopos theory offers further critique of the simplistic concept of recoding. (Vermeer 1978). The emphasis on the processual character associated with communication-oriented reflection triggers and stimulates new questions regarding the relationships between original, translation, and equivalence – translation is no longer regarded as a simple continuation of communication in a new code, but rather as a new communication *beyond* an already performed communication process, or as an "information supply over an information supply" (Reiß/Vermeer 1984: 19). With a goal- or purpose-oriented problem awareness regarding the imperative for selectivity and the translational relationship between source- and target texts, one recognizes both the burdensome legacy of information theory, as well as the attempt to go beyond these limitations and assign new importance to the recipient.

3. Multiple influences from communication theory

Along with the generalized assumption that pragmatic conditions for successful communication are also applicable to translation, we can observe the ramifications of intentionalist and anti-mentalist positions in Translation Studies as discussed in communication theory discourse. Intentionalist discourse on conversational maxims formulated by Grice (1975) and further refined by Sperber and Wilson (1986) understand communication primarily as an inferential process at the core of which lie all analyses of communicative intentions (especially those of the speaker). It follows that the adequacy of a translation must be achieved by the comparability of its pragmatic conditions for success (Gutt 1991; Malmkjær 1998), which, if present, must be safeguarded through a "higher-order communication act" (Gutt 2005: 47; but already Nida 1964 and Reiß/Vermeer 1984).

Luhmann's theory of social systems (1995) belongs to an intentionality-critical family of theories which clearly distances itself from the analysis of motivation and purpose (alongside Wittgensteinian or poststructural approaches). According to its inherent logic and contingent dynamics, communication here is not conceptualized as interrelated actions, but rather as a systemic operation which cannot be traced back to individual actors due to its emergent qualities. Such a divergent concept of communication – conceptualized by a radical elimination of intentions, cognitive achievements, and linguistic competencies – emphasizes increases in complexity tied to the contingency of communicative connections as a process of social and cultural evolution. Within Translation Studies, this shift in perspective from "sender" to "receiver" or from communicative offer to connective communication has largely met with a positive response. The thesis that the reception context or the "target system" determines the treatment of a text as translation within a specific meaning structure (Toury 1980) finds a plausibility check within the framework of systems theory, provoking further questions of whether translation can be understood as an autopoietic communication system (Hermans 1999; Vermeer 2006; Tyulenev 2012a). The fact that even such internationally renowned works as Habermas' *Theory of Communicative Action* (1984/1987) have with little exception (see Tyulenev 2012b) been largely ignored within Translation Studies discourse as well as other relevant pragmatic (Dewey 1929; Mead 1934) or phenomenological (Schutz 1962; Luckmann 1983 – with the exception of Heller 2013) communication theories, seems to confirm the ubiquitous phenomenon of highly selective appreciation for related disciplines.

4. Consequences for empirical research in Translation Studies

In addition to communication theory's influences on a fundamental theoretical level, empirical translation research has recently adopted various methods from interaction- and conversational research (Heritage 2010). To the extent that these are predominantly interested in coordinating actions within the physical presence of communication partners, they can be primarily implemented in research on community and dialogue interpreting, liaison interpreting, etc. which attempts to extrapolate particular complex orders of interaction and participation framework through multimodal interaction analyses which transpire not only on a linguistic level, but also on a non- or extra-verbal communicative level through expression, posture, gesticulation, and proxemics (Baraldi and Gavioli 2012; Poyatos 1997; Wadensjö 1998) – or are realized independently by translation via a sign language. The application of digital recording technology and a specific transcription and notation methodology reveals the multilevel structures of turn-taking which undergird the social presence (and absence) of interpreters, cultural mediators, and other participants and allows for the identification of communication-specific sources of variance (intonation, prosody) or the influences of communication technology which characterizes different forms of interpreting. In so far as translation is conceptualized as coordination of action across linguistic and cultural borders and understood as a specific mode of inter- or cross-cultural communication (Toury 1980; Reiß and Vermeer 1984), the reception of basic research carried out in Communication Studies and Ethnography of communication have made sustainable contributions toward an increased reflexivity for the cultural preconceptions of translation.

Within the following decades, the claim that translation is "a complex act of communication" (McFarlane 1953: 93) and the oft-repeated (and now) popular insistence on analyzing a translation "in terms of the communicative event" (Nida 1964: 43) awakened the expectation that resources from communication theory can support the search for possible new formulations for problems and solutions in Translations Studies (Kade 1968; Nida 1977; Reiß and Vermeer 1984). Continual change in tailoring the perspective of Translation Studies research through the reception of models of communication and the findings of empirical communication research appear to confirm the historical-scientific diagnosis that theory building in Translation Studies had already been located on a "communicative stage" (Newmark 2009: 21) since the 1950s. The extent to which a problem awareness based on communication theory can increase productivity in the consideration of the subject-constitutive question of what can and should be understood as "translation" can be illustrated, finally, by several central problem complexes.

5. Discussion

The tension ratio between action- and system-theory-based understandings of communication and the different conceptual emphases on agents, processes, or structures which is characteristic for communication theory discourse manifests itself in the reception of this in Translation Studies. Differing preferences in regards to sender- versus recipient-orientation – or to the significance of intentionality – remain definitive in Translation Studies discourses, even beyond the discernible difficulties (which are still present in more recent conceptualizations of translation theory) in overcoming the decades-long dominance of the sender-receiver model. The hypothesis that internal dynamics, semantic gain, and social functions in a translational context can only be recognized through the reception of a translation is well-founded in communication theory. Ultimately it is those communicative settings structured through social- and cultural-reception conditions, power relations, ideologies, and the indexicality of a communicative situation which determine the content, success, and overall reach of a communicational bid. But what is appropriate for the analysis of the communication process cannot be wholly wrong within a Translation Studies context: a radical contextualism cannot ultimately explain the pragmatic capacity of an adequate translation if the success of the communication is not to be due to the quality of the translation, but rather, to the contingencies of its context. To the extent that communicative agents – particularly those involved in a translation act – are to be considered to possess their own intentions and their own claim on the intended meaning of a communication, they must also be regarded as a separate source for variance with their own validity claims.

A preference for one perspective on the translation process or the other runs parallel to a communication theory position and correlates respectively with the different versions of the problem of equivalence. An information-theoretical transmission model relocates this question in the problem of coding, while an understanding of communication as purposeful action or as oriented by a cooperative principle for identification of the implicatures of a source text establishes an entirely different mode for evaluating equivalence or adequacy. In contrast to Toury's reformulation of the concept of equivalence (1980), the background in communication theory is far more conspicuous in Skopos theory and its suggestion to reject this problematic concept in favor of that of adequacy. The impulses of communication theory are also present in the works of Hermans (2007), which direct attention to the recognizability of translations through the performative act by which a communication of a translation as a translation is made explicit.

Conversely, the concept of equivalence is no-longer conceivable within a systems theory understanding of communication, just as equivalency discourse is abandoned entirely in a poststructuralist perspective founded on deconstructionist convictions. Here there are only contingent connection communications which are reacted to in new contextualizations and which preclude the formulation of specific meanings and the translation of validity claims. Their dismissal makes clear why a communication theory adhering to the possibility of coordinating actions through context-transcendent validity claims (Habermas 1984/1987) must be discarded in translation discourse which is convinced of radical contextualism. That the rationality of good reason must remain untranslatable and that communication can only be organized along the recognition of difference and not also – under specific conditions – through shared validity claims, is obviously more a theoretical induced position than one founded in credible, empirical and pragmatic research.

There has also been increasing Translation Studies research in the fields of public communication and mass media (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010). Approaches developed specifically for empirical research on media impact such as the agenda-setting theory or the uses and gratifications theory have not made significant contributions here due to the fact that they provide few impulses for translation research.

With the reception of communication theory and methodology within Translation Studies comes the additional task of questioning theory building in both disciplines, particularly with regards to mutual clarification and standards of conceptual inclusion (or exclusion) which consider their consequences on a substantial explicative order. Further deliberation over which terms to adopt from both Communication- and Translation Studies – especially given their possible roles as explanans or explanandum, as well as over whether to regard translation as a product of communication, or vice versa, serve to benefit not only Translation Studies, but also Communication Studies, as well.

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CHAPTER 6.4

Cognitive research

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Keywords: cognitive science, cognitive processes, cognitive translatology, cognitive translation studies, cognitivism, connectionism

Translation Studies has long had a line of research that focuses on translation as a complex mental activity resulting from the action of more fundamental mental operations – the *cognitive processes* underlying translation. We look to models of these processes and theoretical accounts of their interaction as a means of explaining *how* a target text segment emerges as the written output of a source text input during reading for translation. Somewhere in between the observable phenomena of translation (cross-language reading and writing) a variety of unseen mental operations appear to take place. How can we access and understand these unseen processes?

As a discipline our understanding of these hidden operations has been dependent on, but also to a great extent conditioned by, the co-development of the so-called *cognitive sciences* over the last half-century or more. Translation process research, cognitive translation studies, cognitive translatology, or, indeed, any of the now multiplying research domains in translation studies that focus on translation as a cognitive phenomenon, have been tightly coupled to the theoretical frameworks introduced in other disciplines like cognitive psychology and neuropsychology. These latter disciplines were themselves a theoretical amalgam of ideas deriving from psychology, artificial intelligence, computer science, neuroscience, linguistics, and related fields that began to emerge in the 1950s and consolidate as an interdiscpline called *cognitive science* in the 1970s (Bechtel, Abrahamsen and Graham 2001).

In general, cognitive science focuses on the nature of *mind* –which we can think of for our present purposes as a *cognizing system*. This system is responsible for those phenomena we have generally deemed mental or cognitive – what Harnish (2002: 5) has enumerated as: "attention, memory, learning, reasoning, problem solving, and aspects of motivation theory, action theory, perception, and language processing." Any explanation of translation would have to depend on an adequate account of how that unique activity arises from these underlying phenomena.

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For most of the history of the cognitive sciences, the mind was seen as a relatively structured, mostly sequential information processing system relatively independent of the substrate (brain or digital computer) in which it was reified. This early cognitive approach to the mind was characterized by a strong *functionalist* bent, where cognitive states and processes were seen as part of a structured, *causal* system where "mental states are definable in terms of their causal relations to sensory inputs, behavioural outputs, and other mental states" (Shoemaker 1984: 265). This perspective, often also referred to as *cognitivism*, viewed the mind as the result of algorithmic computation over symbolic, structured representations (of knowledge, of language) that could be described by formal rules. The computation and representation vital to such systems were often seen as supported by a variety of dedicated sub-system components (e.g., memory systems, perceptual systems, attentional systems, and so on). Cognitivist approaches are and were quite prevalent, and, indeed, cognitive science for many years was identified with this information processing paradigm (Vernon 2007). Many of the earliest, and, indeed a great many current approaches to cognitive research in translation, are recognizable as cognitivist in orientation. For instance, the prevalence of the notion of "stages" of translation, of the causal input-output approach implied by the widespread notion of translation units, of reference to dedicated sub-systems such as competences and bilingual memory, as well as a continued dependence on formal representational schemes for domain, translation and language knowledge speak to the information processing roots of cognitive research in translation.

In more recent decades some new cognitive science frameworks have argued that cognizing systems are much more closely integrated with (and dependent on) the physical platform(s) in which they are embodied and the environments in which cognition occurs. Cognition *emerges* dynamically in a much less structured and formal way than implied by the information processing paradigm. As Vernon, Metta and Sandinia (2007: 5) describe it: "cognition is the process whereby an autonomous system becomes viable and effective in its environment." *Connectionism* was one of the first cognitive science frameworks to demonstrate how a cognizing system could dynamically self-organize and emerge under the influence of environmental inputs. Both cognitivism and connectionism are concerned with representation and computation, to be sure, but connectionism provided novel ideas that used neurons and their connections (neural networks) as analogues for representational data structures, and neuron firing and spreading activation as analogues for algorithms (Thagard 2014). In the connectionist view there are fewer fixed structural elements to the cognizing system (dedicated sub-systems) and many more small, simple interacting components. Connectionism laid out a mechanism for a more parallel, dynamic and distributed mode of operation than implied by the cognitivist model.

The computational perspective to some extent unites both cognitivism and connectionism, but connectionism also opened the door to the idea that cognizing systems develop in interaction with and in the context of their environments. Critiques of the limitations of the cognitivist and connectionist perspectives in cognitive science have led to models of *situated* and *embodied* cognition. These approaches have been quite influential in that they help us understand how a cognizing system operates in a tight coupling with its environment of action; situated, embodied approaches argue convincingly that a *developmental* cognitive system, one that can adapt and change over time, *must* be embodied and situated. This is a particularly important idea, especially for translation studies, where a major object of research interest is the development and progressive adaptation of the translator's cognitive system over time. In recent years translation scholars (see, in particular, Risku 2010 and Muñoz-Martin 2010) have moved translation studies in this new direction, demonstrating that as the cognitive sciences explore new approaches, translation studies cognitive research need not be far behind.

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CHAPTER 6.5

History of translation knowledge of monotheistic religions with written tradition

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Keywords: sacred texts, Bible, Qurʾān, covert religious censorship, metatexts

1. Central importance of sacred language and translation in the history of religions

A common feature of Judaism, Christianity, and Islām, the monotheistic religions with written traditions (the Jewish Bible, the Christian Bible and the Qurʾān), is a belief in the power of words as demonstrated by narratives about creation (by the spoken word) and by the importance of naming (which creates power through knowledge of a person's name and its meaning and/or etymology) (Sawyer 1999: 162–163). The words, texts and language used in rituals, in the liturgy and in individual and public worship, which are the result of complex processes of canonization and translation, are viewed as sacred; and if they are translations they quickly assume the status of source texts and become central to the religious domain (Even-Zohar 1978: 21–27). They are typified by a particular pronunciation and fixed formulas which express a worshipping community's identity; they may also be used by religious leaders to assert their dominant role in a religious community (Sawyer 1999: 23–43, 164). In addition, a sacred text serves to maintain continuity with the past while simultaneously bringing the past into the present during worship. On the one hand, the sense of religion as designating a sphere in opposition to the profane is mediated through translations that have helped to shape cultures throughout history (Naudé 2005). For the majority of religious communities, contact with sacred texts is entirely through translation which they require for participation, while their adherence to that religious tradition is itself often the result of translation (for agency in translation see Milton and Bandia 2009). Knowledge in the discipline of religious studies is facilitated by translation

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since most religious texts are read in translation by scholars (DeJonge and Tietz 2015). On the other hand, driven by the mystical power of the sacred language and texts rather than intelligibility, religious communities are often reluctant to modernise the language they use in worship and resist translation (for the role of re-translations, see Gambier 1994: 413–417). A new translation can challenge the orthodox readings of a sacred text and the established traditions by the creation of new cultural identity and is therefore subject to covert religious censorship (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2016).

2. Regulated nature of religious translation

The translation of religious texts is problematic in terms of its nature (translation method/strategy and process, readership) and the status of the product (authority of a translated sacred text and its use in liturgy) (Robinson 2000: 103–107). When the translation of sacred texts is not for personal usage (which requires very little control) but institutionalised, the translations are regulated with strict controls on translators, source texts, translation methods and readership. On one hand, regulation may entail forbidding all translation; on the other, regulation may focus on the source text resulting in a literal translation, which keeps the sacred text largely incomprehensible to the masses (Naudé 2006). When intercultural and interlinguistic comprehension of the text matter more than its linguistic form, more openness towards translation and method results (for considerations on relevance in translation see Gutt 2000). The various kinds of free translation are motivated mainly by specific purposes, for example intellectual curiosity (by outsiders) or religious factors like missionary efforts or the creation of new worshipping identities (by insiders) (Naudé 2008; Nord 1997). Since sociocultural and contextual factors interfere, the reader will still interpret the translation as orthodox (contra Venuti 2008). Metatexts are added to translations to mediate religious differences and conflict arising from the translation of sacred texts (Naudé 2013). Instead of a description and explanation of a translation in light of the translator's ideology, strategies, cultural norms, etc., the tendency is still to stick to the normative approach of translation criticism, which deems a translated sacred text as good/faithful, bad or indifferent in terms of what constitutes equivalence between two texts (Naudé 2002).

3. Examples from the history of religious translation

Hebrew and Arabic are the sacred languages of the Jews and the Muslims, respectively, in which are almost entirely preserved their sacred writings and liturgy.

The early translations of the Jewish Bible were produced from the third century BCE onwards in Alexandria and Western Asia and into target languages of Greek (Septuagint), Aramaic (Targums) and Syriac (Peshitta). According to the Aristeas Writings, the Septuagint was produced as a result of state commission under the ruler of Egypt, either Ptolemy I Soter (325–285 BCE) or his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BCE), for the library at Alexandria on account of intellectual curiosity (Attias 2015: 12–17). It was soon treated in some sense as a sacred text by hellenised Jews, but when it later was accepted as a sacred text by the early Greek-speaking Christians, the Jews themselves abandoned it. To contend with the lack of knowledge of Hebrew among the Jews, the rabbis did not want Aramaic-speaking Jews to replace the Hebrew text with an Aramaic version, known as the Targum, but in the liturgy the rabbis rather wanted them to read the Hebrew text aloud, followed by an oral Aramaic rendering which was memorised (Flesher and Chilton 2011: 4, 6). Jews also have translated some books of the Bible into an Aramaic dialect resembling Syriac and these were then taken over by the early Syriac-speaking Christian community to form the beginnings of the Peshitta Old Testament (Brock 2006: 23–27).

Since the late eighteenth century CE the translators of the Jewish Bible made it a keystone of Jewish life and identity in Germany, Israel and the United States. German Jews were Bible translators par excellence. The translations of Moses Mendelssohn, Samson Hirsch, Martin Buber and Franz Rozenzweig and at least another thirty translations developed a religious humanism that typified the German-Jewish striving to be fully modern and authentically Jewish (Bechtoldt 2005; Levenson 2011: 26–94). Linked to the German-Jewish tradition which was exterminated in the Holocaust, Israeli Jews aim at an appropriation of the Bible as relevant for the identity of a modern nation (Levenson 2011: 96–150). The Jews in the United States created Bible translations (*inter alia* by Isaac Leeser and Solomon Schechter) to cultivate an ethnic identity defined by contemporary Jewish diversity, in opposition to exclusive Christian ownership of the Bible and by a desire to connect to the Jewish past (Levenson 2011: 152–207).

For Muslims the Qurʾān (seventh-century CE) as sacred text is considered to be divinely perfect and it may not be translated from Arabic into any other language. Those who have assimilated its teachings so that its meanings are reflected through their thoughts, words and deeds are said to represent an effective translation of the Qurʾān (Lumbard 2015). Although they have no authoritative status, translations are utilised to make the principles of Islām accessible for outsiders, but they are described as the interpretation of its meanings, for example Al-Hilālī and Khān (1996) and Arberry (1983). In many of these cases the source text and its interpretation are arranged in parallel columns, for example Al-Hilālī and Khān (1996) and Dawood (2014). Most of the translations of the Qurʾān which have been translated since the twelfth century CE into most of the languages of Europe and Asia, and many African languages are literal in that the structure of Arabic phrases and syntax are reproduced in the target text (Naudé 2006: 451–461). Dawood's translation (2014) is the only English translation reflecting functional equivalence. The source oriented translation of Al-Hilālī and Khān (1996) transfers cultural aspects like names into the English translation, but provides explanations and commentary in the translated text (within brackets) and in footnotes.

The early Christians were not interested in preserving their sacred texts in their original languages (Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic), but rather made a special effort to communicate their sacred texts (including the sacred texts of the Jews which they appropriated) in the language of indigenous people without creating or adopting a special sacred language. Key concepts had to be conveyed in many different languages to a multitude of cultures so that Christianity could spread beyond its birthplace in the Middle East (Sanneh 2008: 33). To achieve this goal, translations of the Old Testament in Greek (Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion) and of the Old and New Testaments in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Slavonic, etc. emphasise the centrality of translation to early Christianity. After the political establishment of the Church in the fourth century CE and the ecumenical councils of the fifth century, certain translations like the Greek Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate, Syriac, Armenian, Gothic, and Geʿez became authoritative sacred texts. The need for enhanced comprehension of the content was felt again in the late Middle Ages (about 1500) with the advent of the Protestant Reformation, which led *inter alia* to the German Luther Version (1534), the English King James Version or Authorised Version (1611) and the Dutch Authorised Version (1639), which themselves came to be treated as authoritative sacred texts. The founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804 and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which began its research and training in the USA in 1934, introduced a new phase in Bible translation with the goal to translate for every language group (Batalden *et al.* 2004). New developments in the theory and practice of Bible translation by Eugene A. Nida and his colleagues of the American Bible Society and the United Bible Societies focused on making accessible the plain meaning intended in the source texts (Nida and Taber 1974). The explosive expansion of Christianity in Africa and Asia during the last two centuries has led to extensive activity of Bible translation, which was conceptualised and executed by missionary societies or Bible societies (Etherington 2005).

4. Open questions, criticism and limitations

Religious translation is a critical category in religious studies for understanding the historical diffusion of religion, for interreligious dialogue and for the comparative study of religion (DeJonge and Tietz 2015: 1–12). Most texts that perpetuate religion as an object of study are translations. The need is that theoretical approaches from translation studies should be more fruitfully applied to translating religious texts.

The history of religious translation demonstrates disagreements about the interpretation of sacred texts that have sometimes led to conflict and even the persecution and/or death of the translator (Baker 2006). This situation is currently prevalent within religious circles which assert a bold, uncompromising version of faith that denounces attempts at accommodation.

Translations of sacred texts are often based 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 cultural context. With the rise of semiotic approaches to translation, religious translation will need to avoid a focus on either source or target text but rather embrace its role of mediation (Marais 2014). A further challenge will follow from the role of intermodality in the electronic age – in the transition from a typographic interpretive culture to a digital-media interpretive culture, the visual will become more prominent as a contextual supplement to words (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2016).

The future of a religion as a living historical tradition depends on the translation of its sacred texts for new contexts. Where a sacred text is well-known, the continual impulse to translate it anew is driven by the widening and enlarging of the readership, the improvement of earlier translation efforts, and the remediation of misinterpretations and outdated language.

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CHAPTER 6.6

Legal history

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Keywords: legal translation, legal history, cultural transfer, official multilingualism, translation policy

1. Translating law and regulating translation – a historical perspective

Since language is the first instrument of the law, translation in its multiple forms is central to the intricate transfers that contribute to shaping it and changing it over time, as regards both actual institutions and theoretical views. Furthermore, some legal rules (intellectual property laws, regulations on official language use or on the professional status of court interpreters, etc.) are enacted in order to govern translation practices, defining the framework in which the latter take place. In these two respects, legal history can be a source of knowledge about translation. Historians of translation can draw upon this information when developing their own research agendas, based on questions more specifically focused on translation itself. The legal field is of particular interest to translation studies because of its normative character, which has distinct implications: legal texts are both highly specialized and culturally determined, and subject to formal constraints and open to interpretation; translating them is both essential in daily practice and deemed impossible in theory. The comparative history of legal languages can shed light on particularly difficult problems of translatability due to diverging concepts and generic conventions. A historical approach to legal translation can also help to understand current institutional policies and practices and put them in perspective, serving as a reminder that multilingual law is not a new phenomenon. Therefore, it is not surprising that several standard works on legal language and/or translation devote at least one chapter to its history (Gémar 1995: II, 7–28; Šarčević 1997: 23–53; Bocquet 2008: 69–85; Mattila 2013: 161–351).

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2. "Official translation" and other changing concepts

Throughout legal history, concepts and practices of translation have changed together with the relationship between law and power: from Justinian to present-day discussions on linguistic rights, language issues have always been part of this relationship. In some instances, adopting a legal historical approach leads to reassessing the metalanguage about translation. The notion of "official translation", for example, appears to be much more complex and variable in time and space than at first sight. The definition of the "translator" among the various interdisciplinary profiles involved in legal communication is another case in point. Comparative law concepts like "reception", "circulation", "transplant", "transfer" and "cultural translation" are discussed today by legal historians developing a transnational perspective (e.g. the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History), as a response to challenges from postcolonial and global studies (Duve 2012: 52–55).

3. From cultural impact to professional status

Translation studies research has started exploring legal history along various lines. A number of studies look into legal translation as a dynamic element in the formation and reconfiguration of cultures (it is addressed as such in the volumes of Chevrel and Masson 2012–2017). It is worth remembering that, for instance, the history of law as a discipline in continental Europe is closely linked to philological works on Roman sources, a process in which translation is a major component. Other studies cover a broad range of specific topics, e.g.: translational norms, which, given their variability in time and space, cannot be reduced to the commonplace equation between legal translation and literalness (Vismann 1997; Lavigne 2006); official multilingualism and translation policies (D'hulst and Schreiber 2014; Wolf 2015: 66–96; see Chapter 3.7 in this volume); profile, status and ethics of translators, notably in problematic contexts such as colonial systems (Valdeón 2014: 80–89, 100–103).

4. Gaps and blanks

Whereas certain types of legal texts are precisely among the few documents remaining from some historical periods, they are by no means representative of legal communication as a whole. In a similar way, legal translation largely belongs to the "daily practice of translation", and thus to the "blank spaces in the history of translation" (Santoyo Mediavilla 2006: 15–19). Focusing on easily accessible sources (legislative acts, scholarly books, journals) entails a risk of distortion researchers have to be aware of. Furthermore, they have to pay attention to the gap between official translation policies, as reconstructed from legal regulations, and actual practices, which often resort to much more complex modes of transfer. The latter do not always fit into the conceptual categories of translation theory, particularly in the kind of multilingual spaces which, for reasons linked to present-day concerns, are of primary interest to translation history. Finally, if they are not to result in new disciplinary barriers, studies on translation in legal history have to remain closely connected with legal history and translation history as a whole (including research on the history of interpretation, scientific translation, translation in the social sciences), as well as with studies on multilingualism and on legal translation, even though the standpoints are necessarily different.

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CHAPTER 6.7

Political history

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Keywords: political history, power, agency, discourse analysis, ideology

Political history, defined broadly as the historical analysis of political systems, experienced a shift in emphasis in the latter half of the twentieth century as traditional top-down political narratives based on the nineteenth-century "Great Man" model adapted to the rise of social history within the academy. Political historians borrowed new historiographical methodologies from social history in the 1970s to forge the "new political history", which embraced a wider understanding of political culture influenced by post-Foucauldian understandings of the nature of political power and agency; this meant, for example, a shift in research focus away from the political elite towards voters and grassroots activism.

While the former model of political history had relatively little overlap with Translation Studies, particularly in the early stages of the latter's institutionalisation when the discipline was still largely informed by its background in linguistics, the two fields eventually developed considerable synergies from the 1980 on with the cultural turn within Translation Studies, particularly in the sub-current referred to as the "power turn", driven by an overarching movement within Cultural Studies to decentre modern Western assumptions about power and agency. A further development encouraging cross-fertilisation between the two fields has been an expansion of geographical perspective within political history: unlike its near neighbour diplomatic history, which has always been international in scope, political history kept the nation state as its principal unit of research until the 2000s, when the transnational turn in historiography opened up new cross-border perspectives, obliging historians to take note of translation issues: Schäffner (2004: 137) records a political discourse analysis textbook published as late as 1997 that requires students to analyse speeches from North and South Korea as if written in English. Conversely, and perhaps paradoxically, translation historians have tended to conflate language and nation state as fully overlapping, usefully circumscribed research units borrowed from traditional political history in reference works such as the *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* (France & Gillespie 2005-2010).

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With the power turn, what can broadly be defined as power relations and ideologies became a key research strand in Translation Studies, taking on a range of approaches informed by the discipline's multidisciplinary background. Examples can be drawn from across the field, from discourse analysis and its close readings of political texts in translation (Schäffner 2004) to corpus-based studies such as Kemppanen (2004), comparing Russian and Finnish corpora of Finnish political texts, to the "technological turn" of the Web 2.0 era, with its opportunities for studying grassroots translation projects such as Wikileaks (Cronin 2010). The increasing popularity of politics and translation as a conference theme from the turn of the twenty-first century likewise reveals a series of recurrent research strands. These include case studies of translations of key works from political history (Baumgarten 2009); translating against a given ideological backdrop (Popa 2010); translatorial agency (Milton and Bandia 2009); translation in conflict situations (Baker 2006); how patrons use translation to promote their own ideological agendas, such as the Sublime Porte's establishment of a Translation Office in 1821 to promote European thought among the Young Ottomans (Timur Agildere 2007); and, conversely, how translation is used as a form of subversion or resistance, for example by early-twentieth-century Irish nationalists (Tymoczko 2000). Schäffner (2004) identifies four basic strategic ways in which translation is instrumentalised in the pursuit of a given ideology: coercion, in which translation is subjected for example to censorship; resistance, when translation is used to oppose dominant ideologies, such as Soviet samizdat publications issued in English translation; dissimulation, when documents are selectively or even inaccurately translated to create a biased world view in line with dominant ideology; and (de)legitimisation, when the translation is shaped to give a more or less positive or negative self-image or image of others.

The broad-based definition of political history that has been taken up by Translation Studies has enabled researchers from across the field to work on a common theme, sharing insights from the various backgrounds that make up the field as an interdiscipline. Attempts have been made to categorise scholarship on the issue: Bánhegyi (2009) identifies six distinct research strands within discourse analysis approaches. However, as he points out, the wide range of analytical tools used by researchers has proved a double-edged sword, making systematic comparisons difficult and leading to the fragmentation and duplication of research. A further challenge is maintaining clear disciplinary boundaries for Translation Studies against the backdrop of Cultural Studies, whose leading theorists not only draw on the same definitions of power and ideology but also tend to use metaphors of translation to refer to processes of intercultural change not necessarily involving language transfer (Bhabha 1994).

Bassnett (1996) notes that the study of translation inevitably involves the exploration of power relationships within texts and how they reflect power structures in the wider cultural context. While traditional political history, with its focus on the narratives of elite power, provided certain tools for the analysis of patronage in translation, the new political history, with its more inclusive methodology borrowed from social history, corresponds far more closely to the full range of power relationships explored in Translation Studies today.

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PART 7

Applying knowledge

CHAPTER 7.0

Introduction

This part brings together some examples of domains in which translation is considered a tool to access knowledge, and applied knowledge in particular. Access to knowledge by translation is not confined to an elite, quite the contrary, translation being a way of extending and sharing knowledge with groups that do not master the elite's language and culture. It bears an ethical dimension. Instrumentalising knowledge yields also knowledge about that instrument, i.e. how that knowledge takes shape in learning and research institutes.

Since Antiquity and throughout history, language learning has attributed an array of roles to acts of translating. Modern language education in secondary schools from the 18th century differentiated translation types such as word-for-word translation for comprehension of the foreign language, meaning-focused translation for revealing lexical and grammatical differences across languages, translating proper as an additional writing exercise for advanced learners. Later on, the use of translation adapted to new models, such as communicative teaching and multilingual mediation.

The history of translator training extends beyond the sphere of language learning, and gradually spreads to all areas of knowledge, taking benefit from theoretical insights coming from translation studies since the 1970s. Today, training incorporates a large array of types of translation, such as community interpreting, localization, and translation for media accessibility; it is offered at undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate levels, and is underpinned by a range of approaches and methods. Additionally, research training proliferates worldwide, as a side-effect of the academic growth of translation studies. For instance, UK offers over a hundred postgraduate programmes at Masters and doctoral level, either within translator and interpreter training degree programmes, or linked with programmes on comparative literature or creative writing.

Training but also industry have developed since long tools to assess translation. Assessment is considered crucial for several reasons: to judge the quality of a translation or translation software, the appropriateness of a project management on localization across languages, the potential of a person to succeed in a program of study or in a specific, etc. Lack of agreement on measure instruments to assess translation quality has been topical over time and space, raising also ethical questions of two types. The first is utilitarian, when the ethical status of an act is determined by its results, the second is contractual: an ethical act is one that conforms to

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a contract. Both intermingle to some extent in translation ethics: should one expand the notion of 'translation quality' to include the translator's working conditions? Or how can one make the world a better place by translating? Ethical issues are always historically conditioned, which makes them, paradoxically, universal.

CHAPTER 7.1

Language learning

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Keywords: pedagogic translation, communicative competence, TESOL, mediation, multilingualism

1. In the last two hundred years

In the eighteenth century, modern languages began to be introduced in the curriculum of secondary schools in Europe. The goal of language education was to read literary classics and benefit from the intellectual development that results from foreign language study. In this new educational context, in 1783, Johann Valentin Meidinger (1756–1822) wrote the coursebook *Praktische französische Grammatik*, in which he devised a method for teaching French to pupils attending the Prussian *Gymnasien*. A decade later, Johann Christian Fick (1763–1821) adopted the same methodology in his English coursebook titled *Praktische englische Sprachlehre für Deutsche beiderlei Geschlechts, nach der in Meidingers französische Grammatik befolgten Methode* (see Howatt 2004: 152). The Meidinger-Fick approach used the L1 as the language of instruction. The syllabus was graded according to grammar rules that were presented one by one in an organized sequence. Each rule was first explained and then exemplified with a set of sentences in the L2 alongside their word-for-word translation in the L1. Practice exercises consisted of translating sentences into and out of the mother tongue. Vocabulary was learnt by memorizing bilingual lists of lexical items. The method adopted an analytical and deductive approach to language instruction. It was later extended by Johann Heinrich Philipp Seidenstücker (1763–1817), Franz Ahn (1796–1865), Heinrich Gottfried Ollendorff (1803–1865) and Karl Ploetz (1819–1881), and became firmly established in European schools in the nineteenth century.

As the mobility of people across Europe and to the USA increased dramatically as a result of the industrialization of the second half of the nineteenth century, so did the need for practical competence in foreign languages. Against this backdrop, in 1882, a group of phoneticians, Wilhelm Viëtor in Germany, Paul Passy in France,

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Otto Jespersen in Denmark and Henry Sweet in England, launched the Reform Movement with the publication of Wilhelm Viëtor's pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!* (Language teaching must start afresh!). The reformers advocated: (1) the primacy of oral communication skills and the importance of phonetics in teacher training, (2) the use of coherent, interesting, natural texts containing examples of the grammar points being taught, and (3) the use of the foreign language in class. Associationist psychologists such as Felix Franke recommended to teach vocabulary by means of pictures so as to enable learners to establish a direct association between the word and the idea in the foreign language (Howatt 2004: 187–209). Sweet, on the other hand, proposed to use translation in four graded stages.

> In the first stage translation is used only as a way of conveying information to the learner: we translate the foreign words and phrases into our language simply because this is the most convenient and at the same time the most efficient guide to their meaning. In the second stage translation is reduced to a minimum, the meaning being gathered mainly from the context – with, perhaps, occasional explanations in the foreign language itself. In the third stage the divergences between the two languages will be brought face to face by means of free idiomatic translation. To these we may perhaps add a fourth stage, in which the student has so complete and methodical a knowledge of the relations between his own and the foreign language that he can translate from the one to the other with ease and accuracy (Sweet 1900: 202).

Sweet's linguistic pedagogy recommended three types of translation, each with a specific function. Word-for-word translation was intended to aid comprehension of the foreign language. Meaning-focused translation was considered useful for revealing lexical and grammatical differences across languages. Translating accurately and fluently was suggested as an additional written exercise for advanced learners. While reformers held different views on translation, teachers adhering to the Reform Movement supported it, because it enabled students to understand words and phrases clearly. By way of example, word-for-word translation into the L1 was usefully integrated in Hermann Klinghardt's experiment, which he undertook in 1887–1888 at his school, a *Realgymnasium* in Reichenbach, Silesia. Klinghardt's elementary English course began with an introduction to English pronunciation, for which he used Sweet's phonetic notation. After a few weeks, a full text was studied at a rate of one complex sentence a week. Each sentence was first transcribed phonetically on the blackboard. It was then read aloud twice by the teacher and repeated by the students until it was spoken accurately and fluently. Students copied the transcribed sentence from the blackboard, and the teacher glossed the meaning with an interlinear translation that was inserted between word boundaries. Once they were familiar with the whole sentence, the teacher selected one grammar point, explained it, and then continued to the next sentence until the entire text was fully understood. Grammar was therefore taught inductively, as Sweet had intended. After the first month, students learnt oral communication skills such as asking questions about the text and topics concerning their life experiences, taking part in a discussion, or retelling a story. Writing activities were carried out in the second semester. They involved copying, writing answers to comprehension questions, and retelling exercises. The course was successful, as, at the end of the year, students showed a good knowledge of grammar and confidence in the use of spoken language (Howatt 2004: 192–194).

2. From the early 1920s to today

The approach adopted by the Reform Movement was developed in the early 1920s by Harold E. Palmer, who devised the Oral Method, and later by Albert S. Hornby, who proposed Situational Language Teaching in the early 1950s. In line with the views expressed by Sweet, both British educationalists supported the use of translation in the students' first language as a means of facilitating comprehension in the L2. Meanwhile, in the USA, Structural Language Teaching gained ground in the 1940s and 1950s, after being implemented during World War II to teach over 30 languages to selected army officers. The goal of the Structural Approach, which was adopted in many intensive university courses, was to command the spoken form of the language, and oral translations were amongst the learning activities (Velleman 2008: 390–391). But the Oral Approach developed by Charles C. Fries (1945), which adopted contrastive analysis for designing language-specific teaching materials, opposed the use of the learners' native language in the classroom, and encouraged habit formation in the L2 through constant practice and accurate repetition.

In 1958, following the launching of the first Russian satellite on 4 October 1957, President Eisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act into law, and funds were provided for carrying out research into modern languages, with a view to expanding foreign language teaching in primary, secondary and higher education. Drawing on the principles of the Structural Approach and B. F. Skinner's behaviourist learning theory, applied linguists developed the Audiolingual Method, whose goal was to enable learners to use "the new language as its native speakers use it" (Brooks 1964: xii). Oral proficiency was to be achieved through a variety of drilling exercises that facilitated habit formation and made it possible to acquire a language by means of analogy. Translation was admitted "only as a literary exercise at an advanced level" (Brooks 1964: 142). The teacher's literal translation into the L1 was recommended only as a means of comparing one language with another "in terms of their vocabularies, item by item", as bilingual dictionaries do (Brooks 1964: 184).

The 1960s in Britain were characterized by a significant growth in language education to meet the needs of the children of permanent residents from Commonwealth countries and those of overseas students who required pre-college instruction in English. From 1960 to 1972, the British government supported three major projects in TESOL. This intense research activity gave rise to a new approach that was launched at a Conference on the "Communicative Teaching of English", held at Lancaster University in 1973. The communicative movement brought about a shift from a structural to a functional perspective in linguistic theory, and stressed the importance of social context in determining verbal behaviour. The goal of language education was to develop communicative competence, which consisted of the knowledge and ability for use of four parameters of communication, i.e. whether (and to what degree) something is formally possible, feasible, appropriate and done (Hymes 1972). Teachers were advised to use translation into the L1 when they wanted to make sure that the learners knew what they were doing while undertaking a communicative task (Howatt 2004: 259).

In the late 1980s, translation began to be valued also "as an activity which, by its very nature, invites speculation and discussion" and "develops three qualities essential to all language learning: accuracy, clarity, and flexibility" (Duff 1989: 7). In the mid-1990s, translation studies scholars joined in the debate about the merits of pedagogic translation in higher education. Drawing on translation theory as well as surveys and case studies carried out in Europe and the USA, they advocated using properly briefed, functional translations into and out of the L1 to foster communicative competence as well as enable students to become aware of the lexical and grammatical differences between the source and the target language. Also, they considered translation a reliable and valid test of language ability and an effective way of introducing undergraduates to some of the techniques they could develop in specialized graduate programmes (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1996, 1997; Malmkjær 1997; Sewell and Higgins 1996).

Since the turn of the century, in the wake of globalization and increasing mobility worldwide, educational translation has been researched within a broad multilingual paradigm that concerns:

> how multilingual identities and competences can be valued in schools, how multilingualism can serve to construct a sense of belonging to one or more groups, and how, through multilingualism, social cohesion and justice for all can be promoted.
> (Conteh and Meier 2014: 1)

This critical orientation is reflected in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) and the Ad Hoc Committee Report on Foreign Languages issued by the Modern Language Association of America in May 2007. These documents advocate the use of translation and interpretation in the L2 classroom as forms of mediation that "occupy an important place in the normal linguistic functioning of our societies" (Council of Europe 2001: 14) and as "an ideal context for developing translingual and transcultural abilities" (MLA 2007: 9). The importance of mediation, as a communicative language activity alongside reception, interaction and production, is underscored in the pilot extended version of the illustrative descriptors for the CEFR. Sight translation, creating pluricultural space, exploiting plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires, as well as plurilingual comprehension, are the new descriptor scales that recognize the key role of interlingual and intercultural mediation in honing plurilingual and pluricultural competence (Council of Europe 2016).

In the history of language learning in the Western world, different forms of translation have been advocated in theory and adopted in practice so as to achieve the goal of language education pursued in a given era. Throughout the centuries, language learning has, therefore, contributed to forge a view of translation as a multifarious linguistic and cultural phenomenon.

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CHAPTER 7.2

Training

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Keywords: translator and interpreter training, evolution of translator and interpreter training, approaches to translator and interpreter training, areas of research in translator and interpreter training, action research

1. Translator and interpreter training

Throughout history there have been separate instances of translators and interpreters training in response to specific social or political needs. Such training has sometimes been institutionalized, e.g. for the translation of Buddhist texts in 4th-century China, and in France in 1669, when the Colbert decree established formal training for interpreters of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. See Caminade and Pym 1998 and Sawyer and Roy 2015 for a historical perspective on training.

However, the generalization and independence of translation and interpreting teaching, as training for specific professions, is a relatively recent phenomenon, one that burgeoned after World War II. The teaching of interpreting has had a marked professional orientation ever since its introduction at the start of the 20th century. Before then, translation, in contrast, had constantly been connected to academic higher education institutions (particularly in relation to philological studies), although not as an end in itself but rather as subsidiary support for other knowledge, chiefly as a means of honing language skills.

In the early 20th century, increased international interaction and technological progress led to the gradual emergence of new kinds of translation (consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, dubbing, etc.). Additionally, the translation market underwent significant growth as the practice spread to all areas of knowledge. Specialized (scientific, technical, legal, financial, administrative) translation took on particular importance and the number of translations performed rose substantially.

Numerous university centres for translator and interpreter training were established to meet society's translation and interpreting needs, including Heidelberg (1930), Geneva (1941), Moscow (1942), Vienna (1943), Graz (1946), Innsbruck

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(1946), Germersheim (1947), Saarbrücken (1948), Washington (1949), Trieste (1954), Paris (1949, 1957), etc. Such centres then gradually appeared all over the world, increasing from 49 in 1960 to 108 in 1980, at least 250 in 1994 (Caminade and Pym 1998), and 380 in 2006 (Kelly and Martin 2009). CIUTI, an association of university centres with translation and interpreting programmes meeting specific quality criteria, was created in 1964.

Training has changed over time due to the influence of the theoretical approaches developed in Translation Studies. It has also incorporated the different types of translation that have become an established part of the labour market, such as community interpreting, localization, and translation for media accessibility, as well as the tasks professional practice involves (revision, post-editing, project management, etc.). The level, the position and the degree of independence of and the relationship between translation and interpreting training vary from country to country. In higher education, training is available in the form of undergraduate degrees, which tend to provide more general education, sometimes combining translation and interpreting; masters degrees, which can be general (sometimes combining translation and interpreting), specialized in a particular area (audiovisual or medical translation, localization, conference interpreting, etc.) or geared to research; and doctorates, which focus on researcher training. Translator training tends to be widely available at undergraduate degree level, whereas interpreter training is usually offered at postgraduate level (Kelly and Martin 2009). The European Masters in Conference Interpreting (EMCI) and the European Masters in Translation (EMT), which establish quality standards for programmes, were created in 1997 and 2006 respectively. The first specific doctorate in translation and interpreting was created at the ESIT in Paris in the mid-1970s. The number of such doctorates has been constantly increasing throughout the world ever since, especially as of the 1990s, at the same time as Translation Studies has been consolidating its status (see *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 3/1, 2009, a special issue on research training).

Non-academic training exists too, in the form of specialist courses organized by academic and professional associations and employers.

As training is in high demand, many programmes are taught online (open, distance and blended learning). Recent years have seen the emergence of MOOCs (massive open online courses), which can cover different aspects of training, such as computer-assisted translation or the development of generic translation skills or of knowledge about specific subject matter. The nature of MOOCs means they are not only useful for trainees but also enable professionals to refresh and improve certain elements of their translation competence.

A number of trainer training initiatives have been established, including the Consortium for Training Translation Teachers; didTRAD at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; and various initiatives of the FTI in Geneva.

2. Evolution of research on didactics

It was not until the second half of the 1970s that interest in matters related to didactics reached significant levels. Research on didactics thus began, developing especially as of the mid-1980s and becoming firmly established in the new millennium.

2.1 Overview

Where translator training is concerned, Wilss (1976, 1977) and, in particular, Delisle (1980) can be considered groundbreaking works. Delisle has the merit of being the first to call for translation training to centre on developing the translation process in students. Other works from around the same time which stress the importance of process development are Seleskovitch and Lederer (1984[1], 1989) in relation to interpreter training, and Hurtado Albir (1983) in relation to translator training. From a different angle, another groundbreaking work is Nord (1988/1991), in which functionalist theory is applied to translation teaching.

Numerous collective volumes, sets of conference proceedings and special issues of journals on translation and interpreting training have been published since the mid-1980s.

Growing interest in translator training as of the mid-1990s resulted in the publication of many monographs, including Kussmaul (1995), Kiraly (1995), Robinson (1997), Kiraly (2000), Colina (2003), González Davies (2003, 2004) and Kelly (2005).

With regard to conference interpreter training, mention must firstly be made of Herbert (1952) and Rozan (1956), two pioneering texts used in interpreter training since the 1950s. A series of monographs have followed since the late 1980s, including Seleskovitch and Lederer (1989), Gile (1995), Sawyer (2004), Nolan (2005), Gillies (2013) and Setton and Drawant (2016). In the case of community interpreter training, the groundbreaking work of Schackman (1984) is particularly noteworthy. See Davitti and Pasquandrea (2014) in relation to dialogue interpreting.

There are also various series that have featured handbooks. Examples are Routledge's *Thinking Translation* series (1992), which includes handbooks on translating into English from various languages; *Aprender a traducir* (Universitat Jaume I), which, since 2004, has published handbooks for subjects involved in translator and interpreter training; and, since 2000, the *Interpreter Education Series* (Gallaudet University Press) on interpreter training.

The didactics of translation and interpreting has thus been firmly established as a specific field of research within applied Translation Studies since 2000. Given its nature, the research undertaken is *action research*, i.e. that which practitioners carry out on their own practice to improve it (Lewin 1946).

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[1] This work incorporates texts already presented or published in 1965, 1973 and 1981.

The appearance of specific journals is testimony to the consolidation of this field of research. They include *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* (*ITT*), published since 2007, an essential title for the dissemination of such research; *Redit. Revista electrónica de didáctica de la traducción y la interpretación*, published since 2008; and the *International Journal of Interpreter Education* (IJIE), published since 2009.

A study conducted by Yan et al. (2015) highlights the importance such research has acquired in the 21st century. The study analyses 10 Translation Studies journals over the period spanning 2000 and 2012. Among a total of 2274 articles in English, it identifies 323 on training and divides them into the categories of teaching (72%), learning (18%) and assessment (10%). 61.61% of the articles deal with translator training, 26.63% with interpreter training, and 11.76% with both.

2.2 Approaches

The various approaches adopted have evolved from teacher-centred, product-oriented transmissionist and prescriptivist approaches to student-centred, process-oriented approaches more in keeping with current pedagogical thinking.

2.2.1 *Transmissionist, teacher-centred and product-oriented approaches*

Traditional teaching

We deem traditional translation teaching to be that which is descended from traditional language teaching and its use of translation (grammar-translation method). It is a teacher-centred approach that regards designing teaching as merely consisting of compiling texts without clear selection criteria. An important characteristic is polarization in terms of results rather than a focus on the translation process. Textbooks generally suggest a translation (only one, furthermore, in most cases), and concentrating on correct solutions is also a common practice in classes. Students receive proposed solutions but do not discover the causes of their errors or, more importantly, the process to follow to find appropriate solutions for themselves. Methodological aspects are lacking, with the traditional "read and translate" being the only methodological instructions used. Criteria for selecting texts, activities for learning how to translate them, and considerations related to progression and assessment are all missing.

Traditional interpreting teaching, the approach followed when interpreter training was introduced, is based on teachers transferring their professional knowledge and experience, i.e. training by apprenticeship (Pöchhacker 2004; Stern 2011).

In addition to teachers having a dominant role, the different steps, strategies and skills necessary to work through the process correctly are not identified, and methodological aspects conducive to students assimilating the process are lacking.

Contrastive approaches

Of all the forms of contrastive studies of languages, *comparative stylistics* is that which has been most explicitly formulated as a method for teaching translation. Its pioneers are Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), and other relevant works include Scavée and Intravaia (1979) and Legoux and Valentine (1989). Comparative stylistics proposes new language comparison categories, which it calls translation *procedures* (or *technical procedures*). However, these *procedures*: (1) are comparisons that focus on results without explaining the process (the way of *proceeding*) involved in achieving them; (2) are decontextualized comparisons of isolated units; and (3) establish set solutions by proposing a single equivalence. This has serious repercussions for learning, as students might think that a proposed equivalence is directly interchangeable in the two languages involved and neglect to seek context-based solutions. There are also pedagogical shortcomings to bear in mind. Objectives are limited to questions of differences between the two languages, and the methodology is limited to exercises based on using or detecting such differences.

Of greater interest are studies (e.g. Baker 1992) that introduce contrastive considerations from the viewpoint of how texts function (elements of coherence and cohesion, text typologies), reflecting real translation practice more closely. However, such studies do not cover all the types of translation problems translators encounter (cultural, pragmatic, etc.), and they remain focused on results. They are part of the range of instruments available to teachers for organizing course content, but are not a comprehensive solution for objective design.

Focus on theoretical content

Another approach has been to focus on the theoretical aspects of translation and/or interpreting. There are thus textbooks and syllabuses which feature solely such aspects, combine *theory* and *practice*, or include a *theoretical* part with practical *applications* (e.g. Tatilon 1986; Newmark 1988).

Training for future professional translators and interpreters chiefly requires the development of *operational knowledge* (*know-how* for solving translation and interpreting problems). Theoretical knowledge is *declarative* (*know-what*) and *explanatory* (*know-why*) knowledge, which is more suited to researcher training (research master's degrees or doctorates, for example).

2.2.2 *Student-centred and process-oriented approaches*

The previous approaches have been developed alongside others that, in keeping with current pedagogical thinking, focus on students and their learning, and are oriented to translation process development. These approaches have progressively incorporated elements that give students an active role, promote their autonomy, encourage interaction between all a group's members (*cooperative learning*) and place emphasis on performing authentic tasks required of professional translators and interpreters. They have thus paved the way for curriculum design to integrate all the key aspects of the education process (objectives, competences, sequencing, methodology and assessment). The most important of these approaches are presented below.

Objective-based training

Delisle (1980) brought about a major advance in translation training when bemoaning its lack of systematization and highlighting the need to look for pedagogical strategies. He broached the necessity of heuristic pedagogy and an active, student-centred methodology which would lead trainees to discover the principles they should follow in the interests of proper translation process development. In his own words, "Teaching someone how to translate means teaching the intellectual process by which a message is transposed into another language; that is, placing the student in the centre of the translating operation so that he can understand its dynamics" (Delisle 1980/1988: 3).

The author's proposals (Delisle 1980, 1993) focus on introductory translation training, putting forward (general and specific) learning objectives and activities for achieving them.

Works that follow on from Delisle's groundbreaking proposal include Hurtado Albir (1996), which deals with an introductory direct translation (to L1) subject and proposes methodological, professional, contrastive and text-based objectives; Beeby (1996), which looks at inverse translation (to L2); and Hurtado Albir (1999), which covers various subjects involved in translator and interpreter training.

Focus on the translation process

Seleskovitch and Lederer (1984, 1989) stress that interpreter training should revolve around students learning a method and grasping principles for working through the translation process, rather than around acquiring reusable equivalences. Since the 1980s, many authors have advocated training that centres on translation process development. Besides Delisle himself, examples include Hurtado Albir (1983) in relation to translator training, and Gile (1995) in relation to translator and interpreter training.

Gile expresses the need to focus on the process well: "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 (…) the process oriented approach indicates to the student good Translation *principles*, *methods* and *procedures*" (Gile 1995: 10).

The translation task and project-based approach

The task and project-based approach is a methodological framework that arose in language teaching. Its main aim is to give curriculum design scope for the integration of all its different elements, i.e. objectives, content, methodology and assessment. It conceives of instructional design as a set of *tasks*, and distinguishes between *preparatory tasks* and *final tasks*, with the former laying the groundwork for the latter to be performed.

Hurtado Albir applied this approach to students' introduction to translation in the early 1990s (Hurtado Albir 1992, 1996), and later to the different subjects involved in translator and interpreter training (Hurtado Albir 1999). Teaching units are organized on the basis of different types of tasks that prepare students for one or more final tasks (translation in a particular genre, for instance). A range of instruments are used to design tasks, including texts; translations to be analysed, compared, revised or corrected; questionnaires; contrastive exercises, exercises related to documentary resources, etc.; worksheets to be completed; support texts; and translation process recordings (Hurtado Albir 1996, 2015a, 2015b). The handbooks in the *Aprender a traducir* series (Universitat Jaume I) follow this approach, with Borja (2007) applying it to the teaching of legal translation and Jimenez (2012) to interpreting, for example.

Other authors who have applied the approach to translator training are González Davies (2003, 2004) and Li (2013). González Davies (2004) distinguishes between three types of procedures, namely activities (brief, concrete exercises for practising specific points); tasks (chains of activities with the same global aim and a final product); and projects (multicompetence assignments that enable students to engage in pedagogical and professional activities and tasks geared to an end product). Li, meanwhile, proposes six task cycle stages, specifically pretask, task, reporting, analysis, revising and reflection.

Tasks can vary in length and number. A *project* encompasses different learning objectives and features greater sequentiality. Translation projects (with larger-scale final tasks, such as translating a film) are of particular relevance to specialized subjects. See Kiraly (2000, 2005, 2012) and Li et al. (2015), for example, in relation to the use of projects in translator training.

As a flexible methodological framework, this approach allows for the integration of elements of pedagogical models such as *problem-based learning*, *case studies*, *cooperative learning*, *situated learning* and *the flipped classroom*. It also makes the inclusion of competence-based training possible.

The social constructivist approach

Kiraly (2000) has drawn on constructivist theories of learning to propose a social constructivist approach to translation training, the cornerstone of which is *collaboration* between students and teachers. He advocates changing their roles, with the former taking responsibility for their own learning and the latter acting as guides and creating situations in which students can develop their professional skills.

Kiraly puts forward an *empowerment* model based on student autonomy, multidirectional interaction between students and teachers, and real collaborative translation projects that reflect professional translation practice. It thus falls into the category of *situated learning*, entailing active involvement in authentic, experiential learning. Kiraly proposes the *constructivist workshop* concept as an alternative to translation classes.

The premises of the social constructivist approach to learning underlie most proposals for student-centred, process-oriented translator and interpreter training.

Competence-based training

Competence-based training (CBT), a continuation of objective-based training, began to be applied at the turn of the millennium (Kelly 2005; Hurtado Albir 2007, 2015a, 2015b, etc.).

CBT's foundations lie in cognitive constructivist and social constructivist learning theories. Curriculum design revolves around competences in this approach, which features an integrated model of teaching, learning and assessment, resulting in the *operationalization* of the competences corresponding to a curriculum. CBT distinguishes between *specific competences*, which are inherent to a particular discipline, and *general* (or *transversal*) *competences*, which apply to all disciplines, and is geared to a holistic type of training that combines both. To establish a university curriculum's competences, a description of the relevant *professional profile* is vital. It is thus important to conduct labour market studies to identify prevailing and emerging best professional practices for each profile, as well as the knowledge and skills it requires.

Hurtado Albir (2007) has proposed six specific categories of competences for translator and interpreter training, namely methodological and strategic; contrastive; extralinguistic; professional; instrumental; and translation problem-solving competences. In 2009, the European Master's in Translation (EMT) framework established a translator competence profile. Produced by European experts, it describes the competences today's professional translators require. It distinguishes between six types of competences, namely translation service provision competence, language competence, intercultural competence, information mining competence, thematic competence and technological competence.

With regard to competence operationalization, Hurtado Albir (2007) has set out a proposal encompassing: (1) a competence's definition; (2) a competence's elements, i.e. observable behaviours that are part of it and can be used as *indicators* for establishing each level's learning outcomes and for assessment; (3) associated content; (4) possible tasks for competence acquisition (methodology); and (5) assessment procedures. Competence operationalization makes it possible to integrate all the key aspects of the education process.

Focus on professional aspects. Translation in situation and situated learning
Some authors focus on professional aspects. Vienne (1994) does so in his situational approach, in which he stresses the need to translate texts in their real communicative situation and according to authentic commissions already completed professionally by the teacher, who thus takes on the role of a client. Gouadec (2003) has also advocated such an approach.

Mention should also be made of proposals that apply the premises of *situated learning* (derived from *situated cognition theory*) to translator and interpreter training. Situated learning holds that knowledge needs to be presented in an authentic context that would normally involve that knowledge, and thus places emphasis on establishing pedagogical procedures (tasks and projects) that facilitate transition to real professional practice in translator and interpreter training (see, for example, Kiraly 2005, and González Davies and Enríquez Raido 2016).

These ideas highlight a growing concern for employability in training. That concern was also reflected in the *Memorandum* that the BDÜ (Bundesverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer) produced in 1986, containing recommendations for organizing translation and interpreting training programmes to meet the demands of the profession. Its continuation came with the POSI (PraxisOrientierte StudienInhalte für die Ausbildung von Übersetzern und Dolmetschern) project in the 1990s, which was sponsored by the FIT (Féderation International des Traducteurs) and designed to improve practice-oriented training for translators and interpreters. Mention should also be made of the EGPS (European Graduate Placement Scheme) project (2012–2015), which aimed to enhance the employability of graduates from Master's in Translation programmes.

2.3 Areas of research

Research has focused on different areas:

- Development of general guidelines for curriculum design (objectives, competences, subjects involved in training, content, etc.).
- Design of specific subjects. Examples include introduction to translation; inverse translation (to L2); technical translation; scientific translation; legal translation; business translation; audiovisual translation; conference interpreting; community and dialogue interpreting.

- Methodological aspects. Research on preparing teaching units, tasks, group dynamics, etc.
- Assessment criteria and procedures (instruments and tasks).
- Technology use in teaching and learning: electronic corpus use in translator/ interpreter training; technology use in translator/interpreter training; online translator/interpreter training.

Research has also been carried out on aspects related to how translation competence works and is acquired (e.g. Schäffner and Adab 2000; PACTE 2003, 2015; Moser Mercer 2008; Hurtado Albir 2017).

3. Challenges ahead

The curriculum-related challenges training is currently facing are chiefly a consequence of: (1) changes in the translation and interpreting profession; (2) constant academic and professional mobility in present-day society; and (3) pedagogical and technological advances in recent decades.

With a view to meeting those curriculum-related challenges, research must tackle methodological challenges to ensure that the work undertaken is genuine *action research* for transforming pedagogical practice. In that respect, progress must be made, as it already has been over the last decade, in the use of qualitative and quantitative methods that allow for the collection and analysis of data on aspects of training. For that purpose, it would be advisable to use techniques and instruments such as direct observation; audio, video and computer recordings; interviews; questionnaires; students' output; diaries (kept by students or teachers); and discussion groups.

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CHAPTER 7.3

Research schools

The example of the UK

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Keywords: cultural studies, cross-disciplinarity, modern languages, postgraduate programmes

The term 'Translation Studies' was coined by James Holmes, the American translator and theorist based in the Netherlands in a paper presented in 1972, entitled 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies', where he proposed a new approach to translation as a distinctive field of study. He outlined three main strands of possible research, a descriptive strand that would examine translations in context, a theoretical strand that would seek to explain the empirical phenomena and an applied strand, whereby information gained could be utilised in translation practice and training (Holmes 1972). Holmes' ideas were then summarised by André Lefevere, and published as a manifesto statement for the emergent field in 1978, where it was stated that "The goal of the discipline is to produce a comprehensive theory which can be used as a guideline for the production of translations" (Lefevere 1978: 234). Translation Studies was to become a bridge between theory and practice, and within each cultural context there was to be an investigation into the history of translating and translators, and into the role played by translations in diverse literary histories.

The choice of terminology was significant: 'traductology', borrowed from the French had failed to have any impact in English, and the Anglo-Saxon world shied away from scientific terminology in the Humanities, hence the difficulty of translating a term such as *Übersetzungswissenschaft*. The generic term 'studies ', first used in 1964 by Richard Hoggart who coined 'Cultural Studies' to describe another emergent subject, was best suited to interdisciplinary fields (Turner 2003: 41). Translation Studies came into being alongside Cultural Studies, Film Studies, Media Studies, Women's Studies and Postcolonial Studies, all rapidly developing areas that challenged more traditional Humanities subjects. Significantly, as these fields expanded, so other subjects also adopted the term 'studies': many Modern Language departments rebranded themselves as "French/Italian/German Studies', and English

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Literature moved from ‘Literatures in English’, as the curriculum began to include works by writers from beyond the United Kingdom, to the currently more widely accepted ‘English Studies’.

The link between Translation Studies and newly emergent contestatory disciplines was reinforced by the publication in 1980 of Susan Bassnett’s introduction to the field, *Translation Studies*, in the successful but controversial New Accents series of books that introduced English-language readers to new developments in literary, cultural and linguistic theory from around the world. Of course there had been a great deal of important thinking about translation by such scholars as Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, Georges Mounin, Wolfram Wilss, Albrecht Neubert, Jiří Levý and many others, but none of their work was available in English. What thinking about translation there was in English was dominated by the linguistic approach of scholars such as J. C. Catford or Peter Newmark, or by Eugene Nida, the American Bible translator. It seems bizarre today to think that there was such strident opposition to literary and cultural theory in the English-speaking world in the 1980s, which Terry Eagleton challenged so successfully in his book, *Literary Theory. An Introduction* (1983), but the anti-theory position of many leading scholars, reinforced by English empiricism meant that there was considerable resistance to attempts to see translation in theory and practice as a serious object of study. The development of Translation Studies in British universities needs to be seen within this historical context.

Undeniably, there is considerable interest today in the English-speaking world in studying translation. There has been a proliferation since the early 1990s of publications, conferences, scholarly associations and university programmes. It could be argued that this is is one of the epistemological consequences of the many millions of people moving around the globe since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of apartheid in South Africa and the opening up of China to the rest of the world. It could also be argued that interest in translation has been facilitated by the expansion of global media and communication systems. But it is also the case that Translation Studies has developed as a discipline and that translation in new world powers such as China and India has led to a proliferation of programmes of study, notably in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, Hong Kong, Australia and South Africa. In the United States, the development of university programmes in comparative and world literature, where the emphasis is on the metaphoric use of cultural translation, an approach initiated by postcolonial scholars, means that institutional expansion of Translation Studies has not matched that of the rest of the English-speaking world, despite the widely-read publications of internationally eminent figures such as Emily Apter, Bella Brodzki, Edwin Gentzler, Douglas Robinson or Lawrence Venuti.

Although translation involves issues of linguistic transfer, Translation Studies in the 1990s broadened its scope to include the study of cultural contexts. This has led to research that explores the socio-political dimensions of text production, along with questions of power and control exercised over translators in different contexts. The cultural turn in Translation Studies of the 1990s has been followed by a series of other 'turns', including the sociological turn of the early 21st century and by research into the ethics of translation. Many Translation Studies theorists today work alongside scholars in postcolonial studies and gender studies, and Bella Brodzki has gone so far as to argue that questions of gender and of translation should be seen as equally significant, in that both underpin all kinds of cultural transactions (Brodzki 2007).

The growth and development of new technologies have had a profound impact on Translation Studies. Another major growth area of Translation Studies research spans corpus-based translation, audiovisual translation and computer-aided translation. As an indication of the speed with which new ideas about translation are developing, we can note that Jeremy Munday's useful textbook, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, first published in 2001, appeared in its fifth edition in 2016.

Across the United Kingdom, postgraduate programmes in Translation Studies continue to be developed. However, such programmes differ considerably, depending on the institution. Not all universities can offer programmes that involve new technology, because of the cost of setting up and maintaining the equipment. Moreover, there has been a division in British universities between those institutions which offer training for translators and also for interpreters, and those which do not. This division can be roughly mapped onto the changes in the British university system post-1992, when institutions that had been classified as polytechnics acquired full university status. Today, the post-1992 institutions, with a few notable exceptions tend to be the ones that offer translator and interpreter training degree programmes, while the older universities offer programmes that are more theoretical and tackle questions of translation history and ideology, or offer programmes that focus on the creative dimension of literary translation.

A search online showed that there are well over a hundred postgraduate programmes on offer in the UK at Masters and doctoral level. Of these, some are clearly focussed on a particular student target group, with Chinese translation being the most common. The University of Essex, which was the first to offer a Master's programme in Translation and Literature back in the 1970s continues its tradition, but what is interesting is that of the programmes using the term Translation Studies, offered at 18 universities in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, all are older pre-1992 institutions. While post-1992 universities offer a wide variety of programmes involving translation, none advertise as Translation Studies. Some of the programmes in the older universities are labelled slightly differently, stressing the cultural aspect, such as Translation and Intercultural Studies (Manchester), Translation and Transcultural Studies (Warwick), or Translation and Professional Practice (Glasgow). There is an MA programme in Literary Translation offered at the University of East Anglia, which also hosts the British Centre for Literary Translation.

A closer look at different curricula shows that despite the use of the term Translation Studies, there is considerable divergence as to what is taught, also whereabouts in the institution such programmes have been developed. In some cases, translation programmes are cross-disciplinary, at times linked to programmes in comparative literature or to creative writing and so affiliated to English Studies. Elsewhere, Translation Studies has grown out of Modern Languages, which are rebuilding themselves after the catastrophic decision by the British government back in 2004 to abolish compulsory language study in secondary schools. It is possible that the surprise success of televised detective series subtitled in English in recent years, combined with an increasingly high profile of foreign literary works published in English is helping to raise the profile of translation more generally and so encouraging student recruitment. Nevertheless, the predominance of postgraduate students, particularly at doctoral level is from outside the English-speaking world. What seems to be happening is that in some cases there is a rebranding of Modern Language postgraduate programmes so as to emphasise the translation dimension, though what is taught is not necessarily Translation Studies as Holmes et alia defined the field.

In his most recent edited book, *Teaching Translation. Programs, Courses, Pedagogies* (2016), Lawrence Venuti deplores what he sees as the inability of many colleagues in the Humanities to look beyond the instrumentalism of translation. The contributors to the book view translation not as instrumentalist, but as an interpretive act, hence take a more enlightened view of what teaching translation entails. That the case for the importance of translation is still having to be made in 2016 in the English-speaking world shows the deleterious effect of the global dominance of English, which has led to the decline in foreign language learning. But it also shows that despite four decades of expanding programmes and publications in Translation Studies, there is still a long way to go, hence it is important for translation scholarship to engage with other disciplines. If, as Brodzki suggests, translation is an essential element in the world today, then the study of translation, in all its multi-facetedness needs to be seen as more significant. In creating and developing programmes in Translation Studies for the future, attention needs to be given to bringing in other disciplines than those traditionally associated with translation such as literary and language studies.

Fields such as politics, globalisation studies, cultural geography, anthropology, law, business studies and many others should be made aware of the role played by translation in developing their research, and be encouraged to collaborate in taking forward Translation Studies. This may seem a utopian vision, but without greater outreach and new ideas from other fields, there is a risk that what looks at the moment like a success story, will turn out to be just another case of an ephemeral institutional policy change, aimed at bringing more high fee-paying students to British universities.

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CHAPTER 7.4

Assessment

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Keywords: empirically-based tests, ad-hoc assessment practices, psychometrics, product vs. processes, translator competence and translation quality

1. Introduction: Some examples of basic concepts and issues in assessment

Assessment can be defined as "the act of judging or deciding the amount, value, quality, or importance of something, or the judgment or decision that is made about it" (*Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary and Thesaurus*). Assessment by any other name (testing, evaluation, measurement) has been a critical component of translation and interpreting both in the education of translators/interpreters and in industry. Important progress has been made in translation and interpreting (T&I) assessment in the last two decades. The field has evolved from relying mostly on experiential knowledge "passed through training and professional socialization or hit and miss approaches" (cf. Hatim and Mason 1990: 199) conducted mostly by practitioners and teachers of T&I, to becoming an area of study in its own right. We rely on assessment to judge different elements, such as the *quality of a product* (e.g. a translation, an interpreted rendition or a translation software); the *appropriateness of a process* (e.g. a project management on localization across languages and continents, or the use of videoconferencing equipment in court houses to perform remote interpreting); the *potential* of either a person (e.g. measuring the potential of an individual to succeed in a program of study or a in a specific job) or a product (e.g. the appropriateness of a specific machine translation software over another to accomplish better results; the impact of an adaptation versus a translation) and *to make decisions* (entry and exit mechanisms in a course/program, as well as hiring decisions or bid results).

An issue discussed in the literature of teaching and learning T&I is a narrow approach to assessment. This means, for example, to base decisions on quality, performance or achievements solely upon (traditional) test results. An example of this would be to use an exam as the only indicator of a student performance.

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A broader approach to assessment conceptualizes a student's test results as one component, together with evidence of quality of performance and achievements gathered through, for example, observations, portfolios and group work.

In industry, one reported issue is the use of homemade tests for which no information on their validity or reliability is available. This may occur, for example, in translation/interpreting agencies that may use a type of screening mechanism to discriminate between good and not-so-good applicants/bidders for a translation project. The following examples from T&I industry illustrate problematic approaches to testing.

For interpreting, the use a list of terms requesting immediate rendition in the target language (to measure vocabulary under pressure), an interview in both languages as a way to examine a candidate's language proficiency, or a 3-minute interpreting performance to assess interpreting skills to perform telephone-mediated interpreting, would be problematic examples. For translation, a request for a translation of a decontextualized 300-word segment to measure a candidate's translation ability is as problematic as to score this segment using a point-deducting/adding system. A more holistic approach would be to replicate a working scenario for candidates, assess them in a work station similar to their own, using technology and authentic materials/tasks in a valid and reliable way (i.e. making sure that (1) the test measures exactly the construct intended to be measured and not something related to it; (2) there are clear guidelines, key and grader training materials available and (3) the test will perform in the same way independent from the test grader).

When it comes to the teaching and learning of T&I an important concern about assessment is the relationship between assessment and learning (known as backwash/washback). If students are over assessed or if too much weight is put on assessment, we may be facing an assessment-led T&I educational program rather than a learning-led one. In other words, instead of testing being led by course content as well as by teaching and learning based on student-learning outcomes and curriculum design (Angelelli 2006 and 2008), it is testing/assessment that dictates/leads the contents/activities of the course (Cheng, Watanabe and Curtis 2004; Colina 2003 and 2008; Angelelli 2007).

2. Changes in space and time

Assessment, whether focusing on accuracy or quality, has been a concern in T&I throughout time. This is evident in writings of translation and criticism dating from the sixteenth century when Luther's translations were "improved" by criticism, or in checking the accuracy of oral communication in exploratory trips. During his expeditions to the Americas, for example, Cortés would speak in Spanish to Aguilar, who would then interpret into Maya for the Yucatec natives, and Malinche would interpret from Yucatec Maya into Nahuatl for the Mexican tribes. A young Mexican boy (who understood Spanish) named Orteguita, would listen to Malinche's words and see that they corresponded to what Cortés had originally said (Baker 1998).

Earlier discussions on testing/assessment of translation or interpreting focused around tests to measure students' aptitude/ability (Schäffner and Adab 2000) as well as the quality of translations (House 1977 in Chesterman 1989) or interpreted renditions (Carroll 1978), both at the entry level as predictors of success in a course or program (e.g. Carroll 1962). In Translation Studies, Reiss (1977) offers one of the earliest approaches to translation evaluation by focusing on the function and type of source text. Later the focus shifted to considering a good translation the one that conformed to the normal standard usage of native speakers of a given culture (Wilss and Thome 1984). In the 1980's we see the functionalist paradigm emerge (influenced by the pragmatic movement in linguistics) which discusses the quality of a translation based on how it conforms to the target culture while preserving the function of the original text (Reiss and Vermeer 1984).

Tests continued to be used as predictors of success (Moser-Mercer 1985 and 1994) or at the exit level as measurements of achievement (e.g. Sawyer 2004). More focused discussions on assessment (e.g. a call for empirically-based test design, construct definitions, rubric development) started developing at the beginning of the 21st century. Research on T&I assessment highlights the lack of consensus on what translation/interpreting is, how translation/interpreting is acquired and measured (i.e. we do not see yet a common understanding of the underlying theories of knowledge and learning in T&I which are essential to develop effective ways of assessing the processes and products related to them), or the background knowledge necessary on the part of course instructors to conduct studies in measurement and assessment (see, for example, Angelelli 2004; Colina 2003 and 2008; Gile 1995; Russo 2011 and Sawyer 2004 for further details on these issues). These may be the reasons for the generalized acceptance of ad-hoc assessment practices across T&I education and industry.

The first comprehensive work on T&I assessment focused on both processes and products and presented a collection of empirical studies exploring assessment issues across languages (sign and spoken) and settings for a variety of purposes across academia, industry and professional organizations (Angelelli and Jacobson 2009). Examples of more focused discussions (to name just a few) are Russo's survey of interpreter aptitude testing (2011), Kim's application of systemic-functional linguistics to translation-formative assessment (2009), or Angelelli's design of a valid and reliable instrument to measure the interpersonal role of interpreters (2004) as conceptualized by practitioners.

3. Some examples of case studies

In this section we discuss a sample of empirical studies on assessment in T&I related to both the education of translators/interpreters and industry. They are selected because their findings have demonstrated evidence of valid and reliable assessment practices, even when, so far, they have not succeeded in influencing industry as expected.

Focusing on pedagogy and assessment for master-level program in translation and interpreting, Sawyer (2004) conducted a case study of a graduate school of T&I in the U.S. He explored how instructors' views on teaching, testing and program design impact their perceptions and work. In terms of assessment, he found that when valid and reliable assessment procedures are not in place the consequences impact not only the candidates, but also the institution and the profession as a whole. Sawyer's results show further evidence of how "five decades of theoretical discussion and reflection on the nature of assessment in education and language learning has received little notice among T&I educators to date." (2004: 211). This issue as well as the need to use valid and reliable assessment practices have been echoed by other researchers studying testing and assessment in either translation or interpreting, as validity and reliability are essential elements to assessment.

In translation, research on assessment has consistently called for a need to have a clear construct definition of translation competence (Kim 2009; Angelelli 2009) before beginning to discuss how to assess it. Translation is a highly complex activity that involves several areas of knowledge and skills. It is a "dynamic process and it is a human and social behavior" (Cao 1996: 231) that results from experience, education and the feedback effects of client-translator or translator-reader interaction (Neubert & Shreve 1992: 10). There is considerable debate around the concepts of translator's competence, translation quality, as well as on exactly how the sub-components of translation competence are conceptualized, broken down, interconnected and assessed. Despite this disagreement, the academic discussion about communicative competence and its interaction with translation, translation competence and translation quality is important in helping us understand what makes a competent and professionally qualified translator. Even when there is no agreement reached on the issues outlined above, one message that emerges from empirical research quite clearly is that translation cannot be assessed by deducting/adding points and focusing only on errors.

Some pioneering works in assessment of interpreters have used psychometrics to design valid and reliable measurement instruments and study issues in interpreting. For example, to problematize the role of interpreters across settings and scientifically challenge the myth of interpreter's assumed transparency and neutrality, Angelelli (2004) designed IPRI (Interpreter Interpersonal Role Inventory). In this way, the role that different types of interpreters (conference, court, healthcare) play was studied rather than assumed and interpreter's role can be captured, portrayed and measured in tests. Empirically-based tests were developed in healthcare interpreting (Angelelli 2006, 2007 and 2008) across languages. For conference interpreting, Clifford (2003 and 2005) also suggests the use of psychometrics and item analysis for validation of certification exams in Canada as well as the use of discursive models of interpreting as a way to increase the construct validity (2003) of tests. He suggests developing assessment instruments with the technical rigor common of other fields. Around the same time Stansfield and Hewitt (2005) studied the predictive validity of the written examination for the oral examination of court interpreters in the US.

4. Open questions, criticism, limitations, drawbacks

Unlike assessment developments and efforts in related fields (such as assessment in language, writing or bilingualism to name just a few), assessment in T& I is not abundant and has not developed at a steady or rapid pace. As discussed above, it is also more recent. Possible explanations for this scarcity of research can be found in the literature in TIS. In the last decade, the development in assessment research has been growing at a steady pace. Evidence of this is the growing number of empirically-based dissertations, theses and publications with a specific focus on assessment and testing. The first empirically-based volume on T&I assessment and testing across languages and settings (Angelelli & Jacobson, 2009) was followed by a special issue of *Interpreting* (Shlesinger & Pöchhacker 2011) on aptitude testing and by another edited collection from Cypress (Tsagari and van Deemter 2013) discussing the interaction between language and T&I assessment. Thus, the case to assess in a valid and reliable way has been made.

Findings from empirical studies call for the need to define test constructs and to assess T&I more broadly, moving beyond the linguistic or information-processing level. However, even when this call is being addressed and progress has been made through time, it has not been consistent across the globe. In this sense, it is not possible to speak about common constructs or conceptualizations of quality that would allow for a universal categorization of levels or for streamlining processes such as an international certification or a certification that could be transferred across countries (in spite of the possibilities afforded to us by current technology). The impact of the differences in assessment developments affects mostly industry and the education of translators and interpreters. When students of translation or intrepreting are required to spend time in the country where their target language is used (for example an English-speaking student who has Chinese or Spanish as her B languages) instructors and students may need to negotiate placement and achievement as there is no common assessment culture across countries. Several interdisciplinary efforts involving methodologies from psychometrics (Angelelli 2004; Clifford 2003 and 2005), cognitive psychology (Neubert and Shreve 1992; Moser-Mercer 1985, 1994), educational linguistics (Valdés, Chavez and Angelelli 2000) and applied linguistics (Angelelli 2009; Colina 2003 and 2008; Cao 1996, and Sawyer 2004) have contributed to design more valid and reliable measurement instruments to assess translation and interpreting.

Change requires effort, time and patience and we should not underestimate the amount of any of these. It is a fact that the field of T&I – in which much of the literature published initially evolved from writings based on experiential knowledge and reflections, to descriptive studies and a current growth of more empirically-based ones – has undergone much innovation and many turns. In our ever-changing T&I environment, test constructs (e.g. quality, competence, the ability to use software [e.g., translation memory programs, computer-assisted translation tools, databases, etc. or video-conferencing or telephone equipment for remote interpreting) may not always remain stable. Therefore, as the assessment of translation or interpreting depends on a shared and stable definition of a construct such as quality or competence, which normally derives from scientific knowledge (gathered as a result of empirical studies conducted in the field) rather than from experiential one, we understand the reason for T&I to be lagging behind in assessment vis-à-vis other related fields.

In spite of this delay, the results of specific empirical studies and the growth of research and current testing development efforts show that researchers are aware of the issues and have set forth an agenda in this area. Calls to bridge the gap between practice, research and teaching/testing have been made and are being followed. Thus the hope is that, in the near future, expertise in assessment/measurement as well as interdisciplinary efforts will become the norm rather than the exception. In this way, progress will be more consistent, efficient and, certainly, quicker.

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CHAPTER 7.5

Translation ethics

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Keywords: ethics, fidelity, alterity, loyalty, responsibility

1. Basic issues

"Translation ethics" (or "translator ethics") refers to the set of accepted principles according to which translation should be done (and, *mutatis mutandis*, interpreting), and hence the norms governing what translations should be like. As translating is a form of linguistic behaviour, translation ethics can also be seen as embedded in an ethics of language or communication more generally.

In philosophical theories of ethics two broad types of theory are distinguished. One is utilitarian or consequentialist, where the ethical status of an act is determined by its results. The other is contractual, or duty-based: an ethical act is one that conforms to a contract. In translation ethics, we find elements of both these types of theory.

Since ideas about ethics have to do with our understanding of the concept "good", translation ethics overlaps with issues of quality. Some recent work has aimed to expand the notion of "translation quality" to include ethical aspects of a translator's working conditions, bridging the difference between textual and human relations.

One focus in contemporary Translation Studies is on the translators/interpreters themselves, rather than the texts they produce. If we want to explore how all kinds of translation agents work, what motivates them, how they make decisions, then we must also take account of axiological issues – and thus of ethics, both professional and personal. Debates about translation ethics have started with the question "how should one translate?", but then other questions also arise: "should one translate this?" And even: "how can one make the world a better place by translating?"

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2. Evolution and variation

In the Western tradition, translation/interpreting ethics was first conceptualized in terms of fidelity to the original. In Horace's classical phrase, the translator should be an *interpres fides* (see e.g. Kelly 1979). One of the most influential interpretations of this fidelity has been the requirement of "sameness": the translator should reproduce the "same" message, without changing it. This ethics of sameness was important in early Bible translation: literal translation was mandatory, in order not to risk altering the Word of God. This meant not just preserving the same message, but also the same form, as far as the language differences allowed. Compare the modern term "formal equivalence". The value underlying this ethics of sameness is truth: a translation may not be "untrue" to its source. As Newmark puts it (1991: 1), "[t]ranslation is concerned with moral and with factual truth".

However, the requirement of "sameness" between a fixed source text and its translation is not a universal value. In India, for instance, translators have played much more freely with classical Sanskrit texts, with much more fluid concepts of both text and translation. There have also been different views within the European tradition. The *belles infidèles* translations of the French Renaissance were in beautiful French, but seldom close to their originals. The Romantic period in Germany, on the other hand, introduced a new ethical position: an ethics of difference, of the Other. Schleiermacher (1813) argued that translations (of literary works) should not sound natural but overtly different, so that the reader would recognize the Other in the text. This awareness and reception of alterity has been taken to be an ethical act in itself (cf. Berman 1985: 86). Translations along these lines may be "hybrids" which allow the source text to be visible in some way in the translation (cf. Benjamin 1923), or they may just be as literal as possible. Scholars arguing for formally close translation tend to focus on literary and/or sacred texts, underlining the importance of listening to the formal patterns and rhythms of the original, as these form part of the expression of the overall textual meaning (e.g. Meschonnic 2007).

During the past thirty years or so, translation ethics has aroused a good deal of debate. This may be partly because the notions of sameness and the translator's invisibility have been increasingly problematized, and partly because of the growing sociological interest in translators and their agency, and issues of ideology, power, manipulation and responsibility.

Venuti (1995, 1998) and others have advocated a "foreignizing" translation strategy (other related terms are "minoritizing", "exoticizing", and "abusive fidelity"), resisting the stylistic norms of the target language and thus aiming to contribute to cultural change. Such a translation strategy rejects the idea that a translator should be transparent, invisible.

There have been several moves within Translation Studies to extend translation ethics beyond textual relations. Nord (1991) brought into skopos theory the concept of loyalty, denoting a moral principle of responsibility between people (translator, client, original author, reader…). Skopos theory, like other functional theories of translation, has implicitly adopted an ethics of service, prioritizing translator-client relations, efficient use of resources, the value of trust.

Pym's monograph (1997, 2012) offers an ethics of the translator, not of translation. For him, the role of such an ethics is a social one: to promote the process of translators' professionalization (1997: 101). He discusses the ethical issues concerning (literary) translators who are attacked or even killed for their translations: in what way are they responsible for what they write? He argues for the valuation of the intercultural spaces inhabited by translators, and for a deeper understanding of the translator's responsibility also to himself (e.g. decisions on what not to translate, and on not wasting one's own time and effort) and to the translators' profession. The ultimate justification for translation is the contribution it can make to intercultural cooperation, which in Pym's analysis is a fundamental guiding principle, although hard to define precisely.

Koskinen (2000) offers a critical analysis of both Venuti's and Pym's ethics, from a postmodern perspective. She problematizes the notion of fidelity, noting its many interpretations including the feminist one (2000: 19). Like both Venuti and Pym, she takes for granted that any translation ethics must encompass more than merely textual relations. Contributing to the discussion of the translator's visibility, she shows how visibility can be not only textual but also paratextual or extratextual (2000: 99).

Another development in the discussion of translation ethics has been the rise of "committed" or "interventionist" approaches. In these, the translator's personal ethics is given priority, together with the value of justice. Early examples were feminist translation ethics, and postcolonial views of translation. A growing contemporary focus is on "activist translation", such as that done by groups of volunteers (professionals or not) for causes having to do e.g. with social justice. An example is the Babels group, who work for the Social Forum movement.

Ethical issues can also be relevant to quality management. Abdallah (2012) has argued for a concept of quality that would include reference to translators' working conditions and client relations, because these can affect the responsibility which can be reasonably assigned to the translator.

Professional associations have set up codes of practice with stipulations concerning both obligations and working conditions. (For some examples, see References under AIIC and FIT.) These codes are mainly embedded in the ethics of sameness, mentioning such values as fidelity and impartiality, and do not seem to condone e.g. foreignizing or interventionist translation.

The traditional duty of interpreters to be neutral has been challenged e.g. by Inghilleri (2012), with special respect to community interpreting. She argues that, given the incommensurability of different languages, interpreters should be allowed to be guided more by their own personal ethics. Historical research on the role of translators and interpreters in wartime has further problematized the neutrality ideal, and also questioned the ethics of their treatment by clients (see e.g. Footitt and Kelly 2012).

3. An example

To illustrate some of the complexity of a translator's ethical responsibility, consider the following case (discussed in more detail in Chesterman 2009). A literary translator, Stefan Moster, translates a Finnish novel by Arto Paasilinna into German. At one point in this fantastical story set in Finland's pagan past, a semi-divine hero is born, who will save Finland from the threat of the new Christian religion. The hero is born on April 20. But the German version says he is born on April 19. Why? Because April 20 was Hitler's birthday. Many German readers will know this, so there is a risk that the novel will be taken as neo-Nazi propaganda, and this is a risk the translator refuses to take. On his own responsibility, he changes the date. He informs the German publisher, but not the author. Asking the author's permission would have run the risk of being refused, and this risk too he did not wish to take. Later (Moster 2003), he makes the reasons for his decision public.

One can query Moster's textual solution (why not just "in the spring"?), but his decision to delete the original date can be respected. The ethical justification is utilitarian: possible undesirable consequences weigh more heavily than being true to the original, and also more heavily than consultation with the author. The translator has demonstrated loyalty to the publisher, and perhaps to the author on the understanding that there was no intention that the novel should have a Nazi undertone (– most unlikely). By bringing the issue into public debate, Moster exploits the translator's extratextual visibility and highlights the responsibility of the professional. He has certainly not treated the text in a neutral way, but has intervened, in defence of chis own ideology against an opposing one. Has he placed his personal ethics above his professional ones? No, if it is granted that he has acted professionally, in the wider interests of intercultural relations, of long-term cooperation. He is clearly concerned with more than merely textual relations.

The matter is made even more complex by a further twist. April 20 also happens to be the author's birthday. Not many Finnish readers would have known this, but it is quite likely that Paasilinna enjoyed this as a kind of in-joke. And Paasilinna himself may not have been aware that the day was also Hitler's birthday.

4. Some open questions

Translation is never entirely neutral or objective; there are always shifts, and the translator always leaves a mark, so the ideals of total sameness and impartial representation can never be achieved absolutely. Hence the importance of ethical awareness and responsibility. There is, however, little agreement on how far this responsibility should extend: are translators also professionally responsible for educating their clients? For demanding ethically acceptable working conditions? For working to increase the visibility of the profession? Are translators professionally responsible for working towards a fairer world? What is the best solution when personal and professional ethics clash? Are all-encompassing guidelines a realistic aim? And what about non-professionals, such as crowdsourced translators: what are their rights?

Claims about translation ethics, and professional codes of good practice, may assume universal validity; however, they are often conditioned by historical and cultural context, or pertain to particular text-types, such as the Bible, or literature, or non-literary texts. To what extent is generalization possible?

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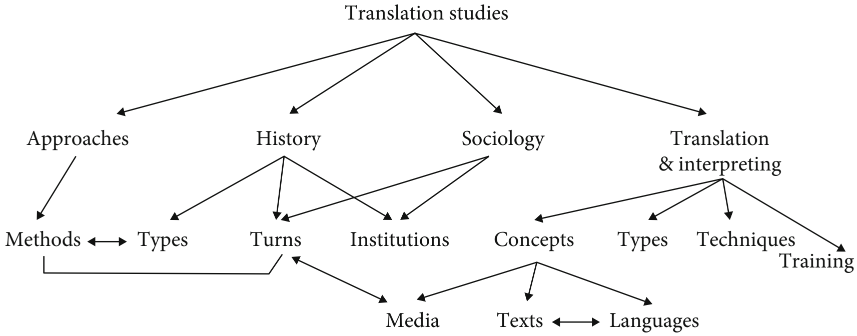
A History of Modern Translation Knowledge

Synoptic perspectives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A History of Modern Translation Knowledge is the first attempt to map the coming into being of modern thinking about translation. It breaks with the well-established tradition of viewing history through the reductive lens of schools, theories, turns or interdisciplinary exchanges. It also challenges the artificial distinction between past and present and it sustains that the latter's historical roots go back far beyond the 1970s. Translation Studies is but part of a broader set of discourses on translation we propose to label "translation knowledge". This book concentrates on seven processes that make up the history of modern translation knowledge: generating, mapping, internationalising, historicising, analysing, disseminating and applying knowledge. All processes are covered by 58 domain experts and allocated over 55 chapters, with cross-references. This book is indispensable reading for advanced Master- and PhD-students in Translation Studies who need background information on the history of their field, with relevance for Europe, the Americas and large parts of Asia. It will also interest students and scholars working in cultural and social history.

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