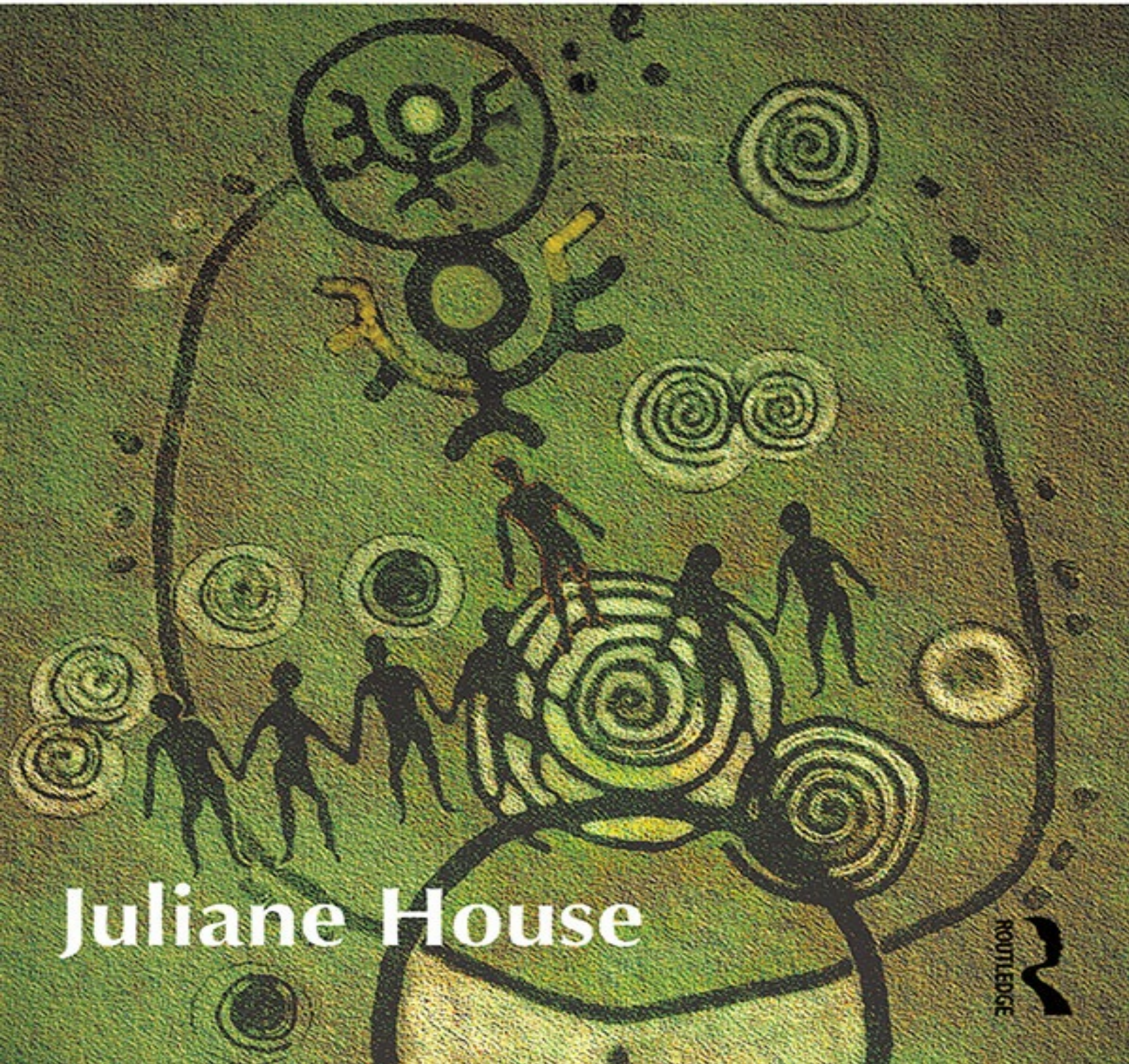
Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures



Juliane House

ROUTLEDGE

Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures

In this interdisciplinary book, Juliane House breaks new ground by situating translation within Applied Linguistics. In thirteen chapters, she examines translation as a means of communication across different languages and cultures and provides a critical overview of different approaches to translation, of the link between culture and translation, and between views of context and text in translation.

Featuring an account of translation from a linguistic-cognitive perspective, House covers problematic issues such as the existence of universals of translation, cases of untranslatability and ways and means of assessing the quality of a translation. Recent methodological and research avenues such as the role of corpora in translation and the effects of globalization processes on translation are presented in a neutral, non-biased manner. The book concludes with a thorough, historical account of the role of translation in foreign language learning and teaching and a discussion of the new challenges and problems of the professional practice of translation in our world today.

Written by a highly experienced teacher and researcher in the field, *Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures* is an essential resource for students and researchers of Translation Studies, Applied Linguistics and Communication Studies.

Juliane House is Emeritus Professor, Hamburg University, Distinguished Professor at Hellenic American University, Athens and President of the International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies. Her key titles include *Translation Quality Assessment*: *A Model Revisited* (1997), *Translation* (2009), *Translational Action and Intercultural Communication* (2009), *Translation: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (2014) and *Translation Quality Assessment: Past and Present* (Routledge, 2014).

Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2016
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
House, Juliane, author.
Translation as communication across languages and cultures / by Juliane House.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Translating and interpreting. 2. Intercultural communication. 3. Language and culture. 4. Sociolinguistics.
P306.2.H667 2016
418′.02—dc23
2015019533

ISBN: 978-0-415-73432-5 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-408-28983-9 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-66895-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Swales & Willis Ltd, Exeter, Devon, UK

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Illustrations

Figures

Tables

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my daughter-in-law Tessa von Bloh for her expert help in reproducing the figures in this volume.

Thanks are further due to the following publishers for their permission to reproduce material from the following sources:

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Benjamins Publishers, Amsterdam: Figure 9.1 from M. Paradis 2004 *A Neurolinguistic Theory of Bilingualism*; Tables 10.1 and 10.2 from S. Kranich *et al*. (eds) 2011 *Multilingual Discourse Production*.

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Translation as Communication across Languages and Cultures was originally commissioned by Christopher N. Candlin for Longman Applied Linguistics.

Introduction

This book aims to to give an overview of the field of translation studies, accentuating its role as part of Applied Linguistics. Given its philosophy and rationale, the book is the first of its kind. It is firmly transdisciplinary in nature, and is based on research by scholars of translation studies as well as those affiliated with related – in translation studies, however, often ignored – neighbouring disciplines such as intercultural communication, cross-cultural research, contrastive pragmatics, second language acquisition and discourse analysis. The research reported and integrated into this text will also include the author's own substantial work over more than forty years in different disciplines: translation theory, discourse pragmatics, politeness, misunderstanding, corpus linguistics, second language learning and teaching. The book will give a broadly diversified account of different approaches to translation and emphasizes the need for a view of the field that combines linguistic-, text- and discourse-based perspectives with views stressing the context of translation in its widest sense so as to take account, for example, of power- and gender-related issues, the human beings involved in translation, the reasons for selecting certain texts for translation and suppressing others, and so on. In the past decades, an often rather one-sided shift towards viewing translation as a predominantly sociological, political and ideologically fuelled phenomenon seems to have dominated translation studies. I believe that it is now time to provide a more balanced, and a more comprehensive view of the complex field of translation studies and one that links it with mainstream Applied Linguistics.

Part I

Central concepts

This part of the book gives an overview of several basic issues in the field of translation studies. Chapter 1 features a discussion of the nature of translation. Chapter 2 provides an account of important strands of translation research. Chapter 3 continues this overview with a discussion of several recent strands in translation studies. Finally, Chapter 4 reviews the literature on the concept of ‘culture’, a concept of prime relevance for the field of translation studies.

1 The nature of translation as part of Applied Linguistics

In this introductory chapter I discuss some basic issues involved in translation. I will start defining translation as part of the discipline of Applied Linguistics, and go on to explain why translation is more important today than ever before. I will then provide a description of translation from two different perspectives, as well as a definition of translation followed by accounting for several models of translation. Many of the issues discussed in this chapter will be taken up in greater detail in the following chapters.

Translation as part of Applied Linguistics

Let me start by defining what I understand by 'Applied Linguistics': Applied Linguistics is a broadly interdisciplinary field concerned with promoting our understanding of the role that language plays in human life. In its centre are theoretical and empirical investigations of real-world issues in which language plays a leading role. Applied Linguistics focuses on the relationship between theory and practice, using the insights gained from the theory-practice interface for solving language-related real-world problems in a principled way (see Edmondson and House 2011 who describe the discipline '*Sprachlehrforschung*', the German version of Applied Linguistics, in exactly this way).

Applied Linguistics is not 'linguistics applied' because it deals with many more issues than purely linguistic ones, and because disciplines such as psychology, sociology, ethnography, anthropology, educational research, communication and media studies also inform applied linguistic research. The result is a very broad spectrum of themes in Applied Linguistics such as first, second and foreign language learning and teaching, bilingualism and multilingualism, discourse analysis, language policy and language planning, research methodology, language testing, stylistics, literature, rhetoric, literacy, translation and other areas in which language-related decision need to be, and regularly are, taken.

Translation is indeed an important part of Applied Linguistics – today more than ever before. The reasons why this should be so will be discussed in the following section.

Translation as an essential part of today's revolution in communication

Alongside the impact of globalization on the world economy, international communication and politics, translation has also become much more important than ever before (see for example the discussion in Böttger 2008; Bielsa 2005). Information distribution via translation today relies heavily on new technologies that promote a worldwide translation industry. Translation plays a crucial and ever-growing role in multilingual news writing for international press

networks, television channels, the Internet, the World Wide Web, social media, blogs, wikis etc. Today, the BBC, Al Jazeera International, Russia Today, Deutsche Welle, Press TV and many other globally and multilingually operating TV channels rely heavily on translations of messages in many different languages. Whenever information input needs to be quickly disseminated across the world in different languages, translations are indispensable. Translation is also essential for tourist information worldwide and for information flow in globalized companies, where – supported by translation processes – English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) is now often replaced by native languages to improve sales potentials (see Bührig and Böttger 2010; Lüdi *et al*. 2010).

Further, there is a growing demand for translation in localization industries. Software localization covers diverse industrial, commercial and scientific activities ranging from CD productions, engineering and testing software applications to managing complex team projects simultaneously in many countries and languages. Translations are needed in all of these. Indeed, translation is part and parcel of all worldwide localization and glocalization processes. In order to make a product available in many different languages it must be localized via translation. This process is of course similar to what House (1977) has called 'cultural filtering', an essential practice in covert translation (for a more detailed discussion see Chapter 8). Briefly, a covert translation is a translation which enjoys the status of an original text in the receiving linguaculture, and is not marked pragmatically as a translation at all. In order to meet the special needs of the new addressees, the translator must take different cultural presuppositions into account and create an equivalent speech event in the target culture. In order to achieve this, a 'cultural filter' will be applied.

Producing a localized, i.e. culturally filtered and translated, version of a product is essential for opening up new markets, since immediate access to information about a product in a local language increases its demand. An important offshoot is the design of localized advertising, again involving massive translation activity. Translation can thus be said to lie at the very heart of the global economy today: it tailors products to meet the needs of local markets everywhere in processes of glocalization.

Translation is also increasingly propelled by the World Wide Web, whose development has spread the need for translation into e-commerce globalization. And the steady increase of non-English speaking Web users naturally also boosts translation.

Another factor contributing to the growing importance of translation is e-learning. The expansion of digital industries centred around e-learning and other education forms spread over the Web in many different languages again shows the intimate link between translation and today's global economy (see for example Cronin 2003: 8–41).

In sum, globalization has led to a veritable explosion of demand for translation. Translation is therefore not simply a by-product of globalization, but an integral part of it. Without translation, the global capitalist consumer-oriented and growth-fixated economy would not be possible.

Translation as cross-linguistic and cross-cultural communication

Translation has been an important cross-linguistic and cross-cultural practice since earliest times. Translation can be seen as the replacement of something else, something that pre-existed, ideas and expressions represented at second hand, as it were. In this sense, translation as cross-linguistic and cross-cultural communication is often considered to be 'second best', not 'the real thing', leading invariably to distortions and losses of what was originally 'meant'. Translation, on this view, is essentially a secondary communicative event. Normally a communicative event happens only once. With translation, on the other hand, communicative events are reduplicated for persons or groups otherwise prevented from participating in or appreciating the original communicative event. Despite its nature as a secondary event, translation undoubtedly provides an important service in that it mediates between different languages, overcoming linguistic and cultural barriers.

Translation is the written form of mediation, interpreting the oral one. While we will in this book deal with translation, a few words about the differences between these two modes of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural communication may be warranted here. Translation and interpreting are both similar and different activities: similar in that, obviously, both involve a language switch, different in that in translation (usually) a fixed, relatively permanently available and in principle unlimitedly repeatable text in one language is changed into a text in another language, which can be corrected as often as the translator sees fit. In interpreting, on the other hand, a text is transformed into a new text in another language, but it is, as a rule, orally available only once (see Moser-Mercer 2002; Gile 2002). Since the new text emerges chunk by chunk and does not 'stay' permanently with the interpreter (or the addressees), it is only controllable and correctible by the interpreter to a limited extent. While some steps or phases in the interpreting process can be regarded as 'automatic' and need little reflective thought and strategic endeavour, others may be more complex and take more time. This requires a lot of cognitive effort and co-ordination, as the interpreter has to listen, understand and 're-code' bit by bit at the same time. All this is very different in translating, where the translator can usually read and translate the source text at his or her own pace. And, very important, the source text is available for translation in its entirety, whereas, in simultaneous and consecutive interpreting, it is produced and presented bit by bit. This is an enormous challenge for the interpreter who must create an ongoing text out of these incremental bits – a text which must eventually form a coherent whole.

In translation, as a rule, neither the author of a source text nor the addressees of the target text are present, so no overt interaction (and with it, the possibility of direct feedback) can take place. In interpreting, on the other hand, both author and addressees are usually co-present, so interaction and feedback are possible.

The relationship between translation and interpreting studies on the one hand and intercultural communication on the other hand has not been much researched. Although there have been some previous attempts at providing such a link (e.g. by Schäffner and Adab 1995; Snell-Hornby 1995; Katan 2004). While these attempts have largely failed to place this linkage

on firm linguistic basis, this has been the major thrust of a volume edited by Bührig *et al*. (2009), and see the discussion in House (2012a).

How can we define translation as intercultural communication? It can be simply characterized as communication between members of different cultures who presumably follow differing sociocultural rules for behaviour, including speaking and who can range from groups at the national level like linguistic minorities (Turks or Lebanese in Germany) as well as groups that have potentially differing rules for speaking such as social class, age, gender. In the past, many studies of intercultural communication have been concerned with cases of failed intercultural communication, cases in which interactants fail to understand one another and thus cannot communicate successfully. Reasons for this were often ascribed to 'intercultural differences' such as values, beliefs, behaviours of culture members (see for example Gumperz 1982; J. Thomas 1983; Tannen 1986; Blum-Kulka *et al*. 1989; Scollon and Scollon 1994; House 1996, 2003a; Spencer-Oatey 2000; House *et al*. 2003; Holmes 2006). More recently, however, many researchers have shifted their focus on how interactants manage intercultural understanding (see for example Sarangi 1994; Clyne 1994; Bührig and ten Thije 2006). It is also intercultural understanding which is the basis for the single most important concept in translation and interpreting studies: functional equivalence. Functional equivalence is a condition for achieving a comparable function of a text in another context. So intercultural understanding is the success with which the linguistic-cultural transposition has been undertaken.

The link between functional equivalence (basis of translation/interpreting) and intercultural understanding (basis of intercultural communication) is highlighted when we consider the concept of the 'dilated speech situation' (Ehlich 1984: 12). According to Ehlich, the main characteristic or functions of 'texts' is their role as 'agents of transmission' providing a bridge between speaker and hearer who are not at the same place at the same time. It is a text's role as a sort of 'messenger' that makes it possible for the hearer to receive the speaker's linguistic action despite the divergence of the production and reception situations. Through such a 'transmission' carried out by a text, the original speech situation becomes 'dilated'. Because a speaker knows that her message will be 'passed on', she adapts her formulation accordingly, i.e. a speaker makes a 'text' out of her linguistic action. Texts are therefore not limited to the written medium, but can also exist in an oral form. The notion of the 'dilated speech situation' is highly relevant for oral and written intercultural communication, translation and interpreting. Both translation and interpreting can be characterized by a specific rupture of the original speech situation which is the result of a linguistic barrier between author and reader or between speaker (member of culture 1) and hearer (member of culture 2) which can only be bridged by acts of translation and interpreting. Bührig and Rehbein (2000: 15) hypothesize an 'internally dilated speech situation' for the case of interpreting, where the primary communication participants are co-present but unable to communicate without mediating action on the part of the interpreter. It is the interpreter who will have to bridge the linguistically conditioned rupture. The translator/interpreter passes on the linguistic action in L1 (situation 1) to the L2 addressees (situation 2). This procedure is not without consequence for the transmitted linguistic action. While already monolingual texts show signs of being prepared for

transmission, this is of course particularly true of translated texts: they undergo a double transmission process.

Besides the importance of the dilation of the speech situation in translation and interpreting, another characteristic of these two mediating modes is that both are essentially reflective activities, much more so than 'normal' monolingual communicative actions. Reflection is here aimed at the achievement of functional equivalence. On account of this inherent reflective nature, both translation and interpreting have a potential for intercultural communication and intercultural understanding.

In recent decades a major shift in translation studies has occurred away from text- and linguistically-oriented approaches to socially and culturally oriented ones, a concern with translating as a cultural procedure, touching upon such issues as race, class, gender, minority status, ideology, ethics and giving them a central place in analyses of translational phenomena. The so-called 'cultural turn in interpreting studies' is epitomized in statements such as 'One does not translate languages but cultures'. How did this shift come about? Translation studies, I would suggest, is here simply following a general trend in the humanities and social sciences, whose contents and methodologies (at least in the so-called First World) have over the past decades been substantially influenced by postmodernist, postcolonial, feminist and other socio-politically and philosophically motivated schools. Translation is no exception in this regard (see for example Venuti 1995; von Flotow 1997; Robinson 1997), and translation studies' history of mimicking fashionable trends, is here, it seems to me, simply replayed.

Another way of taking account of 'culture' in translation follows the model set by some linguistic schools, for example the Prague school of linguistics or British Contextualism or Systemic-functional Grammar, schools which conceived of language as primarily a social phenomenon, which is naturally and inextricably intertwined with culture. In these and other socio-linguistically and contextually oriented approaches, language is viewed as embedded in culture such that the meaning of any linguistic item can only, and rather obviously, be properly understood with reference to the cultural context enveloping it. Since in translation 'meaning' is of particular importance, it follows that translation cannot be fully understood outside a cultural frame of reference. Adherents of such an integrative view of language and culture (see for example Hatim and Mason 1997; House 1997; E. Steiner 1998), while considering translation to be a particular type of culturally determined practice, also hold that it is, at its core, a predominantly linguistic procedure. They thus differ significantly from a radical cultural studies view in which translation is taken to be predominantly, or even exclusively culture-related.

This is why in this book we will take translation as cross-linguistic and cross-cultural communication – where the two cannot, and should not, be separated.

Translation as a cognitive process

Apart from the social contextual approach to translation, there is another important new trend

which looks at translation as a cognitive process. Cognitive aspects of translation and in particular the process of translation in the translator's mind have been investigated for over thirty years with a recent upsurge of interest in issues relating to translation as a cognitive process (see Göpferich and Jääskeläinen 2009; Shreve and Angelone 2010; O'Brien 2011; Ehrensberger-Dow *et al*. 2013). This increase in interest about 'what goes on in translators' heads' owes much to the availability of modern technology, to continuously improving instruments and methods for the empirical investigation of particular aspects of a translator's performance such as keystroke logging, eye-tracking or screen recording as well as various neuro-psychological techniques. As O'Brien (2013: 6) has rightly pointed out, translation process research has heavily 'borrowed' from a number of disciplines: linguistics, psychology, cognitive science, neuroscience, reading and writing research and language technology. The influence from these disciplines and their particular research directions and methodologies on translation studies is at the present time something of a one-way affair, but given time, a reciprocal interdisciplinarity may well come into being, such that translation studies will not only be a borrower but also a lender.

Over and above a concern with new technological and experimental means of tapping the cognitive process of translation, a new combination of a theory of translation and of a neuro-functional theory of bilingualism has also recently been suggested (House 2013a). This new linguistic-cognitive orientation in translation studies emerges from a critical assessment of the validity and reliability of introspective and retrospective thinking aloud studies (see also Jääskeläinen 2011), and of various behavioural experiments and the usefulness and relevance recent bilingual neuro-imaging studies.

Taken together, translation needs to be looked at from two perspectives: a social perspective which takes account of the macro- and micro-contextual constraints that impinge on translation and the translator, and a cognitive perspective, which focuses on the 'internal' way a translator goes about his or her task of translating. Both are complementary, and both can be split up into different domains and fields of inquiry.

Definition of translation and models of translation

Generally speaking, we can say that translation is a text-processing and text-reproducing activity which leads from a source text to a resulting text. Other types of text-processing and text-reproducing activities are commenting, summarizing, interpreting, adapting a text for a different group of addressees, transposing the text into another medium, etc. What sets off translation from all these text- processing activities is that translation is based on an act of creating a relation of equivalence between a source text in one language and its resulting translation text in another language (see Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of the important concept of 'equivalence'). Basing translation on the criterion of equivalence makes it possible to arrive at an understanding of what translation is. Following Jakobson's (1959) famous distinction between intersemiotic (transmutation between different semiotic systems), intralingual (commenting, paraphrasing, summarizing, changing the register of a text, etc.) and

interlingual translation, it is clearly only the latter that we can consider to be 'translation proper' and that only here we can speak of a clear relation of translation. The most important characteristic of a translation is its definite and specific relationship to a source text. As Koller (2011: 85) states, translation is embedded in the paradoxical situation that the translator is in one and the same situation both speaker and non-speaker (see here also Edmondson (1986), who explains this paradoxical situation with reference to Goffman's (1981) distinction between different social and speaker roles). In the translation situation the translation is the translator's utterance, but at the same time *not* her utterance. The translator, as reproducer, is not autonomous in formulating her utterance; rather she is bound in a particular way to the autonomy of the source text.

There are a multitude of definitions of translation, which list different text-external and text-internal conditions and factors. I will here concentrate on mentioning several definitions which focus on the linguistic-textual aspect of translation as it is the one I consider most basic (for a description of other approaches to translation which, for instance, conceive of translation as an aesthetic and creative-interpretative act see Chapter 2).

One of the classic definitions of translation from a linguistic-textual stance is the one proposed by J. C. Catford: 'Translation is an operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another' (1965: 1).

'*Translation* may be defined as follows: the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)' (1965: 20). Catford's abbreviations SL for source language and TL for target language have become definitive for the terminology of translation studies ever since. His definition emphasizes the textual nature of translation.

Another early and classic definition of translation is the one by Eugene Nida and Charles Taber: 'Translating consists in 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' (1969: 12). Important in this definition is both its graded emphasis on the source-language message and its style and its recognition of the importance of the language of the receptors, specifically that the chosen equivalent renderings should be 'natural' (we will further discuss this definition and its principle of 'dynamic equivalence' in Chapter 2).

In Germany, a famous early definition of translation was offered by Wolfram Wilss, which I here translate:

> Translation is a text-processing and text-re-verbalisation process which leads from a source text to a target text that is as equivalent as possible and presupposes an understanding of the original text in terms of content and style. Translating is thus a process which consists of two main phases, a phase of text comprehension in which the translator analyses the source language text with reference to its meaning and style, and a phase of linguistic reconstruction, in which the translator reproduces the source language text which he had analysed in terms of content and style, under optimal consideration of communicative equivalence.
>
> (1977: 72)

This definition divides the translation process into two phases and also introduces and

emphasizes the important notion of ‘communicative equivalence’.

Apart from offering definitions of translation, translation scholars have also devised graphic representations of models of translation. I will here reproduce two models presented by Koller (2011: 94–5).

Model 1 explicates that it is not units of the language system (*langue*) which are translated but rather texts – an aspect that also featured strongly in the definitions shown above. The translation process is structured into two phases: a phase of analysis, which leads to determining the source text-related units of translation which need to be related to target text units, and a phase of synthesis, in which these target units are transformed into the target text. As Model 2 shows, the allocation of source-language units and target language units takes place on the basis of the potential equivalence relations obtaining between the source and the target language.

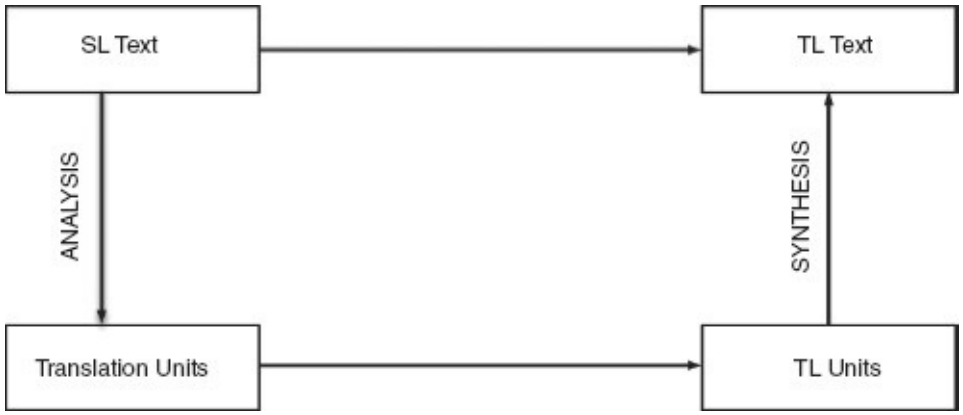


Figure 1.1 Model 1 of the translation process (adapted from Koller 2011: 94).

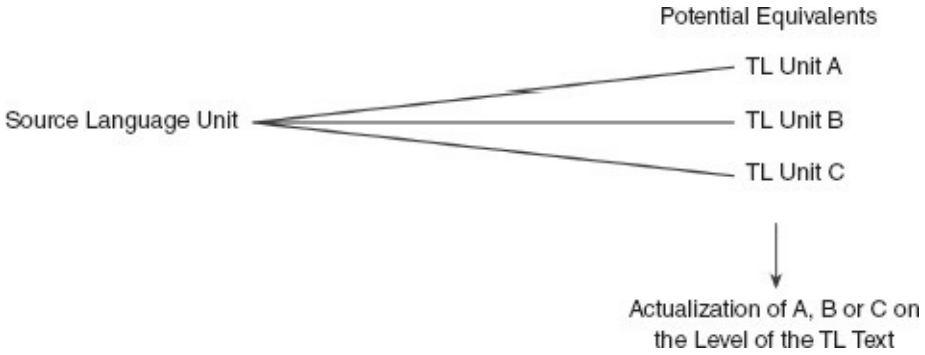


Figure 1.2 Model 2 of the translation process (adapted from Koller 2011: 95)

In another well-known model (Model 3) by Nida and Taber (1969: 484) the translation process is divided into the phase of analysis, transfer and restructuring.

Nida explains the operation of this model in the following way: ‘The translator first analyses the message of the source language into its simplest and structurally clearest forms, transfers it at this level, and then restructures it to the level in the receptor language which is

most appropriate for the audience which he intends to reach' (Nida and Taber 1969: 484).

Finally, there is another early and influential model of translation (Model 4) where the act of translational communication as bilingual communication is divided into three phases (see Kade 1968: 55).

Koller (2011: 103) rightly criticizes this model which radically abstracts from the many impinging factors, claiming that it fails to capture the specificity of the translational communication process and the complexity of a translator's actions. Further, it does not recognize that the translator is, in essence, a different type of receptor of the source text: the translator receives this text as a member of the target community for which he is doing the translation. And given his knowledge of and familiarity with the source language culture he also receives the source text differently from how a member of the target culture would receive the translation in the absence of the source text. In other words: the translator's bilingual and bicultural competence makes him a very different species of receptor. And the translator is also a type of sender who critically differs from the sender (author) of the original text: he does not produce, he reproduces. Crucial for the translational communication process is also the fact that the translator reproduces the target text fulfilling certain assumptions which target culture receptors have given their specific cultural context.

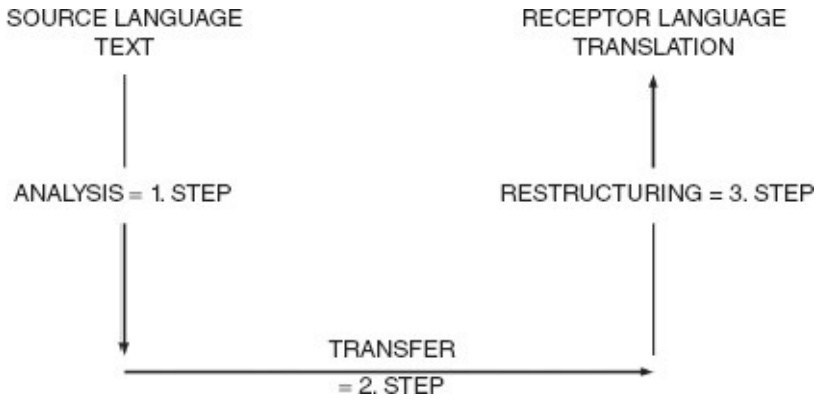


Figure 1.3 Model 3 of the translation process (adapted from Koller 2011: 98)

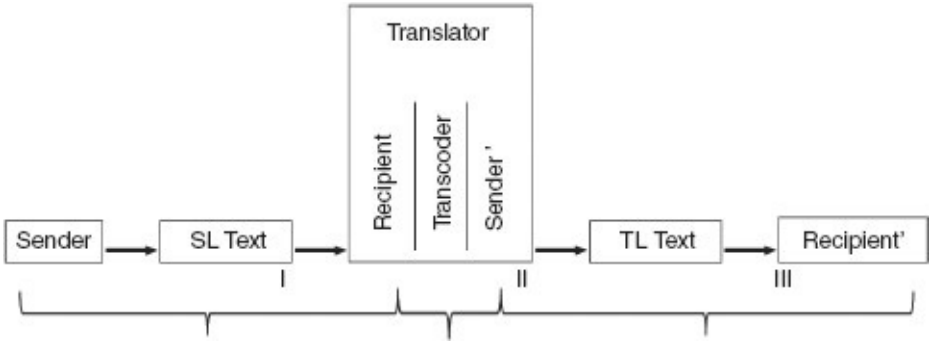


Figure 1.4 Model 4 of the translation process (adapted and translated from Koller 2011: 102)

2 Overview of different approaches to translation

In this chapter I will inform readers – in a chronological way – about several 'schools of translation' which have shaped the way translation theorists and practitioners have come to think about translation over the past decades. This chapter is therefore designed to provide a map of the translational landscape.

Early linguistic, textual and communicative approaches

One of the earliest schools of translation which gave language, text and communication a pride of place is the Leipzig school of 'translation science' (*Übersetzungswissenschaft*), as it was called. It originated in the 1950s as a sub-discipline of Applied Linguistics in the East German city of Leipzig, and it was from its start a strongly linguistically oriented school of translation. Leading scholars of the Leipzig school were Otto Kade, Albrecht Neubert, Gert Jäger and Gerd Wotjak. Many of the terms and concepts they developed have influenced translations studies to this day. They were highly innovative and original and are – maybe for political and ideological reasons and the existence of the 'Iron Curtain' until the late 1980s – all too often ignored or marginalized. It is interesting to note that some of the early insights of the Leipzig scholars coincide with the ideas independently developed by scholars in Britain (Catford), the United States (Nida, Jakobson), and France (Mounin), of whom we will learn more later in this chapter. In what follows I will briefly sketch some of the most important contributions of the Leipzig school to translation studies.

In an attempt to capture the commonalities and differences of translating and interpreting, Kade defined the two in the following manner, and I translate:

> We understand by translation a procedure involving a fixed and permanently available or *ad libitum* repeatable text in the source language into an always controllable and repeatedly correctible text in the target language. Interpreting we understand to be the translation of a text in the source language which is normally presented orally and once in a text in the target language that is controllable in a limited way only and hardly correctible due to time constraints.
>
> (1968: 35)

From this definition, we can also see that the importance of the concept of 'text' for translation – crucial in all later work on translation – was recognized early on in the Leipzig school.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Kade also considered translation as an act of bilingual communication consisting of three phases, with the translator being the man or woman in the middle mediating between a sender and a receiver who do not speak the same language. This conception has had a strong influence on the discipline of translation studies. However, as the criticism by Koller mentioned above suggested, this (abstract) model is clearly based on 'idealized actors' who are not subject to social or psychophysical conditions.

Another important achievement of the Leipzig scholars is the introduction of the concept of equivalence. Kade developed a simple typology of equivalence indicating the potential

relationships between source and target texts. He distinguished between four different equivalence types: Total Equivalence (e.g. proper names); Facultative Equivalence where there are many different correspondences at the level of expression but a 1:1 correspondence at the level of content (e.g. German *schreien*: English shout, scream); Approximative Equivalence where we find a 1:1 correspondence on the expressive level, and partial correspondence on the content level (e.g. English turtle, tortoise, German *Schildkröte*); Zero Equivalence where there is a 1:0 correspondence at both the level of expression and the level of content (e.g. *Sashimi*, a Japanese delicacy).

According to Kade, the selection of potential equivalents does not depend only on the (situational and cultural) context but also on a host of different factors such as text type (genre), purpose or function of the translation, and the nature of the envisaged addressees.

Under the influence of the then emerging new disciplines of text linguistics and socio-linguistics, the early focus of Leipzig scholars on system-based linguistics and lexico-structural equivalence was soon replaced by an interest in the embeddedness of texts in different socio-cultural situations, and with this in a communicative conception of equivalence implies that texts differ in terms of their communicative value. Communicative equivalence exists whenever the communicative value can be maintained in a translation (see also Jäger 1975: 36). Jäger also talks about 'functional equivalence' which is to hold whenever two texts are equivalent in their intralingual pragmatic meanings, their informational structuring and their significant meanings (translation mine). The role of the text, its macro- and micro-elements, its effect, and function is further stressed by Jäger, which makes him a pioneer in pragmatic translation studies.

This is even more the case in the work of Neubert (1973), who has early on turned to describe pragmatic aspects of translation. Neubert thought that functional equivalence would obtain when the translation of a text that belongs to a certain text type and a concrete communicative situation has the same communicative effect as the one achieved with the source text. According to Neubert, the text type is of prime importance in helping the translator to decide whether his translation should be 'faithful to the original' or 'appropriately adapted to the conventionalized text types in the target language community'. This is a very modern view; at the time it was truly innovative.

Taken together, the Leipzig school has made important pioneer contributions to the field of translation studies providing useful and precise definitions and models of translation, making the emerging discipline of translation studies more 'respectable' and 'scientific', recognizing the importance of the notion of 'equivalence', emphasizing that the text is a relevant unit in translation and last but not least anchoring translation in linguistics and pragmatics.

Not only for the Leipzig school of translation but also for translation studies, it was text linguistics which has had an important impact early on, only to be replaced later (from the mid-1980s onwards) by discourse analysis. Text Linguistics has its roots in the study of rhetoric, a branch of knowledge that, since Aristotle, has dealt with the means with which language is tailored to situation and addressee(s). As a system for producing texts, rhetoric traditionally

comprised a number of different phases, such as *inventio*, in which ideas suitable for a certain purpose were discovered in a text producer's mind; *dispositio*, whereby these ideas were ordered to fit the text producer's intention, or *elocutio*, involving the realization of ordered chosen thoughts via semantically and stylistically appropriate linguistic expressions. It is important to keep this tradition in mind, since it links with many later developments in linguistics and stylistics, speech act theory, relevance theory and linguistic pragmatics that have strongly impacted on translation studies.

An important early strand of text linguistics is connected with the work of systemic functional linguists Halliday and Hasan (1976). Prime concern for them in their early work is the 'texture' of a text that resulted from the connectedness of individual textual units through processes of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion as well as semantic relations which 'enable one part of a text to function as context for another' (Halliday and Hasan 1989: 48). Other fields of interest within text linguistics are the distribution of information as 'old information' (known per se or mentioned previously) and 'new information' (new for the addressee), referred to as Theme and Rheme or Topic and Comment, as well as related studies of lexicogrammatical and phonological devices employed to produce marked word order patterns for certain effects. All of these were later recognized as highly relevant for translation, for example by House (1977); Baker (1992/2011) or Gerzymisch-Arbogast (2001).

Particularly influential for translation studies has also been the work of de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). In trying to determine what it is that makes a text a text, i.e. a unified meaningful whole rather than a mere string of unrelated words and sentences, they set up seven standards of textuality: cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality. These were later famously made relevant for translation by Hatim and Mason (1990), and can be briefly characterized as follows: *Cohesion* is the network of lexicogrammatical and other relations that link various parts of a text. These relations organize a text by requiring readers to interpret expressions by reference to other expressions in the surrounding linguistic environment. *Coherence* is the network of conceptual relations that underlie the 'surface text'. It expresses the logical consistency of the sentences in a text in terms of content. While cohesion is a feature of the text, coherence relates to a reader's response to the text. The coherence of a text is the result of the interaction between knowledge presented in the text and readers' own knowledge and experience of the world. While cohesion and coherence are to a large extent text-centred, *Intentionality* is clearly user-centred, referring to the purpose a text producer has. *Acceptability* is equally user-centred, but relates not to the text producer but to the addressees and their socio-cultural background which predisposes them to 'accept' a text as coherent and cohesive on the basis of their ability to infer missing items. *Informativity* refers to new information presented in a text or to information that was unknown before, and *Situationality* concerns the relationship of a text to a particular socio-temporal and local context. Finally, *Intertextuality* is the relation between a given text and other relevant texts encountered in previous experience – obviously highly relevant for a translator.

Several of these textuality standards imply that in producing and understanding texts in translation one must go beyond linguistic analysis and look at a text's psychological and social basis. In doing this, one views the text in terms of the cognitive processes underlying its production and comprehension. These processes involve representation at three levels: the surface or verbatim level, the propositional text base and the situational model. Characteristic of this strand of text linguistics is its dynamic view of a text as part and parcel of human psychological and social activities. There is of course a great affinity between this paradigm and the practice of translation, the latter being never solely concerned with texts as linguistic strings but also with the human beings involved in selecting, comprehending, reconstituting and evaluating texts. On this view, then, the nature of a text is not to be found in the text itself as a static, independently existing artefact; rather it is to be sought in the kinds of actions human beings are capable of performing with a text as a communicative event. Especially influential in this paradigm of text linguistics have been models of cognitive-semantic relationships in the form of scripts, plans, schemata or frames – concepts that go back to Gestalt theory and Piaget. They have later frequently been applied to translation (e.g. by Wilss 1992). More recently, models of cognitive-neurological networks have been suggested, where general mental in combination with text linguistic activities are assumed to shed light on translation processes (see for example Price *et al*. 1999).

Other early – and in Western translation studies unfortunately often ignored – linguistically oriented studies of translation were conducted in Russia by Andrei Fedorov (1958) (see Pym 2014 and personal communication) and in the Prague school of functional linguistics with its early emphasis of functional styles and information organization. One of the members of the Prague school was Roman Jakobson, who, following his move to the United States, made a seminal contribution to the linguistically oriented view of translation as early as 1959. He distinguished basic types of translation and presented convincing arguments for the very possibility of translation (for details see Chapter 5).

In France, Georges Mounin (1963), another pioneer in linguistically oriented translation studies, developed his own theory of translation emphasizing that translation is a linguistic operation and a case of languages in contact. He took a decided stance against his contemporary structuralist believers in the impossibilities of translation and also argued against proponents of the linguistic relativity thesis (for more details see Chapter 5).

A fully explicated linguistic theory of translation was presented early on by J.C. Catford (1965) who – just as I am doing in this book – has looked at translation studies as a branch of Applied Linguistics (the subtitle of his book is: 'An Essay in Applied Linguistics'). For Catford, meaning is not assumed to be simply transferred from a source text to its translation; rather, it can only be replaced, so that it can function in a comparable way in its new context. This is a crucial insight indeed. While the idea of a transference of meaning implies that there is meaning in the original text that can somehow be taken out and given a new and different expression in another language, the idea of replacement suggests that the meaning of a text is a function of the relationship between text and context, and can thus only be replaced by somehow replicating the relationship. Such a view of meaning as being inextricably enmeshed

in the context of use of a linguistic unit, and the recognition that it is only through relating linguistic items to their context of situation that meaning replacement can take place was very new at the time. Catford is thus a pioneer in applying a functional linguistic theory to translation, the basis of which is the assumption that translation is possible because both original texts and translated texts can be relatable to functionally relevant features of the socio-cultural situation that envelope the texts.

Catford also makes a distinction between formal correspondence and textual equivalence in translation. He regards formal correspondence as a matter of the language system (*langue*), textual equivalence as a matter of the realization of that system (*parole*). Formal correspondence between linguistic units in the original and its translation exists when a TL category has approximately the same position in its system of langue as the corresponding category in the SL. However, in many cases involving typologically distant languages translation shifts will always be necessary. They involve departures from formal correspondence using shifts from lexis to grammar or grammar to lexis. For example, translations of English verbal aspects into German commonly involve shifts from grammar to lexis. For instance, the clause 'She was leaving the house, when the telephone rang' would normally be translated as 'Sie ging gerade aus dem Haus, als das Telefon klingelte', where the English aspectual form is expressed by the German lexical item *gerade*.

Another early linguistic theory of translation is Eugene Nida's (1964) socio-linguistic account of translation. Nida's interest in translation stems from Bible translation. In his view, translation is first and foremost an act that is directed at certain recipients, whose different knowledge sets, linguistic-cultural conventions and expectation norms need to be taken into account in translation. In Nida's view, it is only when a translated text is adapted to the needs of the new recipients that it can have the intended effect. But despite the necessity of adaptation, the original message remains very important and must be somehow maintained in the translation. In order to resolve this dilemma, Nida identified two different measures for producing and evaluating a translation: formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence, these two categories being not too different from Catford's distinction between formal correspondence and textual equivalence. Nida was strongly influenced by the early version of the transformational-generative model of grammar. In his hypothesized three phases of any translation process – analysis, transfer and reconstruction – he reconceptualized the linguistic concept of transformation as 'paraphrase'. The translator analyses the surface structure of clauses such that resultant paraphrases yield underlying 'kernel phrases' which are transferred into similar target-language structures that are in turn restructured into a target text. In Nida's view, the message presented in the source language is first linguistically analysed and broken down into observed grammatical relationships and the meanings of word and word combinations. The translator then mentally transfers this analysed material from the source language to the target language. Finally, she restructures the transferred material so as to make the message adequate for reception by the intended readers in the target language.

The early linguistic approaches reviewed above can all be characterized by what I have earlier (House 2009: 15) referred to as a distinct 'focus on the original text in translation',

with the original text undergoing analysis, transfer and remodelling. One might think, then, that this view of translation is not really different from classic contrastive analysis. But the focus in translation clearly differs from the focus in contrastive analysis. Contrastive analysis makes use of texts in order to demonstrate and exemplify abstract categories of the two language systems under analysis, and it uses information from these systems to come up with hypotheses about what certain parts of the systems mean semantically. In translation, on the other hand, we are focusing on the original (and the translated) text in that we analyse it and systematically link the forms and functions detected in the analysis in order to reveal the original author's motivated choices. Ultimately, linguistic translation analyses aim to empower the translator to make her own (grounded) choices.

The (neo)hermeneutic approach

Propagators of this approach (for example G. Steiner 1975; Paepcke *et al*. 1986; Stolze 1992; Kupsch-Losereit 1994) focus on the process of interpretation of the source text by a reader and her subjective understanding of the text given her personal background, knowledge of the world, knowledge of specific domains and genres, etc.

The assumption in this approach is that readers in understanding and interpreting actively and entirely make sense of the text. In other words, adherents of this approach deny that texts have independent core meanings. Thus, texts do not have a life of their own, they are only brought to life ('constructed') in the process of understanding and interpretation by a recipient. The translator 'appropriates' the meaning of a text; in her acts of understanding and interpreting a text, the translator constructs her individual mental representation of its meaning which she then reformulates in the target language. This reformulation is in essence not different from any other text production in the same language. In other words, rendering 'the meaning' of a text in another language and a new cultural context is clearly not of central importance here. What is of prime importance is the (constructed) representation of the text in the translator's mind – a decidedly mentalist approach. The translator as understander and interpreter of the original text is given a pride of place, and his creativity reigns supreme.

In interpreting a source text, a translator engages in a cyclical interpretation process, from the text to its interpretation and back again. This cycle will finally lead to a so-called 'melting of horizons' between the person of the translator and the text she is interpreting. In the neo-hermeneutic tradition it is also often stated that a translator 'identifies' with the message of the text (see for example Stolze 1989: 61), because it is only through such an act of 'identification' that a translator is able to be effective.

Understanding and interpretation of the original and the ensuing process of translation are individual creative acts that on principle defy systematization, generalization and rule giving. And there is no objectively restitutable meaning of a text. Translation appears to be, in the last analysis, a private affair. Such an extreme relativization of context is particularly inappropriate for translator training, let alone for translation quality assessment (see Chapter 8).

Descriptive translation studies

A predominantly comparative literature-oriented, but also target text-oriented approach to translation grew out of the work of a group of translation scholars who focused on the position and function of translations in the totality of the target-language literature. This approach has come to be known as 'descriptive translation studies'. Gideon Toury, a major proponent of the approach, thus states that 'a translation will be taken to be any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds' (1985: 20). The existence of a source text that served as a basis for the translation is tacitly assumed, but whether such a text actually exists and how the translation and this source text are related is irrelevant for determining what a translation is. This is of course very different from the early linguistic approaches reviewed in the previous section.

The dictum that 'translations are facts of one system only' (Toury 1985: 19) is a blueprint for how the translation process is to be examined: firstly, attention is turned to the translated text with no comparison with the original text; secondly, translational phenomena are examined by means of 'the mediating functional-relational notion of *translation equivalence*' (Toury 1985: 21). Despite this confirmation of the concept of equivalence, the importance of the source text that served as a basis for the translation is played down to a considerable extent. A major problem with this approach seems to be the following: how is one to determine when a text is a translation and when it is not? And, as Koller (2011) has rightly pointed out, regularities and conditioning factors in the translation need to also be specified in this paradigm. This means that one needs to work with some normative categories whenever equivalence relations come into play at a micro-level in the analysis. More recently, Toury (2012) has renewed his case for descriptive, historically and empirically oriented translation studies and their explanatory goal of applying exhaustive accounts of what has been regarded as 'translations' in the receiving culture. Toury also stayed true to his basic retrospective focus from the translated text to the original text, with his main orientation still being on 'actual translations' known in the target culture as translations. The strength of descriptive translation studies lies in an emphasis on solid empirical work, often in the form of detailed diachronic case studies and an insistence on fully contextualizing the texts both at the level of the reception situation and the receiving culture at large. In emphasizing the need to take account of the micro- (situational) and the macro- (cultural) context, translation scholars working in the Descriptive Translation approach often take a historic and a systemic perspective, focusing both on changes in time which translated texts underwent and on the relations translated texts have with other text in relevant target systems.

Postmodernist, postcolonial, feminist and deconstructionist views

Translation scholars in these approaches, which I here lump together, all extol the virtue of critically rethinking translation from philosophical, psychological, political or sociological viewpoints (see for example de Man 1986; Derrida 1985; Venuti 1992, 1995; Gentzler 1993). The main agenda of these scholars, many of them working in cultural studies, literary theory,

literary criticism and (comparative) literature, is to unmask ideological twists and unequal power relations reflected, for instance, in translation directions from and into English as a 'hegemonic language' or in consistent misrepresentation of the beliefs and conventions of non-mainstream parts of the population of a country. Other domains of interest in this paradigm include complaints about the non-visibility of the translator, an emphasis on the power translators have (and should recognize they have) in influencing national literatures and shaping literary canons as well as attempts to make transparent hidden processes of selecting texts for translation (and omitting others) and the (often also hidden) reasons for, and effects of, favoured strategies of translation. Translation theories are also critically reviewed and translation exemplars are scrutinized as to whether they perpetrate 'imperialism' or are of a 'cannibalistic' nature. In particular, linguistic approaches are targets of criticism since their belief in the relevance of the concept of equivalence in translation is considered 'essentialist' and not compatible with the relativism, subjectivism, and individualization of 'meaning' and the denial of an objective, mind-independent external physical reality (cf. Popper's 1976 World Three), whose properties exist beyond its subjective and social construction by human beings that lies at the basis of all postmodern and deconstructionist approaches to translation (see here also the criticism of Derrida by Searle 1977).

In the opinion of members of a group of so-called postmodern translation aesthetics (see also the discussion in Gentzler 1993: 182), for instance, translating means devouring the original, cannibalizing, hijacking, transforming and 'transcreating' it (see Vieira 1999). This means that the original text is 'eaten up' and the boundaries and hierarchies between original and translation disappear. The translator, vampire-like, takes the original as his nourishment, and in losing his former self-effacing role acquires a more important role as 'trans-textualizer'. As I asked some time ago: 'Are we here still talking about translation? I don't think so. The boundaries between translation and other text-transforming activities should be drawn clearly and as objectively as possible' (House 1997: 9).

Post-structuralist scholars have often been inspired by Walter Benjamin's ideas about translation in his famous essay 'Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers' (1923). Derrida (1985) for instance takes Benjamin's idea of the original's 'Überleben' in its translation as a starting point for rethinking the dichotomy 'original' versus 'translation'. He argues that it is from this function of providing an 'afterlife' that a translation gains its true value. Neither original nor translation, he assumes, form a coherent semantic unity but are rather made up of different pluralistic meanings. Even the notion of 'original author' is deconstructed, for instance by Foucault (1977), who conceives of the author of a text not as an actual individual but as a series of subjective positions, characterized by discontinuities such that the author's creative role is questioned as new issues are raised as to the origin of the discourse of any particular text.

Obviously we are here exclusively talking about literary translation. In much of the postmodern and deconstructionist work, however, this is not made clear at all. But we should not forget that literary translation makes up a very small part of all the translations produced worldwide.

Upgrading the status of the translator by making him more 'visible' is now often associated with the work of another scholar from literary studies, Lawrence Venuti (1992, 1995). In tune with postmodern and post-structuralist thinking, Venuti opposes relegating the translator's work to a secondary, dependent status, upgrading him to the status of an author. However, as Pym (2009) has convincingly argued, such blurring of the relationship between author and translator is more complex than proponents of literary ideologies are wont to think. Like Edmondson (1986) before him, Pym points to Goffman's (1981) insightful differentiation between the roles of animator, author and principal, where it is only the role of principal which carries ethical responsibility with it. Given this 'deconstruction' of the concept of authorship, clearly there is a difference between authors of original texts and translators of these texts. Pym also refers to evidence from empirical research of translation processes which shows that monolingual text producers ('authors') show differences in their text production strategies from bilingual ones ('translators'). I totally agree with Pym, who is of the opinion that translating is never the same as authoring a text from scratch.

An influential offshoot of postmodern and post-structuralist thinking and in particular the idea of increased visibility of the translator, is feminist translation studies (see Arrojo 1994; Simon 1996; von Flotow 1997; Castro 2009). The idea here is that female translators (but not only these) should no longer be reticent about openly showing their gendered voice in translation. Translators are alerted to accept their identity and its ideological implications, and to feel free to 'subvert' passages in texts they are to translate which run counter to a feminist stance, always acting against 'invisibilization' and 'essentialization'. As a woman I am certainly sympathetic to feminist issues. However, as a translation scholar, I am rather doubtful that translation is an appropriate site for the struggle for female equality and visibility.

Functionalistic, and action- and reception-theory related approaches

These approaches can be summed up in the statement: 'Die Dominante aller Translation ist deren Zweck' (The most important thing for every translation is its purpose). In their functionalististic 'Skopos theory' of translation Reiss and Vermeer (1984) state that it is the skopos, that is, the purpose of a translation, which eclipses all other considerations. Given the primacy of this purpose, it follows that 'der Zweck (der Translationshandlung) heiligt die Mittel (the end (of a translational action) justifies the means)' (Reiss and Vermeer 1984: 96, 101). A translation counts as a 'felicitous action' when it is interpreted by an intended recipient as sufficiently coherent with her situation (p. 112). Given the crucial role of the purpose of a translation, the original is of minor, secondary importance, it is 'de-throned' ('entthront') (Vermeer 1986:42), in fact it is reduced to what the authors call an 'Informationsangebot' (offer of information), which implies that it can be accepted, rejected or changed and 'improved' as the translator sees fit. The translator is given an important new role of 'co-author' (Vermeer 1994: 13), and here we see the affinity of this approach to the postmodern, post-structuralist ideas about translation discussed above.

I have earlier criticized this approach (see for example House 1997: 13) mainly because of

its failure to define precisely what is meant by ‘function’ (this is why I refer to this approach, admittedly in a derogative fashion, as a ‘functionalistic’ one). From the writings of Skopos theorists one can only deduce that they equate ‘function’ with the real-world effect of a text, similar to what in speech act theory is referred to as perlocution, a concept long abandoned from linguistic inquiry.

This target-oriented focus on the real-world effect of a text goes hand in hand with an extremely relativistic view of the meaning of the original text, which is in fact assumed to emanate from the minds of the readers of the translation.

As opposed to the literary theorists who focused exclusively on literary text and their translations, Skopos theorists rather one-sidely turn their attention to texts for quick consumptions, such as advertisements, instructions, leaflets, manuals, tourist brochures, business correspondence, sales slips and the like. These ephemeral texts may indeed have so little ‘core-value’ that they can easily be completely refashioned for new recipients. As I said above with reference to literary theorist, the selection of texts for translation may here also have twisted conceptualization and theorizing. Anyone with an interest in a greater variety of text, however, will not want to dismiss the idea that there is indeed what Popper (1976) has referred to as a ‘World Three’ – a world of objective knowledge embodied in theories, books, texts that possess some degree of autonomy from both their authors and from characteristics for controlling how they will be interpreted – and how they might be translated.

Given the functionalists’ concern with target audience reception and the target culture, this theory might be classicized as part of cultural studies, certainly not of linguistics, which is rightly regarded as an empirical science.

Discourse, pragmatic and functional approaches

The usage-oriented approaches of discourse, pragmatic and functional analyses are particularly appropriate for translation. The historical roots of discourse analysis range from classical rhetoric, Russian formalism and French structuralism to semiotics. In the 1970s, discourse analysis began to establish itself as a discipline in its own right. It was influenced by socio-linguistics with its emphasis on language variation and the crucial role of the social context; speech act theory, where a discourse is seen as a form of social action and co-operative achievement such that a speaker’s intention and her relationship with her addressee(s) are taken into account as added features of meaning; anthropology, where studies on the ‘ethnography of speaking’ link up with linguistics and stylistics – all these played an important part in widening our understanding of the role of discourse in human life. I have earlier integrated all these aspects into a multidisciplinary translation model for text analysis and evaluation by House which will be described in Chapter 8.

Branches of discourse analysis that are of immediate relevance for translation are contrastive rhetoric and contrastive discourse analysis. They compare underlying text conventions holding in different linguacultures and examine their influence on the production

and comprehension of different discourse types. Research methodologies employed in cross-cultural discourse analysis include discourse organization, coherence, use of cohesive devices, and the presence of reader or writer perspective. Findings suggest differences in the sequencing of topical strands in texts (linear or circular), presence or absence of digressions and other arrangements of textual parts in different genres and languages (cf. Connor 1996). The culture-specificity of discourse structuring is also exemplified in the work by Clyne (1987) and, with reference to translation, in my work (House 2006a) for the typologically close languages of English and German. Findings of a variety of contrastive discourse studies using diverse genres, subjects and methodologies led me to hypothesize different L1 and L2 discourse norms as the basis of the 'cultural filter' necessary in a certain type of translation. Contrastive discourse analyses are crucial for translation because they provide translators and translation evaluators with the necessary empirical foundation for explaining changes in the target text. There is a need for more language-pair specific contrastive discourse research. Translation studies would greatly benefit from its findings.

Another research strand that has had an impact on translation studies for the past twenty years or so is Critical Discourse Analysis (see for example Fairclough 1995). Here, power relations and ideology and their influence on the content and structure of texts are regarded as most important for the analysis of discourse.

The importance of the socio-cultural environment enveloping a text has been captured early on by the anthropologist Malinowski in his concept 'context of situation', which strongly influenced British contextualism (see for example Halliday 1994). The concept embraces the human participants in a situation, their verbal and non-verbal actions, the effect of these actions and other relevant features, objects and events. Detailed descriptions of the context of situation in which a given text functions, involve the notions of *Field* (the general sense of what the text is about, its topic and social actions), *Tenor* (capturing the interpersonal and role relationships, the writer's stance, and the participation of the addressees), and *Mode* (referring to the particular part played by the language used in the text, i.e. if and how a spoken or written medium is used, and how coherence and cohesion are manufactured). These categories have influenced what came to be known as *Register*, i.e. the variety of language according to use. *Register* is a semantic concept referring to configurations of meaning typically associated with particular situational constellations of *Field, Tenor* and *Mode*. In Register analysis, texts are related to context such that both are mutually predictable, the outcome being the isolation of different text types or genres. Register analysis has been fruitfully used in translation studies by House (1977, 1997) and Erich Steiner (2004).

Other suggestions of types of texts – a popular quest in Translations Studies – have involved the concept of 'function of language'. Many different views of functions of language have been proposed, most famously by Bühler (1934), Jakobson (1960), Ogden and Richards (1946), Halliday (1973) and Popper (1972). Although they vary greatly, a basic distinction between an informative, cognitive function and an interpersonal function to do with the 'me' and 'you' of language use can be found in all functional classifications. Classifications of language functions were often used to devise 'text typologies' following the equation 'one function – one

text type' (Reiss 1971). This equation has been very popular in translation studies, since it is often assumed that knowledge of a text type is an important prerequisite for effective translation procedures. Koller (2011), on the other hand, recommends a division into two main (idealized) text types for translation: *Fiktivtexte* und *Sachtexte* (fictional and non-fictional texts). However, preferable to any externally motivated text typology seems to be a view of a text as being in principle multifunctional (i.e. not embodying a predetermined function), such that each text is to be analysed and translated as an individual 'case', considered in its particular context of situation and culture on the basis of an explicit set of text linguistic procedures for describing and explaining how a text is what it is, how it fares in translation, and what the effect of the translation is in each individual case.

Such text-linguistically based, case-study approaches to translation can today be combined with large text corpora featuring original texts and translations in L1 and L2 in many different languages (see Kruger *et al*. 2011), fruitfully combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

3 Some new trends in translation studies

This chapter presents several interesting recent foci in translation studies ranging from a discussion of the role of ideology, ethics and socio-political issues in translation, translating in conflict zones and for minority groups to a new interest in historical translation studies and a view of translation as renarration and translation conceptualized as 'eco-translatology'.

Ideology in translation studies

Since the 1990s and with what has often been called the 'cultural turn' in translation, discussions about translation and ideology have become popular, attracting many scholars from diverse disciplines. The idea that translations need to be seen as both embedded in their specific social contexts and envisaged through the lens of the translator's stance is, however, not new. It has been stressed early on by Catford (1965), and indeed by most of the translation scholars operating in the systemic-functional paradigm including my own take on translation (House 2014). What is new, however, is a focus on culture as a site of ideological struggle, a view of translators as stimulators of 'resistance' of hegemonic influence, and a focus on how 'meanings' in texts serve to set up and maintain relations of power and domination. Translation is here seen as an ideal site for unmasking and resisting hegemonic structures. These concerns, like many others before, follow the development of a particular brand of discourse analysis: critical discourse analysis (see for example Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1997; Wodak 2013). From the viewpoint of critical discourse analysis (CDA), translation is regarded as a process that is inevitably influenced by the power differences between participants. CDA-inspired translation studies have dealt in particular with discourses of the media, news reporting, politics and institutions or advertising discourse (see for example Calzada-Pérez 2007; Valdeon 2007; Kang 2007; Kaniklidou 2013, Kaniklidou and House 2013). These discourse types seem to be particularly germane to showing that discourse is both socially conditioned and shapes and changes social relationships. One of the criticisms of CDA in general and CDA-influenced translation studies refers to the methodology which often appears to be impressionistic focusing on selected examples of salient differences in power and status rather than exhibiting a serious systematic and all-encompassing linguistic analysis. Power relations are assumed to exist even before the analysis and then projected onto the data, invariably proving the analyst's bias and preconceptions.

Similar to an interest in CDA in translation is the recent fascination with 'translation as ideology', with ideology as a crucial topic in translation studies, famously taken up by Hatim and Mason (1997) in their discussion of ideological mediation in translation and ways of revealing hidden, implicit ideology on translation. Mason has stated that for translation studies it might be advisable to regard ideology not in the standard sense of a political doctrine but as a 'set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts and other aspects of experience' (2010: 86).

As in CDA, looking for traces of implicit ideology in translation often ends up revealing relations of (asymmetric) power, misuse of power, and various manipulations in the interests of power – all these to be uncovered in the selection of texts for translation, the strategies used in the process of translation, and the (intended) impact on the recipients of the translation.

Ideology is also believed to be manifest in the ways translations are endowed with paratextual material that are used to frame the text such as prefaces, afterwords and other interpretative 'aids' (see Baker 2006, 2007). It is also evident in the publication choices made by publishers and others in power. As I have shown in House (2008), a book by the British philosopher Ted Honderich (2002) which was heavily critical of Israel and its politics, only briefly appeared in a German translation by a well-known publishing house before being swiftly removed from the market due to enormous ideological pressure by German politicians and the prevailing intellectual climate and public opinion in Germany. The text was later 'permitted' to be republished by a smaller, much less well-known publishing house equipped with an 'explanatory' preface guiding readers to the ideologically accepted interpretation of the work.

Revealing ideological biases as an agenda in translation studies is no longer a trend at the margins of the discipline but has come to inhabit a central space, to the point that some translation scholars maintain that the translator is invariably located in an ideological position in the target culture (see Tymoczko 2003). Other translation scholars depict the translator as more of a mediator with the translation inhabiting a 'third space' (House 2008). Still others maintain that translation theories that assume both a 'reality out there' and the existence of inherent 'kernels of meaning' in linguistic items are harbouring an an 'essentialist ideology' (S. Baumgarten 2012) – a terrible crime in the current non-essentialist zeitgeist. The author of this book openly and unashamedly professes to be a proponent of what Stefan Baumgarten and many others misrepresent as essentialism (see also my remarks above on p. 19).

There are also studies that link translation to the power and ideological influence that certain languages have upon others, for instance the current growing influence of English as a global, 'hegemonic' *lingua franca* on other languages through translation (see for example House 2013b, 2014). As corpus-based, diachronic research has shown (Becher 2011; House 2012a; and see also the discussion in Chapter 10) in the influential genres of business and science text, English as a global language does impact on texts in these genres in other languages. The imbalance of power fuelled by the status of a language and the preferred directionality of translation practices (from English into other languages) has also been investigated by Cunico and Munday (2007) who look at ideology in in the translation of scientific, political and other pragmatic texts and by Munday (2007) who focuses on the translator's ideology revealed for instance in particular linguistic choices (see also House 2012b; Mason 2014).

Ethics in translation studies

Another recent influential concern in translation studies is the issue of ethics. This question is

of course intimately tied up with the current focus not on the texts to be translated but on the person of the translator and her responsibility for and awareness of the ethics of her textual actions (see also the discussion in Chapter 12 on ethics in translation practice). Such thinking has been most associated with postmodern, postcolonial, feminist and post-structuralist trends in translations studies described in Chapter 2. The work by Levinas (e.g. 1989) on subjectivity and ethical responsibility which is in principle superior to any political considerations has been influential here, making translation scholars demand a heightened transcultural consciousness and reflection of preconceptions of translational actions and the ethical relationship between author, text and translator. As Inghilleri pointedly remarks: 'Once the space between the translator and the text [. . .] is acknowledged as irrefutably ethical, the task of the translator cannot be viewed as simply linguistic transfer, where this is understood as segregated from an ethical injunction' (Inghilleri 2009: 102). I might add that hardly anybody from a linguistic perspective on translation would look at translation as 'simply linguistic transfer' – this is just a misrepresentation which is unfortunately rampant in the field of translation studies today.

Political action in translation studies

The increasing concern about ethics in translation studies must be seen in the context of a growing interest in the social and political role of translators, intimately related to (yet unresolved) issues as to what constitutes a code of ethics and ethical practice. This seems particularly relevant when translators are involved in communities of practice set up in hospitals, prisons, courts of law, business and diplomatic contexts, and conflict and war zones.

Over the past decades, interest in the connection between translation and conflict and war has increased (see for example Tymoczko 2000) and with this a focus on texts that are ideologically laden, featuring a dominant discourse on 'terrorism', 'security' and 'intelligence'. As Salama-Carr (2013) explains, several factors are responsible for this interest in the 'politics of translation' and in a view of translation as 'an alternative space for political action' (Baker 2013). One of these factors is a move away from a naïve model of communication, where the objectivity and neutrality of mediation used to be taken for granted, towards a recognition of the important role of translation in constructing and representing as well as resisting dominant framing of such discourses of conflict and war. This new interest is of course also fuelled by the increasing influence of postcolonial studies (see above pp. 20–22 and the ideological and political engagement of many contemporary translation scholars). According to Brownlie (2007), such studies belong to the so-called 'committed approaches' to translation. These approaches can be linked to the discourse on human rights in general and in the globalized and widely reported conflicts in the Middle East in particular (see for example Guidere 2009, who has looked at French translation of Arabic originals published in *Le Courrier Internationale*).

As Salama-Carr (2011) has pointed out, war and conflict and the dangers to which translators are exposed have foregrounded the centrality and complexity of translation in

relation to conflict. Important in this respect is the work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and activist groups of translators such as Translators without Borders, as well as the framing of global news and ways of reframing and resisting mainstream discourse.

Narrative approaches to translation

Related to the concern about ethical practices in translation is the recent interest by translation scholars in applying narrative theory to translation (Baker 2006, 2014). In her narratological approach to the practice of translation, Baker assigns a central place to narratives – as distinct from some abstract ideals and values – in which human beings have come to embrace about the world they inhabit. Ethical choices and practices are found to be grounded in forms of rationality which are inherently subjective. The underlying assumption in the view of translation as renarration is that human beings have no direct, unmediated access to reality. Rather, access to reality is filtered through the stories (or narratives) we narrate to ourselves and others about the world around us. Further, in narrative theory, these stories also participate in configuring this reality. Translation is then seen as a form of (re)narration which constructs rather than represents events, states of affairs and human beings renarrated in another language. This means that a translator participates actively in configuring intercultural encounters which are embedded in the existent narratives and also contribute to changes and dissemination of these narratives through the translations (see Baker 2010a, 2013, 2014; Boeri 2009).

The narrative approach has important methodological consequences for translation studies: the unit of analysis is the narrative, i.e. a story and its participants, settings, plot, etc. The focus is here on the ways individuals and institutions configure and disseminate the narratives which make up our world and how translators intervene in this process. Such a methodology assumes that narratives can in principle be realized in variety of different media where narrators can rely on an open-ended set of resources for elaborating stories: written and spoken text, images, diagrams, colour, layout, lighting in theatre, choice of setting and so on (Baker 2014). Individual narratives can have both immediate, local significance and are able to function as parts of larger narrative entities which they can undermine, challenge and so on. Translations always function in a particular local environment, but they also contribute to the multitude of other narratives circulating around this environment. Narratives have no objectively delineable borders as they are constructed out of a continuous stream of consciousness and experience. However, inside narrative theory conceptual tools and typologies were developed which provide categories and a meta-language for analysis (see Baker 2014; also Boeri 2009; Harding 2012). Baker (2006, 2012) has distinguished four types of narratives: personal narratives, public narratives, conceptual narratives and meta-narratives. Personal narratives are stories which we tell ourselves and others about our own personal experience and our world. Public narratives are stories which we share with others and which can be and often are in this sharing process be elaborated or otherwise changed. Conceptual (or disciplinary) narratives are theoretical constructs designed in a particular discipline. Meta-narratives are narratives at a high level of abstraction which often are highly pervasive and influential and taken for granted. Examples are communism, terrorism or democracy. This conceptual

apparatus which – as Baker acknowledges – stems from work by Bruner (1991) and Somers (1992) can also be related to Dan Sperber's (1996) distinction of different psycholinguistic types of cultures as mental, public and cultural representations.

For an application of the narrative approach to translation another set of categories is also important: selective appropriation, relationality, temporality and causal emplotment. And another set of categories (essentially derived from Bruner 1991) comprises particularity, genericness, normativeness and narrative accrual.

Baker (2014) has applied the narrative approach to the role of translation in political conflict and war – another important new approach in translation studies. She demonstrates how crucial translation has become in negotiating relations, which make aggression and war acceptable, effectively constructing others as evil and destroyable enemies, thus legitimizing invasions and destructions for a country's citizens. An example is the translations of the statements of both Israeli and Palestinian spokesmen in the July 2014 war between Israel and Gaza. In the German news, the stories told by Israeli citizens who had been kept awake through sirens announcing Palestinian rockets were consistently framed as those of victims of serious attacks although no one was actually hit. By contrast, stories by inhabitants of Gaza, if not suppressed completely, were always connected with militant Islamist fighters.

Using the narrative approach, translators may reveal attempts to construct evil enemies and maintain current conceptions of worthwhile friends. Baker (2014) suggests that future work in the narrative approach to translation should engage in genres that lend themselves particularly to narrative analysis such as, for example, translated children's literature (see here also Kenfel 2014; House 2014a), news reporting or political speeches. She also suggests that future case studies provide models of analysis that can provide for systematic analysis at the micro level including the analysis of linguistic devices such as modes of address, deictics, etc.

The role of translation in multicultural societies

Another new area of interest lies in the exploration of the interface between translation and migration, minorities and the larger issues of power and inequality, and the role translation activities may play in shaping the relation between majority and minority groups in society. The importance of the role played by translation in the context of present day multi-ethnic and multicultural societies is now recognized. Translations into minority languages are crucial in that the help their survival and help build up confidence and pride of its speakers (Cronin 1998).

Micro-historical studies of translation

Another recent focus of interest in translation studies is what Munday (2014: 64) has called 'the micro-history of translation and translators'. Munday is here referring to a new strand of research that examines the use and value of manuscripts, archives, personal papers and post

hoc accounts and interviews with translators in order to come up with a 'micro-history' of actual translations and the everyday work of translators in the past and the present. Munday gives credit to Levi (1991) and Ginzburg (1993) who inspired him and made him apply their method of micro-history to translation so as to improve our understanding of individual translator's everyday life as a starting point for arriving at a larger picture of the history of translation in a particular social, political and cultural context.

The ultimate aim, as Munday states, is to 'construct a social and cultural history of translation and translators' (2014: 64). Munday draws on his own recent archival research conducted at various universities in Britain and the US, and provides examples from archives and papers in case studies of individual translators. Apart from meticulous documentation, this approach can generate new narratives of translator behaviour and reveal and challenge dominant historical discourses of text production and reception.

Eco-translatology

Finally in this chapter, a new approach originating in China, eco-translatology, needs to be mentioned. Eco-translatology has its own journal, the *Journal of Eco-Translatology*, founded in 2011, and its ideas have been disseminated in annual international symposia starting in 2009.

Eco-translatology looks at the phenomenon of translation as very broadly conceived eco-system in which the ideas of 'translation as adaptation and selection', of translation as a 'textual transplant' promoting an 'eco-balance' are integrated into an all-encompassing vision. Such a broad vision is today particularly important as globalization and internationalization tend increasingly to blur the lines between the particularity and culture-specificity of eco-contexts leading to a very new, not undangerous global similarity. Eco-translatology upholds contextual uniqueness, emphasizing the deep entrenchment of texts, translations and the human agents involved in their production and reception in their very own habitus. Proponents of eco-translatology (see Hu 2013) try to include all the factors of the surrounding environments that impact on the work of the translator.

The translator's choices may indeed be determined by her being immersed in the richness of the cognitive, social, situational and socio-cultural environment, but still she remains at the centre of it all.

With its cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary nature, the ecological approach to translation is both old and new. It is old because the notion of situational and cultural context which is all-important in the eco-translatology approach has been part and parcel of translation theory for a long time, at least in the Western world; witness Eugene Nida's and Peter Newmark's context-sensitive conceptualization of translation in the 1960s and 1970s and of course J. C. Catford's introduction of the anthropologist's Bronislaw Malinowki's concept of the 'context of situation' in the 1960s and 1970s as well as my own 1977 context-sensitive translation theory inspired by Hallidayan systemic-functional theory. In particular the notion of the 'cultural

filter' (see Chapter 8) in a certain type of translation is clearly compatible with the idea of eco-translatology as both approaches stress the need for the translator to take maximal account of the translational eco-environment. The eco-translatological approach is new because the notion of 'context' propagated here is broader than in the earlier theories, and time will tell whether such an extensive conception of context can pass the test of translational practice.

4 Culture and translation

This chapter looks at translation as intercultural communication. It will cast a critical look at the notion of ‘culture’ and its misuse in commercialized intercultural training contexts.

What is culture and what does culture do?

In several linguistic schools of thought, the concept of ‘culture’ has been seen as intimately linked with language. Thus, for instance, scholars operating in the Prague school of linguistics or inside Firthian-Hallidayan functional-systemic British Contextualism described and explained language as primarily a social phenomenon, which is naturally and inextricably intertwined with culture. In these two as well as other socio-linguistically and contextually oriented approaches, language is viewed as embedded in culture such that the meaning of any linguistic item can only be properly understood with reference to the context enveloping it. The question ‘what is culture?’ can thus be fruitfully extended to ‘how does culture affect the construction of meanings in a certain context?’.

The concept of ‘culture’ has been the concern of many different disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, anthropology, literature and cultural studies, and the definitions offered in these fields vary according to the particular frame of reference invoked. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) collected 156 (!) definitions of culture, and today such a list would undoubtedly be much longer. In all these attempts at coming to grips with the notion of ‘culture’, two basic views of culture have emerged: the humanistic concept of culture and the anthropological concept of culture. The humanistic concept of culture captures the ‘cultural heritage’ as a model of refinement, an exclusive collection of a community’s masterpieces in literature, fine arts, music etc. The anthropological concept of culture refers to the overall way of life of a community or society, i.e. all those traditional, explicit and implicit designs for living which act as potential guides for the behaviour of members of the culture. Culture in the anthropological sense captures a group’s dominant and learned set of habits, as the totality of its non-biological inheritance involves presuppositions, preferences and values – all of which are, of course, neither easily accessible nor verifiable. In what follows, the broad anthropological sense of culture will be pursued.

Four analytical levels on which culture has been characterized can be differentiated (see House 2005): the first one is the general human level, along which human beings differ from animals. Human beings, unlike animals, are capable of reflection, and they are able to creatively shape and change their environment. The second level is the societal, national level, culture being the unifying, binding force which enables human beings to position themselves vis-à-vis systems of government, domains of activities, religious beliefs and values in which human thinking expresses itself. The third level corresponds to the second level but captures various societal and national subgroups according to geographical region, social class, age, sex, professional activity and topic. The fourth level is the personal, individual one relating to

the individual's guidelines of thinking and acting. This is the level of cultural consciousness (see Huizinga 1938: 14f.), which enables a human being to be aware of what characterizes his or her own culture and makes it distinct from others.

Old thinking about culture: national characters, mentalities, stereotypes

In line with these different levels integrating human, social and individual views of culture, the concept of culture has been variously defined, most succinctly by Hofstede (1980) as a type of collective programming of the human mind. Others, such as Goodenough, proposed a more elaborate formulation:

> Whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its [i.e. a society's] members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves [. . .] culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their model of perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them.
>
> (Goodenough 1964: 36)

In these two definitions the important and recurrent aspects of culture are emphasized: the cognitive one guiding and monitoring human actions and the social one emphasizing traditional features shared by members of a society.

In what may be called 'the old thinking about culture', generalizations, often derogatively called 'essentialist generalizations', have long linked culture with race; nation and region lending themselves to cultural stereotypes, national mentalities and national characters. This line of thinking was boosted after the Second World War when US scholars tried to establish the nature of the German 'national character' characterized as 'the Authoritarian Personality' (Adorno *et al*. 1950). Other roots of such understanding of culture are to be found in wars, colonization and missionizing efforts, military and diplomatic incursions, global business campaigns, and also so-called peace research – all these displaying a fascination with 'the Other'. Often readers were alerted to find out 'rich points', 'hotspots' or 'critical incidents' (see for example Flanagan 1954; Agar 1994), points where culture members differ critically. Here we find simplified accounts of culture, oblivious of real socio-cultural diversity, complexity, hybridity, individuality and constant fluidity, often instrumentalized for the continued expansion of neo-liberal capitalism, global business ventures and global tourism, 'humanitarian' interventions in the name of 'peace', 'security', 'democracy' and the 'fight against terror'. The personnel involved in these inroads into other cultures need to be alerted about 'clashes of civilization' inhibiting 'the remaking of the world order' (Huntingdon 1997) and, dangerously setting up a wall between 'the west and the rest' and in particular fuelling beliefs of the progressive and democratic western countries and the backward Islamic states. So we have here a useful generalization for maintaining and spreading prejudice. Such generalizations are particularly strong for the commercialization of so-called 'intercultural training', which has proved to be extremely lucrative in globalized companies, where managers are taught how to perceive and behave in a foreign cultural environment with the cultural 'Other'.

Common to much of the ‘old thinking about culture’ is a trivialization and marginalization of language by prioritizing differences in behavioural etiquette, and by engaging in a (dangerous) discourse of exclusion. As pointed out by Edward Said (1993) in his description of how Orientalist discourse ‘orientalizes’ the Orient, cultures become sources of identity construction and of essentializing the Other whereby the – frequently – non-Western Other is described from the Western perspective: ‘Culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation state; this differentiates “us” from “them”, almost always with some degree of xenophobia’ (1993: xiii).

Prominent propagators of what I here call ‘the old thinking about culture’ are Hofstede (e.g. 1980), who has set up dimensions of cultural difference on the basis of the results of a questionnaire distributed to IBM employees in forty different countries, among them: Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individuality v. Collectivity, Masculinity v. Feminity. While such generalizations were heavily criticized in the literature, they have nevertheless been enormously popular in intercultural training programs.

The Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung (1985) suggested different culture-conditioned so-called intellectual styles, which he called Saxonic, Nipponic, Teutonic and Gallic. Here again we have far-reaching generalizations that lump together different groups, for example those speaking Romance languages or different Asian languages.

The American anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1976) classified cultures along assumed differences in the perception of time and space, and came up with categories such as monochrome v. polychrome cultures, high v. low context cultures.

Finally, the psychologist Alexander Thomas (1986) set up what he called ‘culture standard’ which refers to phenomena such as interpersonal distance, rule orientation and authority-prone thinking – which entire nations are thought to share.

New thinking about culture: small cultures, communities of practice, superdiversity

Along with the recent rise of postmodernist thinking in the humanities, the whole notion of culture has for some time now also come under attack (see for example Holliday 1999). The critique formulated in postmodernist circles can be summarized as follows: the very idea of ‘culture’ is an unacceptable abstraction, there are never ‘pure cultures’ and there are no such things as ‘social groups’, because these groups are constantly destabilized by external influences, internal restructuring, and individual idiosyncrasies and actions. Cultures themselves are, on this view, mere ideologies, idealized systems simply serving to reduce real differences that always exist between human beings in particular socially and geographically delimited areas. Is the very concept of a ‘culture’ therefore useless, in particular for an eminently practice-oriented field such as translation? Surely not. In the empirical social sciences, attempts to ‘problematize’ and ‘relativize’ the concept of ‘culture’ to the point of denying its usefulness altogether have as yet not prevented solid ethnographic descriptions.

Moreover, if such criticism were taken to its logical conclusion by social scientists, ethnographic descriptions would no longer exist.

One recent approach which seems to be particularly well suited to resolve the hotly debated issue of generalization v. diversification and individualization of cultures is the one by Sperber (1996). Sperber views culture in terms of different types of 'representations' (which may be representations of ideas, behaviours, attitudes etc.). Within any group there exists a multitude of individual 'mental representations', most of which are fleeting and individual. A subset of these representations, however, can be overtly expressed in language and artefacts. They then become 'public representations', which are communicated to others in the social group. This communication gives rise to similar mental representations in others, which, in turn, may be communicated as public representations to others, which may again be communicated to different persons involving mental representations and so on. If a subset of public representations is communicated frequently enough within a particular social group, these representations may become firmly entrenched and turn into 'cultural representations'. The point at which a mental representation becomes sufficiently widespread to be called 'cultural' is, however, still a matter of degree and interpretation, as there is no clear division between mental, public, and cultural representations, which may be taken as a rational argument against those facile and stereotypical statements that make up pre-judgements, or prejudice.

A conception of 'culture' as a 'mental category' is also reflected in the following statement by Baumann: 'Culture can thus not be regarded as "a real thing", but an abstract and purely analytical notion. It does not cause behaviour, but summarizes an abstraction from it, and is thus neither normative nor prescriptive' (Baumann 1996: 11).

Members of a particular culture are constantly being influenced by their society's (and/or some of the society's cultural subgroup's) public and cultural representations (with regard to values, norms, traditions etc.). This influence is exerted most prominently through language used by members of the society in communication with other members of the same and different socio-cultural groups. Language as the most important means of communicating, of transmitting information and providing human bonding has therefore an overridingly important position inside any culture. Language is the prime means of an individual's acquiring knowledge of the world, of transmitting mental representations and making them public and intersubjectively accessible. Language is thus the prime instrument of a 'collective knowledge reservoir' to be passed on from generation to generation. But language also acts as a means of categorizing cultural experience, thought and behaviour for its speakers. Language and culture are therefore most intimately (and obviously) interrelated on the levels of semantics, where the vocabulary of a language reflects the culture shared by its speakers.

Given the recent widespread critique of the concept of 'culture' as an untenable generalization, we must ask whether it is possible to talk of the 'culture' of a speech community as though it were a static, monolithic, homogeneous entity. Has not the extension of 'culture' beyond the traditional ethnographic concern with 'the way of life' of indigenous peoples to complex modern societies brought about a widespread complexification and problematization of the concept of 'culture' which renders it useless as a methodological and

conceptual entity? Obviously there is no such thing as a stable social group uninfluenced by outside influences and personal idiosyncrasies, and obviously it is wrong to assume a unified culture out of which all differences between people are idealized and cancelled out. There may be some justification in trying to describe culturally conditioned discourse phenomena from the dialectically linked etic (culturally distant) and an emic (culturally intrinsic) perspective (see also Hymes 1996 for further argumentation). Further, linking 'culture' to concepts like 'discourse' clearly reduces the risk of ethnic and national stereotyping through prescribed difference because the focus in a pragmatic-discourse approach is on social groups displaying patterned, cohesive, varied, negotiable and changing verbal actions (cf. the critical account of discourse by Blommaert (2005)).

In view of the current doubts about the 'essentialist' concept of culture, it may be advisable to look at culture as a diversified entity that is dynamic, fluid and hybrid with cultural borders being increasingly difficult to determine in a globalized world. Cultures are more and more interconnected and 'superdiverse' through multiple interactions and exchanges – not least through the increasing number of translations worldwide. So the assumption of a smaller unit than 'culture' such as 'small culture' (Holliday 1999, 2012) and 'communities of practice' (Wenger 1989) as well as considerations of cultures as being characterized by 'superdiversity' (Blommaert 2013) may be eminently more practicable and useful.

In several linguistic schools of thought, 'culture' has long been seen as intimately linked with language in use. Thus, for instance, scholars operating in the Prague school of linguistics or inside Firthian-Hallidayan functional-systemic British Contextualism described and explained language as primarily a social phenomenon, which is naturally and inextricably intertwined with culture. In these two as well as other socio-linguistically and contextually oriented approaches, language is viewed as embedded in culture such that the meaning of any linguistic item can only be properly understood with reference to the cultural context enveloping it.

Translation as intercultural communication

Given the new thinking about culture described above, the idea of translation as a specific type of intercultural communication also needs to be seen in a new and different light. Intercultural communication can be described as 'social practice in motion' (Piller 2013), as a discursive construct in a certain context. Linking 'culture' and 'intercultural communication' with 'motion' is famously encapsulated in the statement: 'Culture is a verb' (Street and Thompson 1993).

'Culture' and all those cultural differences celebrated in the old, reductionist thinking about culture as well as intercultural communication are only relevant in an interaction and in the process of translation if and when it is made relevant. They do not pre-exist, they are not 'essentially' and permanently present, but need to emerge in particular context and realized in discourse. In Piller's words: 'For intercultural communication studies to be meaningful in an increasingly interconnected world, to be sound research and to be socially relevant, they need to eschew a priori definitions of culture' (2013: 9). Such a view harks back to Geertz's (1973)

early ideas of seeing culture as inextricably bound up with context: 'Culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviours, institutions or processes can be causally attributed: it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly – that is, thickly, described' (1973: 14).

'Culture' in this conception of intercultural communication is not something that exists external to it. Rather, intercultural communication is one particular domain where 'culture' involving the way of life of different groups (be they (intra)national, ethnic, relating to different communities of practice) are in situ constructed. Different 'cultures' can also be seen as constructs, which can be enacted in intercultural communication by social agents to (re)produce social categories and boundaries.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, earlier research into intercultural communication focused on misunderstanding, cross-cultural failure, anomie, culture shock and in general highlighting cultural differences (see A. Thomas 1986; Agar 1994; Coupland *et al*. 1991; House *et al*. 2003). And as Sarangi (1994, 1996) pointed out, much of cross-cultural and intercultural discourse takes for granted differences in understanding and behaviour by members of different 'cultures'. Similarly, Hinnenkamp (1987) has warned that 'whenever there is a need for a global explanation of differences between members of different speech communities, the culture-card is played – the more distant in geographic and linguistic origin, the more cultural difference' (1987: 176).

Recently, however, intercultural research increasingly focuses on how interactants manage to understand one another, and how intercultural understanding is constructed in processes of translation (Bührig *et al*. 2009; House 2011a). Intercultural communication is now often explored from a post-structuralist perspective, one that is dynamic, critical, socially constructed, dialogic and ecological. Scholars such as Suresh Canagarajah (2013) have recently advocated the adoption of a cosmopolitan rather than an intercultural rhetoric, one that is important for global citizenship and one that does emphasize universal or common values. This cosmopolitan turn requires a new complex framework not necessarily compatible with traditional culturally oriented view of communication.

One of the most challenging issues today concerns the tension between the traditional view of intercultural communication which is based on a solid monolithic notion of culture, and a postmodern and cosmopolitan view of intercultural communication which emphasizes a 'diverse and complex notion of culture' (Atkinson and Matsuda 2013: 234).

Translation as intercultural communication is a today an immensely popular area of research, which is, however, also laden with populist assumptions of the type described above as 'the old thinking of culture'. For translation, we need to base our judgements about when and how a 'cultural filter' (see Chapter 8) is to be applied in the process of translation, on serious qualitative ethnographic and contrastive discourse analysis based on detailed micro- and macro-contextual analyses.

Part II

Translatability, universals, text, context and translation evaluation

This part of the book deals with several important phenomena and domains of translation theory: (un)translatability, text and context, and evaluation of translation. Chapter 5 discusses the philosophical issues surrounding the (im)possibilities of translation. Chapter 6 looks at universals of translation; Chapter 7 discusses the relationship between text and context and presents my own functional- pragmatic take on translation equivalence. Finally, Chapter 8 looks at various ways of translation evaluation that depend on how equivalence is interpreted in each one of them.

5 From untranslatability to translatability

This chapter looks at the philosophical, linguistic and socio-cultural underpinnings of (un)translatability and its limits.

‘Linguistic relativity’ and translation: a historical overview

In contrast to the view that language ‘reflects’ the culture of a social group, the ideas that came to be known as ‘linguistic relativity’ imply the very opposite: language in its lexicon and structure has an influence on its speakers’ thinking, their worldview and their behaviour.

While structural linguistics has left the translator with an ultimate uncertainty as to what the full meaning of a particular linguistic form is, this disquietening uncertainty has increased substantially under the impact of theories about the ‘hidden metaphysics’ or worldview that languages are said to embody. In both the traditional mentalist and rationalist-universalist views, language is thought to be but a tool operated by something deeper – thought, reason, logic, cognition – which functions in line with biological-neurological mechanisms common to all human beings. Inside this framework, different languages are seen merely as parallel instruments embodying this universal reason, and varying only along specifiable parameters. On this view, any text can be readily translated from one language into another. Humboldtian and Whorfian views, however, imply the very opposite: language – in its structure and lexicon – has an influence on thought and behaviour, and this influence has important consequences for the possibility (or impossibility) of translation.

The idea that the individual’s mother tongue is the primary source of socialization and cognitive conditioning goes back to German idealistic philosophy. Johann Georg Hamann handled the question of the influence of language on thinking, and Johann Gottfried Herder also regarded languages as embodying specific mental characteristics of their speakers, languages being but reflections of a certain ‘national mentality’ – an idea that was later also taken up by Wilhelm Wundt, who stressed the interconnectedness of language and thought in his ‘*Völkerpsychologie*’. But it was Wilhelm von Humboldt who became the first influential propagator of the idea that every language, as an a priori framework of cognition, determines the ‘*Weltanschauung*’ of its speakers. However, Humboldt also looks upon language as a self-contained, creative, symbolic organization, as ‘*energeia*’ in a speaker – an idea later taken over in the twentieth century, most prominently by Chomsky in his early work. Language, in this view, is conceived of as an active and dynamic force, which not only refers to experience and (what later came to be called) ‘context’, but also defines it for the speaker, because he unconsciously extrapolates from the language’s implicit expectations. Any natural language is believed to have an ‘inner form’ peculiar to it, just as the ‘external’ (superficial) language structure varies widely among languages, This spiritual structure that languages possess corresponds to the thought processes of its users. In Humboldt’s view, then, languages lie at the interface between objective reality and man’s conceptualization of it. They act like coloured

glasses, forcing speakers to perceive reality in language-specific ways (see Brown 1957: 116).

Humboldt's ideas are, however, not as radically and simplistically deterministic as they are often made out to be: Humboldt's very idea of language as a creative and active entity also led him to believe that the laws of thought are strictly the same in all languages – an idea further developed by Chomsky – and that in fact: 'Jede Sprache besitzt die Geschmeidigkeit, Alles in sich aufzunehmen und Allem wieder Ausdruck aus sich verleihen zu können'. For Humboldt, then, language is no ready-made 'ergon', ('Werk'), but rather 'eine Thätigkeit' (1836: lvii), an immensely flexible system, open not only to new words but also to new concepts and ways of thinking transcending itself and its contexts of immediate use.

In essence, this view of language implies already Roman Jakobson's well-known axiom of expressibility and the concomitant law of universal translatability, i.e. 'all cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language' (1959: 234). In other words, Humboldt cannot really be seen as a one-sided determinist, whose ideas deny the very possibility of translation.

Such a one-sided interpretation of Humboldt's ideas was, however, spread some hundred years later in Germany, when his ideas were reformulated by a group of linguists often referred to as neo-Humboldtians, among them Jost Trier, Karl Vossler, Johann Leo Weisgerber and Helmut Gipper.

Trier (1934) believed that the lexical field made up of conceptually related words corresponds to a conceptual field, the lexical field being only the outward manifestation of an underlying conceptual field, with the sum of all the conceptual fields in a given language making up the *Weltanschauung* embodied in that language and in its speakers. Since lexical fields differ from language to language, the corresponding conceptual fields and their sum total, the worldview, are likewise not the same for any two languages: speakers of different languages have different conceptions of reality.

Johann Leo Weisgeber (1929) also looks upon a person's mother tongue as an intermediary, a 'geistige Zwischenwelt', enabling contact between human beings and reality, and thus channelling speakers into a specific *Weltanschauung*. On this view, the individual's way of perceiving and thinking about the world are completely determined by her native tongue. Weisgerber maintains, for example, that although the human sense of smell is normally equally well developed in all humans, speakers of German do not rely on this sense much because there are so few terms expressing the sense of smell in German. Vision, on the other hand, is by far the most important sense organ for German speakers because it has the most differentiated terminology. For Weisgerber, then, language (as an undifferentiated whole) determines cognition and behaviour. Similarly, Karl Vossler maintains that we are all enslaved by the 'inner nature' of our language, 'out of which we neither can nor wish to escape' (Vossler 1932: 197).

To bridge the gap between different languages seems to be, in this neo-Humboldtian framework, a hopeless undertaking. To translate is theoretically impossible, for how can any

translator rid himself of the chains of his own language-cum-worldview, how can she ever know how speakers of the language into or out of which she is to translate, interpret reality? Vossler states categorically: 'The inner language form is untranslatable' (1932: 182).

For the neo-Humboldtians, who interpret the 'meaning' of a linguistic unit as a concept residing in a speaker-hearer's mind, translation is thus impossible because of the ultimate inaccessibility of that meaning form outside of the language inside which it is encapsulated. Far from being a reconstitution of something like the 'objective content' or the 'meaning' of a text, translation becomes at best, in Gipper's (1966) words, 'a kind of spiritual metamorphosis'.

Neo-Humboldtian versions of the connection between language and thought repelled many scholars because of the missionary pathos of their presentations – Harold Basilius (1952: 99), for one, called Weisgeber's diction 'hieratic' – and because of the sporadic ethnocentrism marking it along with much other work in the early 1930s in Germany. The relativity postulate put forward by Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, on the other hand, was given much more serious attention in linguistic circles, especially in the United States. Sapir (1921, 1949) and his disciple Whorf (1956) advanced basically comparable ideas. Sapir expresses their crux in the following manner:

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone [. . .] but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society [. . .] the real world is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group [. . .] the worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same worlds with different labels attached.
>
> (Sapir 1949: 162)

Here we have the same hypothesis of 'linguistic determinism' and its logical correlate, 'linguistic relativism', that was put forward by the neo-Humboldtians – from which in theory the same consequences for translation should follow. As opposed to the neo-Humboldtians, however, Sapir and especially Whorf made at least some attempts to prove these ideas empirically. Whorf adduced a whole catalogue of impressive data illustrating the great differences between American Indian languages and what he called Standard Average European (SAE) languages, i.e. the undifferentiated collectivity of English, German, French, Italian, etc. Like Trier and Weisgerber, Whorf also inferred mental and behavioural differences from differences between languages on the level of lexis. However, he particularly emphasized grammatical structure as the crucial feature in the connection between language, thought and the segmentation of reality.

While Whorf examined only such vastly different languages as SAE and American Indian languages, it is not difficult to list many other instances of grammatical diversity among the languages of the world: languages differ strikingly in the grammatical categories that are obligatorily represented: for instance, the category of number is not obligatory in Chinese; Fijian has a four-way number system for personal pronouns (singular, dual, paucal, multiple) but no number at all for nouns; gender is likewise not found in all languages, and the number of gender distinctions varies greatly in languages that have gender; many languages have an elaborate apparatus of aspects: momentaneous, continuative, incentive, cessative, durative,

durative-incentive, iterative, momentaneous-iterative, and so forth. This listing of grammatical differences between the languages of the world could obviously be extended at great length. Now if languages display such striking grammatical differences, and if – as Whorf maintains – linguistic form has a truly 'tyrannical hold' upon our way of thinking and perceiving, one might conclude that the theoretical possibility of translating, not only from and into SAE and American Indian languages, but also from and into many other languages, seems to be denied. If all our knowledge is mediated through our native language, it is not possible for human beings to rid themselves of that mediating influence. Given Whorf's (and the neo-Humboldtians') implicit mentalistic view of meaning as images or concepts present in speaker-hearers' minds, it is logically impossible to know any foreign language, let alone translate, for the cognitive differences between members of different language communities will result in different and unknowable concepts or images of the same referents in their minds. One can never know the objective intellectual content of any foreign language, because this foreign language has to be learned in exactly the same way as any aspect of reality which is subject to, and shaped by, native-tongue conditioned ways of thinking.

Also, since in translation grammatical form must necessarily change, the kind of grammatical meaning that Whorf imputed as being present in language users' minds, is, of course, routinely and necessarily lost in translation. On Whorf's view, then, a translation being thus formally different from its original, would no longer be a translation, but a 'transfiguration'. Hence, we may say, with Feuer (1953: 95) that linguistic relativity is the doctrine of untranslatability par excellence.

In the English-speaking world, the linguistic relativity postulate is often also referred to as the 'Sapir-Whorf-Korzybski' hypothesis, because Alfred Korzybski and other members of the General Semantics movement were strongly influenced by Whorfian ideas and also emphatically stressed the conditioning influence of language on thought (see Joseph 1996: 365–404). Unlike the neo-Humboldtians in Germany, who tended to stress the rich cognitive implications of one (the 'primary') language as opposed to others, the motivation behind the General Semanticist school was more pragmatic, i.e. they wanted to liberate and emancipate speakers from the traps of commercialism, political propaganda and other 'hidden persuaders' which were fast spreading in the mass media in the USA and elsewhere. They alerted consumers to the dangerous influence language may exert on its unsuspecting speakers by projecting illusions of reality through its arbitrary structures and words. These ideas had many followers – from Marshal McLuhan and his warning that the 'medium is the message' to today's critical discourse analysts, feminist linguists and politically correctivists, who warn against the subtle and nonetheless pernicious influence language can exert on thought and behaviour.

Humboldtian and Whorfian ideas were, however, also often perverted in that the superiority of one specific language was assumed, whereby speakers of that language were also necessarily to be understood as superior to speakers of more 'primitive' languages. Having stressed the deplorable ethnocentrism which some German linguists of the 1930s in Nazi-Germany had embraced, I have also to point out that the misuse of Whorfian thoughts is far

from being a specificity of German linguists of a particular period of history. In a well-known early book on translation (Brower 1959) – which, among other reputable work, contains Jakobson's seminal article 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation' – Willa and Edwin Muir write about 'Translating from the German', linking the nature of the German sentence structure with the mental make-up and behaviour of the Germans, and comparing it all with English sentences and the English mentality:

> The shape of the German language affects the thought of those who use it and disposes them to overvalue authoritative statement, will power and purposive drive. In its emphasis on rigid subordination and control, the structure of the German language conditions the kinds of thought that it expresses. One could deduce Hitler's Reich from the ruthless shape of the German sentence [. . .] Nor should we forget that the favourite German word of abuse is 'Scheiss'. So the right image for the German sentence is that of a great gut, a bowel, which deposits at the end of it a sediment of verbs [. . .] To turn classical German into sound democratic English – there is the difficulty.
>
> (1966: 96)

Reading cognitive-behavioural implications into language structure in this way is, of course, a total misuse of Humboldt and Whorf, and it is perhaps not completely absent from much of today's allegedly deconstructivist, politically correct, feminist and critical discourse analysis.

Recent empirical research on linguistic relativity and its impact on translation

While there have been surprisingly few empirical studies testing the Whorfian postulate in the last forty years or so, interest in the question of how the language we speak influences the way we think and act has recently resurged, and a number of empirical studies have examined how language, thought and reality are interconnected in clearly delimited areas (for overviews see Lucy 1992, 1997). Lucy (1997) divides this research into structure-centred studies, domain-centred studies and behaviour-centred studies. In structure-centred studies (such as Whorf's comparisons of Hopi and English), observed structural differences between languages are taken as a starting point for examining behavioural differences. Examples are Lucy's (1992) study of how differences in grammatical number marking in English and Yucatec-Maya affect speakers' performance in tasks of remembering and sorting, or Slobin's (1997) finding that lexicalization patterns in different languages cause speakers to describe motions in typologically distinct ways leading to distinct narrative styles in the different languages. Domain-centred studies (such as the classic studies of the lexical encodability of colours) start from segments of experienced reality and investigate how different languages encode these segments. Members of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, for instance, looked at how space is handled in different languages using a variety of elicitation tasks, and found that speakers of different languages respond to these elicitation tasks in ways corresponding to their verbal practices. Behaviour-centred studies start from observed behaviour in different linguacultures – following in essence Whorf's classic example of accidental fires attributed to linguistic usage. Noteworthy in this paradigm are Finnish studies (see references in Lucy 1997: 303), in which the higher rates of occupational accidents in Finnish-speaking contexts as compared to Swedish-speaking contexts are explained with

reference to structural differences and differences in orienting meanings between Indo-European languages such as Swedish and Ural-Altaic ones such as Finnish.

Research such as the above support the linguistic relativity postulate in specified ways. Structural differences, as Lucy (1997: 308) rightly points out, are of central importance in any comparison of the meaning potential of two languages. Clearly, therefore, given that language structures necessarily change in translation, it is necessary that any argument concerning the feasibility of translation has to be located at some other linguistic level, i.e. the level of discourse. Since discourse is realized inside the social and cultural traditions in the two linguacultures meeting in translation, and these can be analysed and compared, a basis for translatability may be guaranteed. Recent attempts at examining differences between languages at the discourse level (see for example Chafe 2000 and Slobin 2009) have pointed to differences in the conceptualization of certain domains and to differences in speaker orientations to space, time, motion, to the reality of what is being said or the interaction between speaker and hearer themselves. But these differences are unlikely to amount to insuperable difficulties in translation, making translation ultimately impossible.

Relativizing assumptions on non-translatability

The consequence of the Humboldtian and Whorfian postulate for translation seems to be the denial of its theoretical possibility – 'theoretical' because the practice of translation flies in the face of this dictum; translation practice has been a thriving business from time immemorial! So why should we be faced with such an apparent contradiction? One obvious answer might be: because of the nature of language and the nature of human beings. Arguing against the 'linguistically atomistic' nature of many early Whorfian studies, Longacre stated over sixty years ago: 'Language is not utterly at the mercy of its own distinctions and categories, but has within itself resources for outstripping and transcending these categories' (1956: 304). This means that languages are not really that different from the viewpoint of the potential of the whole system, i.e. the differences between languages are not so much in kind as in the degree of explicitness and emphasis: what one language has built into the layers of its structure, another language expresses only very informally and sporadically, but all languages have the resources to express any experience or state-of-affairs in a comparable manner (see Jakobson 1959: 234, and also Sapir, who is often only quoted as a radical relativist, but writes 'both Hottentot and Eskimos possess all the formal apparatus that is required to serve as matrix for the expression of Kant's thought' (1921: 210)).

Another argument relativizing the force of linguistic relativism on translation is language change (see Ortega y Gasset 1960: 60). Languages change constantly; so does our experience and conception of the world around us. But the two do not change at the same pace or in direct parallel. Any language is full of fossils or anachronisms, and at any particular time much of language is conventionalized and automatic (see the relevant experimental evidence described by Langer, e.g. 1989). The road from language forms to consciousness is still largely unknown and may be more complicated than is often assumed. Conclusions as to direct correlations

between language thought and reality can therefore not be drawn.

Further, due to each individual language user's creativity and flexibility, and simple cognitive competence, language can hardly ever have an overpowering influence on its users, i.e. we might supplement the axiom of expressibility with an axiom of conceivability. Langacker puts this nicely: 'We are perfectly competent of forming and mentally manipulating concepts for which no word is available. We can make up imaginary entities at will, and if we so choose, proceed to name them. For example, imagine a unicorn with a flower growing out of each nostril' (1967: 40).

How well the influence of language on cognitive capacity, on the routes, rates, and quality of human thinking can be counteracted is demonstrated by the (obvious) fact that different worldviews or philosophical positions have been expressed in the same language, and the same philosophical position has been expounded in structurally very different languages: Descartes, Comte and Bergson had the same grammatical structure at their disposal, and Aristotelian metaphysics has been developed by Arabic and Hebrew thinkers as well as by medieval Christian philosophers. The precariousness of stating a dependence of worldview on language is illustrated by Stuart Chase's (1953: 104–6) prognosis that Marxism would never be able to take roots in China because language barriers against Marxism would be too difficult to overcome.

Further, the very concept of one single monolithic and unchangeable mother tongue as an instrument of eclipsing powerful cognitive influence needs to be relativized. There may be precariously little justification in speaking of any complex language community's speakers being conditioned in comparable ways: within one language community, contrasts in codability, grammatical structure as well as discourse norms may be just as great as between different language communities. Certain subgroups, e.g. professional ones, in a language community may have developed highly differentiated vocabularies and grammatical and discoursal norms deviating from usage normative in other subsections of complex societies. Thus the validity of the Wintu verb may be seen to have a direct translational equivalent in the kind of language used by scholars in professional English publications – although, of course, in the latter case the concern with evidence is not reflected in the method of conjugating verbs. To posit habitual modes of thought of whole linguistic communities may thus turn out to be phantasmagorical concepts because in any complex community a subsection may be found that shares the cognitive propensity of another supposedly very different linguaculture.

In a world which has either always been, or is now fast growing to be, bilingual or multilingual, there can hardly be an overriding influence of 'the mother tongue' as a thought and behaviour-conditioning instrument. Second and foreign languages are acquired by individuals to admirable degrees of perfection, and the world is full of bilingual and multilingual individuals, the monolingual person being rather an exception. John Macnamara's (1970) early *reductio ad absurdum* of the impossibility of both bilingualism and translation on account of linguistic relativism is still valid today. Macnamara had argued that, following a strong Whorfian hypothesis, a bilingual person would hardly manage to communicate with himself because, in switching to language B, he would never be able to understand or explain what he

had just communicated in language A – a patent reduction *ad absurdum*.

In sum, then, linguistic relativity, though clearly affecting, in specified areas, some of our cognitive behaviour, can be counteracted. In other words, while it is undeniably true that differences in codability and obligatory structural distinctions in languages can have specifiable effects on perception and thinking processes and behaviour, these effects do not amount to impenetrable differences in worldview between different linguacultures. There is always an escape from the trap of one's language – through language itself, through the creativity, dynamism, flexibility, as well as the complexity and basic comparability of both individuals and languages. Translation is not in principle impossible.

Culture, context and translatability

Linguistic-cultural relativity and translation

Such a more positive approach to translatability derives from linking linguistic diversity with external differences of historical, cultural and social background, rather than insisting on the overriding importance of linking cognitive and linguistic differences. If languages are seen to be structured in divergent ways because they embody different experiences, interests, conventions, priorities, values, then the importance of what may be called linguistic-cultural relativity emerges. Cultural knowledge, including knowledge of various sub-cultures, has long been recognized as indispensable for translation, as it is knowledge of the application linguistic units have in particular situational and social contexts which makes translation possible. 'Application' refers here to the relation holding between an expression and the cultural situation in which it is used, its pragmatic meaning. In establishing equivalences between linguistic units in translation, the notion of 'application' is crucial: if sense and reference differ for two linguistic units in two different languages – as they very frequently do – it is their *application* in particular, knowable cultural contexts that allows of translatability. Linguistic units can never be fully understood in isolation from the particular cultural phenomena for which they are symbols. The Japanese key words *amae* and *enryo*, for instance, cannot be translated unless the relevant cultural features, to which these words are applied, are taken into account. Only knowledge of these renders translation – in the sense of reconstitution, not transfiguration of meaning – possible.

While differences in the worldviews of speakers of different languages resulting in different concepts in their minds may not be accessible to the translator, the intersubjectively experiencable application of linguistic units in a particular cultural situation can. In other words, knowledge concerning when, why, by whom and to what effect language-specific units are employed can, in theory, be accessed. Linguists and ethnologists are capable of working with languages and cultures other than their own.

Even if the cultural distance between languages is great, cultural gaps can always be bridged via ethnographic knowledge and insights or, stated negatively, untranslatability only occurs whenever such knowledge, such insights, such reflection is absent.

Conceptions of language within the broader context of culture, whereby meaning is seen as contextually determined and constructed, are not recent developments (as e.g. Gumperz and Levinson 1996: 225 suggest) but have long been available inside Russian Formalism, the Prague school and Firthian traditions. Scholars working inside these traditions believed, as did the ethnographer Bronislaw Malinowski, that 'the main function of language is not to express thought, not to duplicate mental processes, but rather to play an active part in human behavior' (1935: 7). From such a vantage point, Malinowski for one attacked the idea that languages reflect certain mental make-ups because, in his view, the meaning of a linguistic unit cannot be captured unless one takes account of the interrelationship between linguistic units and 'the context of the situation'. Such a view of meaning has important consequences for the possibility of translation: translation becomes 'rather the placing of linguistic symbols against the cultural background of a society than the rendering of words by their equivalents in another language' (Malinowski 1935: 18). Similarly John Rupert Firth (1957) and Michael Halliday (1978), both strongly influenced by Malinowski, regard language as part of the social dynamic process, as observable and explicable 'language events', with meanings of utterances being defined in terms of their use and function in the context of a situation. Such social views of language have also explicitly taken account of the fact that language is never a monolithic homogeneous whole but always reflects social, geographic and individual differences, and changes over time.

The linguistic relativity postulate does not entail that translation is theoretically impossible, but is relevant in the translational process, in that it is necessary to relate the source text to its cultural context, as it is only in this context that the text has meaning. As this meaning is to be transposed into another linguaculture, the process of translation becomes a process of recontextualization. The issue is thus one of *linguistic-cultural relativity* (see also House 2000). In the process of recontextualization, two types of translation, overt and covert translation, need to be differentiated (see Chapter 8 for details). They differ fundamentally in their goals and procedures, and it is only in covert translation that linguistic-cultural relativity is built into the translation process itself. This may be achieved via the use of a cultural filter, whose basis should be a body of empirical cross-cultural studies.

Translatability: recent neurolinguistic studies

Macnamara's (1970) early *reductio ad absurdum* of the impossibility of bilingualism and translation as a logical consequence of linguistic relativity is still valid today. He had argued that the 'Whorfian bilingual' would be unable to communicate with himself: in switching to language B, he would never be able to understand what he had just communicated in language A. Recent empirical neurolinguistic studies of bilingualism and translation (see for example Price *et al*. 1999; Paradis 2004; de Groot and Christoffels 2006) using modern technological means of neuroimaging such as Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI), Positron Emission Tomography (PET) and Event-Related Potential (ERP) can be taken to confirm Macnamara's – at the time necessarily – more informal views. They suggest that in the bilingual's (and the translator's) brain a joint conceptual system can be accessed by different

routes via different languages. Conceptual representations are language-independent, whereas lexico-semantic, morpho- syntactic and phonological representations are language specific. The two languages are organized in two separate subsystems, and these subsystems can be activated simultaneously, with the possibility of a supervisory attentional system exercising inhibiting control for the comprehension of the source text and the production of a target text. The two languages involved in the process of translation are therefore conceptualized as both interconnected and separate. If they are used simultaneously as in translation, speakers are in a 'bilingual mode' (Grosjean 2001), which enables them to understand, compare and transfer expressions in two different languages.

The importance of pragmatic meanings in translation referred to above is accounted for in the operation of two separate L1- and L2-related pragmatic systems that select the linguistic elements appropriate to the message to be expressed inferring text producer's intentions from given contexts. The neuropsychological processes involved in the bilingual brain are believed to be identical for all languages, and there seems to be no mechanism in the bilingual's brain which is not also operative, at least to some extent, in the monolingual brain (Paradis 2004: 229). Neurolinguistic studies are an important and promising new line of research, and the hypotheses suggested in this paradigm may well provide plausible descriptions and explanations about how translation is made possible.

True limits of translatability

There are, however, a few exceptions to universal translatability, which I will now briefly discuss.

All languages as creative dynamic systems are well equipped to express ad hoc any aspect of human life whenever the need arises. In Roman Jakobson's much-quoted words: 'All cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language. Whenever there is deficiency, terminology may be qualified and amplified by loan words, neologisms or semantic shifts, and finally by circumlocutions' (1959: 234). Given this 'law of universal translatability', we should nevertheless not forget that there *do* exist certain real limits to translatability. First of all, and Jakobson recognizes this by explicitly referring to 'all cognitive experience', the possibility of translation is severely restricted if we take connotations into account. Connotations defy explicit definitions, they vary even within one individual's mind as her moods and experiences change. Also, connotations cannot be clearly delimited from denotative meanings. So connotative meanings are too elusive to be captured in translation because of their inherently indefinable nature. And the enormous difficulties in literary translation derive of course mainly from the fact that literary texts abound in personal deviations (i.e. connotations) from central denotative meanings.

The second, and most formidable, limitation to translatability occurs in all cases in which language adopts a different function over and above its 'normal' communicative function.

Translatability is limited whenever the form of a linguistic unit takes on special importance.

We can therefore qualify the dictum of universal translatability as Nida and Taber have done long ago: ‘Anything that can be said in one language can be said in another, unless the form is an essential element of the message’ (1969: 4).

Form, of course, plays an important role in literary texts, especially in poetry, which, according to Jakobson (1959: 238), is by definition untranslatable. In poetry, only the creation of a new text is possible: ‘creative transposition’ takes over where translation finds its limits. In literary texts, meaning and form operate together, they are no longer arbitrarily connected. Therefore the form cannot be changed without a corresponding change in meaning. Since the form cannot be detached from its meaning, this meaning can never be expressed in other ways: paraphrase, commentary, explanations of various kinds, coining or borrowing new words – all of which render pragmatic translation ultimately possible – are not sufficient in literary, especially poetic translation.

Another limit of translatability is found in the fact that each language is unique in its social and geographical diversification, reflected in social and regional dialects of both groups and individual speakers. Since each language is unique in its diversification, translation of this intralinguistic variation is severely curbed. Although, for instance, in the translation of dialectal passages, translators often try to achieve functional equivalence by resorting to presumably corresponding dialects in the target language community – e.g. those commanding equivalent prestige – this often remains unsatisfactory.

6 Universals of translation?

This chapter gives a review of the debate about universals of translation. It is a revised and updated version of my 2008 paper in *trans-kom*.

Language universals and universals of translation

Universals have a long tradition in the philosophy of language. They are equated with those features of language that are part of man's genetic endowment. Medieval speculative grammarians and Renaissance Port Royal grammarians had already assumed that there existed only one grammar – the grammar of the human mind. This 'mental grammar' as part of human nature was then thought to be fundamentally the same for all human beings. In other words, underneath the bewilderingly variegated 'surface structures' (i.e. the actual concrete organization of the physical signals into units of various complexity, size, sequence and arrangement) of the languages of the world, all languages are alike in their 'deep structures', i.e. the underlying abstract stratum which determines the meaning of sentences and is represented in the human mind.

Early comparative and typological scholars, though implicitly also always searching for universal features, then pushed the quest for universals into the background for a while, giving priority to the seemingly infinite diversity of languages in their surface structures. Scholars belonging to the European and North American structuralist tradition, in the wake of de Saussure's seminal work, and the followers of the Humboldtian and Boas-Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis of 'linguistic relativity' (see Chapter 5), also spent less time searching for universal features. Recent interest in universals has then started anew in the western world in the early 1960s, culminating in the famous volume by Joseph Greenberg on *Universals of Language* (1963), where linguists, anthropologists, and psychologists mapped out generalizations about language, of a phonological, morpho-grammatical and semantic kind. On the basis of data from a thirty-language sample and a 'basic-order-typology' that involves basic facts of word order (pre- v. postpositions, relative order of subject, verb, object in declarative sentences with nominal subjects and objects, and position of qualifying adjectives relative to the noun), Greenberg proposed his famous forty-five universals, which can be both absolute universals or universal tendencies, implicational ones (of the sort: 'if Language A has feature *x*, it will (tend to) have feature *y*') or non-implicational ones (of the sort: 'all languages tend to have feature *y*'). Greenberg and others operating in the framework of what came to be known as the typological approach found out that an analysis of a substantial number of languages reveals not only the range of variation but also constraints on that variation, which show that languages do not vary infinitely and thus represent linguistic universals (see Croft 2003: 5).

In this 'empiricist universalist tradition', where systematic surveys of as many languages as possible were conducted, different explanations have been offered, such as that by Hawkins (1994), who suggests that certain word orders prevail because they optimize language

comprehension and production processes, and that by Bybee (2010) and others who attempted to link processing explanations with diachronic ones.

As regards semantic universals, Uriel Weinreich (1953) – long before globalization and internationalization processes propelled by the revolution in information technology – proposed that through increasing contact and communication, languages consistently add to a corpus of common vocabulary (a common semantic stock), and particularly in the domain of natural science the lexica of different languages then come to share many references. However, this approach seems to be different in kind from the other universals discussed in this section. A 'semantic universal' is often considered to be in the form of e.g. if a language has a word for 'black', it will also have one for 'white'. Weinreich's suggestion might be called in present-day terminology a 'diachronic tendency', and one that only holds in particular semantic fields (i.e. where speech communities tend to learn from one another, not in regard to basic vocabulary).

In one influential rationalist linguistic approach which – originally as a reaction against behaviouristic psychology – rose to fame in the middle of the twentieth century, namely generative grammar, a language acquisition device as a universal language faculty as well as basic underlying principles were proposed, and are now widely taken for granted in cognitively oriented linguistics and language acquisition studies worldwide. As opposed to the attempts by structuralists and typologists to 'discover' individual universal features ('bottom-up') through wide-ranging analysis and comparison of as many languages as possible, linguists operating in the generative tradition posit ('top-down') linguistic universality as an a priori phenomenon, i.e. as the very basis for the general framework of their theory. Thus Chomsky and his disciples believe that it is the main task of any linguistic theory to develop an account of linguistic universals, the study of linguistic universals being equivalent to the study of the properties of generative grammars for natural language. In the generative school, substantive and formal universals were distinguished, which were of a phonological, syntactic or semantic nature. Substantive universals are certain fixed items or categories specified in the vocabulary used to describe a language, i.e. noun, verb and so on. Traditional universal grammar was basically a theory of substantive universals since it assumed the existence of certain fixed categories. Formal universals on the other hand are much more abstract: they relate to the fact that a grammar must meet specific formal conditions. On the semantic level, for instance, such a formal universal might be that certain classes of lexical items meet specified conditions, such as for example: 'Artefacts are defined in terms of certain human goals, needs, functions instead of solely physical qualities'.

More recently, Universal Grammar (UG) is used to explain more specifically what is universal in language, i.e. both the principles that constrain the forms of different languages (for example the Locality Principle, according to which grammatical operations are local, such that e.g. auxiliary inversion preposes the closest auxiliary and wh-movement preposes the closest wh-expression) and the parameters which define the binary variation they display (e.g. the wh-parameter which determines that a language either allows (Italian) or does not allow (German) finite verbs to have null subjects). These principles and parameters are innate, or

absolute in UG theory. Given their abstract 'deep' nature, universals of language, as conceptualized in formal linguistic theorizing can never imply a surface equivalence between languages.

From a functional-typological perspective, universals are viewed in a different, less abstract way. They can be defined – for instance with Bernard Comrie as 'those properties that are necessarily common to all human languages' (2003: 195). Here a claim is made about the human language potential, and universals are assumed to exist because of the way human beings are made, and the physical and cognitive limitations they are subjected to. Thus for example certain sounds may not fall into the realm of the possible (given the human body), and are thus universally absent from human language. These are formal explanations. The second major group of universals is related to the functions of language. The two essential functions of language – and thus of all the many and different human languages are to convey information and to establish and maintain social relations between human beings.

While the innate universals postulated inside the generative framework are used to deductively explain linguistic structure, the universals posited in the functional-typological approach are used to represent inductive generalizations across languages. Their explanatory potential includes general cognitive, social-interactional, processing and perceptual as well as possibly other human faculties, faculties that may well prove to be innate but are not deemed to be co-extensive with language. However, one should not construe a non-compatibility between the two approaches to universals; both are also to a certain extent similar: they are after all both 'universalist', both starting from structural analyses, both consider abstractions from their data (across languages and within languages respectively), and both explain universals by pointing to universal, biologically given human faculties (the parent disciplines being genetics for the generativists, evolutionary theory for the typologists). Thus there remain only two major differences between the generative and the functional-typological approach to linguistic universals: the emphasis in the latter but not the former on empirical cross-linguistic comparison and on the relationship between linguistic forms and language function. In the following, I want to look in some detail at one functional-typological approach, the systemic functional one, which has placed particular emphasis on the relationship between form and function, and which has proved to be most useful for the study of translation as demonstrated by House (1977).

About the same time as Greenberg and Chomsky came up with their suggestions of linguistic universals, Michael Halliday (1961, 1973, 1994) also suggested that language as a system of 'meaning making' has a universal meaning potential, which evolved around three motifs, which he called 'metafunctions': the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual metafunction (see also Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Ideationally, language reflects our human experience, our interpretation of all that goes around us, outside and inside, mapping systems of meaning into language such that human beings as language learners and users can capture and construe their individual and collective experiences of the world. Interpersonally, language is a way of initiating and maintaining social relationships, and of construing human language learners and users as personal and collective beings. Textually, language involves the creation of

information: it creates discourse, the patterned forms of wording that constitute meaningful semiotic contexts. We can see that – as opposed to the two basic universal functions, informing and socializing – the textual function clearly has an enabling, facilitative force, i.e. it allows the other two to operate.

The ideational function contains a general category of process, for example material, mental, relational, with processes happening to, or being enacted by, human agents in time and space: past or future, real or imaginary, here or there. The interpersonal function is a mode of enacting personal relationships of different kinds, exchanges of speech roles, realizing discourse functions, questions, commands, offers etc. implying systems and resources of mood and modality.

Unlike the other two, the textual function does not originate in an extrinsic context; it is intrinsic to language itself and refers to the resources any language must have for creating discourse and ensuring that each instance of text makes contact with its environment. This 'environment' includes both the 'context of situation' (Malinowski 1935), of culture and other instances of text. The resources tapped here are potentially higher than clauses or clause complexes, setting up relationships which create not only semantic cohesion, but also contributing to the overall grammar of the clause. Typical ways of construing the clause as 'message' is a combination of two perspectives: that of the speaker and that of the listener, which lead to different ways of information flow (Theme-Rheme, Given-New). All languages display some form of textual organization of the clause. However, how far the tension between the speaker-listener perspectives are weighted one against the other in the languages of the world is far from clear. Here an empirical survey of languages in the functional-typological tradition is necessary. The textual metafunction also provides for the creation of 'cohesion' of four kinds: reference (or 'phora' (cf. anaphoric, cataphoric) to distinguish it from reference as defined in the philosophy of language), ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976). So in systemic functional theorizing, it is at this 'deep' metafunctional level of language that we can say universality exists.

Given these two major types of proposals of universals in linguistics, the generative one and the functional-typological one, let me now turn to my second point and look at what universals if they can be said to exist at all might mean for translation.

Translation universals

Various so-called translation universals as universal tendencies of the translation process, laws of translation and norms of translation have been suggested in the literature by Blum-Kulka (1986), Baker (1993), Laviosa-Braithwaite (1998), Toury (2001); see also the contributions to the volume on *Translation Universals: Do they Exist?* (Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004) and see Malmkjaer (2005). As prime candidates for translation universals the following processes, procedures or operations have been suggested: Explicitation, Simplification, Disambiguation, Conventionalization, Standardization, 'Levelling out', Avoidance of Repetition, Over- or Underrepresentation of source or target language elements

as well as the general manifestation of a so-called 'third code', i.e. translation as translation in contradistinction to original non-translated texts. While Blum-Kulka and Toury have largely relied on case studies and impressionistic qualitative work, involving informed intuition and richly contextualized pen and paper analysis, all the other researchers mentioned above have relied on, and copiously praised the methodological advantages of, corpus-based qualitative and quantitative work. I deliberatively said 'methodological' advantages: my point is that the more important theoretical question of how useful or indeed possible and thus justifiable the positing of translation universals such as the ones mentioned above are, has not been touched let alone recognized by all researchers in the field of translation studies. The unchallenged assumption has been simply that through the technical possibilities corpus methodology has recently afforded translation scholars, universals can be found – in the vein of the empiricist typological approach. However, I see a great difference in the two quests. I want to go on suggesting quite bluntly that the quest for translation universals is in essence futile, i.e. that there are no, and there can be no, translation universals. I will substantiate this claim pointing to the following five reasons:

1 Translation is undeniably an act that operates on language. Depending on one's preference of formal or functional-typological approaches to explaining linguistic phenomena, one can state that universals proposed in these approaches must also apply to translation. For the present author, the functional base underlying language use as suggested by Halliday and briefly presented above are a prime candidate for universalism in translation. But: these are then *not* universals of translation per se, or *sui generis* universals, but simply universals of language also applying to translation.

2 Obviously, however, translation is not identical with language as such, let alone with the two linguistic systems involved in translation. Translation is no more and no less than a practical activity. It can be described as an act of performance, of parole, not of langue or competence. This is of course reflected in the nature of translation: it is inherently language-specific, and even if, as in some of the recent corpus studies, translations for instance from English into Finnish and Swedish, or from English into Arabic, French or Spanish are compared in the search for recurring regularities or 'universals', this language-pair specificity can in my opinion not really be offset, such that even corpus-based multi-pair comparisons remain agglomerations of different pairs. In the existing studies this fact tends to be washed over by a lack of careful and detailed comparative linguistic analysis. Terms like 'Explicitness', 'Explicitation', 'Simplification', 'Conventionalisation' and so on are in my opinion far too general, and should not be used unless one is perfectly clear about how they can be precisely defined and operationalized. There is recent research by Erich Steiner and his team (see Hansen-Schirra *et al*. 2007 and E. Steiner 2008) in which for instance the concept of 'explicitation' is first subjected to solid and careful linguistic scrutiny. This is a promising approach. There is also an earlier study by House (2004a), where the notion of 'explicitness' is deconstructed, and the work by Becher (2010, 2011), and the work by Fabricius-Hansen and her colleagues in Oslo (Fabricius-Hansen and Behrens 2001; Fabricius-Hansen 2002; Behrens 2004), all of whom have subjected the particular phenomena they investigate to a detailed linguistic analysis before making any

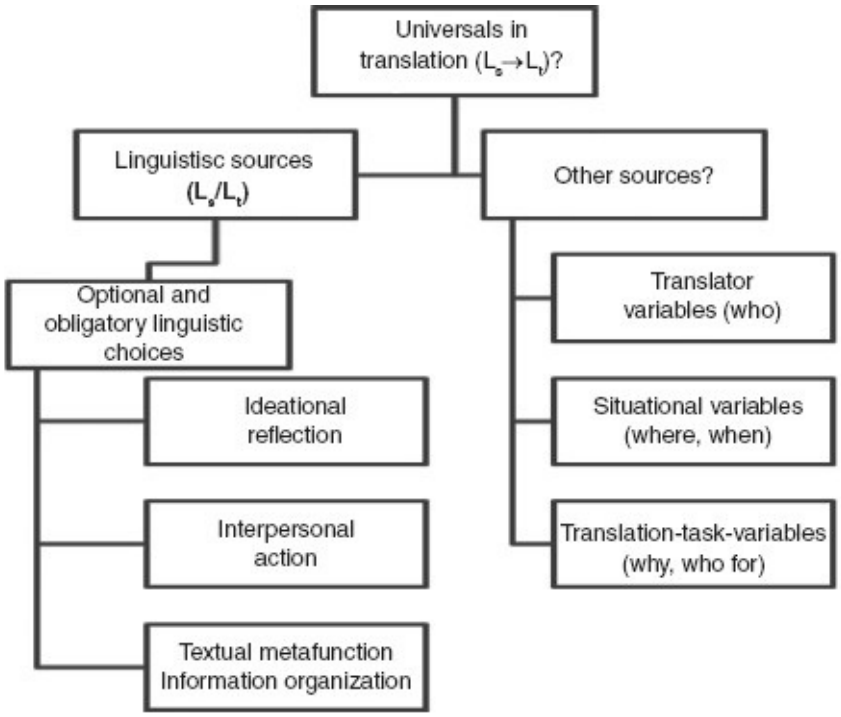
claims to their universality.

3 Closely related to the issue of language-pair specificity in translation is the issue of directionality in translation. In the context of our discussion of universals this means that candidates of universality suggested for one particular translation direction need not necessarily be candidates for universality in the opposite direction. The present author's work (House 2004b) with a corpus of translations of children's books from English into German and German into English has clearly shown, for instance, that procedures of explicitation common in translations from English into German are not traceable in the opposite translation direction. In fact, a body of earlier contrastive analyses of many different genres conducted by the present author (House 2006b) suggest that explicitation holds for translations into German but *not* the other way round. But even this hypothesis can be disconfirmed, as was recently done in the Hamburg project 'Covert Translation' (for details see Chapter 10). Nicole Baumgarten (2007), for instance, has shown that the German sentence initial coordinative conjunction *und* has significantly increased in German academic discourse under the influence of translations from English over a space of 25 years, and this can also be taken as an increase of implicitness and vagueness, i.e. a decrease in explicitness regarding this particular functional category.

4 Another consideration, and one that clearly militates against an assumption of universals in translation, is genre specificity and the dynamic development of genres over time. In the project 'Covert translation' we compared English original texts, translations from English into German, French, Spanish, and comparable texts in these languages particularly with regard to how the phenomena 'subjectivity' and 'addressee-orientation' are realized linguistically and how they change over time under the influence of English as a *lingua franca*. While there is a tendency for explicitation (use of elaboration, extension and enhancement) in the German translations of popular science texts, this is not the case to the same degree for economic texts.

The sum of the findings of the project 'Covert translation' essentially disconfirm the claim of the universality of underrepresentation in translation of features unique to the target language. For example, when the source language simply does not encode a feature like a certain tense marking, it will be nearly impossible for the translator to reach a target language-conform frequency and distribution of this feature in translation. This suggests that underrepresentation is indeed a normal, maybe even necessary language-pair specific and thus translational phenomenon – albeit not a universal one.

To summarize my assumption that the postulation of universals of language which would necessarily include translation universals, see Figure 6.1. It shows the complexity of translation, foregrounded here by the node 'Other sources', where the person of the translator, the situational and the translation-task variables clearly render the existence of translation universals implausible. Further, the figure shows that it is at the 'higher' level of the three metafunctions that translation universals might be located, but not at any 'lower levels'.



Construing of experiential world	*Speech functions and roles*	*Given/new-theme/rheme*
"Processes" and their relation to one another	**Mood**	**Reference ("phora")**
	Modality	**Ellipsis**
		Conjunction
		Lexical cohesion
Explication?		Avoidance of repetition?
Simplification?		Over-representation of target and/or source items?
Disambiguation?		Under-representation of source and/or target items?
Conventionalization?		
Standardization?		
"Levelling out"?		

Figure 6.1 Universals in translation?

7 Text and context

A functional-pragmatic view

This chapter presents my own view of the relationship between an original text and its translation. It is a revised and updated version of a paper which appeared in 2006 in the *The Journal of Pragmatics* (House 2006a). To start with, I will clarify the crucial notion of context, and the relationship between a text and its context.

Context in different disciplines

The notion of context is central to many disciplines which look into language use, including translation studies. Philosophers have viewed context as either something contributing to the inherent deficiency of language as a tool for logical thought, or as something inherently worthwhile and constitutive of the *conditio humana*. It is the latter tradition which is of interest for translation. This tradition is often linked in modern philosophical thinking with the work of Wittgenstein (1958/1967: 35) and his emphasis on language as a type of action. Wittgenstein recognized that the meaning of linguistic forms is their use, and that language is never used to simply describe the world around us, but functions inside actions, 'language games' (*Sprachspielen*), which are embedded in a 'form of life' (*Lebensform*). The idea of analysing language as action was further pursued in the tradition of the British Ordinary Language Philosophy, particularly by Austin (1962), who emphasized the importance of the context of a speech act for linguistic production and interpretation in the form of socio-cultural conventions. It is through these conventions that the force and type of speech acts is determined. Austin perceived that to perform a speech act depends on the relevant felicity conditions, which are in effect specifications of the context enveloping them. With his emphasis on conventions as shared norms, Austin – unlike later scholars concerned with speech act theory, most notably Searle – gives clear priority to social aspects of language rather than a speaker's state of mind, intentions and feelings.

Another theory of context-dependency stems from the German philosopher Gadamer (1982). Gadamer also emphasizes the role of conventions, which are, in his opinion, taken for granted, hidden, continuous and beyond consciousness. The importance of conventions tacitly shared by text producers and receptors is reflected in Gadamer's view of context, whereby detailed contextual-interpretive analysis of texts is necessary in order to achieve a 'fusion of horizons'. Both writer and reader are united in their context-dependence. In opposition to the ideas of Popper (1989), who believes in the changeability of conventions and the necessity of critically reflecting on and revising them, Gadamer emphasizes the inherent limitations of both reflection and criticism, and he insists on the immutable character of context-dependence. Indeed, he argues that context dependence and its attendant culture specificity must involve an absence of self-awareness, thus treating context as a prison for the individual.

Particularly influential for developing ideas about context has been the notion of context formulated by Grice (1975) in his theory of implicature in language use. Grice assumed the operation of certain conversational maxims that guide the conduct of talk and stem from fundamental rational considerations of how to realize co-operative ends. These maxims express a general co-operative principle and specify how participants have to behave in order to converse in an optimally efficient, rational and co-operative way: participants should speak sincerely, clearly and relevantly and provide sufficient information for their interlocutors. In Grice's view, speech is regarded as action, and it can be explained in terms of the beliefs and purposes of the actors. Grice's theory is thus in essence a psychological or cognitive theory of rhetoric. This also holds for Sperber and Wilson's (1986) relevance theory, in which the Gricean maxim of relevance is further developed, and in which context is clearly a psychological concept. Context is defined by Sperber and Wilson as 'the set of premises used in interpreting it [an utterance]' (1986: 15); it is a cognitive construct and a 'subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world' (1986: 15). For Sperber and Wilson, then, context does not comprise external situational, cultural factors but is rather conceived as a 'cognitive environment', implying the mental availability of internalized environmental factors in an individual's cognitive structure. Context is bound up with assumptions used by hearers to interpret utterances, and all interpretive efforts are made on the basis of the relevance of given assumptions, i.e. the likelihood that adequate contextual effects are achieved with a minimum of processing efforts. The principle of relevance is regarded as part of general human psychology, and it is through this principle that humans are able to engage in interpreting utterances.

Socio-cognitive approaches to context consider language choices to be intimately connected with social-situational factors. Thus Forgas (1985) stresses the important role social situations play for the way human beings use language. He considers verbal communication to be an essentially social communicative act, and points to the fact that interaction between language and social context can be traced back to the early years of language acquisition (see Bruner 1991). Both the meanings of utterances and the shared conceptions and definitions of the social context enveloping linguistic units are here regarded as the result of collective, supra-individual, cognitive activities.

But there is also a 'third way' in psychological theorizing about context. This encompasses both individual and social processes. Its propagators (e.g. Clark 1996) focus both on individual cognitive processes and their social conditioning in concrete acts of language use. Language use is regarded as a form of joint action carried out collaboratively by speakers and hearers who form an ensemble. According to Clark, 'language use arises in joint activities' (1996: 29), activities which are closely bound up with contexts and vary according to goals and other dimensions of variation such as formal v. informal, egalitarian v. autocratic as well as other participant-related variables. Over and above taking account of these external dimensions, Clark also operates with the concept of 'common ground', taken over from Stalnaker (1978). This is a psychological notion which captures what speakers/hearers bring with them to a joint activity, i.e. their prior knowledge, beliefs, assumptions, etc., all of which accumulate in the course of the activity. Different types of common ground thus range from

personal, communal, national to global, and comprise inferences about our common humanity as well as linguistic, dialectal, cultural and affective-emotive factors.

In the tradition of pragmatics, context plays such an important role that the very definition of pragmatics is often bound up with the notion of context. Thus Stalnaker writes that 'syntax studies sentences, semantics studies propositions. Pragmatics is the study of linguistic acts and the contexts in which they are performed' (1999: 43). And we might even say, with Levinson (1983: 32), that pragmatics is 'a theory of language understanding that takes context into account'. The underlying assumption here is that in order to arrive at an adequate theory of the relation between linguistic expressions and what they express, one must consider the context in which these expressions are used. In pragmatics, attention is given to how the interaction of context and content can be represented, how the linguistic expressions used relate to context. The relationship between content and context is however never a one-way street: content expressed also influences context, i.e. linguistic actions influence the context in which they are performed. The effects of this dependency are omnipresent and decisive for the construction and recovery of meaning. But context also plays a role in the overall organization of language, affecting its syntactic, semantic, lexical and phonological structure to the point that, as Ochs puts it, 'we could say that a universal design feature of language is that it is context-sensitive' (1979: 5).

A pragmatic framework would then need to include a general representation of contextual features that determine the values of linguistic expressions, with context being represented by a body of information presumed to be available to the participants in the speech situation. Given the need to specify context as features of this situation, a distinction must be made between actual situations of utterance in all their manifold variety and the selection of only those features that are linguistically and socio-culturally relevant for both the speaker producing a particular utterance and the hearer who interprets it.

It is exactly this distinction that Leech (1983) famously referred to when he distinguished between general pragmatics on the one hand and socio-pragmatics or pragma-linguistics on the other, and pleads for the usefulness of a narrow view of context as background knowledge shared by addresser and addressee and contributing to the addressees' interpretation of what the addresser means by his or her utterance. Context in this more specific sense would then cover 'the social and psychological world in which the language user operates at any given time' (Ochs 1979: 1). This includes participants' knowledge, beliefs and assumptions about temporal, spatial and social settings, previous, ongoing and future (verbal and non-verbal) actions, knowledge of the role and status of speaker and hearer, of spatial and temporal location, of formality level, medium, appropriate subject matter, province or domain determining the register of language (see Lyons 1977: 574 and Halliday 1994, on whom more below). As has been pointed out in particular by Gumperz (1982), context-indexical linguistic features, which he calls 'contextualization cues', invoke the relevant contextual assumptions. Among the linguistic features to be accounted for in an adequate notion of context, linguistic context or 'co-text' must also be evoked, i.e. the place of the current utterance in the sequence of utterances in the unfolding text/discourse must also be considered.

For scholars working in the fields of interactional socio-linguistics, anthropology or conversation analysis, context is of inherent, discipline-constitutive interest for a number of reasons: firstly, the features of face-to-face interaction are both a primary exemplar of context and an elementary example of human social organization; secondly, the way talk-in-interaction is designed for, and shaped by, features of the social situation sheds light on the organization of language itself; and finally, interactants have to accomplish understanding aided by context (Duranti and Goodwin 1992: 22). Accomplishing shared agreement about the events jointly experienced by members of a particular society is of course central to what anthropologists have traditionally been concerned with in their analyses of culture, and it is also central to research into the social organization of cognition and intersubjectivity underlying talk, which has traditionally been a mainstay in all ethnographically oriented research (e.g. Cicourel 1992).

Another example of the assumption of the decisive influence of context on utterance content in anthropology is the notion of *framing*, first introduced by Bateson (1972) and significantly further developed by Goffman (1974). In framing their verbal behaviour, speakers and addressees can transform conventionalized expectations to fit a specific, local context and invoke genre changes.

In conversation analysis, the focus is on the analysis of talk-in-interaction and on the significance of sequential utterances as both context-creating and context-determined. According to Heritage (1984), talk is in fact 'doubly contextual' since utterances are realized and organized sequentially and linearly in time, such that any subsequent utterance relies on the existing context for its production and interpretation, but also constitutes an event in its own right which itself engenders a new context for the following utterances. Over and above this local organization of interaction in context, there have been recent suggestions that interaction is based on the possibility of 'projection', with the grammar of a language providing speakers and addressees with more extensive shared paths (see for example Auer 2005). In other words, grammar and interaction share the common feature of 'projectability'. This idea is consistent with seeing context as being in a dynamic relationship with linguistic phenomena, i.e. context and talk stand in a reflexive relationship, with talk and the interpretation it instigates shaping context as much as context shapes talk.

The mutual influence between talk and context is also emphasized by German functional-pragmatists of the Wunderlich school (e.g. Rehbein and Kameyama 2004). Scholars in this paradigm plead for a notion of context that integrates cognitive knowledge and social-institutional factors, which are seen to influence one another. They criticize, however, both the conversation analytic view of context as something that is construed on a local, ad hoc and linearly temporal basis, and the interpretative sociolinguists' view that the contextual environment (including language itself) is projected solely via indexicality on to individual actants. Functional-pragmatic scholars point out that such a view of context really only applies to oral language, not to written language. I would support this criticism, and also extend it to the conceptions of context propagated in all the traditions reviewed above, where the critically different constraints holding in written language are not consistently explicated because of

these traditions' bias towards spoken language.

In the functional-pragmatic approach, the speech situation is defined as an action situation in which linguistic forms such as personal pronouns, sentence types and modality assume new, contextually determined values. The approach makes an explicit distinction between online emergent talk and pre-fixed written texts. Context is here replaced by the notion of 'constellation', a situation of joint actions in which the communicative needs and goals of actants – both as actants co-present in an oral speech situation and as actants separated in space and time in the 'stretched-out speech situation' characterizing written language – are accounted for, and communicative deep structures are represented. Constellations play an important role in the pragmatic analysis of the mood of an utterance (question, command, assertion), which is recognized as being both ontologically and phylogenetically of primary importance. Such a view is very similar to Halliday's systemic-functional theory (1994: 58). In both functional-pragmatic and systemic-functional theory, the preference for using a broad textual functional explanation for linguistic phenomena, combined with a detailed description of linguistic expressions in both their oral and written contexts, makes these approaches particularly appropriate for the interpretation, analysis and production of text, which is what we are concerned with in translation: translation is an operation on (pre-existing) written text as opposed to talk as oral, linearly and sequentially unfolding, negotiable discourse.

So context is a highly complex notion which is conceptualized in a variety of different ways in different disciplines. Context can be regarded as encompassing external (situational and cultural) factors and/or internal, cognitive factors, all of which can influence one another in acts of speaking and listening. In many approaches, context – and the relationship between context and language – is regarded as dynamic rather than static. Context is taken to be more than a set of pre-fixed discrete variables that impact on language, and context and language are considered to be in a mutually reflexive relationship, such that language shapes context as much as context shapes language. What is of crucial importance in translation is the fact that a stretch of written language as text is presented to the translator in its entirety. The task of translating as recontextualization then consists of enacting a discourse out of the written text, i.e. the translator must create a 'living', cognito-social entity replete with contextual connections that arise in the very space opened up by the separation in time and space of writer and reader, and by means of the ability of the translator herself to define what the relevant context is. This is very different from the type of context invoked in conversational interaction, where spoken text is a direct reflection of the discourse enacted between two or more co-present interactants and a discourse dynamically unfolds, sequentially develops, and explicitly and overtly involves speaker and hearer turns-at-talk. For translation, the availability of a written text at once in its entirety (as opposed to the bit-by-bit unfolding of negotiable text and discourse) is indeed constitutive. True to the nature of written language, the realization of a discourse out of a text presented in writing involves imaginary, hidden interaction between writer and reader in the minds of translators, where the natural unity of speaker and listener in oral interaction is replaced by the real-world separateness in space and time of writer and reader. The only way in which the translator can overcome this separateness and create a new unity is to transcend the givenness of the text with its immutable arrangement of linguistic

elements by activating its contextual connections, by linking the text to both its old and its new context, which a translator must imagine and unite in his or her mind.

Text and context in translation: translation as recontextualization and repositioning

As argued above, I propose a view of treating context in translation as a means of converting 'inert text' (Widdowson 2004: 8) into discourse in an *ex post facto*, solitarily cognitive pragmatic process of meaning negotiation. A workable recontextualization theory of translation would then include a view of text as a stretch of contextually embedded language. The meaning of a linguistic unit cannot be captured unless one takes account of the interrelationship between linguistic units and the context of the situation. On this view, translation becomes 'rather the placing of linguistic symbols against the cultural background of a society than the rendering of words by their equivalents in another language' (Malinowski 1935: 18). The notion of the 'context of the situation' developed further in Hallidayan systemic-functional theory is of fundamental importance for a theory of translation as recontextualization, and indeed for the theoretical possibility of translation. We can assume that whenever communication is possible between speakers of the same language, it is also possible between speakers of different languages, and for the same fundamental reasons, i.e. through relating linguistic units to the enveloping context of situation and through analysing common situations and identifying those situations whose distinctive and unfamiliar features are peculiar, such that they can be known, interpreted and recontextualized in the minds of translators. The necessary *ex post facto*, re-creative act on the part of the translator is critically different from the type of observable online control participants in talk-in-interaction can have over the path of the emergent discourse.

For a theory of translation as recontextualization to be valid, it has to fulfil at least the following three criteria regarding the relationship between text and context: firstly it has to explicitly account for the fact that source and translation texts relate to different contexts; secondly it has to be able to capture, describe and explain changes necessitated in the act of re-contextualization with a suitable metalanguage; and thirdly it has to explicitly relate features of the source text and features of the translation to one another and to their different contexts.

Such a theory will be described in the next chapter.

Translation as recontextualization under the influence of English as a global *lingua franca*

In the course of today's processes of globalization and internationalization in many aspects of contemporary life, there is also a rising demand for texts which are simultaneously meant for recipients in many different linguistic and cultural contexts. These texts are either translated covertly or produced immediately as 'comparable texts' in different languages. Due to the worldwide political, economic, scientific and cultural dominance of the English language –

especially in its function as *lingua franca* – a tendency towards 'cultural universalism' or 'cultural neutralism', which is really a drift towards Anglo-American norms, has been set into motion. In the decades to come, the conflict between cultural universalism propelled by the need for fast and global dissemination of information on the one hand and culture specificity catering to local, particular needs on the other will become more marked. It is therefore plausible to hypothesize that much less cultural filtering in recontextualization processes will occur in the future, with many more 'culturally universal', 'contextually homogenized' translation texts being routinely created as carriers of (hidden) Anglophone and west-European/north-Atlantic linguistic-cultural norms.

While the influence of the English language in the area of lexis has long been acknowledged, Anglophone influence at the levels of pragmatics and discourse has hardly been recognized, let alone adequately researched. The effect of the shift in translation and multilingual text production towards neutral contexts in influential genres in many languages and cultures is therefore an important research area for the future. What is needed in this area is corpus-based research into hitherto unidentified problems. One first step in this direction has been made in a longitudinal corpus-based project that looked at the influence of English as a global *lingua franca* on German, French and Spanish translation and comparable texts, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

The results of this project show that recontextualization processes in translations and in comparable texts are being transformed under the impact of global English. However, much more large-scale corpus-based research with different genres, language pairs and translation directions is clearly needed to document this development.

Recent conceptions of context have broken away from viewing context as a set of pre-fixed variables statically surrounding stretches of language. Context and text are now increasingly viewed as more dynamically related, and the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions of communicative events is considered to be reflexive. Linguistic products and the interpretive work they generate in acts of communication and the enacting of discourse are regarded as shaping context as much as context shapes them. Because translation operates on written text and can only construct context and enact discourse *ex post facto*, never online, functional approaches to language, are given preference over philosophical, psychological, pragmatic, socio-linguistic and conversation analytic approaches because their notion of context was found to be more suitable for a theory of translation as recontextualization. Recontextualization means taking a text out of its original frame and context and placing it within a new set of relationships and culturally conditioned expectations of its recipients.

8 Translation quality assessment

Review of approaches and practices

This chapter gives a brief overview of different approaches and practices in the field of translation quality assessment and gives some space to my own assessment model.

One of the most intriguing questions asked in connection with translation is the question of how to tell whether a translation is good or bad. This question cannot (and should not) be answered in any simple way, because any statement about the quality of a translation implies a conception of the nature and goals of translation; in other words it presupposes a theory of translation. And different theoretical stances must needs lead to different concepts of translational quality, to different ways of going about assessing (retrospectively) the quality of a translation and different ways of ensuring (prospectively) the production of a translation of specified qualities. These theoretical stances can be grouped and subjected to a 'meta-analysis' examining how they take account of the following three issues:

1 The relation between the source text and its translation.
2 The relationship between (features) of the text(s) and how they are perceived by the author, the translator, and the recipient(s).
3 The consequences views about these relationships have when one wants or has to distinguish a translation from other types of multilingual text production.

In the following, I first review various approaches that are explicitly or implicitly related to translation evaluation. This will be done with a view to whether and how they are able to throw light on the three fundamental questions formulated above. I will devote much more space to the description of my own model of translation quality assessment. This seems to be justified by the fact that this model is to date the only theoretically informed one.

Different approaches to translation quality assessment

Psycho-social approaches

Mentalist views

Mentalist views are reflected in the century-old, intuitive and anecdotal judgements of 'how good or how bad somebody finds a translation'. In the vast majority of cases, these judgements are not based on any explicit set of criteria, but rest entirely on impressions and feelings, and as such they lead to global, undifferentiated valuations such as 'this translation does not do justice to the original' or 'the tone of the original is somehow lost in the translation'. In recent times, this type of vague and essentially meaningless valuation is replayed by neo-hermeneutic scholars, who believe in the legitimacy of subjective interpretations of the worth of a translation (see Chapter 2). Instead of developing criteria for evaluating translations in an

intersubjectively reliable manner, propagators of this approach believe that the quality of a translated text predominantly depends on the reception and interpretation of the original leading to an 'optimal translation' which is rooted in intuition, empathy and interpretative experience. Translating is here regarded as an individual creative act where the 'meaning' of a text is also 'created' anew in an individual act of interpretation. There is no meaning in the text itself, the meaning being as it were in the 'eye of the beholder'. Such a relativizing, individualizing position is promulgated in much hermeneutic work. It seems to me inappropriate, if one considers that evaluating translations is often not conducted in free-floating, inconsequential aesthetic-artistic environments but in environments in which assessment has serious consequences.

To sum up, mentalist approaches to translation quality assessment emphasize the belief that the quality of a translation depends largely on the translator's subjective interpretation and transfer decisions, based on her intuition and experience. With respect to the three questions (relationship between original and translation; relationship between (features of) the texts and human agents; delimitation of translation from other text-processing operations), it is obvious that the subjective and neo-hermeneutic approach to translation evaluation can only shed light on what occurs between the translator and (features of) the original text. In concentrating on the individual translator's cognitive processes, the original text, the translation process proper, the relation between original and translation, the expectations of the target text readers are not given the attention they deserve, and the problem of distinguishing between a translation and various types of versions and adaptations is not recognized. The aversion of propagators of this approach against any kind of objectivization, systematization and rule-hypothesizing in translation procedures leads to a reduction of translation evaluation research to examining each act of translation as an individual creative endeavour.

Response-based approaches

In stark contrast to followers of the above hermeneutic approach to evaluating a translation, proponents of response-based approaches believe it is necessary to have some more reliable way of assessing translations. One can distinguish at least the following two variants of such approaches: behaviourist views and functionalistic views.

Behaviourist views

This tradition was first influenced by American structuralism and behaviourism, and it is associated with Nida's (1964; Nida and Taber 1969) seminal work on translation and his suggestion of behavioural tests. These tests used broad behavioural criteria such as a translation's 'intelligibility' and 'informativeness'. They were based on the belief that a 'good' translation would have to lead to an 'equivalent response', a criterion linked to Nida's famous principle of 'dynamic equivalence', i.e. that the manner in which the receptors of a translation respond to the translation, is to be equivalent to the manner in which the source text's receptors respond to the source text. In the heyday of behaviourism, a number of imaginative tests were

proposed: reading aloud techniques, various cloze and rating tasks, all of which took observable responses to a translation as criteria of its quality. However, in hindsight, it is safe to say that these tests ultimately failed because they were critically unable to capture something as intricate and complex as the 'overall quality of a translation'. Even if one accepts the assumption that a translation of optimal quality should elicit an equivalent response, one must still face the awkward question whether it is at all possible to operationalize such grand concepts as 'intelligibility' or 'informativeness' and how one can measure an 'equivalent response' in a valid and reliable manner. If one cannot do this, which turned out to be the case, then it is futile to pose such behavioural criteria in the first place. Further, and probably most critically, in the behavioural approach to translation quality assessment, the source text is largely ignored, which implies that nothing can be said about the relationship between the original and texts resulting from different textual operations.

Functionalistic, 'skopos'-related views

As detailed in Chapter 2, scholars in this approach maintain that it is the 'skopos' or purpose of a translation, and the manner and degree to which target culture norms are heeded in a translation which are of overriding importance for translation evaluation. How a text's global skopos is realized *linguistically*, and how one can determine whether a given translation is adequate vis-à-vis this skopos, remains unclear. Given the crucial role assigned to a translation's 'purpose' and the concomitant reduction of the original text to a simple 'offer of information', which the translator is licensed to change, reject or 'improve upon', one can see the closeness of this approach to the hermeneutic approach, where it is also the case that the translator is given an enormous power in the translation process. What is ignored here is the fact that a translation is never an 'independent' text but always in principle a 'dependent' one. A translation is by its very nature simultaneously bound to it source text *and* to the presuppositions and conditions governing its reception in the target linguacultural environment. To stress only the latter factor, as is done in the functionalist(ic) approach to translation, is unwarranted. What is needed is a definition of what a translation is, when a text is no longer a translation, but a text derived from different multilingual textual operations and an explicitation of the constraints governing the translation process. With regard to the three questions, we can say that it is particularly with reference to the issue of distinguishing a translation from other forms of texts that the functionalistic approach seems inadequate.

Text and discourse-oriented approaches

Under these approaches I subsume descriptive-historical translation studies, postmodernist and deconstructionist views, as well as linguistically oriented approaches to translation quality assessment.

Descriptive-historical translation studies

In this descriptive-historical approach (see Chapter 2 for details) a translation is evaluated retrospectively (from the viewpoint of its receptors) in terms of its forms and functions inside the system of the receiving culture and literature. As with the psychosocial approaches described above, here, too, the original is of subordinate importance. The procedure followed in this paradigm is thus essentially a retrospective one: from a translation to its original text the concept of equivalence is retained, but it does not refer to a one-to-one relationship between original and translation. Rather it is seen as sets of relationships found to characterize translations under specified circumstances. The characteristic features of a translation are 'neutrally described' according as to whether these features are perceived on the basis of native culture members' tacit knowledge of comparable textual specimens in the genre into which the translation is inserted. They are not to be 'prescriptively pre-judged' in their correspondence to, or deviation from, features of the original text. However, if one wants to evaluate a particular translation, which is never an independent new text in a new culture alone, but is related to a pre-existing entity, then such a view of translation (quality assessment) seems strangely skewed. With respect to the three criteria, we can thus state that this theory is deficient with regard to illuminating the relationship between source and translation texts.

Postmodernist and deconstructionist approaches

Proponents of this approach (for details see Chapter 2) attempt to critically investigate original and translated texts from a psycho-philosophical, socio-political and ideological stance in order to reveal unequal power relations and manipulations in the textual material. In a plea for making translations and translators more 'visible', adherents of this approach try to make a point of focusing on the 'hidden persuaders' in texts whose potentially ulterior, often power-related motives are to be brought into the open. One may hold against such a predominant interest in 'external pressures' on translation the argument that translation is after all first and foremost a *linguistic* procedure – however conditioned this procedure may be through ideological positions and shifts. Before adopting a critical stance vis-à-vis translations emphasizing the importance of a macro-perspective, one needs to engage in a more modest micro-perspective, i.e. conduct-detailed, theoretically informed analyses of the choices of linguistic forms in original texts and their translations as well as the consequences of these choices. However, it is also true that the one does not exclude the other. In fact, many scholars such as Fairclough (1985) would argue for both as being necessary. With respect to the three questions posed above, postmodern approaches are most relevant in their attempts to find answers to the first question, and also to the second. However, no answers are sought for the question of when a text is a translation and when the translation results from a different multilingual textual operation.

Linguistically oriented approaches

A pioneering approach to evaluating a translation in this paradigm is Reiss's (1971) attempt to set up a text typology relevant for translation evaluation. She assumed that it is the text type

(expressive, informative, operative) to which the original belongs which, as the most important invariant for a translation, pre-determines all subsequent translational decisions. Unfortunately, Reiss failed to give precise indications as to how one might go about conducting an assessment of whether and how original and translation are equivalent in terms of textual type and otherwise. In other words, the same type of criticism which was brought forward against the skopos-oriented, functionalistic translation theory, applies here too.

Linguistic approaches take the relationship between source and translation text seriously; they attempt to explicate the relationship between (features of) the text and how these are perceived by authors, translators and readers, but they differ in their capacity to provide detailed procedures for analysis and evaluation. Most promising are approaches which explicitly take account of the interconnectedness of context and text, because the inextricable link between language and the real world is both definitive in meaning making and in translation. Such a view of translation as recontextualization is the line taken in a model of translation criticism first developed some twenty-five years ago and recently revised (House 1977, 1997, 2014).

A linguistic model of translation quality assessment

Equivalence and 'meaning' in translation

So far, I have discussed different approaches to translation criticism evaluation with a view to their stances on the relationships between texts and human agents involved in translational actions and between translations and other textual operations. These relationships implicitly touch upon the most important concept in translation theory: that of 'equivalence' (see also Chapter 1 and see in particular Krein-Kühle 2014). Equivalence is rooted in everyday folk linguistic understanding of translation as a 'reproduction' of something originally produced in another language – and it is this everyday view of what makes a translation a translation which legitimizes a view of translation as being in a kind of 'double-bind' relationship, i.e. one characterized by a relationship to both the source text and the translation text. Over and above its role as a concept constitutive of translation, equivalence is also a fundamental notion for translation quality assessment. The linguistic, functional-pragmatic model of translation criticism which I developed (House 1977, 1997, 2009, 2014) is therefore firmly based on equivalence. Translations are here conceived as texts that are doubly constrained: by their originals and by the new recipient's communicative conditions. This is the basis of the 'equivalence relation', i.e. the relation between a source text and its translation text. Equivalence is the fundamental criterion of translation quality. One of the aims of a descriptively and explanatorily adequate theory of translation and translation quality assessment is then to specify and operationalize the equivalence relation by differentiating between different equivalence frameworks, e.g. extra-linguistic circumstances, connotative and aesthetic values, audience design and last but not least textual norms of usage that have emerged from empirical investigations of parallel texts and contrastive-pragmatic analyses (see Koller 1995).

The translator sets up a hierarchy of demands on equivalence that she wants to follow. However, it stands to reason that functional, pragmatic equivalence can be considered to be most relevant for translation. This is reflected in the functional-pragmatic model, where equivalence is related to the preservation of 'meaning' across two different languages and cultures. Three aspects of that 'meaning' are particularly important for translation: a semantic, a pragmatic and a textual aspect. Translation is then defined as the replacement of a text in the source language by a semantically and pragmatically equivalent text in the target language, and an adequate translation is a pragmatically-semantically equivalent one. As a first requirement for this equivalence, it is posited that a translation text should have a function equivalent to that of its original. However, this requirement needs to be differentiated given the existence of an empirically derived distinction into *overt* and *covert* translation, concepts to be discussed below in detail.

The use of the concept of 'function' presupposes that there are elements in a text which, given appropriate tools, can reveal a function. The use of the concept of function is here not to be equated with functions of language – different language functions clearly always co-exist inside any text, and a simple equation of language function with textual function/textual type is overly simplistic. Rather, a text's function – consisting of an ideational and an interpersonal functional component (following Halliday) – is defined pragmatically as the application of the text in a particular context of situation. Text and 'context of situation' should thus not be viewed as separate entities, rather the context of situation in which the text unfolds is 'encapsulated in the text through a systematic relationship between the social environment on the one hand and the functional organization of language on the other' (Halliday and Hasan 1989: 11). This means that the text is to be referred to the particular situation enveloping it, and for this a way must be found for breaking down the broad notion of 'context of situation' into manageable parts, i.e. particular features of the context of situation or 'situational dimensions'. Within systemic-functionalist linguistics, different systems have been suggested featuring situational dimensions as abstract components of the context of situation. The original model of translation quality assessment by House (1977) used three dimensions characterizing the text's author according to her temporal, geographical and social provenance and five dimensions of language use elaborating on the text's topic and on the interaction of, and relationship between, author and recipients in terms of their social role relationship, the social attitude obtaining, the degree of participant involvement and of writtenness or orality. The operation of the model involved initially an analysis of the original text according to this set of situational dimensions, for which linguistic correlates were established. The linguistic correlates of the situational dimensions are the means with which the textual function is realized, and the textual function is the result of a linguistic-pragmatic analysis along the dimensions with each dimension contributing to the two functional components, the ideational and the interpersonal. Opening up the text with these dimensions yields a specific textual profile that characterizes its function, which is then taken as the individual textual norm against which the translated text is measured. The degree to which the textual profile and function of the translation (as derived from an analogous analysis) match the profile and function of the original is then the degree to which the translation is adequate in quality. The set of situational dimensions is thus a kind of *tertium*

comparationis. In evaluating the relative match between original and translation, a distinction is made between 'dimensional mismatches' and 'non-dimensional mismatches'. Dimensional mismatches are pragmatic errors; non-dimensional mismatches are errors with regard to the rendering of denotative meanings in the translation as well as breaches of target language norms. The final qualitative judgement of the translation consists then of both types of errors and of a statement of the relative match of the two functional components.

In my revised model (House 1997, 2014) the classic Hallidayan Register concepts of 'Field', 'Mode' and 'Tenor' are used. Field captures the topic and content of the text, its subject matter, with differentiations of degrees of generality, specificity or granularity in lexical items according to rubrics of specialized, general and popular. It also captures different 'Processes', such as e.g. material processes (verbs of doing), mental processes (verbs of thinking, believing, opining) or relational ones (of being and having). Tenor refers to the nature of the participants, the addresser and the addressees, and the relationship between them in terms of social power and social distance, as well as degree of 'emotional charge'. Included here are the text producer's temporal, geographical and social provenance and his intellectual, emotional or affective stance (his 'personal viewpoint') vis-à-vis the content he is portraying and the communicative task he is engaged in. Further, Tenor captures 'social attitude', i.e. different styles (formal, consultative and informal). Linguistic indices realizing along Tenor are those of Mood and Modality. Mode refers to both the channel – spoken or written (which can be 'simple', i.e. 'written to be read' or 'complex', e.g. 'written to be spoken as if not written'), and the degree to which potential or real participation is allowed for between writer and reader. Participation can also be 'simple', i.e. be a monologue with no addressee participation built into the text, or 'complex' with various addressee-involving mechanisms characterizing the text. In taking account of (linguistically documentable) differences in texts between the spoken and written medium, reference is also made to the empirically established (corpus-based oral-literate dimensions as e.g. hypothesized by Biber (1988)). He suggests dimensions along which linguistic choices may reflect medium, i.e. involved v. informational text production; explicit v. situation-dependent reference; abstract v. non-abstract presentation of information.

The type of textual analysis in which linguistic features discovered in the original and the translation are correlated with the categories Field, Tenor, Mode does not, however, lead directly to a statement of the individual textual function (and its interpersonal and ideational components). Rather, the concept of 'Genre' is incorporated into the analytic scheme, 'in between', as it were, the register categories of Field, Tenor, Mode. Genre enables one to refer any single textual exemplar to the class of texts with which it shares a common purpose or function. Genre is a category superordinate to Register. While Register captures the connection between texts and their 'microcontext', Genre connects texts with the 'macrocontext' of the linguacultural community in which a text is embedded, for example the type of institution in which a text conventionally appears (a sermon traditionally happening in a religious locale). Register and Genre are both semiotic systems realized by language such that the relationship between Genre, Register and Language/Text is one between semiotic planes which relate to one another in a Hjelmslevian 'content-expression' type, i.e. Genre is the content plane of

Register, and Register is the expression plane of Genre. Register in turn is the content plane of Language, with Language being the expression plane of Register.

The resultant scheme for textual analysis, comparison and assessment is illustrated in Figure 8.1.

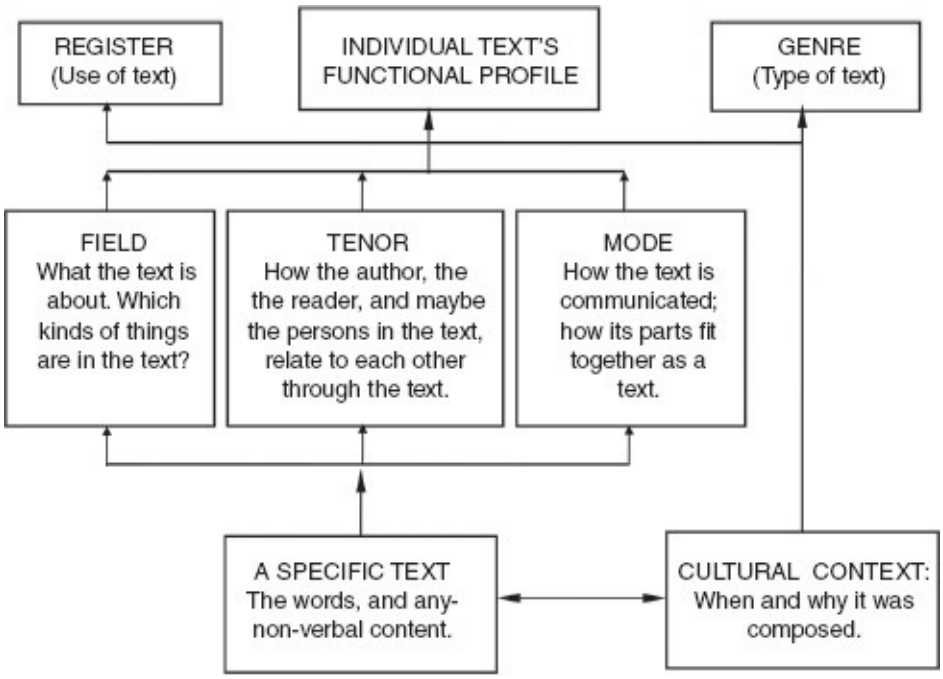


Figure 8.1 A scheme for analysing and comparing originals and translations

Taken together, the analysis provided in this assessment model along the levels of the individual text, Register and Genre building one on the other in a systematic way yields a textual profile that characterizes the individual textual function. But as mentioned above, whether and how this textual function can in fact be maintained depends on the type of translation sought for the original.

In the following section, the nature of these different types of translation and versions will be discussed.

Overt and covert translation

The distinction between two fundamentally different types of translation go back to Friedrich Schleiermacher's (1813) famous distinction between '*verfremdende*' (alienating) and '*einbürgernde*' (integrating) translations, which has had many imitators using different terms. What sets the overt-covert distinction made in the assessment model apart from other similar distinctions is the fact that it is part of a coherent theory of translation quality assessment inside which the origin and function of the two types of translation are theoretically motivated and consistently explicated. The distinction is as follows: in an overt translation, the receptors of the translation are quite 'overtly' not being addressed; an overt translation is thus one which

must overtly be a translation, not a ‘second original’. The source text is tied in a specific manner to the source linguaculture. The original is specifically directed at source culture addressees but at the same time points beyond it because it is also of general human interest. Source texts that call for an overt translation have an established worth in the source language community. They are either overt historically source texts tied to a specific occasion where a precisely specified source language audience is/was being addressed, or they may be timeless source texts transcending as works of art and aesthetic creations a distinct historical meaning.

A covert translation is a translation which enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture. The translation is covert because it is not marked pragmatically as a translation text of a source text but may, conceivably, have been created in its own right as an independent text. A covert translation is thus a translation whose source text is not specifically addressed to a particular source culture audience, i.e. it is not firmly tied to the source linguaculture. A source text and its covert translation are pragmatically of comparable interest for source and target language addressees. Both are, as it were, equally directly addressed. A source text and its covert translation have equivalent purposes. They are based on contemporary equivalent needs of a comparable audience in the source and target language communities. In the case of covert translation texts, it is thus both possible and desirable to keep the function of the source text equivalent in the translation text. This can be done by inserting a ‘cultural filter’ (see below in this chapter for details) between original and translation with which to account for cultural differences between the two linguistic communities.

The distinction between overt and covert translation can be given greater explanatory adequacy by relating it to the concepts of ‘frame’ (see for example Goffman 1981) and ‘discourse world’. Translation involves a transfer of texts across time and space, and whenever texts move, they also shift cognitive frames and discourse worlds. A frame often operates unconsciously as an explanatory principle, i.e. any message that defines a frame gives the receiver instructions in his interpretation of the message included in the frame. An example is the phrase ‘Once upon a time . . . ’ which indicates to the addressee that a fairy is now forthcoming. Similarly, the notion of a ‘discourse world’ (Edmondson 1981) refers to a superordinate structure for interpreting meaning in a certain way. An example would be a case where a teacher at the end of a foreign language teaching unit conducted entirely in the foreign language switches into the learners’ mother tongue, thus indicating a switch of discourse worlds.

Applying the concepts to overt and covert translation, we can propose the following: in overt translation, the translation text is embedded in a new speech event, which gives it also a new frame. An overt translation is a case of ‘language mention’, similar to a quotation. Relating the concept of ‘overt translation’ to the four-tiered analytical model (Function – Genre – Register – Language/Text), we can state that an original and its overt translation can be equivalent at the level of Language/Text and Register as well as Genre. At the level of the individual textual function, however, functional equivalence, while still possible, is of a different nature: it can be described as merely enabling access to the function the original has in its discourse world or frame. An example would be a speech by Winston Churchill during

the Second World War at a particular time and in a particular location. A translation of this speech from English into any other language can obviously not 'mean the same' to the new addressees. So a switch in discourse world and frame becomes necessary, i.e. the translation will have to be differently framed, it will operate in its own frame and discourse world, and can thus reach at best 'second-level functional equivalence'. As this type of equivalence is, however, achieved though equivalence at the levels of Language, Text, Register and Genre, the original's frame and discourse world will be co-activated, such that members of the target culture may eavesdrop, as it were, i.e. be enabled to appreciate the original textual function, albeit at a distance. Coming back to the example of Churchill's speech, this distance can be explained not only by the fact that the speech happened in the past, but also by the fact that the translation's addressees belong to a different linguacultural community. In overt translation, the work of the translator is important and clearly visible. Since it is the translator's task to permit target culture members to access the original text and its cultural impact on source culture members, the translator puts target culture members in a position to observe this text 'from outside'.

In covert translation, the translator will attempt to re-create an equivalent speech event. Consequently, the function of a covert translation is to reproduce in the target text the function the original has in its frame and discourse world. A covert translation operates quite 'overtly' in the frame and discourse world provided by the target culture. No attempt is made to co-activate the discourse world in which the original unfolded (see below p. 77 for an explanation). Covert translation is both psycholinguistically less complex than overt translation and more deceptive. The translator's task is to betray the origin, to hide behind the transformation of the original, necessary due to the adaptation to the needs and knowledge levels of the new target audience. The translator in covert translation is clearly less visible, if not totally absent. Since true functional equivalence is aimed at, the original may be legitimately manipulated at the levels of Language/Text and Register using a 'cultural filter' (see below). The result may be a very real distance from the original. While an original and its covert translation need thus not be equivalent at the levels of Language/Text and Register, they will be equivalent at the level of genre and the individual textual function.

In assessing the quality of a translation, it is essential that the fundamental differences between these two types of translation be taken into account. Overt and covert translation makes very different demands on translation quality assessment. The difficulty of evaluating an overt translation is reduced in that considerations of cultural filtering can be omitted. Overt translations are 'more straightforward', the originals being taken over 'unfiltered' and 'simply' transposed from the source to the target culture in the medium of a new language. The major difficulty in translating overtly is, of course, finding *linguistic*-cultural 'equivalents' particularly along the dimension of Tenor and its characterizations of the author's temporal, social and geographical provenience. However, here we deal with *overt* manifestations of cultural phenomena that are transferred only because they happen to be manifest linguistically in the original. A judgement whether e.g. a 'translation' of a dialect is adequate in overt translation can ultimately not be objectively given: the degree of correspondence in terms of social prestige and status cannot be measured in the absence of complete contrastive

ethnographic studies – if, indeed, there will ever be such studies. In other words, such an evaluation will necessarily remain to a certain degree a subjective matter. However, as opposed to the difficulty in covert translation of evaluating differences in cultural presuppositions and communicative preferences between text production in the source and target cultures, the explicit overt transference in an overt translation is still easier to judge.

In assessing the quality of a covert translations, one needs to consider the application of a 'cultural filter' in order to differentiate between a covert translation and a covert version.

The 'cultural filter'

I first suggested the concept of a 'cultural filter' in 1977 as a means of capturing socio-cultural differences in expectation norms and stylistic conventions between the source and target linguacultural communities. The concept was used to emphasize the need for an empirical basis for 'manipulations' of the original undertaken by the translator. Whether or not there is an empirical basis for changes of the original text would need to be reflected in the assessment of the translation. Further, given the goal of achieving functional equivalence in a covert translation, assumptions of cultural difference should be carefully examined before any change in the source text is undertaken. In cases of unproven assumptions of cultural difference, the translator might apply a cultural filter whose application – resulting in possibly deliberate mismatches between original and translation along several situational parameters – may be unjustified. The unmarked assumption is one of cultural compatibility. In the case of e.g. the German and Anglophone linguistic and cultural communities for example such evidence seems now to be available, with important consequences for cultural filtering in the case of this language pair. Since its first proposal, the concept of cultural filter has gained substance through contrastive-pragmatic studies, in which Anglophone and German communicative preferences were hypothesized. Converging evidence from these studies conducted with many different data, subjects and methodologies suggest that there are German communicative preferences which differ from Anglophone ones along a set of dimensions, among them directness, content-focus, explicitness and a preference for using verbal routines over ad hoc formulation (see House 2006b). For the comparative analysis of source and target texts and the evaluation of a covert translation, one needs to take account of whatever knowledge exists about linguacultural differences between source and target linguacultures.

Distinguishing between different types of translations and versions

Over and above distinguishing between covert and overt translation in translation quality assessment, it is necessary to make another distinction: between a translation and a version. There are two types of versions: covert and overt versions. Covert versions can be differentiated from overt versions. Overt versions are produced whenever a special function is (overtly) added to a translation text. There are two different cases of overt version production:

1 When a 'translation' is produced which is to reach a particular audience. Examples are

special editions for a youthful audience with the resultant omissions, additions, simplifications or different accentuations of certain features of the source text etc., or popularizations of specialist works (newly) designed for a lay audience.

2 When the 'translation' is given a special added purpose. Examples are interlingual versions or 'linguistic translations', résumés and abstracts, where it is the express purpose of the version producer to pass on only the most essential facts of the original.

A covert version results whenever the translator – in order to preserve the function of the source text – applied a cultural filter randomly manipulating the original where such a manipulation has not been substantiated by research or a body of knowledge.

In discussing different types of translations and versions, there is an implicit assumption that a particular text may be adequately translated in only one particular way. The assumption that a particular text necessitates either a covert or an overt translation does, however, not hold in any simple way. Thus any text may, for a specific purpose, require an overt translation. The text may be viewed as a document which 'has an independent value' existing in its own right, e.g. when its author has become, in the course of time, a distinguished figure, and then the translation may need to be an overt one. Further, there may well be source texts for which the choice of overt-covert translations is necessarily a subjective one, e.g. fairy tales may be viewed as products of a particular culture, which would predispose the translator to opt for an overt translation, or as non-culture specific texts, anonymously produced, with the general function of entertaining and educating the young, which would suggest a covert translation.

Further, the specific purpose for which a 'translation' is produced will, of course, determine whether a translation or an overt version is to be aimed at. Just as the decision whether an overt or a covert translation is appropriate for a particular source text may depend on factors such as the changeable status of the text author, so clearly the initial choice between translating or version-producing cannot be made on the basis of features of the text alone. It may depend on the arbitrarily determined purpose for which the translation or version is required.

Returning to the three questions of relationship between original and translation, between texts and human agents, and a distinction between translations and other secondary textual operations; the assessment model presented here is firmly based on a view of translation as a double-linkage operation. It posits a cline along which the nature of the double-linkage can be revealed for any particular translation case – the two endpoints of the cline being overt translation and covert translation. The relationship between (features) of the text(s) and the human agents involved (as author, translator, recipient) is explicitly accounted for through the provision of an elaborate system of pragmatic-functional analysis of original and translation, with the overt-covert cline on which a translation is to be placed determining the type of reception sought and likely to be achieved. Finally, explicit means are provided for distinguishing a translation from other types of textual operation by specifying the conditions holding for a translation to turn into a version.

Integrating empirically verified cultural filters into the assessment process makes for greater certainty as to when a translation is no longer a translation but a version. However, given the

dynamic nature of communicative norms and the way research tends to lag behind practice, translation critics will still have to struggle to remain abreast of new developments that will enable them to judge the appropriateness of changes through the application of a cultural filter in any given language pair.

Linguistic analysis versus social evaluation

In translation quality assessment it is important to be maximally aware of the difference between (scientifically based) analysis and (social) judgement in evaluating a translation. In other words, there is a difference between comparing textual profiles, describing and explaining differences established in linguistic-textual analysis and evaluating the quality of a translation. What a linguistic model of translation quality assessment can do is provide a basis for systematic comparison, making explicit the factors that may theoretically have influenced the translator in making certain decisions and rejecting others, thus providing the basis for evaluating a particular case.

Instead of taking the complex socio-psychological categories of translation receptors' intuitions, feelings, reactions or beliefs as a cornerstone for translation quality assessment, a linguistic, functional-pragmatic approach which takes account of language in its socio-cultural context, focuses on texts which are the products of (often unfathomable) human decision processes and as such are most tangible and least ambiguously analysable entities. Such an approach, however, does not enable the evaluator to pass judgements on what is a 'good' or a 'bad' translation. A linguistic approach can prepare the ground for the analysis of a large number of evaluation cases that would, in each individual case, not be totally predictable. In the last analysis, then, any evaluation depends on a variety of factors that necessarily enter into a social evaluative judgement. Such a judgement emanates from the analytic, comparative process of translation criticism, i.e. the linguistic analysis provides grounds for arguing an evaluative judgement. As suggested above, the choice of an overt or a covert translation depends not on the translator, on the source text, or on her subjective interpretation of the text, but also on the reasons for the translation, the instructions given to the translator, the implied readers, on publishing and marketing policies, all of which implies that there are many factors which have nothing to do with translation as a linguistic procedure. Such factors are social and socio-psychological ones, which concern human agents and are therefore subject to socio-cultural, political or ideological constraints. Linguistic description and explanation must not be confused with evaluative assertions made on the basis of social, political, ethical or individual grounds alone. It seems imperative to emphasize the distinction between linguistic analysis and socio-psychological evaluation given the current climate where the criteria of scientific validity and reliability are often usurped by criteria such as social acceptability, political correctness, vague emotional commitment or fleeting *zeitgeist*. Translation as a phenomenon in its own right, as a linguistic-textual operation, should not be confused with issues such as what the translation is for, what it should, might, or must be for. One of the drawbacks of an overriding concern with the covert end of the translation cline is that the borders between a translation and other multilingual textual operations become blurred. In view of this confusion,

some conceptual clarity can be reached by theoretically distinguishing between translations and versions and by positing functional equivalence ('real' or second-level) as a *sine qua non* in translation.

The core concept of translation quality assessment is translation quality. This is a problematical concept if it is taken to involve individual value judgements alone. It is difficult to pass any 'final judgement' of the quality of a translation that fulfils the demands of scientific objectivity. This should not, however, be taken to mean that translation quality assessment as a field of inquiry is worthless. But one should be aware that in translation quality assessment one will always be forced to move from a macro-analytical focus to a micro-analytical one, from considerations of ideology, function, genre, register to the communicative value of collocations and individual linguistic items and back again (see Cicourel (2007) on ecological validity in Applied Linguistics and the constant interplay between the macro and the micro). In taking this dual, complementary perspective, the translation critic is enabled to approximate the reconstruction of the translator's choices and to throw light on her decision processes. That this is an extremely complex undertaking which, in the end, yields but probabilistic outcomes, should not detract from its usefulness. In translation quality assessment, one should aim at revealing exactly where and with which consequences and (possibly) for which reasons a translation is what it is in relation to its original. Such a procedure evolving from attempts to make explicit the grounds of one's (preliminary) judgements on the basis of an argued set of procedures might guard against making prescriptive, apodictic and global judgements (of the 'good' v. 'bad' type), which can never be verifiable.

Translation quality assessment, like language itself, has two functional components, an ideational and an interpersonal one, that lead to two separable steps: the first and primary one referring to linguistic analysis, description, and explanation based on knowledge and research, the second and secondary one referring to value judgements, social and ethical questions of relevance and personal taste. In the study of translation, we need both. Judging without analysing is irresponsible, and analysing without judging is pointless. To judge is easy, to understand less so. If we can make explicit the grounds of our judgement on the basis of an argued set of procedures such as the one developed in the assessment model presented above, we can discuss and refine them, if we do not, we can merely disagree.

Most recent revision of the House model (House 2014)

This newly revised model integrates findings from contrastive pragmatics, intercultural communication, and corpus studies.

Contrastive pragmatics and intercultural communication are of increasing importance for substantiating the notion of the cultural filter in the model, but the possibility of variation and change in an age of increasing mobility needs to be constantly watched. This throws an extra burden on the translation quality assessors. No easy all-purpose and eternally valid generalizations can be applied any longer, but individual cases must be considered as to whether and how cultural filtering is to be applied.

Corpus studies discussed in detail in Chapter 10, are naturally important for extending the assessor's view of the individual text as an exemplar such that the notion of Genre in the House model can now be made more concrete. Corpus studies provide the evaluator with information about whether and how far features of a single text are in line with the norms and conventions of the Genre in the target culture. There is also an obvious link here with the notion of the cultural filter here such that the two notions supplement one another.

Over and above these modifications of the model originated in taking cognizance of new research in selected areas, the model was also revised 'internally' in the dimensions of Field, Tenor and Mode. Thus, within Field the analysis now focuses only on lexis, granularity of lexis, lexical fields and Hallidayan processes (Material, Mental, Relational). Within Tenor, lexical and syntactic choices are examined along the subcategories of Stance, Social Role Relationship, Social Attitude and also Participation. And along Mode, the analysis will focus on textual matters featuring as before Medium (spokenness versus writtenness), Theme-Rheme, Connectivity (Coherence and Cohesion).

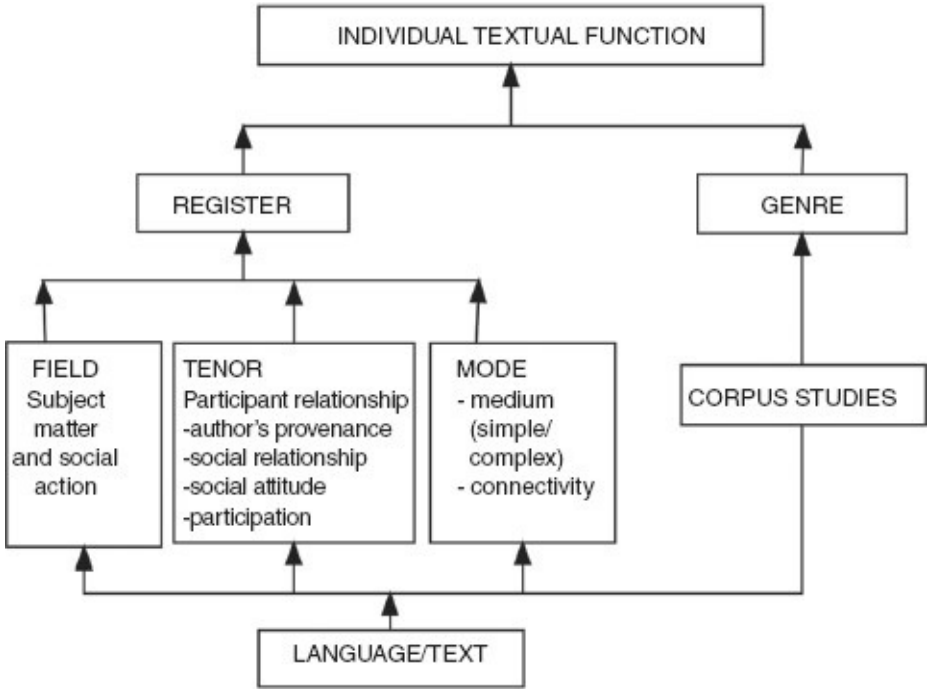


Figure 8.2 A revised scheme for analysing and comparing originals and translation texts

The resulting newly revised model is displayed in Figure 8.2.

Some recent developments in testing translation quality

Since Carroll's (1966) early proposals of tests of translation quality followed by response-based tests in the form of comprehension, readability and naturalness checks, more recent progress in computer and communication technology coupled with an ever increasing demand in a globalized world for fast and inexpensive translations has led to the development of

formalized approaches to translation quality assurance including quality assurance software such as TRADOS, WF or QAD. These programs are mainly used to verify terminology, compare source and target text segments and to detect (mostly formal and terminology related) errors. Such software does not replace human editors; it assists them. However, it cannot at the present time detect stylistic and register infelicities resulting from faulty understanding of the source text (see Angelelli and Jacobson 2009).

In addition to translation quality assurance software and metrics following the demand for measures that are repeatable, reproducible and objective, the availability of large multilingual parallel corpora adds important knowledge sources for tests of both automatic and human translation quality. Many automatic evaluation methods using translation quality metrics such as BLEU (Bilingual Evaluation Understudy) now compare machine translation output with reference translations trying to correlate automatic translations with judgements by expert human translators or quality panels for validation and the generation of similar scores.

Part III

Some new research avenues in translation studies

This part of the book features important strands of recent and contemporary research. Chapter 9 focuses on bilingual cognition and translation; Chapter 10 looks at corpora in translation studies and Chapter 11 discusses the role and impact of globalization processes on translation studies.

9 Translation and bilingual cognition

This chapter, which is a revised, updated version of House 2013a, characterizes the state of the art in translation process research and its importance for the practice of translation. I will here also present ideas for a new linguistic-cognitive orientation in translation studies, which is I believe particularly important today because such an orientation can complement the current strong wave of socially and culturally oriented research into and around translation. For balance, I think it is also necessary and insightful to describe and explain how strategies of comprehending, decision making and reverbalization come about in a translator's bilingual mind. I will here first provide a brief review of introspective and retrospective studies as well as behavioural experiments. I will then assess the relevance and value of neuro-linguistic studies for translation, and finally I will suggest a new combination of a translation theory and a neuro-functional theory of bilingualism. Providing a new linguistic-cognitive approach to translation is overdue not least because of the current predominance of cultural, social, ideological and personal concerns focusing on 'translation at large', by which I mean a concentration on the reasons for and the effects of a translation; the need for, and the means of 'intervention', 'manipulation' and 'resistance', and 'visibility' based on the moral and ethical, responsibility of translators in their translation tasks. While there have always been 'old-fashioned' translation scholars who kept up their interest and involvement in linguistic matters to this day, such as e.g. Koller 2011, E. Steiner 2008, as well as the late Peter Newmark in his many publications. However, what is missing is a combined linguistic-cognitive translation theory.

Why we need a new linguistic-cognitive orientation

I will here argue against the current preoccupation with external social, cultural, personal, historical etc. factors impinging on translation 'from the outside' (see for example Tymoczko 2007). The widespread assumption today of translation as an art coupled with a cult of individual translators, their creativity, influence, status, moral stance, ideological 'positioning' and so on, encourages a view of translation as a translator's essentially novel creation. And together with neo-hermeneutic, constructivist and perlocutionary-based approaches to translation this view has encouraged what I would call an 'anti-equivalence position', which celebrated a de-thronization of the original and a consequent enthronization of translators as authors in their own right. On this view, translation is also often regarded as a kind of manipulation (see Hermans 1985; Shamma 2009; and see Reiss and Vermeer's skopos theory (1984), which embodies a general license for manipulation given its declared credo: 'The end justifies the means').

I would argue against a view of translation as an individual's art of interpretation by pointing to what Susan Sontag wrote in her famous volume *Against Interpretation* (1961: 3), where she attacked 'the cult of interpretation' as a philistine refusal to leave a text alone.

While Sontag refers to literature, her stance on interpretation is also relevant for demolishing an excessive role of subjective interpretation in translation. The function of text analysis for translation should be, in my opinion, to show how a text is what it is, that it is what it is, rather than to be preoccupied with what it means to a reader. This idea harks back to Benjamin's (1923) seminal ideas about interpretation and his implicit prioritization of the text over the individual translator.

Another related, popular idea is linking translation with a translator's 'intention' (Prunc 2011). Since all text production is determined by interests, a translation should naturally reflect the intentions of translators. The illusion of 'interestless intentions' would lead straightaway to a deplorable personal, political and socio-cultural 'invisibility'. However, is not translators' 'visibility' always possible through insertions of prefaces, pre- and postscripts, footnotes, explicit mentioning of the translator's name in the text and so on?

It is against such a – to my mind – exaggerated concern with the subjective-personal in translation that I believe a shift is needed to a focus on both language/text (the linguistic focus) and on what happens when translators are translating (the linguistic-cognitive focus). What is needed is a theoretically based description and explanation of how strategies of comprehending, problem solving and decision making with reference to the text translators handle come about in their bilingual minds. Of course, such a focus does not need to be at the expense of the socio-cultural: it has long been recognized that socio-culturally shared knowledge sets as linguistic-cognitive representations in the form of schemata, scripts, plans, constructions and routines result from conventionalization processes in a particular culture via the medium of language (see for example Sperber 1996; Cook and Bassetti 2011). This recognition is not new at all: it found its way into translation studies in the 1990s (Wilss 1996). But this early linguistic-cognitive orientation was soon eclipsed by the rise of another paradigm: translation process research, which will be critically reviewed in the following section.

Introspective and retrospective translation process studies: how valid and reliable are their outcomes?

Introspective and retrospective studies, frequently involving monologic, sometimes also dialogic tasks, as well as rating and other decision-related tasks, have been a very productive research paradigm since their inception in the 1980s. However, the validity and reliability of the verbal report data elicited in such studies have more often than not been taken for granted, although they are in fact far from clear. Despite many attempts over the past decades to improve the quality of thinking aloud protocol (TAP) data – offering, intensive preparatory training sessions to better enable subjects to provide insights into their strategy-using behaviour – the general assumption behind this type of research has not really been questioned. The fundamental question underlying all introspective and retrospective translation studies is that persons involved in the act of translating have substantial control over their mental processes, and that these processes are to a large extent accessible to them, i.e. open to their

conscious inspection and verbalization. It is however far from clear that this assumption is valid. Even more important from the point of research methodology is the fact that at present it is not clear that this assumption can be confirmed or falsified.

There seem to be at least five unresolved questions with regard to translation-related introspective and retrospective research methodology:

1 Is what ends up being verbally expressed in thinking aloud sessions really identical with underlying cognitive processes?
2 Exactly which cognitive processes are accessible to verbalization and which are not, i.e. how can one differentiate between meta-cognitive monitoring and reflective (declarative) behaviour on the one hand and routinized (procedural) behaviour on the other hand?
3 Does the fact that translators are asked to verbalize their thoughts while they are engaged in translating change those cognitive processes that are (normally) involved in translation? In other words, are translators engaged in introspection sessions subject to the so-called 'observer's paradox'?
4 What happens to those parts of (often expert) translators' activity that are highly, if not entirely, routinized and automatized and are thus by definition not open to reflection? (see Königs 1986, who distinguished an automatic bloc from a 'rest' bloc of cognitive translation activity).
5 With regard to retrospective translation-related research: how can data from ex post facto interviews or questionnaires access translation processes given working memory constraints and given the pressure felt by subjects to provide data that will satisfy the researcher? Is it not likely that subjects will make meta-statements about what they think they had thought?

Over and above these five questions process research needs to face one of the most controversial issues in cognitive science today: the nature of consciousness. Much recent neuro-science literature stresses in fact the importance of the non-conscious – a depressing finding for translation process research (see for example Nosek *et al*. 2011). Others, however, stress the need for a comprehensive theory of consciousness that goes beyond an exclusive focus on (inaccessible) representations trying to explain 'how those representations are experienced and accessed by the multiple functions that constitute an observer' (Cohen and Dennett 2011: 363).

Fortunately, there is an increasing awareness of the critical methodological issues in translation process research mentioned above. Thus in a paper with the promising title 'Back to Basics: Designing a Study to Determine the Validity and Reliability of Verbal Report Data on Translation Processes', Jääskeläinen (2011) has very sensibly pointed out that there is a need for a systematic methodological study on the use of verbal report data, a study that would take into account the specific nature of translation tasks and incorporate contrastive analyses of the language pairs involved in the translation on hand.

Behavioural experiments on the translation process: how valid, reliable and insightful are their outcomes?

Given the type of discontent with attempts to look into the translator's 'black box' in the introspective and retrospective translation process research described above, translation scholars have now tried to remedy the situation. They came up with more controlled behavioural experiments designed to avoid making claims about the 'black box' and to trace linear and non-linear translational steps and phases directly, measuring the temporal progress or delay, the types and numbers of revisions undertaken by the translator, the (measurable) effort expended, the nature and number of attention foci and attention shifts as well as the frequency and kind of emotional stress responses shown by the translator while translating. This ambitious agenda was made possible through recent, mostly computer-related technological progress such that experiments using keyboard logging, screen recording, eye-tracking and various physiological measures could be undertaken. A recent overview of this line of behavioural translation-related research that often neatly combines various tools (e.g. keyboard logging and eye-tracking) is provided in Shreve and Angelone (2010) and O'Brien (2011). O'Brien (2011: 11) makes the important general point that much of this type of translation process research regularly displays great individual variation, which, she claims, is only to be expected given the fact that we are here dealing with individual human beings. She points to Hansen's (2010) proposal of going beyond those predominantly quantitative data elicited via keyboard logging, eye-tracking etc. by attempting a more integrative take on the translation process involving a translator's 'life story'. Still, there remain at least two critical points: can measurements of observable behaviour (as provided in keyboard logging, eye-tracking etc.) inform us about cognitive processes that occur in a translator's mind? And can measurements of observable behaviour explain the nature of cognitive representations of the two languages, can they throw light on a translator's meta-linguistic and linguistic-contrastive knowledge, and illuminate comprehension, transfer and reconstitution processes emerging in translation procedures?

What such experiments *can* and *do* measure, is exactly what they set out to measure: observable behaviour, no more and no less. This is not to belittle their worth – far from it. All I am arguing here is that the results of such behavioural experiments are not be taken as indications of processes in the minds of translators. Rather they should be seen as interesting hypotheses. If such experiments are combined with theoretical models that incorporate features of semantic representation and of processing, they may pave the way towards abandoning any clear-cut distinction between product and process in favour of more holistic and unitary perspective on product and process (Halverson 2014). It is necessary, however, to always clearly differentiate between cognitive-psychological processes and the underlying neural correlates. The number of fixations gaze time, pause length, incidence of self-corrections examined in key-logging and eye-tracking experiments cannot point to the involvement of certain neurological substrates. Rather, they are likely to point to certain translation difficulties (Dragsted 2012) and attendant decision processes, and these may involve certain neural networks more than others. Still, the crux is that the involvement of neural networks cannot tell

us exactly which processes are connected with these networks. This problem led many to look at a new research strand: bilingual neuro-imaging studies has emerged, made possible by technological advance.

Bilingual neuro-imaging studies: how useful and relevant are they for translation studies?

Can neuro-imaging studies give us 'a direct window' on the translator's 'black box', on what goes on in a translator's mind, finally providing us with a solution to Krings's question in 1986: 'What happens in translators' heads?' First of all, we may well doubt the accuracy of findings of such studies, not least because they crucially depend on the type of task used. With the exception of some rare recent use of isolated sentences, functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), positron emission tomography (PET) and Event Related Potential (ERP) studies are word-based (see for example de Groot 1997; Price *et al*. 1999; Klein *et al*. 2006; Hernandez 2009). Translation, however, is essentially text-based. Any application of neuro-imaging experimental research to translation thus faces the dilemma that translation research is essentially interested in less controllable, larger and more 'messy' units.

Michel Paradis commented on the lack of ecological validity of neuro-imaging research:

> The use of any task other than the natural use of language (including natural switching and mixing) has the same consequence as using single words: the task does not tap the normal automatic processes that sustain the natural use of language including the contribution of pragmatics and its neural underpinnings.
>
> (2009: 157–8)

Over two-thirds of neuro-imaging studies on laterality and language switching and mixing use single words as stimuli, for instance in picture-naming experiments where subjects are asked to switch on command (but see for example Abutalebi 2008 for a rare exception to the use of single words in such experiments). However, as Paradis (2009: 160) has pointed out, brain activity crucially differs for language use in natural situations and in language use 'on cue', and, most importantly, these situations correspond to opposite types of processes. Indeed, single words are very different from the rest of language. They are part of the (conscious) vocabulary of a language, not part of the lexicon. The latter includes morpho-syntactic properties and is integrated into each language subsystem's neural network in the bilingual brain. Single word stimuli are explicitly known form-meaning associations subserved by declarative memory, while procedural memory underlies normal, natural language use. Each memory system relies on distinct neuro-functional structures. And normal, natural language use also critically involves cortical areas of the brain's right hemisphere to process the pragmatic aspects of utterances – this, however, is irrelevant in processing single words that are used out of context.

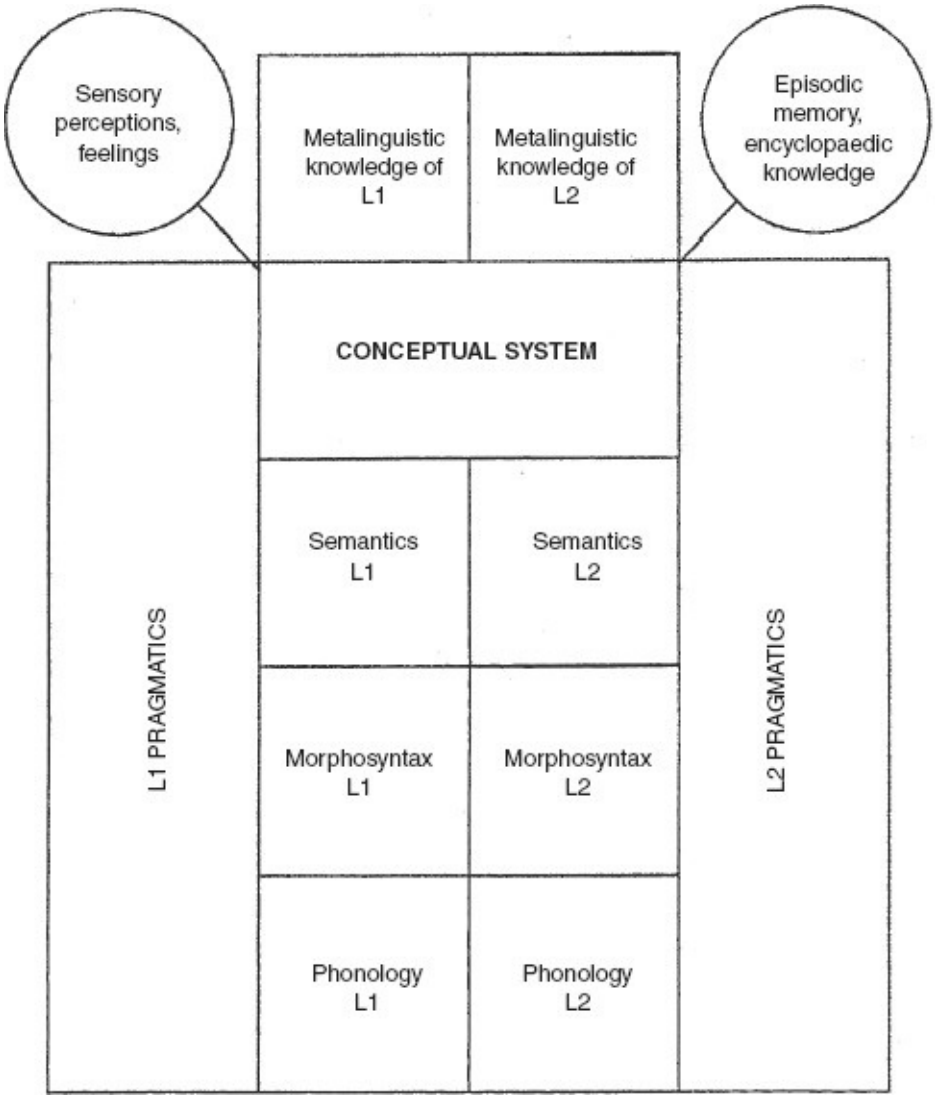


Figure 9.1 A schematic representation of the components of verbal communication (adapted from Paradis 2004: 227)

Another problem with neuro-imaging data that needs to be addressed relates to the nature of the evidence from neuro-imaging data: blood flow and other haemo-dynamic responses routinely provided in such data cannot be taken to be direct measures of neuronal activity. Most neuro-imaging studies have not been replicated. Many reported neurological activations are strongly task-dependent and rely on a particular technique employed, so that replication is difficult. And it is this task and technique dependence which suggests that the reported activations in the brain are indicative of the particular task and technique employed rather than being indicative of language representation, processing and switching per se.

Given these shortcomings, it is advisable to first look for a theory with enough descriptive and explanatory potential before expecting enlightenment from experimental neuro-imaging studies, whose usefulness for translation studies is, at the present time, not clear at all.

A neuro-linguistic theory of the functioning of two languages in the brain

Paradis (2004: 227) has proposed a neuro-linguistic theory the neuro-functional and linguistic-cognitive system of the bilingual mind, illustrated in Figure 9.1.

The model features different levels for explicit meta-linguistic knowledge of a bilingual's two languages L1 and L2, sensory perceptions, feelings, episodic memory and encyclopaedic knowledge, a joint conceptual system and different language-specific levels of semantics, morphosyntax and phonology. Conceptual mental representations are independent of language. In translational L1 and L2 contact situations the degree of overlap depends on their relative typological closeness. Paradis's model emphasizes the need 'to distinguish between representation and control, between what is represented and how it is represented, between what is represented and how it is accessed, and between what is represented in each language and how these language representations are organized in the brain into systems or subsystems' (2004: 230–1).

In Paradis's model, L1 and L2 pragmatics encompass and feed into both the conceptual system and the different language levels. Implicit linguistic competence and meta-linguistic knowledge are independent systems. Only the use of meta-linguistic knowledge is consciously controlled. The use of implicit competence is automatic, devoid of conscious effort, awareness of the process involved or attention focused on the task on hand. Languages are represented as neuro-functional subsystems of the language system (the implicit linguistic competence), which is a component of the verbal communication system that in addition to the language system contains meta-linguistic knowledge, pragmatic ability and motivation. This verbal communication system is connected to the cognitive system where intentions to communicate a message are formulated or messages are received and interpreted according to the lexico-grammatical constraints of L1 and L2 that activate the relevant concepts and depend on pragmatic context-dependent inferences. The intention to communicate triggers the verbalization of the message formulated in the cognitive conceptual system. The implicit linguistic competence ('the grammar') constrains the encoding of the message and the pragmatics component makes selections in terms of styles, registers, discourse norms, speech act directness, politeness etc.

Paradis suggests that bilinguals (including translators) have two subsets of neuronal connections, one for each language, and these are activated or inhibited (for instance in the process of translation) independently. But there is also one larger set on which they can draw items of either language at any one time. All selections are automatic – i.e. unconsciously driven by activation levels. With specific reference to translation, Paradis proposes the operation of two distinct translation strategies:

1 A strategy of translating via the conceptual system involving processes of linguistic decoding (comprehension) of source text material plus encoding (production) of target text material.
2 Direct transcoding by automatic application of rules, which involves moving directly from linguistic items in the source language to equivalent items in the target language. In other words, source language forms immediately trigger target language forms, thus bypassing

conceptual-semantic processing.

Paradis's theory is relevant for translation in that he presents an explanation for the representation modi of two languages as keys to essential translation processes of decoding, comprehending, transferring, re-assembling and reverbalizing. Of particular importance in his model is the role he assigns to the L1 and L2 pragmatics components which impact on the conceptual system and on the other linguistic levels. With regard to the joint separate conceptual system, the model can explain that expert translators often do not need to access it as they move directly from the source to the target language (see for example Tirkkonen-Condit 2004 for empirical evidence).

The importance afforded by Paradis to the pragmatics component suggests the possibility of combining his model of the bilingual (translator's) brain with my own a functional-pragmatic translation theory of linguistic text analysis, translation and translation evaluation detailed in Chapter 8. Paradis's theory clearly supports the concept of the cultural filter in covert translation with its hypothesized complete switch to L2 pragmatic norms and the hypothesized co-activation of the L1 and L2 pragmatics components in overt translation. Paradis's theory supports in particular my claim that overt translation is psycholinguistically more complex due to an activation of a wider range of neuronal networks – across two pragmatics-cum-linguistics representational networks (see Figure 9.1) in the translation process, as well as my claim that covert translation is psycholinguistically simple since only one pragmatics-cum-linguistics representational network – the one for L2 – is being activated in translation.

For a new linguistic-cognitive orientation in translation studies that may emanate from a critical look at current research into translation process research and neuro-imaging studies, a fresh attempt at theorizing might be a good start. For this we need an appropriate, descriptively and explanatorily adequate neuro-linguistic theory of bilingualism that is compatible with a theory of translation.

10 The role of corpora in translation studies

This chapter is devoted to a recent influential development in translation studies: corpora and how they have changed translation research and practice over the past decades. Translation scholars, translation evaluators and practising translators can now greatly benefit from the rapid technological progress in storing and manipulating large quantities of data.

The use and function of corpora in translation

A corpus in translation studies can be defined as a body of computer-readable texts analysable (semi-)automatically and sampled in a principled and transparent way.

Baker (1993, 1995), a pioneer in applying corpus studies to translation, has identified three corpus types for translation studies: comparable corpora, parallel corpora and multilingual corpora. Comparable corpora comprise two collections of texts in the same language: one corpus consisting of original texts in the language in question and the other consisting of translations in that language from a given source language or languages (Baker 1995: 234). Parallel corpora consist of original source language texts in one language and their translated texts in another language; multilingual corpora consist of sets of two or more monolingual corpora in different languages built up either in the same or different institutions on the basis of similar design criteria. This tripartite division was, however, not successful and was soon collapsed into the two main types, comparable and parallel corpora, which is now widely accepted in the scientific community.

Corpora are today fruitfully used to 'lend an element of empirical inter- subjectivity to the concept of equivalence, especially if the corpus represents a variety of translators' (Altenberg and Granger 2002: 17). In order to be optimally useful, corpora need to be carefully designed and they need to be provided with appropriately contextualized data (for a good example of such a corpus see the Cologne Specialized Translation Corpus (CSTC), Krein-Kühle 2013). Corpora such as this one are useful for going beyond individual exemplar-based translation evaluation such as the analyses of individual texts provided by the House model. Corpora can lift the results of the analyses of individual texts on a more general level. In short they can make results more intersubjectively reliable and valid.

Translation corpora provide a reliable methodological tool for clarifying hypothesized equivalences and for establishing reliable patterns of translation regularities (see the recent discussion of the role of corpora in translation in Zanettin 2014). An optimal use of corpora needs to be based on a theoretical and methodological framework which gives pride of place to the concept of equivalence. Put differently, equivalence in translation can be made open to generalization and intersubjective verification through the use of parallel corpora and comparable corpora.

The use of corpora in translation studies has a useful function as one of many tools of

scientific inquiry. Regardless of frequency and representativeness, corpus data are useful because they are often better data than those derived from accidental introspections, and for the study of certain problems such as overall development of the use of modal verbs, corpus data are indeed the only available data. But if the use of corpora is to fulfil its maximum potential, it should be used in conjunction with other tools, that is, introspection, observation, textual and ethnographic analysis. In translation studies, as in other disciplines, we must assess the relative value of the analytical-nomological paradigm on the one hand, where already existing hypotheses (and categories) are to be confirmed or rejected, and where variables are explicated and operationalized, and the explorative-interpretative paradigm on the other hand, where in-depth case studies are conducted to develop categories for capturing newly emerging phenomena. It is important that these two lines of inquiry, the qualitative and the quantitative, are not considered to be mutually exclusive; rather they should be regarded as supplementing each other.

Corpus evidence, and in particular seemingly impressive statistics, should never be seen as an end in itself, but as a starting point for continuing richly (re)contextualized qualitative work with values one finds interesting – and these must not necessarily be the most frequent phenomena, for the least frequent values can also catch one's attention. In the last analysis, the object of corpus translation studies should not be the explanation of what is present in the corpus, but the understanding of translation. The aim of a corpus is not to limit the data to an allegedly representative sample, but to provide a framework for finding out what sort of questions should be asked about translation and about language used in different ways. The value of corpus translation studies lies in how it is used. Corpus studies are not a new branch of translation studies, but simply a methodological basis for pursuing translation research. In principle, it should be easy to combine corpus translation studies with many other traditional ways of looking at translation. If this is done, corpus translation studies can greatly enrich our vision.

An example of a corpus-based, longitudinal, qualitative and quantitative translation project

Not only can corpora provide an extension and verification of exemplar-based qualitative case study analyses, their use can also act as a link between qualitative and quantitative work enabled through corpora. In the following I will provide an example of a corpus-based project which effectively links qualitative work based on the House model and quantitative analyses: the project 'Verdecktes Übersetzen – Covert Translation' I conducted as PI at the German Science Foundation's Research Centre on Multilingualism in Hamburg from 1999 to 2011 (Becher *et al*. 2009; House 2010a). The general assumption underlying this corpus-based project is that the dominance of the English language in many domains today can lead to variation and change of indigenous communicative norms in German (and other languages) in both covert translations from English and in original texts such that a gradual adaptation to Anglophone norms results. More concretely, we hypothesized that adaptations to Anglophone communicative norms can be located along dimensions of empirically established

communicative preferences such as the ones established for English and German (see the description in Chapter 8). An influence of English on German texts would manifest itself in quantitative and qualitative changes in the use of certain linguistic items and structures in German translations and comparable texts in genres where Anglophone dominance is particularly noticeable, such as popular science or business texts.

To test the project hypothesis, we put together a multilingual corpus of approximately 650 texts of English-German originals and translations as well as French and Spanish control texts. The selected sources reflected a sphere of text production and reception that was of pervasive socio-cultural influence. The genre 'popular science' comprises (synchronically/diachronically for the time frames 1978–82 and 1999–2002) articles on topics of general socio-political relevance. These texts, totalling about 700,000 words, were selected from publications by official organisations (e.g. *Scientific American*, *New Scientist* and their satellite journals produced in other languages). The genre 'economic texts' comprises (synchronically/diachronically) around 300,000 words of annual reports by globally operating companies, updated from 2002 to 2006, letters to shareholders, missions, visions, corporate statements and product presentations. An investigation into the reverse translation relation German–English, French/Spanish–English is of particular interest in reference to this genre.

Figure 10.1 presents the structure of the project corpus showing the functions of and the interrelations between the various subcorpora: English Original Texts (E-ORI), German Translations (G-TRA) and German Original Texts (G-ORI).

The research can be divided into three phases: qualitative analyses, quantification and recontextualization on the basis of the results of the quantitative analyses.

In the qualitative analyses House's translation quality assessment model was used as a controlled procedure to avoid the creation or perpetuation of 'scientifically manufactured stereotypes'. Nicole Baumgarten *et al*. (2004) found that in English popular scientific articles an effort is made to simulate interaction with the reader who is often addressed directly and 'drawn into' the scenes described in the text, as in the following example from the *Scientific American*:

Example 1

(1a) EngOrig: Suppose YOU are a doctor in an emergency room and a patient tells YOU she was raped two hours earlier. She is afraid she may have been exposed to HIV, the virus that causes AIDS but has heard that there is a 'morning-after pill' to prevent HIV infection. Can YOU in fact do anything to block the virus from replicating and establishing infection?

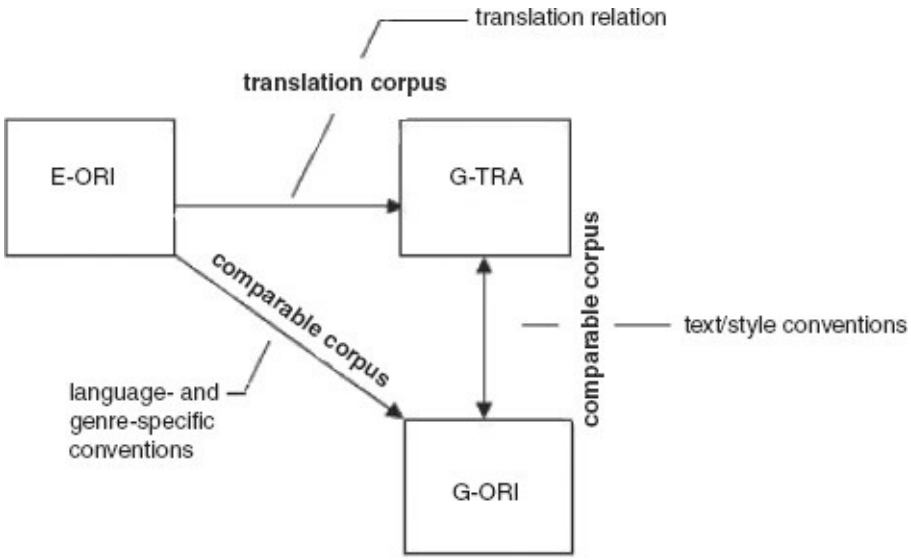


Figure 10.1 Translation and comparable corpora (Example: English-German)

This opening passage of an article on HIV-infections is translated into German for the German daughter publication *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* as follows:

(1b) GerTrans: In der Notfallaufnahme eines Krankenhauses berichtet eine Patientin, sie sei vor zwei Stunden vergewaltigt worden und nun in Sorge, AIDS-Erregern ausgesetzt zu sein, sie habe gehört, es gebe eine 'Pille danach', die eine HIV-Infektion verhüte. Kann der Arzt überhaupt etwas tun, was eventuell vorhandene Viren hindern würde, sich zu vermehren und sich dauerhaft im Körper einzunisten?

(BT: In the emergency room of a hospital a patient reports that she had been raped two hours ago and was now worrying that she had been exposed to the AIDS-Virus. She said she had heard that there was an 'After-Pill', which might prevent an HIV-infection. Can THE DOCTOR in fact do anything which might prevent potentially existing viruses from replicating and establishing themselves permanently in the body?)

This translation can be understood as governed by the aim to adapt the American English original to the reading habits of the German target audience. Note that changes have been made in particular concerning the degree of addressee- involvement: the German reader is no longer asked to imagine herself one of the agents of the scene presented. Instead, the scene in the hospital is presented in the German version 'from the outside' and the addressee is not asked to actively engage with what is presented (see N. Baumgarten *et al*. 2004). Consider another example of the qualitative analysis in the project work:

Example 2

Buchbinder, S., Avoiding Infection after HIV-Exposure, in: *Scientific American*, July 1998 / Prävention nach HIV-Kontakt, in: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, Oktober 1998 (BT: Prevention after HIV-Contact)

(2a) Treatment may reduce the chance of contracting HIV infection after a risky encounter.

(2b) Eine sofortige Behandlung nach Kontakt mit einer Ansteckungsquelle verringert unter Umständen die Gefahr, dass sich das Human-Immunschwäche-Virus im Körper festsetzt. Gewähr gibt es keine, zudem erwachsen eigene Risiken.

(BT: An immediate treatment after contact reduces under certain circumstances the danger that the human immuno-deficiency-virus establishes itself in the body. There is no guarantee for this, moreover new risks arise.)

Example (2b) shows how the German translation adds information thus explicitizing the text. The content of the original English sentence is ‘unpacked’ with details being freely added and hypothetical questions a reader might be assumed to ask being answered. For instance, the reader might ask: ‘which treatment?’ and receive the answer ‘an immediate treatment’ in the German text. And in answer to the question ‘how safe is the treatment?’, the German reader is informed that success cannot be guaranteed and new risks may emerge.

The qualitative project analyses revealed that in the English popular science texts, readers are ‘invited’ to identify with the persons depicted in the text’s discourse world through various linguistic means. Mental processes serve to establish a personal relationship with the reader, and simulated dialogues, repetition, structural parallelism, framing and other narrative devices are used to personalize and dramatize science. As opposed to the English originals, the German popular science texts in the first time frame avoid the use of mental processes. They are less person-oriented, less persuasive and tend to be more technical and ‘seriously scientific’. In addition, no framing or other narrative devices are presented. A certain ‘didactic tenor’ is often noticeable in the German texts, i.e. the text producer may have assumed a lack of knowledge on the part of the reader, a situation in need of being remedied by the text producer. The result of these didactic interventions and explanations is of course that readers are spared inferencing processes. These explanations are based on the assumption that readers want to be instructed rather than entertained.

The quantitative project analyses were needed to verify the results of the qualitative analyses with regard to the diachronic development of the frequency of occurrence of those linguistic means vulnerable to variation and change over time under Anglophone influence. Secondly, they were designed to reveal preferred usage of those vulnerable linguistic means that express ‘subjectivity’ and ‘addressee orientation’, various collocation and co-occurrence patterns as well as syntactic and textual position vis-à-vis the organization of information. The linguistic forms and phenomena which were found in our qualitative analysis to express ‘subjectivity’ and ‘addressee orientation’ in English and German include the following: modal verbs, semi-modals, modal words, modal particles, mental processes, deixis, connective particles, sentence adverbials, *ing*-adverbials, progressive aspect, sentential mood, complement constructions, frame-constructions, commenting parentheses and matrix constructions.

Since the individual corpus parts differ substantially in terms of word count we limited ourselves to presenting percentages and normalized frequencies in our research.

As stated above, our quantitative analyses were conducted to verify the results of our qualitative work with my assessment model. For this purpose, linguistic phenomena associated with author-reader interaction were examined, such as the use of personal pronouns and connectives as prime linguistic means for producing more interactionality in a written text, as well as the use of epistemic modality, since epistemic modal marking can help to present opinions brought forward in a text as less definite, thus leaving more room for the addressee’s own judgment.

Our basic assumption was that English-German translations in the field of popular science are showing a tendency to allow more and more importations of conventions and norms from the English source text, which then even find their way, in some cases, into German comparable, monolingually produced (non-translated) texts. Since the later texts included in our corpus (1999–2002) already show some contact-induced convergence, it is necessary to first look at the results produced by the analysis of the earlier English and German comparable texts in the corpus from the time frame 1978–82, to find out which basic contrasts could be established quantitatively.

Overall, the contrastive results for the uses of persona pronouns *we* ~ *wir*, sentence initial *and* ~ *und*, *but* ~ *aber* – *doch* as well as epistemic modal marker in the popular scientific texts from 1978–82 can be summarized as in Table 10.1 (adapted from Kranich *et al*. 2012).

Table 10.2 (adapted from Kranich *et al*. 2012) summarizes the results of changes over the two time frames in the use of the linguistic phenomena examined in the parallel and comparable project corpora.

The overview in Table 10.2 shows that shining-through is a common phenomenon in English-German translations of popular scientific texts. Concerning three of the four investigated phenomena, clear evidence for source-language shining-through was found. Although translators obviously do not take over source language expressions uncritically, but make adaptations (e.g. they sometimes use sentence-internal connectives instead of sentence initial *but*, or translate epistemic modal markers of low modal strength with markers of high modal strength), they still make a number of translation choices that lead to features in the translated text which make it different from target language texts produced monolingually. We can therefore conclude that German popular scientific texts translated from English are indeed more interactional than German original texts in this genre.

As far as the main project hypothesis is concerned, i.e. that German original popular science texts will also increasingly adopt Anglophone conventions, we find, however, that the evidence to support this view is not very strong. Only the case study on the sentence-initial concessive conjunctions (*but*, *aber*, *doch*) furnishes results that clearly support the hypothesis (Becher 2011). In this case, the English-German translations indeed appear to pave the way for an overall change in conventions in the German genre of popular scientific writing, leading to a higher degree of interactionality also in the original German texts. As far as epistemic modal markers are concerned, on the other hand, we see absolutely no evidence that the German original texts adopt a more interpersonal style.

Table 10.1 Pragmatic contrasts between English and German original popular scientific texts as seen from the frequency* of selected linguistic items (1978–82) (adapted from Kranich *et al*. 2012: 323)

	Personal pronoun	*Sentence-initial*	*Sentence-initial*	*Epistemic modal markers*
	we ~ wir	*and ~ und*	*but ~ aber ~ doch*	
English originals	27.5	3.1	32.6	22.8
German originals	17.7	0.9	9.0	7.1
Conclusions	English texts are more personal.	English texts simulate spoken interaction more.	English texts simulate spoken interaction more.	English texts are more dialogic.

* The frequencies are normalized on the basis of 10,000 words, except the frequencies for *but ~ aber ~ doch*, which are normalized on the basis of 1,000 sentences.

Table 10.2 Shining-through and contact-induced changes in translated and non-translated German popular scientific texts (adapted from Kranich *et al*. 2012: 331)

	Personal pronoun	*Sentence-initial*	*Sentence-initial*	*Epistemic modal markers*
	we ~ wir	*and ~ und*	*but ~ aber ~ doch*	
Shining-through effects in translations	YES	UNCLEAR	YES	YES
Impact on German originals	NO	NO	YES	NO
Conclusions	German original texts become more personal, but change is not due to translations.	German original texts become more interactional, but reason is unclear.	German original texts become more interactional as authors adopt Anglophone usage patterns from translations.	German original texts do not become more dialogic.

Results on the use of sentence-initial *and ~ und* and on the use of the personal pronouns *we ~ wir* are less clear. The German originals become more interactional, increasingly using both sentence-initial *und* and the personal pronoun *wir*. But the functions these two linguistic items adopt differ from the functions of English *and* and *we*. English influence on German text conventions via English-German translations is therefore not likely. A more indirect type of Anglophone influence might be a more plausible explanation. In English (both British and American) the general trend over the last decades can be observed that texts become more informal and more colloquial (Mair 2006), hence more interactional. This trend can be linked to general cultural processes, such as the democratization of knowledge and a growing taste for informality in interaction. These processes may well be operative in Germany like they are in English-speaking countries. And the shifting of trends we see in the German original texts in our corpus may be caused by the presence of the prestigious Anglophone model in a rather

indirect way. As far as the impact of English-German translations on changes in German genre conventions is concerned, we must conclude that its role is marginal, as it can only be clearly established for one out of four features investigated.

An example of a corpus-based case study of translation

Another smaller case study conducted in the framework of this project (for details see House 2011c), investigated the linguistic behaviour of two linking constructions: *for example* and *for instance* in the project's popular science corpus.

Linking constructions are multi-word discourse markers usually in the form of lexico-grammatical patterns with which the relationship between some portion of prior and ensuing discourse is indicated. Linking constructions are inherently relational in nature, and they often share with discourse markers the topological positions of the left periphery that earmark them as connective elements.

Apart from providing cohesion and coherence, linking constructions also function interpersonally to support audience design and addressees' text comprehension by signalling how one idea leads to another, gaining and maintaining addressees' attention, and ensuring that the speaker's presuppositions match those of his or her envisaged addressees in the on-going discourse.

The two linking constructions are two prepositional phrases which, broadly speaking, function as specifiers to what has been verbalized before, and are rather typical of the genre popular science. They focus on what will follow in ensuing text segments, where information will be added, concretized, or explained via exemplification. They are cohesion-producing elements, overtly marking the way text stretches are to hang together. I here consider only instances in which the two linking constructions connect two main clauses. *For example* and *for instance* can also be classified as formulaic expressions, 'frozen' in meaning and resembling idiomatic and routinized expressions.

The hypothesis underlying this case study mirrors the overall project hypothesis, i.e. that English discourse norms have an impact on German norms, with German translations paving the way for an eventual adaptation of original German texts to English norms, and with perceived interlingual formal and functional equivalence playing an important part in blocking cultural filtering and initiating English influence. This influence would manifest itself in changes in the use of certain linguistic items and structures both in German and translations and comparable German texts. In this study I hypothesized that the English preference for routine expressions such as *for example* and *for instance* would be reflected in both the German translations and the original German texts.

The database is the popular science part of the *Covert Translation* corpus of texts in the two time frames 1978–82 and 1999–2002. All occurrences of *for example* and *for instance in* a co-text of five preceding and five ensuing sentences were extracted from the English originals and their translational German structures as well as equivalent occurrences in the comparable

original German texts. Manual annotation followed this extraction process with a view to establishing co-occurrences with other linking constructions, as well as any further significant phenomena.

In the following, some quantitative data on the frequency of the items under study will be presented, but the focus is on the qualitative analysis of all occurrences in their respective contexts. Since the corpora used are very small, the quantitative findings are of no more than exploratory nature. The analyses conducted in this case study yielded the following five major findings, which will be presented and discussed in turn.

While the two constructions *for example* and *for instance* are often used interchangeably, the occurrence of *for instance* in the newer English texts has more than doubled from time frame one to time frame two. This is illustrated in Table 10.3.

In order to explain the increase in frequency of *for instance* in the original English texts, an analysis of the linguistic environment of its occurrences was undertaken. The results show that *for instance* tends to co-occur with congruent descriptions of events and states of affairs. In the second time frame, *for instance* was in fact found to be preferred in 82 per cent of its occurrences in congruent descriptions of events and states of affair. Congruent descriptions in written discourse are commonly associated with simulated colloquial and oral style (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Here is an example of this particular use of *for instance* in the English original texts:

Example 3

EO: An influenza strain can produce a local or global epidemic only if the people exposed to the virus lack immediate immunity to it. *For instance* when someone has the flu, the immune system produces molecules known as antibodies.

Table 10.3 *Frequency of for instance* in the popular science corpus (per 100,000 words, n = 49)

	1978–82	*1999–2002*
For instance in the English original texts	16.5	34.2

Here we see a description of a concrete state of affairs and how it affects a human being in Example 3 which marks this textual stretch as a congruent description of a state of affairs.

While constructions featuring grammatical metaphors that result in and reflect complex processes of nominalization and abstraction are usually associated with written language (Halliday 1998), congruent descriptions of events and states of affairs characterize spoken varieties of a language. We may therefore put forward the hypothesis that the increase in the use of *for instance* over time reflects a move towards greater spokenness in the English original popular science texts. Such an interpretation would be in line with the general trend towards greater informality, orality and colloquiality in many contemporary written English genres as it has been established in work with sizeable corpora (see Mair and Leech 2006). A

second result relates to the way the linking constructions *for example* and *for instance* are translated into German.

In contrasting occurrences of *for example* and *for instance* in the original English texts with their German translations in both time frames, I found an amazing variety of translation-equivalent forms such as: *zum Beispiel*; *beispielsweise*; *nehmen wir ein Beispiel*; *das Beispiel . . . zeigt*; *das Beispiel . . . mag das illustrieren*; *man denke beispielsweise an . . .* ; *nämlich*; *etwa*; *nehmen wir zum Beispiel . . .* ; *nehmen wir einmal an . . .* ; *angenommen*; *ob . . . ob*; *so* and zero realization (omission). Here is an example of a German translation equivalent (GT) of the English constructions *for example* and *for instance* in the English original texts:

Example 4

EO: TLE can also cause hallucinations of illusions in any of the five senses. *For instance*, it is not unusual for one afflicted with this condition to experience Alice-in-Wonderland-like distortions of the sizes and shapes of objects.

GT: TLE kann auch Halluzinationen in allen fünf Sinnen verursachen. Es ist *etwa* nicht ungewöhnlich, dass der Betroffene wie Alice im Wunderland die Größe und Form von Gegenständen verzerrt wahrnimmt.

The tendency in the German translations of *for example/for instance* to employ a wide variety of different tokens can be taken as confirming a general trend in preferred choices of expression in English and German discourse: whereas a fixed set of routine formulas is often preferred in English genres, comparable German genres show a preference for situation-anchored, ad hoc formulations with a concurrent display of a wide variety of expressions adapted *in situ* to the respective contexts (see House 1989, 1996, 2006b; Bührig and House 2004, 2007). That this difference in choosing a closed versus an open choice option also holds for the selection of routinized linking constructions in the English texts and a very broad repertoire of linking constructions in their German translations may also be interpreted as a sign of continued cultural filtering, i.e. a non-adoption of, or a resistance to, Anglophone discourse conventions.

Another difference in the use of *for example/for instance* in the English original texts and their German translations is a frequent addition of another connector, *so*, to German translation equivalents of *for example/for instance* – a phenomenon that led me to further investigation. In this investigation, I only considered the occurrence of *so* in its function as an adverbial connector (see Table 10.4).

Here is an example illustrating the co-occurrence of the German adverbial connector *so* and *zum Beispiel* as one translation equivalent of *for example*.

Example 5

EO: The composition of sea water and the needs of the phytoplankton seem to be intimately related. *For example*, the essential nutrients nitrogen and phosphorus tend to be found . . .

GT: Zwischen der Zusammensetzung des Meerwassers und den Lebensbedingungen des Phytoplanktons scheint nun ein enger Zusammen-hang zu bestehen. *So* ist *zum Beispiel* das Verhältnis zwischen den wichtigen Nährstoffen Stickstoff und Phosphor im Phytoplankton . . .

In my analysis I wanted to look at the effect of the addition of *so* in the German translation corpus. Firstly, adding *so* further promotes syntactic integration of the various linking constructions employed as translation equivalents of *for example/for instance*. And secondly, the deictic quality of the connector *so* renders local cohesive linkage more global and coherence-based, *so* being a powerful backwards and forwards-directed 'hinge' (Ehlich 2007) directing or re-focusing readers' attention to what came before and what will follow, and leaving recipients in charge of cognitively integrating the two perspectives. Becher (2011) describes the use of the German connector *so* as a 'verificative connective' that makes for a tight, if semantically vague connection between the relevant conjuncts. German *so* in its connective use has no direct equivalent in English, and that despite the fact that English *so* and German *so* may be described as fulfilling broadly similar functions in discourse in that both establish semantic relations within and across clauses.

For the present project data, Becher (personal communication) hypothesized the following explanation for the addition of *so* by the German translators: in translating *for example* into the semantically rather redundant *So VERB zum Beispiel . . .* , translators choose to be explicit – with explicitness 'often (but not necessarily) entailing redundancy, i.e. the encoding of information by means of more linguistic material than is necessary' (Becher 2010: 3). The reason for this choice may be that translators generally 'have to cope with a certain kind of risk – the risk of not being understood [. . .]. Therefore, it seems plausible that translators [. . .] will tend to be too explicit rather than too implicit when in doubt (and maybe even when not in doubt)' (Becher 2010: 20).

Table 10.4 Percentage of German translation equivalents of *for example/for instance* co-occurring with *so* (n = 143)

	1978–82	*1999–2002*
German equivalent co-occurring with *so*	66%	63%
German equivalent occurring without *so*	34%	37%
TOTAL	100%	100%

One might also, more boldly, hypothesize that the closest German equivalent of *for example/for instance* is in fact *so* (in the forefield) rather than *zum Beispiel*. It would then be *zum Beispiel* that could be said to have been added (redundantly) to *so*. There would be two options: the 'unmarked' (less explicit) one: '*so* V' and the 'marked' (more explicit) one: '*so* V *zum Beispiel*'. This hypothesis gains support from the observation that *zum Beispiel* on its own seems to be rather rare.

In the English originals, *so* was found to function more locally and inferentially than German connective *so*. English connective *so* also occurs in the corpus exclusively in 'oralized' discourse stretches where writer-reader interaction is simulated, and in this use, *so* is left untranslated (for a similar finding see House 1977). While the English discourse marker *so* is used with great frequency in English conversation and everyday informal talk (Bolden 2006, 2009), it was found to be is highly infrequent in academic prose (Biber *et al*. 1999). The

English popular science texts in the project corpus belong to academic prose, and the above findings with regard to *so* thus confirm Biber *et al.*'s finding regarding the distinctly marginal use of *so* in this genre. Here is an example to illustrate the oral nature of the use of *so* in the English original popular science texts:

Example 6

EO: In short, the weather was clear and dry. *So* what had gone wrong with the prediction?

GT: Kurz gesagt, das Wetter war klar und trocken. Was war also bei der Voraussage schiefgelaufen?

In the comparable German texts in both time frames, the discourse marker *so* is much more frequently used on its own than co-occurring with *zum Beispiel*, *beispielsweise* etc. as illustrated in Table 10.5.

The remarkably frequent absence of a co-occurrence of German *so* with *zum Beispiel/beispielsweise* etc. in the German comparable texts is in stark contrast to the behaviour of connective *so* in the German translated texts, where greater pragmatic explicitness is achieved via the double use of linking mechanisms. What we see in the comparable German text is that conventional German clausal linkage using linking constructions appears to operate differently, i.e. leaving the achievement of textual linkage to the discourse marker *so* and only to it.

Here is an example of the use of *so* on its own in the German original texts (GO), where the connective assumes the function of the linking construction *zum Beispiel/beispielsweise* etc. acting as a specifier, adding, elaborating on, or exemplifying information that has been given before.

Table 10.5 Use and frequency of *so* in comparable German texts (absolute numbers; non-connective uses have not been counted)

	1978–82	*1999–2002*
So on its own	66	81
So plus *zum Beispiel*, *beispielsweise* etc.	5	4

Example 7

GO: Dem wissbegierigen Forscher bleibt nur, potentielle Signale zu messen und die Bienen zu befragen. Das setzt natürlich entsprechende technische Möglichkeiten voraus – und einen scharfen Blick auf das, was die Tiere tun. *So* stellte sich Ende der 90er Jahre heraus, dass die Antennenkontakte intensiver und damit . . .

When used on its own, *so* can effectively take on the functions of exemplifying, elaborating and enhancing previous utterances in the comparable German corpus, thus assuming the full connective potential of such linking constructions as *zum Beispiel/beispielsweise* etc. *So* is here placed at a point of transition where a first segment can be interpreted as being preliminary to an ensuing segment which follows the marker *so*. *So* connects two discourse

stretches in which the second stretch often appears as a logical or natural sequence of the first one. In signalling the relationship between two discourse segments, German *so* functions differently from its English pseudo-equivalent *so*. Despite the fact that both operate at transitional points, English *so* seems to be less potent as a cohesion and coherence-enhancing, bidirectional hinge: like f*or example*/*for instance,* it is primarily used as more 'forward-directed' specifier, while German *so* makes the discourse stretch in which it appears relevant all round. These differences may also explain why the English connective *so* never readily translates into German *so*.

To summarize the findings of this case study:

The frequency with which *for instance* is used in English popular science texts has more than doubled over time. This may be a sign of oralization and colloquialization of written English discourse, and it confirms findings from larger native English corpora.

English preference of the routinized linking constructions *for example/for instance* was established and found to be in stark opposition to the occurrence in the German translations of a wide variety of different *ad hoc* formulations contextualized and locally anchored in the discourse. The hypothesis formulated for this study was thus not confirmed. This result is in line with my earlier studies of English-German differences in conventionalized realizations of speech acts, discourse strategies and discourse markers.

In the German translations, the use of *so* in combination with the linking constructions *zum Beispiel*/*beispielsweise* etc. leads to greater textual-pragmatic explicitness in the German translations because the marker *so* acts as an explicit 'hinge' and a 'metapragmatic instruction device' for readers.

The surprisingly frequent co-occurrence of German translation equivalents of *for example/for instance* and the connector *so* stimulated a contrastive follow-up analysis of the behaviour of *so* in the English originals and the German comparable texts, suggesting the following hypotheses:

So as an English connector occurs solely in 'oralized' discourse stretches in which writer-reader interaction is simulated as part of the writer's attempt to 'involve' readers.

In the German comparable texts, *so* is used surprisingly often on its own. In this stand-alone use, *so* is a device for initiating explanation, elaboration and exemplification in the discourse, thus effectively assuming the connective potential of *zum Beispiel/beispielsweise*.

German *so* and English *so* behave differently: English *so* is used to 'oralize' written discourse and can, in this function, not be directly translated into German. German *so* is a powerful 'hinge' aligning writer and reader knowledge states at particular points in the discourse.

The tendency towards greater textual explicitness in the German translations documented again in this study via the systematic addition of *so* suggests the continued use of a cultural filter. The addition of *so* in the German translations may have been occasioned by deep-seated

differences in terms of syntax and information distribution between English and German.

On a different line of argumentation, one may query whether the German linking construction *zum Beispiel* can actually be regarded as a true functional equivalent of *for example,* given the findings from the comparable corpus. It may thus be the case that the 'primary' strategy for exemplification in German is simply using *so*, whereas in English it is *for example/for instance*.

Perceived formal and functional differences in the use of the linking constructions *for example*/*for instance* and their German translation equivalents may have acted against English impact on German text norms in this case, leaving cultural filtering – for the moment – intact, thus disconfirming our general project hypothesis. However, given the fact that the construction *so* VERB *zum Beispiel* in its marked explicitness is in line with German communicative preferences, one may well speculate that it will eventually spread into German original texts.

With regard to the main hypothesis of the larger corpus-based project that due to the pervasive influence of English, communicative norms in other languages (here: German) are adapted to Anglophone norms via language contact in translation can therefore not be answered in any simple way. Much more longitudinal corpus-based research is needed taking account of a host of different factors that may have an impact on language variation and change through translation.

11 Globalization and translation

In this chapter I will look at how globalization processes impact on translation theory and practice. I will look into the current processes of globalization and their social, political, economic and linguistic consequences on contemporary life, institutions and the workplace. I will here look at what these developments mean for translation; I will also discuss the role of the English language in its function as a global *lingua franca* and the way it might affect the nature and frequency of translation worldwide. The conclusion drawn in this chapter will be that far from damaging the demand for translation, processes of globalization and internationalization are also responsible for a drastic increase in the demand for translations. One such demand involves contexts that involve unequal power relations between individuals, groups, languages and literatures. Translators are here asked to play a critical role in questioning and/or resisting existing power structures (Baker and Pérez-González 2011: 44). Here translation does not function only as a conflict mediating and resolving action but rather as a space where tensions are signalled and power struggles are played out. An extreme case of such tensions is the positioning of translators in zones of war. In such a context, translation scholars have looked at the impact the performance of translators has had on the different parties in a war zone, whether and how translators align themselves with their employers or refuse to do so, and how personally involved they become in situations of conflict and violence (see Baker 2006; Maier 2007; Inghilleri 2009).

What is globalization?

Globalization can be taken to mean making borders more transparent or even eliminating them completely, with restrictions on many kinds of exchanges becoming rapidly obsolete. Globalization can produce interconnectedness and interdependence among different people and nations. It involves a variety of processes – economic, technological, social, cultural and political – which have for some time now denationalized policies, capital, urban spaces and temporal frames, and it relates countries through their shared political and economic activities. From a more critical perspective, globalization processes have been said to increase an undesirable homogenization and worldwide assimilation to leading elitist groups.

Globalization coincides with increasing international mobility and transnational residency, the acceleration of global media and what Blommaert and Rampton (2011) have called ‘superdiversity’. They characterize this phenomenon as ‘a tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of migrants’ insertion onto the labour and housing markets of the host societies, and so on’ (2011:1).

Globalization has today turned into a buzzword most often used to describe the flow of goods, people, capital, symbols and images around the world, facilitated by modern technological advances in the media, in information and communication technology that have

led to global mobility in business and culture, and to large-scale economic delocalization, mass migration, and phenomena like 'global terrorism'. Globalization and translation are closely intertwined: linguistic superdiversity across the globe is part of globalization and of the growing necessity to translate.

In the field of globalized discourse, computer-mediated linguistic aspects play an increasingly important role. Linguistic aspects of globalized discourse can be located at various linguistic levels, e.g. lexical, semantic, pragmatic-discourse and socio-semiotic ones. At the lexical level, globalized discourse has often been characterized as featuring a large amount of so-called internationalisms, and here especially Anglicisms. Such borrowings have been either categorically condemned for damaging local languages in their expressive and functional potential, or they have been looked upon more positively as facilitating intercultural communication processes by creating common lexical reservoirs.

Globalization at different levels of language

At the semantic level, globalized trends have been identified in the semantic development of routine formulae and illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDS) such as *please*, *sorry*, or *thank you*. The semantic flexibility of such seemingly fixed items has often been underrated in intercultural contexts. As Terkourafi (2011) has shown, such borrowings tend to be put to the service of functions that already exist in the receiving languages, while at the same time contributing to the development of new, additional functions from their original functions in English.

At the pragmatic and discourse level, globalized norms of written discourse in various genres seem to 'drift' towards English-based rhetorical structures. English-based forms of rhetorical patterns have been observed to filter into academic, scientific and economic discourse in many other languages. Since cultures are in principle hybrid and dynamic, negotiation and accommodation processes tend to be set in motion in any text production in a globalized world (see Canagarajah 2007). Discourse has also recently been described as an assemblage of 'globalized linguistic signs' that lead to the creation of new globalized multilingual landscapes, and indeed linguistic landscapes are an important new research strand in intercultural pragmatics. It looks at how written language is made visible in public, often urban, spaces in hitherto unexplored ways. Much research has been done on East Asian megacities (see for example Backhaus 2006), but recently also in large conurbations in the West (see for example Nikolaou 2015) illustrating the increased usage of multilingual and multicultural signs in a globalized urban world.

An important area in studies of globalized intercultural discourse is concerned with the use of modern technology. Computer-mediated communication and Internet domains as influential new communicates of practice have thus become increasingly popular research foci. Many studies in this paradigm look at the influx of English words into blogs or television commercials in other languages. Such imports are remarkable, because they do not fill a lexical gap in the receiving language; rather, perfectly simple words are more often than not

easily available in the receiving language, but they are strategically replaced by English words in order to achieve certain effects. For instance, the use of the English word 'car' in a blog is chosen to add a certain pragmatic function like advertising one's 'global identity', modernity or rebellion in computer-mediated communication. Clearly, the English language is here instrumentalized as a resource for 'interculturalizing' a native language. It remains an open question, however, whether the Internet is on its way to becoming an 'equalizing' force, an all-embracing 'global language' in a 'virtual universe' able to create an egalitarian ubiquitous society without political, social or linguistic borders – a type of universal intercultural communication – or whether it is an elitist tool for promoting more inequality between the haves and the have-nots.

In discussions about globalization, Blommaert (2005, 2010) has introduced the important notion of 'orders of indexicality' (2005: 73), by which he means that indexical meanings, i.e. connections between linguistic signs and contexts, are ordered, and closely related to other social and cultural features of social groups. This helps us to focus both at concrete empirically observable semiotic means as micro-processes and at wider socio-cultural, political and historical phenomena. Globalization leads to an increasing intensified flow of movements of images, symbols and objects causing forms of contact and difference. This means that classic socio-linguistic notions like 'speech community' can today no longer be legitimately held to be true. The focus needs to be on language in motion, with various spatiotemporal frames simultaneously interacting. Increasingly problematic is also the idea of a maintenance of functions: when linguistic items travel across time, space and indexical order, as they always do in translation, in transnational flows, they may well take on different locally valid functions. When basic cultural values and orientations are transmitted and expressed in and through language in globalized discourse, they need to be problematized and relativized. And in order to investigate what globalization does to discourse, we need to examine how language functions in different societies and language needs to be broken down in richly contextualized forms that occur in society. These forms are complex and variable, emanating from language users' linguistic repertoires. But these repertoires no longer isolatedly belong to a single national society, rather they are 'influenced by *the structure of the world system*' (Blommaert 2005: 15; italics in original). An important feature of the phenomenon of globalized discourse in the modern world is its 'layered simultaneity' (Blommaert 2005: 237). This is of course propelled by modern technological means and is increasingly appearing as a sign of growing interconnectedness. If we want to grasp the type of globalized discourse with which we are confronted today, we need to engage in close analysis of situated social events revealing how multiple orders of indexicality are at play simultaneously.

The role of English as a global *lingua franca* for translation

Globalized discourse also affects the role of globalized languages such as English, the use of which in different locales results in the employment of different, particular forms of discourse. To understand this, socio-cultural, intrinsically historical macro-processes need to be examined in order to see what is going on at the micro-process level.

One of the most influential developments in the worldwide use of languages today is the spread of English as a global language and the ever-growing importance of the English language in many domains of use, contexts and genres worldwide. This situation has also consequences for the practice of translation. A recent breakdown by source languages presented by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Translation (DGT) (2009) shows that as many as 72.5 per cent of source texts translated by the DGT (including those originating outside the commission) were drafted in English (by comparison: 11.8 per cent in French, 2.7 per cent in German). The English texts were frequently written by speakers who are not native speakers of English but speakers of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF). What this surge in ELF texts may mean for translation and for translators is a field of inquiry that is as yet largely uncharted.

Since the prime aim of any *lingua franca* communication is intelligibility in efficient and easy processes of communication, correctness tends to be not an important criterion. Equally non-important in ELF use is what generations of learners of English have both dreaded and unsuccessfully imitated: culturally embedded, typically English forms such as idioms or other routinized phrases full of insider cultural-historical and national references invariably based on national tradition, convention or class.

The most important features of ELF use today are its enormous functional flexibility, its immense variability and its spread across many different linguistic, geographical and cultural areas, as well as the readiness with which linguistic items from different language can be, and in fact are, integrated into the English language. Internationally and intra-nationally, ELF can also be regarded as a special type of intercultural communication (House 2011a). Since the number of non-native speakers of English, i.e. speakers of ELF, is now substantially larger than the number of native speakers of English (the ratio is about four to one, tendency rising), English is in its role as a global *lingua franca* can be said to be no longer owned by its native speakers (see Widdowson 1994).

Global English in its function as a *lingua franca* is also definitely not a language for specific purposes, or some sort of pidgin or creole. Nor is it some species of 'foreigner talk' or learner language. And it is not BSE – Bad Simple English. The interlanguage paradigm with its focus on the linguistic deficits of learners of a foreign or second language measured against an – in principle – unattainable native norm is also no longer valid here. ELF speakers are not to be regarded as learners of English, but as multilingual individuals with linguistic-cultural 'multicompetence'. And it is this multicompetence which needs to be taken as a norm for describing and explaining what ELF speakers do in communicative acts of speaking, writing or translating. ELF speakers are per se multilingual and multicultural speakers, for whom ELF is a 'language for communication', a medium which can be given substance with different national, regional, local and individual cultural identities. As a 'language for communication' (House 2003b), ELF does not offer itself as a language for emotional identification: users of ELF prefer their own L1 for this purpose.

Opponents of the global use of ELF now often recommend the use of a so-called 'lingua receptiva' or a 'language of regional communication' based on the assumption of multilingual

speakers' natural capacity for 'receptive bilingualism' (see ten Thije and Zeevaert 2007). The idea is that in a multilingual encounter, each interactant uses her native language assuming that the meanings of their message will be inferred and understood by their interlocutors. Using a 'lingua receptiva' has a long-standing tradition throughout the world, yet it was ignored or suppressed due to homogenizing language policies of the European nation states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But it is alive and well in many multilingual niches, and it occurs predominantly in border regions, in institutional discourse (workplace, television, educational settings, health care discourse, sales talk, meetings, etc.) and in cross-generational communication within and across language families. That the global use of ELF will eventually 'kill' other languages is unlikely given the complementary distribution of ELF and speakers' native languages.

But what about translation? Does the increasing use of ELF constitute a threat to translation? Not at all! The very same phenomena that have caused the use of ELF to grow have also influenced translation; globalization processes that boosted ELF use have also led to a continuing massive increase in translations worldwide. Alongside the impact of globalization on the world economy, international communication and politics, translation has also become much more important than ever before.

Information distribution via translation today relies heavily on new technologies that promote a worldwide translation industry. Translation plays a crucial and ever-growing role in multilingual news writing for international press networks, television channels, the Internet, the World Wide Web, social media, blogs, wikis etc. Today, the BBC, Al Jazeera International, Russia Today, Deutsche Welle, Press TV and many other globally and multilingually operating TV channels rely heavily on translations of messages into many different languages. Whenever information input needs to be quickly disseminated across the world in different languages, translations are indispensable. Translation is also essential for tourist information worldwide and for information flow in globalized companies, where – supported by translation processes – ELF is now often replaced by native languages to improve sales potentials (see Bührig and Böttger 2010; Lüdi *et al*. 2010).

Further, there is a growing demand for translation in localization industries. Software localization covers diverse industrial, commercial and scientific activities ranging from CD productions, engineering, testing software applications to managing complex team projects simultaneously in many countries and languages. Translations are needed in all of these. Indeed, translation is part and parcel of all worldwide localization and glocalization processes. In order to make a product available in many different languages it must be localized via translation. This process is of course similar to 'cultural filtering', an essential practice in covert translation. Producing a localized, i.e. culturally filtered and translated, version of a product is essential for opening up new markets, since immediate access to information about a product in a local language increases its demand. An important offshoot is the design of localized advertising, again involving massive translation activity. Translation can thus be said to lie at the very heart of the global economy today: it tailors products to meet the needs of local markets everywhere in processes of glocalization.

Translation is also increasingly propelled by the World Wide Web, whose development has spread the need for translation into e-commerce globalization. And the steady increase of non-English speaking Web users naturally also boosts translation.

Another factor contributing to the growing importance of translation is e-learning. The expansion of digital industries centred around e-learning and other education forms spread over the Web in many different languages again shows the intimate link between translation and today's global economy (see for example Cronin 2003: 8–41).

In sum, globalization has led to a veritable explosion of demand for translation. Translation is therefore not simply a by-product of globalization, but an integral part of it. Without translation, the global capitalist consumer-oriented and growth-fixated economy would not be possible. Therefore, we cannot really say that ELF has threatened or diminished the importance of translation. Not everybody, however, shares this positive assessment of the relationship between ELF and translation.

In a recent article for *The Linguist*, Snell-Hornby deplores 'the hazards of translation studies adopting a global language' (2010: 18). To support her argument, Snell-Hornby presents examples of defective translations into English reputedly taken from millions of texts 'displayed or published worldwide . . . intended to pass as English' (2010: 18). Snell-Hornby uses the terms 'Globish/American/British' (GAB), 'Eurospeak', 'McLanguage' or even 'Global English' (used here, idiosyncratically, with a negative connotation) to designate 'the reduced, interference-bound system of verbal communication based on a low common denominator of the English code basically comprehensible to those with some knowledge of English' (2010: 18). While the use of ELF for simple communicative acts (e.g. SMS, Chats, blogs, etc.) is innocuous in Snell-Hornby's opinion, it is useless in more complex and sophisticated forms of communication – including those involved in the publication and dissemination of scientific knowledge. As English has increasingly asserted itself in academic circles over the last decades, a need has arisen for scholarly publications and academic conference presentations to be either written in English in the first place or translated into English by non-native ELF speakers. In Snell-Hornby's opinion, differences in communicative conventions between English and other languages are likely to be routinely overlooked by academics forced to write in ELF and by translators translating from and into ELF. As a result, written and oral texts written and/or delivered by non-native ELF speakers often fail to comply with standard lexicon-grammatical choices or widely held rhetorical conventions in English, thus making ELF communication less effective and more difficult to follow.

As part of her critique of ELF, Snell-Hornby discusses the role that the continued dominance of English in conferences and publications plays in shaping disciplinary agendas across different academic fields. Foremost among the effects of this dominance is, Snell-Hornby argues, the exclusion of many scholars lacking sufficient knowledge of English from the academic discourse. To overcome the 'stultifying effect of immensely complex cultural and linguistic material being monopolized by a single language' (2010: 19), Snell-Hornby proposes that translation scholars speak out against this trend by promoting insights into other cultures, respecting the integrity of speakers of other languages. In my response to Snell-

Hornby, I (House 2010) argue that ELF is not a defective, but a fully functional means of communication, and that the arguments put forward against ELF come close to an appeal for an outdated prescriptive English-native norm. More importantly, the claim that ELF speakers' written and oral contributions to journals and conferences etc. are 'exceedingly difficult' to follow is not based on empirical research. Snell-Hornby's claim that the use of ELF is detrimental for intellectual progress – on the grounds that it is more difficult for the contributions of non-native users of English to be acknowledged by mainstream disciplinary discourses – has been problematized by scholars in the field of translation studies. In her recent survey of trajectories of research in translation studies, Tymoczko (2005) places the rise of English as a world language at the centre of the increasing internationalization of the field beyond Eurocentric perspectives. As a result of this internationalization process, Tymoczko notes, 'ever more scholars from developing nations are active in the discipline professionally, publishing articles and contributing to conferences, as well as teaching translation in their home countries' (2005: 1086).

Snell-Hornby's and my own assessment of the role of ELF for translation bring to the fore the ambivalent relationship between ELF and translation. For while recent scholarly work on ELF has gone some way towards challenging negative perceptions of communicative practices involving the use of English as a vehicular language, translator trainers and translation industry players continue to perceive ELF translation as a dubious form of mediation. At the centre of this stance are two assumptions: the traditionalist view that non-native speakers of English cannot match the output of an English-native professional translator, either in terms of quality or of productivity; and, by extension, the commonly held position across European universities that translator training programmes should focus on fostering students' direct translation skills, i.e. their ability to translate into their mother tongue. Ultimately, the debate on the professional and academic recognition of ELF translation has been framed in terms of directionality, i.e. into and out of the translator's mother tongue.

Traditional attitudes towards translation into a non-native tongue have been affected in recent decades by a set of new factors pertaining to the impact of globalization and the ubiquity of new communication technologies, and of course the growing 'use of English as an international language and as a language of administration within certain multilingual countries (such as India or South Africa), higher education and business' (Beeby Lonsdale 2009: 86). This new scenario has brought about a range of developments that are fostering the generalization of translation into English by speakers of other languages.

One such development is 'internationalization' – understood as 'the process of generalizing a product so that it can handle multiple languages and cultural conventions, without the need for re-design' (Esselink 2000: 25) – to processes of economic and cultural globalization. In today's global economy, companies seeking to market their goods and services globally will often begin by translating their brochures and websites into English. Insofar as these texts translated into English are normally intended for international consumption, the fact that translators may not have a native-speaker competence in the target lingua-culture is often found to be less significant.

Another factor is the continual increase in translation projects in the digital economy, which are carried out by teams of professionals under the supervision of a project manager. Within these teams, translation into English as a non-mother tongue is increasingly common, as the fact that some individual translators may lack native-speaker competence in the target language can be addressed at the final stage of the project. The involvement of non-native-English translators in collective translations into English is particularly frequent in cases where quality testing involves either a 'pragmatic revision' of the translated text, usually performed by an English-native reviser or by a 'fresh look', where the native-English reviser approaches the translation as an independent text and evaluates it with a view to target readers' expectations. In collective translations involving competent non-native professionals and qualified native-speaker advisers, translations into a non-mother tongue can be just as successful as those produced by native speakers of the target language.

Another important point is that growing translation costs incurred by corporate organizations and public institutions alike have prompted some clients to commission new types of translation that do not require native-speaker competence in the target language. This is the case, for example, of the European Commission, where translation requesters are encouraged to state explicitly the purpose that the translation is meant to serve (Wagner 2003). Among the five types of translation that requesters can choose from ('basic understanding', 'for information', 'for publication', 'for EU image' and 'legislation'), at least the first two can be competently translated by professionals working out of their native language into English. This initiative, Wagner argues, should be extended to other professional contexts and also placed at the centre of translator training activities. In her opinion, wider awareness of a purpose-driven approach to the commissioning and execution of translators would help 'to avoid misunderstandings between translators and their clients' (Wagner 2003: 99).

While translation into English as a non-mother tongue has consolidated its presence both in professional settings, the assumption underpinning the debate on this type of translation is that translators should adhere to the expectations of native-English readers, rather than those of readers using ELF.

Such an attitude may well change as we can now see a veritable explosion of demand for translation from and into ELF, translation being at the heart of the global economy (for details see House 2010b, 2013b). Globalization, which characterizes much of contemporary life, has brought about a concomitant rise in the demand for texts that are simultaneously meant for recipients in many different languages and cultures. Until recently translators and text producers routinely applied a cultural filter to localize texts in the process of translation. However, due to the impact of English as a global *lingua franca*, this situation may now change leading to a conflict between culture specificity and universality in textual norms and conventions, with 'universality' really standing for Anglo-Saxon norms. While the influence of English on other languages in the area of lexis has long been acknowledged, its impact on the levels of syntax, pragmatics and discourse has hardly been researched. Rules of discourse and textualization conventions often operate stealthily at deeper levels of consciousness and thus present a particular challenge for translation studies.

Globalization has had an enormous impact on translation. There is now an ever-increasing demand for translations in many domains of everyday life. Globalization and translation are intertwined, and it is through translation that languages and cultures are brought together. The use of English as a global language and the use of translation can and will exist – now and in future – alongside, supplementing, and benefiting from, each other.

Part IV

Translation practice in different societal domains

This final part of the book is devoted to the role of translation in different domains of practice. Chapter 12 discusses one important domain of the practice of translation: language learning and teaching. Chapter 13 is devoted to various recent fields of concern for the practising translator: ethics, translating in precarious situations of conflict and war, and translating in the context of multilingual and multinational institutions.

12 Translation and foreign language learning and teaching

An important purpose to which translation has been put for many centuries and in many countries is pedagogic: translation has been proposed as a means for teaching and learning a foreign language. This seems a sensible idea, because it is natural for people facing a foreign language to relate it to a language they already know. This is in line with an important general pedagogic principle of building on what learners are already familiar with. This sensible view, however, has not met with universal approval. While translation has a long tradition as an easily administered exercise and test of learners' knowledge of foreign language vocabulary and grammatical structures, it has also famously been at the centre of a fierce controversy about the role of learners' mother tongues and the place of grammar in the foreign language classroom. In the next section I want to take a closer look at this controversy and examine when, how and why the use of translation in foreign language teaching and learning has been viewed positively or negatively.

The history of translation in foreign language learning and teaching

Translation as the cross-linguistic technique par excellence has a long tradition in foreign language teaching and learning. Translation *from* the foreign language was probably first used in the third century AD by elementary school teachers of Latin in the Greek communities of the Roman Empire (Kelly 1969: 172). During the early Middle Ages when Latin was still considered a 'living language' and the only medium of instruction in schools, translation is hardly mentioned as a teaching tool. It only began to gain importance with the rise of vernacular languages when vernacular translations of the classics became popular. During the late Middle Ages, the technique of 'construing' was combined with translating into the classical languages, i.e. dissecting words, phrases and sentences according to their grammatical function, establishing vernacular equivalents for them and gradually transforming the resulting 'literal translation' into an acceptable dialect sentence. This procedure became a keystone of all classical language instruction – and contributed to linking grammar and translation negatively for a very long time. During the Renaissance, 'simple translation' into a foreign language was used to develop a sense of style in the foreign language and was often complemented by 'double translation', a combination of translation from and into the foreign language and intensive reading. At the end of the eighteenth century the teaching of Latin had turned into a highly formalized ritual, the idea being to instil discipline into students' minds often combined with an emphasis on grammar rules. This method of the teaching of Latin was then transferred to the few modern languages that were then taught mostly privately by native speakers and with the objective of conducting conversations only, an objective for which translation was not regarded as necessary or useful. Translation *from* the foreign language was the most important form of exercise up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and

translation *into* the foreign language rose to importance through the influence of Meidinger (see Mackey 1965: 142) who first recommended translation into the foreign language through the application of grammatical rules: with this the basis of the 'grammar-translation method' was laid.

In the textbooks of nineteenth-century authors such as Plötz, Ahn or Ollendorf (see Kelly 1965: 143) translation became the single dominant feature of foreign language exercises. Grammar rules were to be learned through their application in the translation of artificially constructed, isolated, disconnected sentences. This practice, of course, did gross injustice to translation as a textual and context-bound phenomenon.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the 'grammar-translation method' met with strong opposition by foreign language teaching methodologists such as Gouin or Vietor. They stressed the importance of the spoken language, strongly opposed the dominant role of translation in foreign language teaching and set out to reform foreign language teaching by recommending the so-called 'direct method' of foreign language teaching. Its most significant features are the exclusive use of the foreign language and the abolition of any form of translation. At the beginning of the twentieth century theorists like Sweet, Jespersen and Palmer were taking a more balanced view, refraining from a total ban of translation in language teaching and learning. Sweet (1964: 197) recommended the judicious use of translation: translation *from* the foreign language might be used to make knowledge more exact, but translation *into* the foreign language should only be used at very high levels since translating into an only partially mastered language was seen as doomed to fail. Similarly, Jespersen (1967) opposed translation *into* the foreign language as a hindrance to fluency in the foreign language, but admitted that translation *from* the foreign language might be useful in promoting language comprehension and economically testing it. Translation might also be a useful means of elucidating the meaning of foreign language items, whenever it included larger connected linguistic units with a specification of context.

While the 'direct method' was extremely influential in excluding translation from the foreign language classroom, it never succeeded in completely banning it from the repertoire of language teaching techniques. In the higher education field, translation continued to be used in foreign language departments in Europe; in Anglophone countries such as Britain and the United States, however, translation was virtually banned from the foreign language classroom. During the Second World War, the need to bring US soldiers and government personnel to fluency in a foreign language rapidly led to the establishment of the so-called 'Army Specialized Training Program'. This program was based on the assumption that language is primarily oral, and that spoken communication is the main purpose of language learning and teaching, with translation being ruled out.

During the late 1950s, when the schools of linguistics and psychology: structuralism and behaviourism were strong, a similar method, the 'Audio-Lingual Method' gained ground. As before, translation had no major place in it. Translation only featured occasionally in the early dialogues whose meaning needed to be known. As a major teaching technique, however, it continued to be discredited. It was thought to inhibit thinking in the foreign language and

producing the wrong kind of bilingualism, namely compound and not coordinate bilingualism (see for example Ervin and Osgood 1954). However, there may be no theoretical justification for the conceptual artefact coordinate-compound dichotomy (see Macnamara 1970 for a dismantling of this dichotomy).

In the more recent cognitive and communicative trends in language teaching and learning, conscious understanding and control of structures of the foreign language through study and analysis are emphasized as well as the ability to actively use linguistic structures. And with the recognition of the crucial role of the mother tongue in foreign language learning, came support for giving translation a more important role in language teaching (see particularly Butzkamm 1973 who early on pleaded for a so-called 'bilingual method', and see Stern 1983 who also emphasized the usefulness of exploiting learners' native language in the process of foreign language learning and teaching).

Today, foreign language learning and teaching is increasingly no longer seen as an entirely monolingual undertaking but rather a bilingual one. If the foreign language is seen as co-existing with the L1 in learners' minds, then language learning becomes a 'bilingualization process', i.e. a process promoting bilingualism. And, as noted above, all learners engage in this process when they draw on the language they know as a resource for learning the language they do not know. The ever-increasing importance of bilingualism, multilingualism and multiculturalism along with worldwide migration and globalization processes and technological progress can further add to the importance of using translation in foreign language learning and teaching.

Given this shift towards reconceptualizing the role of the L1 and the need for explicit reference to the language(s) learners already know, the advantages of translation can be summarized as follows:

1 Using translation helps in developing linguistic proficiency in a foreign language by economically and unambiguously explaining the meaning of foreign language items. Since learners' existing knowledge of L1 items can be referred to, knowledge of foreign language items can be made more exact.
2 In exploiting their knowledge of a language they already know, learners increase their confidence in learning a foreign language, a language whose intimidating strangeness can thus be reduced. Making explicit reference to learners' L1 can also be seen as a sign of appreciation for learners' previous knowledge. And since the L1 is of course the medium in which learners were socialized and in which they developed their lingua-cultural identity, such an appreciation of the L1 clearly provides continuity of learners' lingua-cultural development.
3 Translation promotes explicit knowledge about the foreign language and it helps develop awareness of similarities and differences between the L1 and L2 linguistic systems as well the conventional uses of these systems in different situations, genres and text types. Translation contributes to conscious learning, because it can act as a trigger for raising a general awareness of the workings of language, and it creates opportunities for reflection

on contrasts and similarities at various linguistic levels. Comparative analysis and reflection in translation activities may so be used to unmask ideologies and other hidden agendas buried in texts. And it can confront learners with the limits of translatability in the form of connotations, humour, and lingua-cultural regional and social variation.

4 Language awareness enhanced by translation also promotes cross-cultural understanding, in that translation can trigger discussions about language and culture specificity and universality, about forms and functions of culture-conditioned expressions of politeness, routine formulas and phenomena relevant for transitions from one lingua-cultural code to another. Translation can also make foreign language learners aware of the crucial difference between obligatory and optional changes in movements from one language to another (see House 2004b).

Despite these definite advantages of the use of translation in foreign language learning and teaching, there continues to exist a strong camp of theorists and practitioners who argue against it. They refer to translation as an unnatural activity or a highly specialized art that is either not at all or negatively related to how learners operate in a foreign language environment, and that is of limited applicability to the development of the four skills of speaking, writing, listening and reading in a foreign language. In other words, the controversy about the use of translation is far from settled today. Major reasons for this continuing debate about the usefulness of translation in processes of learning and teaching foreign languages seem to be the following:

1 The fact that the nature of translation is still little understood in language teaching circles. Any sensible discussion of the role of translation in language teaching, however, needs to be on the basis of some theoretical understanding of the nature of translation.

2 The fact that translation has most often been used to achieve linguistic competence only, and as a technique to (a) illustrate and explain grammar rules and exemplify certain constructions specially made up for this purpose, (b) help the teacher in controlling whether or not learners properly comprehend linguistic items, (c) provide teachers with a handy means of large-scale testing of knowledge and skills. In evaluating translations for this purpose, it was mainly linguistic correctness that was measured.

Such uses of translation fail to exploit the real pedagogical usefulness of translation as a complex cross-lingual activity. It is its strong pragmatic component that makes translation so potentially useful in learning and teaching foreign languages. If translation is carried out as a technique in establishing pragmatic equivalences by relating linguistic forms to the communicative functions of utterances, it may fulfil an extremely useful role in achieving the objective of communicative competence.

In what follows, I will detail some alternative uses of translation in foreign language learning and teaching.

Alternative uses of translation in foreign language learning and teaching

I suggest that the use of translation in the foreign language classroom be extended to embrace a whole range of 'para-translation activities' involving for instance an explicit comparison of lingua-cultural phenomena in the source and target lingua-cultural communities, the creative production of source and target language texts, the changing of situational dimensions in the original and translation texts (following my own model of translation quality assessment described in Chapter 8) as well as a context-sensitive evaluation of translations and versions.

In the translation activities as I envisage them the aim is an improvement of both receptive and productive aspects of communicative competence. I recommend that these activities be conducted with advanced learners, who have an overview of the equivalence relations between the two languages and cultures. Priority is given to the communicative use of language. Translation activities should exclusively be conducted at the level of text. Only at this level can both linguistic and non-linguistic contexts be fruitfully considered, and only through using texts can the nature of equivalence relations in translation, and the importance of establishing a dimensional profile before actually translating, be fully recognized.

Given the complexity of translation, source texts should be carefully analysed using the procedures suggested in the assessment model detailed above in Chapter 8, and discussed in class such that all learners can derive the maximum benefit out of the reflections about the linguistic-pragmatic choices made by the author.

All texts chosen for translation activities should be fully contextualized for learners and they should be presented as part of a communicative situation.

A first type of translation activity involves a selection of textual pairs (source and translation texts), which will be analysed, compared and evaluated according to the translation quality assessment model described above. Such contrastive activities are useful for sensitizing learners to the different repertoires of linguistic means through which a particular purpose or function can be realized in learners' mother tongue and the foreign language. In foreign language classrooms, the foreign language is usually learned on the basis of previous knowledge of the native language. This means that learners naturally contrast the use of their native language for a particular purpose and with that of the foreign language. Learners also naturally compare cultural features of the two lingua-cultures in order to find out about similarities and differences. Such a comparison is a natural activity for all learners of another language. So we can say that translation used to compare explicitly and directly language in use in two different texts simply makes a virtue out of what has often been considered a vice in language teaching circles.

Detecting and discussing mismatches as an outcome of the textual analysis and comparison may involve a critical discussion of presuppositions, stereotypes and ideological assumptions.

In another translation activity, learners are presented with authentic source or target language texts, are asked to analyse them in the manner described in the translation model presented in Chapter 8, and finally to translate them. Here it is important to situationalize and contextualize the texts fully, i.e. to provide learners with a motivating account of the origin and function of the text, and to make the task of translating as close as possible to fulfilling a real

communicative need. Here is a simple example:

> A neighbour, who does not know any German, has just received an e-mail from a German girl written in German. She has noticed that frequent reference is made in this mail to the name of her son who is at present working for an international company in Frankfurt, Germany. The neighbour is worried that the mail contains bad news. So she asks you – a student of German – to give her a quick summary of the contents in English such that she may know what the mail is all about, and afterwards a complete translation. In other words, the learner will first produce an oral (overt) version of the original and a written overt translation.

In a second example a learner is similarly asked to both produce an oral overt version and an overt written translation. The learner is given the following scenario:

> During your summer holidays you are working on a building site. Your supervisor has just received a new manual for the maintenance of one of the tractors. Unfortunately, the manual is written in English and translated into many other languages but not into German. He knows that you are competent in German and he asks you to provide an overt translation of this manual into German for him and to also give the other workers a quick idea of its main points, i.e. both provide an overt translation and an oral summary, an overt version.

Along those lines, a whole range of scenarios may be devised to simulate a real need for a translation. It is important to introduce learners to many different domains, topics and – in the terminology of the translation model described in Chapter 8 – many different fields such that they can at the same time broaden them their repertoire of language varieties.

In the scenarios described above the resulting translations are evaluated, corrected and discussed in class following the model described above involving detailed discussions in class of the reasons and consequences of for any mismatch detected.

A more complicated type of scenario involves asking learners to change the original's function following the analysis and translation of the originals, i.e. convert for instance a specialist scientific text into a popular science text – this would be a type of intra-lingual overt version production. Various changes along the dimensions of the model will have to be undertaken by learners, and on the basis of these the original will be rewritten. Following this production of a new source text (a version of the original source text) in the learners' mother tongue, the learners translate this new source text. All changes along the entire textual profile will then be discussed in class with reference to both the original and the modified source texts and their translations.

Another variety of translation activities makes use of learners' creative imagination and build on their simulated needs. In these activities, learners do not start with a ready-made text but with the function of a text and are asked to construct a text in accordance with this function, an outline of the content of the text to be constructed as well as some other dimensional data contributing to this function. In one type of activity learners are given an assignment such as the following:

> Write a letter to the mother of a good friend of yours whom you have never met but who you would like to impress and make like you. It is your task to make this letter as polite, entertaining and attractive as possible. You will have to demonstrate your interest in her personal habits, her environment and interests.

Following this first task, the teacher and the learners analyse the mother tongue letter according

to the translation evaluation model described above. In the second assignment the learners are asked to covertly translate the mail into another language, i.e. write 'the same' letter to the mother of another friend in another lingua-culture making all the necessary changes as to the recipients' home, environment and interests. An assessment of learners' covert translations will the again be conducted along the lines of the translation evaluation model.

Another translation activity involving the creation of a mother tongue text is the construction of advertisements. On the basis of a collation of a corpus of advertisements a discussion of the assumptions underlying the production of advertisements as well as their grammatical, lexical and textual peculiarities will be conducted. Following this introduction, the learners are then asked to produce advertisements in their native language and then covertly translate these advertisements into another language making due allowance for linguistic and cultural differences in the two lingua-cultures. A discussion of stereotypes will naturally be part of this translation activity.

In yet another type of translation activity, learners gain practice in distinguishing overt from covert translation, and they can be sensitized to the cultural transposition common in covert translation. Learners can be asked to analyse an overt translation so as to make them realize exactly how target text readers are here enabled to respond to the translation in ways that are similar to the response evoked by the original. For example, a learner forges a letter allegedly coming from his mother but unintentionally reveals that it was written by himself, for instance by having chosen a wrong form of address, or by making an incorrect pronominal reference to himself. In translating this text, learners must translate overtly, but as the purpose of the translation of the letter is to cheat, they must seek to explain how and why the original text was fraudulous.

All the above translation activities feature a deliberate juxtaposition of verbal actions in learners' mother tongue and in the foreign language, and they all include detailed analyses, comparison and criticism of original and translated texts.

Towards a more realistic view of translation in foreign language learning and teaching

In recent years, we have witnessed a gradually more positive view of translation in the Applied Linguistics literature (see Cook 2010; Widdowson 2014; House 1977, 2009, 2014). This view involves looking upon translation as an omnipresent general interpretative activity that plays an important role in realizing pragmatic meaning inside and across languages. Translation is now more often than not regarded as a natural pragmatic process in the learning and teaching of a foreign language. This means that teachers of foreign languages need to encourage learners to actively engage in this pragmatic process by drawing on all the linguistic resources they have at their disposal, giving credit to what learners are able to achieve in their creative meaning-making. In Widdowson's (2014) view, translation activities are not to be regarded as teaching devices to get learners to conform, but as providing conditions to activate the learning process, no matter how non-conformist the outcomes might turn out to be.

Widdowson also makes the important point that while one tends to think of translation as an activity practised exclusively by professional translators, translation is really a very general, commonplace pragmatic process – something we all do when we interpret what other people say and write so as to accommodate this to our own intellectual and discourse worlds. Widdowson believes that we have to think of translation not only as what translators do, i.e. an activity that requires special expertise, but as a general 'capability' of making meaning into and out of text, as a matter of the everyday experience of all language users. Translation is then not some extra or extraneous activity but one that is intrinsic to the learning process itself.

Despite this development which is increasingly favourable to translation, it is still often the case that language learning is understood not as a continuation of previous experience and an extension of an existing linguistic resource, but as the learning of some separate, new entity very much dissociated from the already known mother tongue. However, learners' mother tongues are clearly *not* separate in learners' minds. It is thus reasonable to claim that viewing a foreign language as something separate from the mother tongue inhibits the learning of a foreign language.

In one of Widdowson's earlier publications (2003), he proposed that translating needs to be seen as a general interpreting process of deriving discourse from text. As such, translation is a normal and natural process applied to all language use. In the foreign language classroom, learners are conventionally confronted with texts, and they will naturally seek to interpret them, make some kind of discourse out of them, convert the data into evidence of some meaningful message or other, and in so doing instinctively and unavoidably make reference to their own lingua-cultural reality. The foreign language needs to be presented to learners not as something unrelated to their previous linguistic experience, but as something closely related to it and an additional resource in their nascent multilingual linguistic repertoire. This means that in foreign language teaching it is advisable to deliberately exploit learners' own experience of language, to encourage them to recognize how another language can be used to realize meanings in alternative ways, and to give credit explicitly to what they achieve in making meaning in their 'old' and their 'new' language. For realizing all these aims, translation is an excellent tool.

13 The professional practice of translators

New challenges and problems

This final chapter of the book engages with the 'real world' of translation as professional practice and its sites of potential conflict. I will first take up (again) the topic of ethics in translation practice; secondly, I will deal with translation in areas of conflict; and finally I will discuss the role of translation in multilingual institutions.

Ethics in the professional practice of translation

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, issues of ethics have often featured in recent theoretical accounts of translation. While ethical issues were not given much attention in the early days of translation studies, they now seem to occupy an ever more prominent place in handbooks and encyclopaedias of translation as well as chapters in books on translation and as special issues in translation journals (see Pym 2001; Bermann and Wood 2005; Baker and Maier 2011; Baker and Saldanha 2011; Williams 2013; and many others).

But issues of ethics are clearly most relevant for the practice of translation, because it is here that the ethical responsibility of the translator is most acutely felt, and needs to be resolved. Recent concerns with ethical issues relate to individual translators' ethical responsibilities to some superordinate standards of justice, morality and last but not least their conscience. The customary 'codes of ethics' and 'codes of professional conduct' issued by governments and professional translation organizations mainly existed to protect translators from exploitation and also to professionalize the practice of translation. They often emphasized the necessity of the translators' fidelity to the message of the original coupled with impartiality and an absence of personal or political opinions. In the current climate in Translation Studies this very 'fidelity' and 'impartiality' is, however, increasingly problematized and challenged as overly naive. Propagators of the idea that translators are honest mediators and innocent builders of bridges between languages and cultures are today confronted with the more difficult role of translators and interpreters in situations of conflict that involve unequal power relationships, exploitation and injustice. Thus many translation theorists (see for example Venuti 2002) today speak of an 'ethic of difference' stressing that translators are or should be responsible for throwing into question conventions which should no longer be taken as God's truth and as inherently neutral. Existing norms and conventions need to be understood as invariably reflecting certain biases, hidden agendas and interests of influential groups or individuals. Translators should stop acting in conformity to expectations and normative behavioural standards so as to liberate themselves from, and actively resist, the perpetuation of ethnocentric values and the seamless integration of the foreign into our own cultural system. In following this liberating and resisting agenda, translators would also cease to be 'invisible', and they would play a more important role in their day-to-day business of translating.

The idea that translators can never function totally neutral, impartially and *in vacuo* but are more often than not implicated in political, economic, military and power relations which impact on their mediating role, is today generally accepted. This means that the translator's task of mechanically transferring messages, acting as a sort of 'slave to the original text' is seen as no longer tenable. The translator's seemingly simple role as mediator may in fact camouflage the expected conformity with the expectations of the powerful commissioner of the translation. So the limits of the traditional codes of ethics for translators are reached whenever the expected neutrality and impartiality comes into serious conflict with an individual translator's conscience and his personal code of ethics, leading him to construct and defend his very own 'code of ethics', in a new conception of the translator's agency and his personal integrity.

What this means for the translator is first and foremost a heightened sensibility and transcultural sensibility. This reminds me of the cultural filter important in translation proposed a long time ago (House 1977). I then emphasized the necessity of taking account of norms and conventions of the culture into which the original's translation is 'entering'. I argued that it might be legitimate either to be 'loyal' to the original or to change it for intersubjectively describable reasons depending on the nature of the original text, the function of the translation and the choice of producing an overt or a covert translation. Questions of ethics relate to an individual translator's choice. This would in a way be an extension of how I understand 'covert translation' to now include an element of individual accountability, affecting also the personals and social identity of the translator. However, this type of ethical choice by the individual translator clearly transcends the linguistic-cultural choices involved in any translation, which I have described in my model of translation production and evaluation. And I would argue that because the individual element involved in ethical choices necessarily defies generalization, it cannot form part of a general theory such as the one presented in my model (see also the argumentation in House 2014). When Chesterman (2001: 152) emphasizes 'understanding' as a superordinate principle suggesting that translators in their quest for facilitating cross-cultural understanding need not only understand the text they are to translate but also consider the needs and expectations of potential recipients of the translation, he is fully aligned with phenomena which the pragmatics of translation has long pointed out (see Hickey 1998; House 1997; Bührig *et al*. 2009). In this connection it is, however, not necessary to lash out against the role of linguistics in translation studies, and against the concept of equivalence in discussions about ethics and translation (see Pym 2001: 137), because they are all legitimate and may even be combined and united.

Adding a personal, subjective ethics 'filter' to a theory of translation, however desirable and justified this may be in many instances of racist, sexist, colonialist, imperialist or otherwise offensive and discriminatory texts a translator is asked to translate, is often very complicated and problematic for the practising translator, who is not independent but rather subject to a commissioner's brief. So the translator often faces a very real dilemma: should she follow her conscience and refuse to translate 'faithfully' disturbingly sexist descriptions of women in an original, opting instead for a more enlightened version of description – a strategy that may well cost her job – or should she act as a neutral medium and simply get on with her

translating job? There can be no general rules for the translator about how she is to behave in such situations. The translator's choice will depend on her own culturally, historically and experientially defined individual values, her conscience and her willingness and determination to live with the consequences of her choice.

One of the often quoted attempts to come to grips with the issue of ethics in translation is Chesterman's (2001) suggestion to divide the role ethics can play in translation into four distinct but clearly overlapping models: the ethics of representation (of the source text or of the author), an expanding ethics of service (based on fulfilling a brief negotiated between the translator and a client), a philosophical type of ethics of communication (focused on exchanges with a member of another culture), and a norm-based ethics (where ethical stances and behaviours depend on particular expectations of a specific cultural location), as well as a fifth model, namely an 'ethics of commitment', an attempt to define 'the good' residing in a general code of professional ethics for translators. All of these 'models' are only partially valid covering only a limited part of any ethical action, and, as Chesterman (2001: 144) admits, they are inadequate on their own.

So it remains up to the individual translator and her conscience which type of ethics she is to heed first and foremost. For instance, how should a devout Muslim translator act when he is confronted with the translation of the recent issue of the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in which the head of the Prophet Mohammed was unmistakably shown with male secondary sexual organs? How should the translator proceed in a context of strong international approval of such a representation in the name of the freedom of the press? In this situation, a translator who would refuse to be part of the commissioned translation team because his belief made him to object to a depiction of the prophet let alone a pornographic one, would face not only financial and professional retributions, but also run the risk of being caught in the international surveillance net of secret services hunting terrorists. In giving this example, I want to also problematize Pym's (2001: 137) statement: 'It seems now granted that one can take position and act in terms of general values or causes, albeit within a certain range of political acceptability.' Who determines. I would ask, what is 'politically acceptable'? The majority? I believe that ethical issues cannot be solved by recourse to supposedly agreed standards, certainly not those of 'political acceptability'. Ethical action depends to a large degree on liberating oneself from the politically acceptable mood of the day if our conscience tells us to do this. It is her conscience which makes the translator free to decide on the right course for herself. And freedom of making one's own choices irrespective of 'political acceptability' is, I believe, one of the fundaments of ethical choices.

Acting ethically means that the translator has the courage to act on her convictions in the face of a variety of adverse consequences. As opposed to the types of general validity that may be attached to text- and discourse-based models of translation, there are no general guidelines in the realm of ethics which would be valid in all possible contexts imaginable, because we are here concerned with texts and with human beings, the latter being so unlimitedly variable and complex that any generalization would be preposterous.

As opposed to this extremely relativistic view, Chesterman (2001: 153) proposes what he

calls a ‘Hieronymic oath’ for the practice of translation consisting of nine commitments or ‘sub-oaths’ that range from loyalty to the profession, understanding, truth, clarity, trustworthiness, truthfulness, justice and the striving for excellence. These principles that meant to go beyond genuinely personal and subjective ethical positions and choices certainly offer themselves for being generalized and built into a theory of translation.

But given Chesterman’s ethical oaths, are we now in a position to say of a translation that it is clearly ‘unethical’? Who is to decide whether a translation is ‘unethical’ for whom and why? These simple questions show how complex and still ultimately subjective statements about ethics are now and will remain in the future. Coming back to the above example of *Charlie Hebdo*, if a translator refuses to translate a text that offends her own and others’ religious feelings, is she acting unethical because she steps outside the ethical consensus of ‘freedom of the pen’, ‘freedom from censure’, ‘freedom of speech’?

To use another example: has the translator who translated the philosopher Ted Honderich’s book *After the Terror* (2002) into German acted ‘unethically’ when he faithfully translated a paragraph of the book in which Honderich reflected on what he called ‘liberation-terrorism’:

> The principle of humanity, being serious and arguable, does not give an automatic verdict on all terrorism. It is a principle that takes account of the world in its differences. It struggles with facts and probabilities, with the difficulty of rationality. To my mind, still, it does issue one conclusion of a certain generality, this being about liberation-terrorism, terrorism to get freedom for a people when it is clear that nothing else will get it for them. (2002: 150–1)

In this paragraph, Honderich refers to the Palestinian people (see here also the detailed discussion in House (2012)). Would it have been ‘ethical’ either to leave this paragraph out or to change its offending content and tone? As it happens, the German translation of the book was almost immediately withdrawn from the market, so the ethical decision by the translator to translate the book including this statement by the original author was reversed.

While it is, of course, extremely difficult to give any clear, non-ambivalent guidelines and general statements about a concept of ethics relating to an individual translator’s responsibility, her conscience and sense of social justice in a variety of different contexts (Koskinen 2000), a more modest conceptualization would be to simply view an ethics of translation as a striving for professionalism in the practice of translation – at the expense of the individual and subjective part of the translator as a person and a responsible human being. To unite the two, the professional and the individual, is a daunting task, indeed.

Translation and conflict in the practice of translation

The second major issue of translation practice today, translation and conflict, is in fact closely related to questions of ethics, as in situations of conflict, ethical issues frequently arise (see Salama-Carr 2007; Bielsa and Hughes 2009; Inghilleri 2008, 2009; Inghilleri and Harding 2010). Mona Baker (2006, 2010a, 2010b) has related narrative theory to issues of ethics in situations of violent conflict, most extensively in her important book *Translation and Conflict. A Narrative Account* (2006). In trying to delineate her view of narrative, she refers to Fisher

who stated that narration ‘is not a mode of discourse laid on by a creator’s deliberate choice but the shape of knowledge as we first apprehend it’ (1987: 193), the consequence being that it is our belief in these narratives that orients ourselves in our world and guides our actions. In short, narratives construct the world for us.

In a plea for translators’ and translation scholars’ commitment, engagement and reflexivity, Baker makes use of narrative theory as a basis for elaborating an ethics of translation, with particular reference to situations of political conflict. Baker attempts to replace a view of translation as mediation by a view of translation as intervention. In her view, no translation can ever be totally neutral and objective as it invariably depends on some type of interpretation on the part of the translator, who is never a passive recipient but an active participant: ‘Being neutral is of course an illusion of theory; indeed, given the impossibility of being neutral and the nature of power relations, one may ask who the translator or interpreter is expected to be neutral *against* when they are fed the disciplinary narrative of neutrality’ (Baker 2009: 223).

In Goffman’s (1981) terms, the translator is never simply an animator (of another person’s thoughts), rather he is his own author who may undermine the principal’s, i.e. the commissioner’s, brief. This is particularly relevant when translators are involved in situations of violent conflict where they need to develop a high degree of self-reflexivity. This means that translators – as professionals and as citizens – need to reflect on how and why they arrive at deciding what is ethical for them in a given conflictual situation so as to be ethically accountable not only to themselves but also to their professional community of practice, the community at large and to humanity – over and above to their traditional responsibility to authors and commissioners. In her work, Baker refers to groups of committed, activist translators and interpreters like Babels, Tlaxcala, ECOS, Translators for Peace and others who together follow a particular political agenda resisting mainstream interpretations of social and political issues. They can assist individual translators in difficult ethical decisions they face in certain translation tasks, when it comes to uncritically reproducing existing ideologies or courageously resisting them.

In her recent article entitled ‘Translation as an Alternative Space for Political Action’, Baker (2013) looks at the origin, development and positioning of activist groups of translators and interpreters. She finds that in the type of activism engaged in by many of these groups, linguistic skills are used to extend narrative spaces made invisible by the dominance of Global English and the politics of language in late modernity. In this context, translation is regarded as providing spaces of resistance through the deliberate use of a hybrid language to break the dominant English agenda.

Narrative theory allows us to recognize the varied, negotiable positioning and footing translators assume vis-à-vis the texts they are translating, their authors and recipients, societies and majority ideologies.

With regard to the concept of equivalence, Baker seems to re-interpret it as referring not to a relationship between source text and translation text but to relationships of both source and target texts to events in the world around us and an ethically responsible stance on the part of

the translator. Viewing this from my own theory of translation, this would mean an extension of what I have called a 'cultural filter' to include a type of 'ethical filter' used by a translator to problematize tacit, unexamined assumptions and make his very own assessment of right or wrong, of what is ethically responsible or not, and to become aware of how their decisions impact on the lives of others.

Baker (2006) describes translators' and interpreters' negotiations of how competing narratives of violent conflicts and wars play themselves out in the new and old media, in reports, articles and books. In addition to using the concept of narrative, Baker also refers to the concept of frame and framing, seen here as an active process of meaning construction in order to explain how narratives can and are differently framed by different narrators and translators. Framing is part and parcel of activist agendas in that it can be effectively used to question, problematize and undermine dominant narratives of a political conflict (e.g. Israel-Palestine) and as a snowballing strategy for creating and expanding communities of practice of activists.

When translators work in conflict situations, they are invariably confronted with their own personal, professional and political beliefs, and they are required to reflect on and understand fully the conflict situation. This situation is, however, dynamic and unpredictable, demanding of the translator that she continuously critically examine her allegiance. In situations of war in particular, translators face enormous ethical challenges given the general atmosphere of uncertainty, and ambivalence, with shifting positioning inside political narratives. The translators' task is an important, if multiply ambiguous one, because they 'play a significant role in shaping the narratives, and hence the events, that define war. Various parties need and fear them, trust o mistrust them, respect or despise them. Depending on various factors, including their ethnicity, they are narrated as victims or as villains, as trustworthy allies or security risks' (Baker 2010b: 217). In situations of violent conflict and war, translators are often confronted with persons whose human rights have been constrained or violated by national or international interest groups. Here translators must make ethical and political judgments for which they are often not at all prepared. To provide such preparation is an urgent *desideratum* for translator training institutions.

Translation in multilingual institutions

Finally, I want to look briefly at translation as a practice that takes place in international institutions (see for example Koskinen 2000; Pym 2000; Wagner *et al*. 2002; Mossop 2006; Baker and Pérez-González 2011; Kang 2014). Institutional translation concerns organizational, ideological and historical aspects of an institution in which translations occur, and their impact on translators and the process and product of their output. Translation in this context is seen as a socially situated practice, and studies of institutional translation include all texts that get translated in an institution, their structures and features, the role of the translator in the institution, as well as norms and conventions governing translators' work and the ideology underlying the functioning of the institution in question.

An institution that has been particularly well studied is the translation service of the European Union, the largest of its kind in the world. Koskinen (2000) has cast a critical glance at the EU's institutional ideology and culture, which she characterizes as propagating an equality of all European languages, an equality which naturally feeds into a requirement of equivalence between source and target texts. The requirement of equivalence is to make EU texts function smoothly in the discourse of the institution both internally and externally with the public at large. One effect of this belief in the necessity of equivalence is an overall attempt to hide the very fact that a translation is a translation with the consequent downplaying of the role and function of translators. Despite this institutional pressure for uniformity, translators seem to be able to maintain their individual voice by engaging in numerous discoursal shifts actively striving to resist the institution's equivalence-driven ideology (see Mason 2003).

In talking about the EU's 'illusion of equality', Koskinen (2000: 50) has set out to unmask this institution's hypocritical ideology of multilingualism in the face of real inequality of the languages represented in the EU. Translations are a very important tool for implementing the EU's language policy. They are to safeguard the ideal of the equality of languages, and their symbolic value is high, eclipsing its real value and use. As Koskinen ironically remarks: 'Sometimes the primary function of the translation of a particular official document is simply to be there, to exist' (2000: 51). And she goes on to state:

> Rather than just conveying a message or providing possibilities for communication, the role of the translation is then to stand as a proof of equality. [. . .] This could perhaps be called 'existential equivalence', i.e. all the language versions need to exist, any other features being irrelevant or at least subordinate to the symbolic function.
>
> (2000: 51)

In the case of translations from English of non-official working documents into minor languages, translators often suspect that no one will bother to read their translations anyway.

The official EU policy that all languages are equal has a further consequence: that translations are not really translations but 'language versions' (different from my own definition of a version, see Chapter 8) suggesting that the texts are produced simultaneously in all the EU languages. The built-in illusion of equivalence is one of the cornerstones of translation practice within the Commission (2000: 54). This means, as Koskinen quips that 'EU translators miraculously produce eleven [now twenty-four] similar versions of a document'. In Koskinen's (2000: 58) opinion, a fruitful approach to the specific nature of EU translations would start from the assumption that EU institutions form a culture of their own, such that the institutional framework has its own specific frame of reference with its own shared system of knowledge, aims and norms – much like a community of practice. This would hold more or less, I propose, for all institutions in which translations are produced.

Other characteristics of institutional translations refer to the fact that the production of institutional translations routinely involves teams of translators: translations are drafted collectively in working groups and committees. This is, of course, not only a characteristic of institutional translations but is probably most marked here. Another characteristic of institutional translations is their anonymity. Texts are both written and produced by the institution, which of course makes translators invisible both inside and outside of the

institution. So Umberto Eco's (2001) famous dictum: 'The language of Europe is translation' is oddly not held in great esteem in the EU. And, as Koskinen (2000: 61) points out, the other side of this invisibility is paradoxically the visibility of the 'translatedness' of the translations, and this is revealed in the Euro-rhetoric, EU terminology and unidiomatic structures with which most EU citizens are quite unfamiliar.

What is essential for the quality and transparency of translations in institutions seems to be a shared institutional culture, a culture which also recognizes the important role of translators and translations for the institution, and which can give translators enough freedom for producing translations as true cultural mediation if not intervention.

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