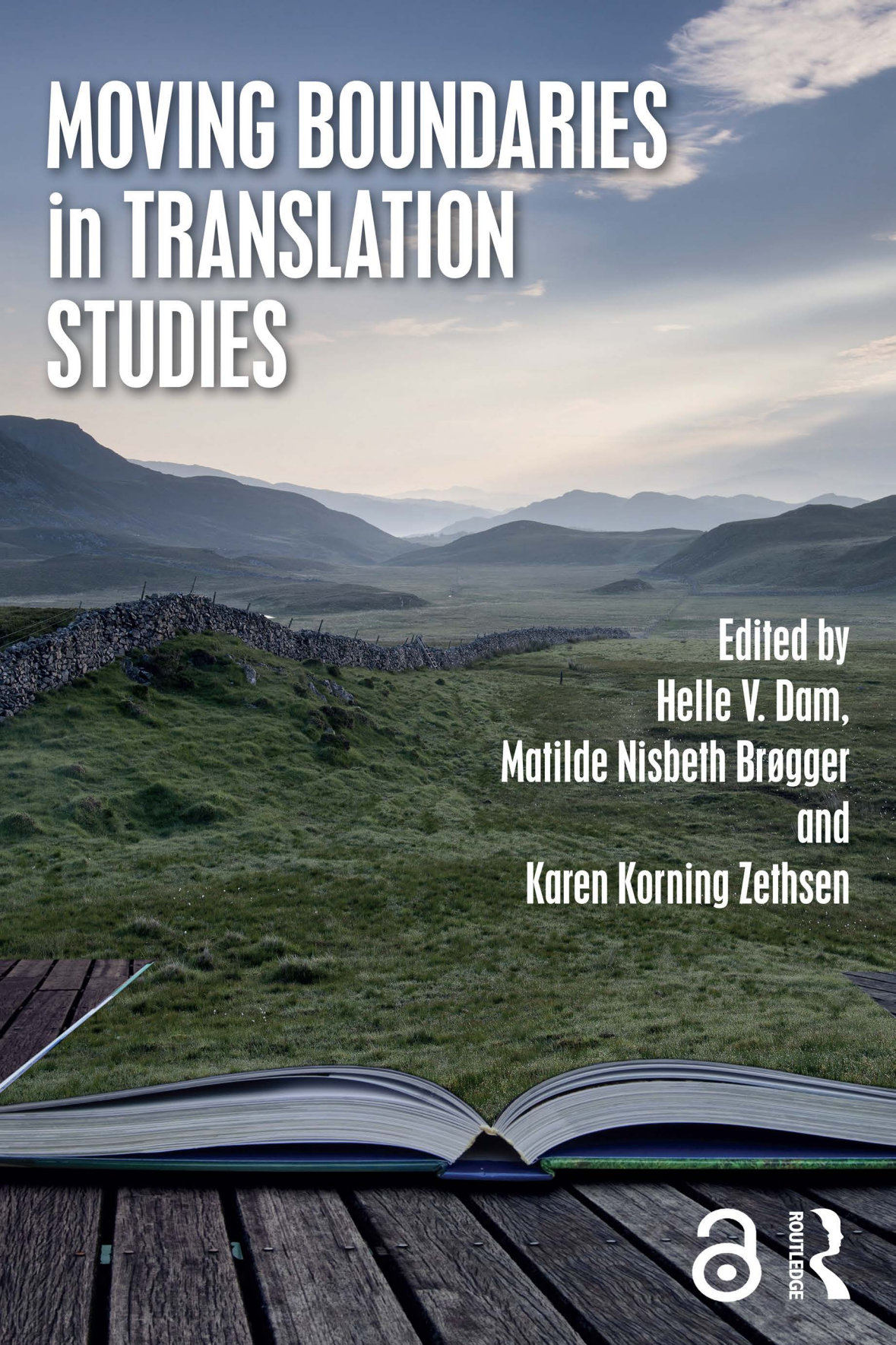
MOVING BOUNDARIES in TRANSLATION STUDIES



Edited by
Helle V. Dam,
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and
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ROUTLEDGE

MOVING BOUNDARIES IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

Translation is in motion. Technological developments, digitalisation and globalisation are among the many factors affecting and changing translation and, with it, translation studies. *Moving Boundaries in Translation Studies* offers a bird's-eye view of recent developments and discusses their implications for the boundaries of the discipline. With 15 chapters written by leading translation scholars from around the world, the book analyses new translation phenomena, new practices and tools, new forms of organisation, new concepts and names as well as new scholarly approaches and methods. This is key reading for scholars, researchers and advanced students of translation and interpreting studies.

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MOVING BOUNDARIES IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

Introduction

Helle V. Dam, Matilde Nisbeth Brøgger and Karen Korning Zethsen

Translation is in motion. Both translation practice and translation studies (TS) have seen considerable innovation in recent decades, and we are currently witnessing a wealth of new approaches and concepts, some of which reflect new translation phenomena, whereas others mirror new scholarly foci. Volunteer translation, crowdsourcing, virtual translator networks, transediting, and translanguaging are only some examples of practices and notions that are emerging on the scene alongside a renewed focus on well-established concepts that have traditionally been considered peripheral to the practice and study of translation: intralingual and intersemiotic translation are cases in point. At the same time, technological innovation and global developments such as the spread of English as a lingua franca are affecting wide areas of translation and, with it, translation studies. These trends are currently pushing or even crossing our traditional understandings of translation (studies) and its boundaries. The question is: how to deal with these developments? Some areas of the translation profession seem to respond by widening its borders, adding new practices such as technical writing, localisation, transcreation, or post-editing to their job portfolios, whereas others seem to be closing ranks. The same trend can be observed in the academic discipline: some branches of translation studies are eager to embrace all new developments under the TS umbrella, whereas others tend to dismiss (some of) them as irrelevant or as merely reflecting new names for age-old practices.

Against this backdrop, contributors to this collective volume were invited to take stock of and discuss the moving boundaries of translation (studies). The chapters in this book therefore analyse recent developments in the field, addressing new translation phenomena, new practices and tools, new forms of organisation, new concepts and names as well as new scholarly approaches and methods. Analyses and reflections are offered on the boundaries within the discipline (internal boundaries) as well as those surrounding it (external boundaries); issues of delimitation and boundary struggles are focal points, as is the relationship between translation practice and translation studies. Evidently, one book cannot provide full coverage of all new trends in such a wide and dynamic field as TS, but many are addressed, exhaustively or more briefly, in the chapters of the present volume.

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Conceptual innovation: setting the scene

In the first chapter, 'Moving conceptual boundaries: so what?', Andrew Chesterman discusses conceptual innovation, the creation of new categories and names, and suggests four ways in which it works. For one thing, a new concept may be proposed when a new empirical phenomenon is confronted; Chesterman refers to such concepts as *platypus concepts*: when the platypus was first discovered, it did not fit into any existing categories so a new one had to be invented. Examples from TS include 'fansubbing' and 'scanlation', among others. Other concepts stem not so much from a new empirical reality but from new (scholarly) ways of seeing; these are *splitter concepts* or *lumper concepts*. A splitter, in lexicography, is someone who focuses on differences and prefers to divide related concepts into different entries. TS has a long tradition of binary splits (e.g. literary vs non-literary translation and professional vs non-professional translation, cf. below), sometimes with ideological implications and with the potential to reduce the scope of translation (studies). By contrast, a lumper would focus on similarities and tend to group various concepts under a single entry, thus overlooking or abandoning distinctions. As pointed out by Chesterman, 'translation' itself is "a quintessential lumper concept". Finally, *rebranding concepts* are suggested to denote cases where a new term is given to an existing concept. Rebranding does not necessarily alter the conceptual map, but it usually changes connotations, attitudes, the balance of power, and can have economic consequences. Chesterman attributes rebranding concepts mainly to industry, rather than academia, and discusses 'transcreation' and especially 'localisation' as classical examples of rebranding that illustrate "how the notion of translation can be downgraded to a small corner of a rebranded larger practice, in order to highlight something presented as radically new, for commercial reasons". Scholarly endeavors to come up with new concepts and labels to pin their name on should not be ignored either, we wish to add.

Chesterman does not claim exhaustiveness or Aristotelian stringency for his taxonomy of conceptual innovation and, indeed, the overlaps are fairly evident: rebranding concepts, for example, have strong overlaps with splitter concepts: both may lead to fragmentation and both have the potential to relegate some phenomena to peripheral or outsider positions and to posit others as central. Nor is it easy, in practice, to determine when a concept is genuinely new (a platypus), when it is simply a new name for an existing practice (a rebranding concept) and when it represents a particular (new) way of seeing (a lumper or splitter concept). The taxonomy is thus one of overlaps and fuzzy boundaries like so many other categorisations in TS. But as Chesterman reminds us, concepts are not empirical facts and therefore cannot be tested empirically and rendered 'true' or 'false'. They are arguments and, as such, should be tested pragmatically, in terms of costs and benefits: in terms of *usefulness*, in other words. We have found the taxonomy to be useful as a framework for discussing and classifying many of the topics and approaches reflected in the chapters of this book. The perceptive reader will also have noticed that Chesterman's categories neatly reflect the call for contributions to this book as presented in the

introductory paragraph: platypus concepts name new phenomena, whereas rebranding concepts are those "reflecting new names for age-old practices". The remaining two types of conceptual innovation link directly to our central set of questions regarding how scholars and practitioners respond to current developments: by opening up, widening the borders, or by closing ranks, delineating the field more sharply. The former would be the lumper way, the latter the endeavour of splitters.

Sub-disciplinary movements: expanding the field, blurring the lines

The overlaps in Chesterman's taxonomy of conceptual innovation become clear when applied to the second chapter of the book, 'Localisation research in translation studies: expanding the limits or blurring the lines?' by Miguel A. Jiménez-Crespo. Jiménez-Crespo's discussion of the much-contested concept of localisation soon shows that it may be construed as a rebranding concept promoted by industry, a platypus concept (some industry representatives and scholars do seem to regard it as a new phenomenon, different from translation), but it also has the potential both to split TS (by stressing internal differences or even breaking out, creating its own distinct field of practice and study) and to lump, i.e. focus on similarities, adding yet another sub-field, that of localisation, to the already wide translation field. It all depends on the perspective. Jiménez-Crespo's perspective is arguably that of a lumper. While he recognises the pervasiveness of the so-called 'translation plus' model of localisation – which construes translation as only one step within a larger and more complex process and thus functions as a reductionist splitter (or rebranding) notion that devalues the concept of translation – Jiménez-Crespo foregrounds similarities rather than differences between translation and localisation. As he points out, the features that are often claimed to set localisation apart (such as user-adaptation, technology, multilingualism, multimodality, project management, interdisciplinary collaboration) are part and parcel of most modern-day translation tasks. Jiménez-Crespo describes the relationship between what he sees as the superordinate discipline of translation studies and the sub-discipline of localisation as one of increasing integration (blurring lines) but also mutual fertilisation: localisation research has drawn on TS theories and methods, especially from adjacent sub-disciplines such as audiovisual translation, but has also brought the presumably localisation-specific components (technology, multimodality, collaboration, etc.) to the forefront of TS at large, thus paving the way for research on novel topics such as online collaborative translation and crowdsourcing. As such, localisation research is seen to have expanded the boundaries of TS.

The following chapter is concerned with another TS sub-discipline: interpreting. After some five decades of research, interpreting has consolidated itself firmly as a distinct, yet integrated discipline of TS. Claims to independence, salient in the discipline's infancy, largely seem to have been silenced. As such, interpreting exhibits a trajectory in TS that resembles that of localisation: going from a splitter to a lumber discipline, from stressing differences to focusing on similarities with respect to

translation. Chapter 3 by Franz Pöchhacker, 'Moving boundaries in interpreting', reviews novel forms of interpreting-like mediation such as 'transpeaking' and 'transterpreting', i.e. genuine platypus concepts, and asks whether these are interpreting? Not surprisingly, all recent developments are found to be technology-driven but, interestingly, several of the novel forms of interpreting examined are inter-modal in that they involve both written and oral forms of text/speech reception and production. Live subtitling, real-time captioning, and machine interpreting are cases in point. The latter, a field in which advances have been "too impressive to be ignored as ridiculously error-prone", combines speech recognition and speech synthesis with a core module of machine translation. Therefore, Pöchhacker argues, all machine *interpreting* is in fact *translation*. At the same time, all machine translation is in fact interpreting by virtue of its immediacy, which is generally posited as a defining characteristic of interpreting. Recent technology-driven developments with all their hybrid forms therefore blur the boundaries between prototypical translation and interpreting and, we may add, can thus be seen to bring interpreting closer to translation, and vice versa. Pöchhacker even envisages a scenario of machine interpreting complemented with a human 'post-editor': the speech output of a machine-translation system, which is known to suffer from the prosodic shortcomings of artificial speech synthesis, could be simultaneously 'post-edited' by a human (monolingual) respeaker. Developments in the field of interpreting (or is it translation?) thus not only mirror those that are taking place in the field of (written) translation, they also link ongoing discussions in the two scholarly fields: just as we sometimes ask if intralingual translation is indeed translation (cf. Berk Albachten, Chapter 10), we may ask if 'intralingual interpreting' is still interpreting.

New tools, tasks, and forms of organisation: technology continued

Chapter 4 by Arnt Lykke Jakobsen, 'Moving translation, revision, and post-editing boundaries', is also concerned with technology-driven innovation and new roles for language professionals. In the field of written translation, revision (of text produced by a human) has been around for a long time. Therefore, Jakobsen wonders, the new and much contested role of (post-)editor of machine output perhaps does sit rather comfortably with translators? To address this question, Jakobsen sets out to analyse writing, translation and, especially, the role of revision in these two tasks. His conclusion is that the boundaries between writing and translation are indeterminate and, most importantly, that revision and especially self-revision is so integral to writing and translation that "we cannot truly say where text production begins, and where text revision ends". Jakobsen's analyses further show that other-revision, which has come to be an extended practice since it was included in standards for translation services little over a decade ago, resembles self-revision so much that this new task cannot be seen to have changed translation practice in any significant way. A comparative analysis of the processes involved in revision and (post-)editing, however, shows that the latter is best considered a radically new task – a genuine platypus – which moreover requires different skills. As technology trundles on,

however, more and more translation work is performed as editing (of translation-memory output) or post-editing (of machine-translation output), a distinction that has become blurred with the advent of combined technologies. This development is not always welcomed by translators, who tend to see (post-)editing as an uncreative, mechanical activity and to resent the increased productivity expectations and lack of autonomy it involves.

Translators' dissatisfaction with their tools is the point of departure of Chapter 5, 'Moving towards personalising translation technology', by Sharon O'Brien and Owen Conlan. After a review of the major shifts in the translation technology landscape over the past 25 years, this chapter looks to the field of personalisation in information technology and proposes that personalising translation technology may be a way of improving translator-computer interaction. Based on insights from e-commerce and e-learning, the authors propose that translation technology developers could take account of TS concepts (e.g. translation specifications), TS measurement techniques (e.g. keyboard logging, eye tracking, edit distance), and TS research innovations (e.g. quality estimation) to build a personalised translation technology engine that would serve to maintain autonomy and competence as well as motivation and well-being for translators in an increasingly technologised profession. Such a personalised technology is far off, but it is interesting to note that the solution to some of the problems induced by technologisation could lie in technology itself.

Beyond computer-assisted translation, digital technologies and Web 2.0 have given rise to a myriad of new forms of organisation and facilitated already existing ones. 'Collaborative translation' is currently establishing itself as the superordinate (lumber) term of choice, in sharp competition with 'translaboration', for new virtual, collective translation activities and models such as fansubbing and crowdsourcing as well as for collaborative activities in connection with well-established practices such as localisation and audiovisual translation. By extension, virtual translator networks, one possible locus for such collaborative efforts, have attracted scholarly attention in recent years. In Chapter 6, 'Mapping translation blog networks and communities', Julie McDonough Dolmaya examines online communities established through translators' blogs. Specifically, she studies how these communities are constructed, seeking to determine what kinds of actors make up the networks, what communities exist within the networks, and the extent to which the networks cross geographical borders. McDonough Dolmaya uses social network analysis and the graph visualisation program Gephi to map the networks. The study has various innovative features: translator networks are not a new phenomenon, but their visibility has increased in the digital age, and they are a novel object of study in TS. New topics often call for new methods, and so social network analysis is a relatively recent import into TS.

New approaches: broadening the view and bridging gaps

The following chapters concern themselves not with new translational phenomena or concepts but with deploying a new scholarly lens: new ways of seeing. The

recent sociological turn in TS has directed scholars' attention towards translators as social or professional agents immersed in a range of cultural, institutional, economic, political, and technological contexts and networks (cf. O'Brien and Conlan, Chapter 5; McDonough Dolmaya, Chapter 6). Contextualised workplace studies and research that focuses on translators as an occupational group are major manifestations of this new lens. But it has also brought the phenomenon of 'natural', 'volunteer', and/or 'non-professional' translators to the fore. This is the topic of Chapter 7 by Nadja Grbić and Pekka Kujamäki: 'Professional vs non-professional? How boundary work shapes research agendas in translation and interpreting studies'. Through an analysis of major trends in the development of translation and interpreting studies, the authors show how scholars, historically, have used boundary work to push professional translators and interpreters into the foreground, whereas non-professionals have been relegated to the background, tagged as "foreign" or peripheral to the study of translation. Grbić and Kujamäki then review recent empirical research on non-professional practices, including their own historical research on interpreting, to show that it unveils a range of empirical phenomena that defy clear boundaries between non-professional and professional practices or agents. This research further points to the omnipresence and importance of translation and interpreting in society, highlighting not only trained, salaried, and institutionalised translators and interpreters but also "agents for whom mediation is an act of political engagement, a way of assisting families and friends, a role imposed on them in sites of violent conflicts", a source of entertainment, "or just one part of everyday communicative routine in contemporary multicultural societies". To these authors, this provides a strong incentive to open up to a broader view on the full range of translational activity, professional as well as non-professional. As they argue, translation and interpreting studies "can certainly fare much better in its effort to understand and convey the full relevance of translation and interpreting activities in contemporary societies by looking at the broader practice rather than through the narrow lens of professional practice alone". To Grbić and Kujamäki, then, the distinction between 'professional' and 'non-professional' is simply not useful, hence their proposal to shed the binary split, lumping the two categories into one. One distinction these authors do tend to uphold at least discursively, however, is the one between translation and interpreting studies (abbreviated TIS here), though no sharp boundaries are posited between the two.

Chapter 8, 'Ergonomics of translation: methodological, practical, and educational implications' by Maureen Ehrensberger-Dow and Riitta Jääskeläinen, also reflects the reorientation in TS towards translating agents and their work contexts, though here with a pledge to study *professional* translators. Positing translation as a situated activity subject to physical, temporal, economic, organisational, cultural, and other (ergonomic) constraints, Ehrensberger-Dow and Jääskeläinen propose that studying translation from an ergonomic perspective can provide an appropriate framework for understanding the impact of these constraints on the demanding activity that translators engage in, with obvious implications for translation quality and translators' job satisfaction. The authors present the results of an international

survey on translation ergonomics, focusing on findings from two multilingual countries, Switzerland and Finland. The ergonomic profiles of translators in the two countries differ, but specifically one common denominator emerges from the survey: professional translators are struggling to cope with the way translation is becoming increasingly machine-driven, a finding that links to the discussions in Jakobsen (Chapter 4) and O'Brien and Conlan (Chapter 5). A number of topics are in fact shared between O'Brien and Conlan and Ehrensberger-Dow and Jääskeläinen: motivation, well-being, trust, and autonomy, i.e. human factors amidst a heavily technologised work environment. Ehrensberger-Dow and Jääskeläinen conclude their chapter with reflections on how an ergonomic perspective can provide new insights into the reality of professional translation and suggest ways in which such research can contribute to improving translation practice and training. In particular, the authors suggest, it has the potential to bring scholars and practitioners together, thus breaking boundaries between academia and practice.

Revisiting internal boundaries, repositioning concepts

The authors of chapters 9 and 10 are also proponents of new ways of approaching their object of study, and, like Grbić and Kujamäki, they are concerned with internal boundaries in the shape of age-old binary splits. However, rather than proposing to abandon existing distinctions altogether, they argue for a repositioning of notions that have traditionally been ignored or considered inferior or peripheral, with a view to affording them a more central position within the TS landscape. Chapter 9 by Margaret Rogers, 'From binaries to borders: literary *and* non-literary translation', addresses the classic dichotomy of literary/non-literary. With a view to "recast[ing] the common perception of non-literary translation as the 'dogsbody' of the professional and arguably also of the academic world", Rogers sets out to explore common territory between the two categories. In doing so, she discards the metaphor of 'binaries', which to her suggests an unproductive divide, replacing it with that of 'borders'. To Rogers, borders imply a productive interface with the promise of innovative insights rather than "heavily policed barriers". She analyses the literary/non-literary construct from various perspectives, including genre, people/things, readers, agency, terminology, institutional affiliation/professional activity, and training, all of which, she finds, reveal intense cross-border activity. Examples of translational activities that are not easily classified as *either* literary *or* non-literary include audiovisual translation, localisation, and transcreation, which are seen to possess traits from both types of translation. Nevertheless, Rogers does not wish to discard the distinction altogether. As she says, we need to classify somehow, and classifications are useful insofar as they allow us to describe patterns and trends, which in turn increases the likelihood of identifying, naming, and understanding given phenomena. Rogers thus places herself midway between splitting and lumping: on the one hand, she highlights common ground and finds the binary distinction unhelpful; on the other hand, she considers some degree of distinction to be both necessary and productive. But then again, the concept on the right-hand side of the

literary/non-literary border is of course itself "a quintessential lumper concept" to use Chesterman's words again. Nor is it a label normally used by scholars operating on that side of the border. Alternative labels, framed in positive terms, include 'specialised translation' or 'business translation', though scholars within this large field would normally describe their object of research more narrowly, e.g. as 'legal translation' or 'medical translation'. This, in turn, reflects an age-old insight: the more we zoom in on a particular object, the more distinctions we need; the narrower the lens, the more we tend to split.

In Chapter 10, 'Challenging the boundaries of translation and filling the gaps in translation history: two cases of intralingual translation from the 19th-century Ottoman literary scene', Özlem Berk Albachten argues for a repositioning of the first kind of translation in Roman Jakobson's tripartite typology of translation, i.e. intralingual translation. Compared to interlingual translation, also referred to as 'translation proper', intralingual translation has until recently merely been a theoretical construct, with little empirical anchorage: thus, a fringe phenomenon, by some even perceived as an unwelcome member of the TS field. After giving examples of different kinds of intralingual translation, such as expert-to-layman translation, oral-to-written intralingual translation in audiovisual media for people with hearing or visual disabilities, and intralingual intertemporal translation, Berk Albachten argues for the value of viewing intralingual translation as an integral part of translation history, as this concept makes it possible to shed light on historical practices that otherwise would escape scholarly attention. As argumentation for this point, the author discusses her previous research on the 19th-century Ottoman Turkish literary context through two cases which demonstrate how intralingual translation covered a wide range of text production practices variously described as translating, writing, summarising, renewing, and conveying, without clear boundaries between them. Berk Albachten stresses that her contribution is not a proposal to create a new sub-field of intralingual TS, but a call to further integrate intralingual translation alongside interlingual translation. As she argues, interlingual translation will always be at the core of TS, and thus "translation scholars should not be concerned with losing control over the borders of their discipline" by broadening the concept of translation to include other forms than 'translation proper'. Berk Albachten thus advocates the granting of space to the marginalised stepchild of intralingual translation, without disadvantaging its until now much more central sibling of interlingual translation. So even though Jakobson's tripartite typology of translation is accepted by many translation scholars as a broad definition of translation *in theory*, it might be time to give more empirical thought to the concept of intralingual translation, and by analogy perhaps also to that of intersemiotic translation.

Looking out, crossing boundaries

As we have seen above, many authors in this book engage with disciplines outside translation. O'Brien and Conlan look to the field of information technology and insights gained in e-learning and e-commerce with a view to applying them to

translation. McDonough Dolmaya draws on a method from sociology, and one of the conceptual frameworks deployed by Grbić and Kujamäki stems from the sociology of professions. Ehrensberger-Dow and Jääskeläinen bring in concepts and methods from the field of ergonomics, and Jakobsen makes recourse to writing research. In most cases, scholars look to other fields with a view to transferring knowledge, concepts and methods to TS in a rather unidirectional manner. Chapter 11, 'Translanguaging and translation pedagogies' by Sara Laviosa, can be seen to go one step further. Located at the cross-section of two disciplines, TS and educational linguistics, it calls for interdisciplinary cooperation that places translation (also) at the exporting end. Laviosa is concerned with 'pedagogic translation' or TOLC (Translation in Other Learning Contexts, notably in second language learning), a topic that has also recently attracted attention within TS. To scholars in this field, language learning and translating are "intertwined and mutually enriching forms of translingual and transcultural practice". Laviosa introduces the concept of translanguaging as a particularly powerful tool in the context of pedagogic translation. Translanguaging is not a new concept as such, but in TS it is, so it merits explanation: originating in the context of bilingual education in Wales, translanguaging designates a pedagogical practice that involves the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning of all kinds. More specifically, it implies receiving information through the medium of one language (e.g. reading a text or listening to a song in Welsh) and responding to it through the medium of another language (e.g. summarising or analysing it in English) with a view to fostering translingual and transcultural competence, among other so-called translanguaging abilities. The link to translation is immediately discernible. To illustrate the usefulness of integrating translation and translanguaging in language pedagogy, Laviosa reports on a case study that successfully combined the two activities in a second language course not aimed at educating translators. Against this backdrop, Laviosa suggests that there is fertile ground for interdisciplinary cooperation between educational linguistics and TS, also given the shared interest in translation and second language teaching. The agenda, then, would be one of mutual exchange of knowledge and expertise as opposed to the rather unidirectional harvesting of concepts and methods from other fields that characterises much translation research. This agenda, however, could also be construed as an exercise not in crossing boundaries but in returning home: back to applied linguistics and language teaching, the point of departure of the journey of TS towards its present-day status as an independent discipline. Rather than another *turn*, are we perhaps finally witnessing a *return*?

Chapter 12, 'Professionals' views on the concepts of their trade: what is (not) translation?' by Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen, crosses a different kind of (assumed) boundary: not between disciplines but between academia and practice (also addressed by Ehrensberger-Dow and Jääskeläinen, Chapter 8). This chapter takes the ongoing conceptual discussions among translation scholars into the field of practice, and examines how translation professionals understand and use the concepts of their trade. Methodologically, the study draws on focus groups with staff translators and project managers in a large translation company, and the authors

report on group discussions of the concepts of translation, interpreting, subtitling and dubbing, localisation, transcreation, and adaptation, as well as intralingual and intersemiotic translation. The findings of the study are discussed in relation to current conceptualisations and boundary discussions in TS. This comparison shows some differences between translation practitioners' and scholars' understandings of the translation field and its central concepts, but the similarities are nevertheless striking. The two groups of stakeholders share a prototype understanding of the field and describe its concepts in similar (fuzzy) ways. To Dam and Zethsen, this finding suggests much cross-border exchange between practice and academia as well as a soft borderline between the two.

Rebranding the discipline?

Chapter 13, 'Bound to expand: the paradigm of change in translation studies' by Luc van Doorslaer, posits that the many paradigm shifts that have occurred in TS in recent decades have mainly served to expand the object of study and broaden scholarly thinking. The current scholarly understanding of translation, then, privileges "variation, dynamics, and different types of change" (e.g. modal, cultural, social, technological, medial). The growing complexity of the notion of translation in scholarly discourse, the author argues, clashes with the simplistic way it is conceived by non-translators and scholars in other disciplines. A review of a selection of articles on translation co-authored by scholars from adjacent disciplines thus indicates to van Doorslaer that the dominant outside view of translation is (still) that of an exclusively language-based practice with invariance ("non-change") as the main goal: "the imperative not to alter content, form, style, effect, etc". This view, the author argues, has been fuelled by the growth of highly accessible, easy-to-use, automated translation technologies such as Google Translate, which is seen to have instrumentalised translation, reducing it to a simple tool in the eyes of the public. Against this background, the author suggests revisiting the discussion about the name of the discipline, which he finds has become too tight, too worn-out. A tentative proposal for a new name for translation studies is *Trans-Studies*, which should reflect the current complexity of "a discipline that has gradually developed towards a paradigm of change". We invite our readers to reflect on this proposal, while taking the liberty of offering a few reflections of our own.

As this Introduction has shown, translation (studies) is a field of many concepts and names, of considerable conceptual innovation and constant reorientation. Yet the name itself is remarkably persistent. Despite wholehearted attempts from renowned scholars, suggestions to rename – and, hence, rebrand – translation have never really caught on, as discussed by Chesterman in Chapter 1. Even if 'translation' is not the most exciting or fitting term to some, it actually seems to work quite well. People largely know what it means, and perceptions are similar enough for the term to serve its purpose. This book pays testimony to its usefulness: when an invitation was issued to submit research and reflections on the *Moving Boundaries in Translations Studies*, the response was large and varied, yet consistent with the topic as we had envisaged it.

This is quite a feat considering that we do not even have a generally accepted definition of translation (see Chesterman, Jiménez-Crespo, this volume), and most definitional endeavours revolve around conceptual models characterised by fluidity, overlaps and fuzzy boundaries such as prototype or cluster models (see Berk Albachten, Dam and Zethsen, Pöchhacker, this volume). But then again, it is perhaps precisely the ambiguity, flexibility, and open-endedness of the concept of 'translation' that produce such rich and varied responses to its name as those we see reflected in this book.

Insights and prospects

At first glance, the contributions to the present book may seem disparate, crisscrossing as they do between empirical, conceptual, and methodological dimensions. Taken together, however, they do paint a remarkably coherent picture of current movements in the translation field. Key movements identified throughout the chapters include *expansion of the boundaries* of the field as revealed by the emergence of new empirical phenomena such as machine translation (Chapter 5), post-editing (Chapter 4), live subtitling (Chapter 3), and virtual translator networks (Chapter 6), in combination with the deployment of a broader scholarly lens (Chapter 13) inciting researchers to embrace phenomena that were previously neglected or considered peripheral: non-professional translation (Chapter 7) and intralingual translation (Chapter 10) are cases in point. A second cross-cutting movement that can be identified is 'hybridisation' or *blurring internal boundaries*. As we have seen, age-old distinctions and sub-divisions of the translation field tend to erode with the emergence of new technologies and forms of translation. The advent of machine interpreting, for example, erases the boundary between (written) translation and interpreting as shown in Chapter 3, whereas the concept and practice of e.g. transcreation defies classification as either literary or non-literary translation as discussed in Chapter 9. New research insights tend to blur distinctions in similar ways as shown by the studies reported in, for example, chapters 7 and 10. As a third trend, the contributions to the book bear ample testimony to scholarly attempts at bridging gaps and *crossing boundaries*. Chapters 8 and 12 are thus concerned with the (assumed) divide between academia and practice, whereas several chapters, notably Chapter 11, reach out to adjacent scholarly disciplines. A pattern that deserves to be mentioned too, though not a movement per se, is so pervasive that it goes almost unnoticed: technology is everywhere. As a cross-cutting force of change, technologisation and, with it, digitalisation has altered translation as a practice and object of study; it has brought about new names and concepts, and it has changed the methods through which translation is being studied. In the concluding chapter, 'Moving boundaries in translation studies: insights and prospects', the editors – Helle V. Dam, Matilde Nisbeth Brøgger and Karen Korning Zethsen – discuss the key movements identified throughout the book and their implications for the discipline of TS.

1

MOVING CONCEPTUAL BOUNDARIES: SO WHAT?

Andrew Chesterman

Introduction

Moving conceptual boundaries means conceptual innovation. One aspect of conceptual innovation is the way we can divide up 'stuff' differently, to form and name new categories. A category collects bits of stuff that seem similar enough in given respects to count as one group, for a given purpose, so that we can generalise, overlooking less relevant differences within the group (see Ellis 1993). Creating new categories may have empirical consequences. Indeed, if there seem to be no such consequences, one wonders whether the conceptual innovation has any added value.

Another aspect of conceptual innovation is the way it can exploit a different kind of similarity, having to do with metaphorical associations between different phenomena which belong to different categories. We can see something *as* something else, as when we see translation *as* performance, or bridge-building, or whatever. There is obvious overlap between these two aspects of conceptual innovation, but I will discuss them separately here, for clarity of presentation.

I start by exploring the first kind of innovation, and suggest four ways in which it works, with some illustrative examples from translation studies (TS).

Creating new categories

Platypus concepts

'Platypus concepts' is my name for the kind of new concept that is proposed when a new empirical phenomenon is confronted. When the platypus was first discovered, zoologists apparently could not place it within any existing species category, so had to invent a new one, and a new name. 'Platypus' means 'flat-footed'. The Latin scientific name became *Ornithorhyncus anatinus*, which means 'duck-like bird-snout'.

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Hence the animal's current English name 'duck-billed platypus'. Here are some illustrative recent examples of such concepts in TS, randomly collected from work that has come my way recently.

'Ad-hocracies': the term refers to temporary groups or associations of amateur translators or 'citizen translators' working online (Pérez-González 2014). I applaud the neat term, for a genuinely new phenomenon, but I wonder if its potential sense is too broad, covering more than just translators. (We shall return to this general terminological issue of the relative usefulness of broad vs narrow concepts below.)

'Fansubbing': this has become a useful new coinage for a new practice – non-professional subtitling done by fans of the film or TV programme in question – that can be studied as a particular type of translation.

'Scanlation' (also scanslation): this is defined as "the scanning, translation, and editing of comics from a language into another language. Scanlation is done as amateur work and is nearly always done without express permission from the copyright holder" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scanlation.) The texts in question are mainly Japanese comics (manga) or Chinese comics (manhua). This term also seems to be justified, for another translation type corresponding to a new practice.

'Transfiction': this is not a new practice, but a new term for grouping (i.e. lumping together – see below) a variety of translational phenomena into a single category as a research topic. Transfiction means the fictional, imagined representation of translators and interpreters and their practice, e.g. in novels or films. (See Kaindl and Spitzl 2014.) Surely a useful term, and transparent enough in English after the first mention.

'Translanguaging': this term (itself a translation from Welsh) derives from work on bilingual education in Wales, and has come to cover the practical and pedagogical use of two or more languages in the same context. (See e.g. Lewis et al. 2012.) It is obviously related to notions such as code-switching and passive bilingualism, but the idea also recalls the older sociolinguistic concept of a community's linguistic (or verbal) repertoire (Gumperz 1964), which can include items from more than one dialect or language. The scope of the translanguaging concept extends into the cognitive domain of individuals. The term, with the conceptualisation behind it, seems to have become well rooted, so it evidently serves its purpose.

'Translatorship': the coinage (Paloposki 2016) refers to a translator's social role, not the psychological habitus but the occupational profile. For instance, historically many Finnish translators have been teachers, writers, or priests. However, there is a problem here: the term 'multiple translatorship' was earlier coined by Jansen and Wegener (2013) with a different sense: to refer to the various agents that may be involved in producing and mediating translated literature. Outi Paloposki, who was aware of this earlier usage, has suggested to me (personal communication) that we might need a way of describing the status of words that seem to be on their way to becoming stabilised as 'terms' – degrees of 'termness', from vague and varied to more fixed. The term 'translatorship' does not yet seem to have reached stable 'termness', as two different senses are current. Terms with clearly different senses do not make for good terminology. Recall the problem of the two different senses of

'adequacy' in TS. One is Toury's sense, "adherence to source norms", as opposed to acceptability, defined as "subscription to norms originating in the target culture" (Toury 1995: 56–7). The other is the skopos-theory sense, "adequate to the skopos" (Reiß and Vermeer 1984: 139) or "adequate to the brief" (Nord 1997: 35).

'Translation space': the term comes originally from work by Michael Cronin (2006: 68) and Sherry Simon (2012), but again meanings slightly vary in the usage of different scholars. Cronin wrote of public space in migrant societies as translation space (note: here the term is used as a mass noun), where all kinds of translation-related activities are going on. Kaisa Koskinen (2014) has studied a whole city as a translation space (note: a count noun). Pekka Kujamäki's use of the term (in Kujamäki and Footit 2016) in his research on wartime interpreting is slightly different again: here, the term designates an area where at first sight there is no evidence of translation, but we infer there must be, so let us look more closely. The term is clearly trending: there is a new journal called *Translation Spaces*, which expands the meaning of this term to include cognitive research and other disciplines too (see https://benjamins.com/catalog/ts > Catalog > Journals & Yearbooks > TS). It has evidently become a very productive concept, despite a not-yet-quite-fixed meaning. For a recent study, see Probirskaja (2017), where the space concerned is the train between Helsinki and St. Petersburg.

'Word translation entropy': this is, roughly, the probability of a given target-language item being selected by a given set of translators for a given source-text item; i.e. it is a measure of predictability (and thus variation). Translation entropy is assumed to increase when the number of translators of a given item increases, and it also depends on the kind of item in question. My source for this useful concept and its term is Carl et al. (2016: see sections 2.4.7 and 10.2).

Splitter concepts

In this and the following section, I look at two more ways of creating new conceptual categories: splitting and lumping. In lexicography, a splitter is someone who likes to divide related concepts into different entries, whereas a lumper prefers to group them under a single entry (for the background, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lumpers_and_splitters). Splitters focus on differences, lumpers on similarities. Lovelock's hypothesis that we can conceptualise our planet as a single organism, Gaia, is a classic example of an influential lumping concept (see e.g. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaia_hypothesis). Splitting is illustrated by the fate of Pluto, which used to be classified as a planet, but has now been demoted to dwarf status, as the 'planet' concept was split (in 2006) into planets proper, dwarf planets, and minor planets. This was decided by an institution, the International Astronomical Union, which was deemed to have the authority to do so. There is no such internationally recognised authority in TS, so our literature is full of proposals and debates about lumping and splitting, and how they might affect taxonomies. It is striking, for instance, that we have no generally agreed taxonomy of translation types, or translation solution types, although many have been proposed. (For a critical survey of some of these latter

proposals, see Gambier 2008.) And we do not even have a generally agreed definition of translation itself!

TS has a long tradition of binary splits, from Cicero via Schleiermacher to Venuti and many others. It is worth noting that a binary distinction between X and Y does not necessarily mean that both X and Y are natural kinds. One, or both, might be a heterogeneous mix – this latter is usually the case in TS. I argue, however, that the key issue here is the importance of weighing up the pros and cons of being able to make generalisations, claims, hypotheses at different levels of generality, or scope. This is a question of selecting the best conceptual tool for a given methodological purpose, not of formulating something factual about empirical reality. Some examples follow.

'Interpretive use vs descriptive use' (see Gutt 1990: 146–9, 1991): this split distinguishes two kinds of language use. First, an utterance may aim to *interpret* another utterance, where the point is to interpretively resemble another utterance, as in reported speech or in translation 'proper'. And second, an utterance, in another language, may aim to *describe* the same state of affairs already described in the first utterance. The former type, for Gutt, defines translation proper, while the latter type, comprising all kinds of multilingual descriptions, is excluded from this category, and thus from Gutt's concept of translation. One problem with this split is that it excludes a great deal of what many translators actually do. Compare e.g. the skopos approach, which is a lumper one. House's (1981) distinction between a *translation* and a *version* (where the target text is culturally adapted, filtered) is a similar splitter concept, and one not accepted by all scholars for the same reason that Gutt's split has been criticised: it reduces the range of what can then be called a translation. But under what circumstances might the benefit of such a split outweigh its disadvantages? It depends on the research question.

'Cislation vs translation': cislation is Igor Grbić's term (2011) for taking the reader into the source culture.

> I would retain the term translation and take its literal meaning of "carrying over" as denoting carrying the text to the other side, thither, to the reader of the translation and his particular world [. . .] By using the opposite Latin prefix I suggest the term cislation, meaning carrying the reader – not the text – hither, cis, into the world inhabited by the particular work in question.
>
> *(Grbić 2011: 3)*

This interpretation thus places the cislating agent in the source culture, not the target culture. However, the same term has also been recently proposed by another scholar, with a totally different meaning (a difference much more significant than the one mentioned above concerning translatorship). This second proposal has to do with the ongoing argument about intralingual translation (see e.g. Zethsen 2009). Brian Mossop (2016) suggests that

> [i]ntralingual rewording should be called something else [i.e. not translation], and I suggest *cislation: cis* is a Latin preposition meaning 'on this side, on the

> near side', as opposed to *trans*, one meaning of which is 'on the far side'. So *translation* is carrying a message to the far side of a language border, whereas *cislation* is carrying a message to a new place while staying on "this side" of the border.
>
> *(Mossop 2016: 2)*

Both proposals about cislation thus reduce the scope of the term 'translation'. But, as always, we need to weigh up the pros and cons of when a split here would be more useful than a lumping. When would differences between intralingual and interlingual translation be more relevant to a research project than their similarities (apart from the obvious case where the research question is indeed to investigate what differences there might be)? Compare Jakobson's (1959) tripartite distinction, with its much-discussed, rather ambiguous implications: was Jakobson at heart a splitter, implicitly separating 'translation proper' from intralingual rewording and intersemiotic transmutation, or a lumper, including all his three types under one wide concept?

The debate on 'intralingual translation' illustrates some of the ways in which conceptual argument is carried on. Splitters like to point out significant differences between interlingual and intralingual translation, while lumpers prefer to highlight significant similarities or family resemblances. Splitters may give examples of possible 'borderline cases', and appeal is made to preferred interpretations of other relevant concepts, such as 'lingua', in this case, or the invariance-oriented activity that Mossop calls "equivalencing" (Mossop 2016: 7–11). Splitters would do well to list the significant research questions or hypotheses or generalisations that could be best formulated in terms of a split concept, and lumpers likewise for a more general concept. The question is thus not which definition is correct, but: *for what purposes* might a splitter or lumper definition be useful?

'*Übersetzung* vs *Bearbeitung*': this distinction between two main activities performed by translators derives from Schreiber (1993), and has been followed up by others, including Mossop (2016). It separates invariance-oriented activities from variance-oriented ones (*Bearbeitung*, transediting). This conceptual split certainly suggests many interesting research questions concerning the different time distributions of these two activities in the case of different text types, translator types, etc. In Schreiber's original terminology, it is perhaps unfortunate that one of the two forms of work is given the term *Übersetzung*, which, as we have seen in other cases above, limits the scope of this very general term.

'Stable vs unstable source texts': Many scholars have deconstructed the notion of a single translator as a universal characteristic, splitting it into a set of different agents who may all contribute to a final translation: not just editors and terminologists and revisers, but also teams and groups of translators. The idea of a single source text has similarly been widely criticised as being far from universally applicable. Hernández Guerrero (2009: 43–6) proposed a split between stable and unstable source texts that seems to be useful, although there is surely a fuzzy border between the two. Unstable source texts are e.g. medieval manuscripts, some kinds of modern news articles (as opposed to editorials, which are more stable), and online texts that are

constantly updated. Stable texts were originally associated with the advent of printing. Unstable texts may be more liable to be transedited (Valdeón 2015: 442) – an example of a split having empirically testable consequences.

Beyond binary splits, of course, we get more complex taxonomies, with more distinctions and more categories and subcategories. One asks again: for what purpose is a given subcategory proposed? The further down one goes into a taxonomy, the more important such a pragmatic justification seems to become.

Lumper concepts

When might a lumper concept be more useful than a splitter one? If you are interested in higher-level generalisations, you go for lumpers. If you are more interested in lower-level particularities, you prefer splitters. One manifestation of this difference is seen in the arguments one sometimes sees between those who prefer a wide definition of some term and those who prefer a narrower definition. Style, for instance, can be taken narrowly as meaning the linguistic fingerprint of an individual writer, or widely in terms of the whole set of linguistic/poetic norms and conventions prevalent at a given time and place. Here are some TS examples.

'*Translationswissenschaft*': this useful term was suggested by Kade (1968), to combine *Übersetzen* and *Dolmetschen*, and has become widely adopted in German-speaking publications. In English, some scholars (e.g. Gile 2009) have distinguished between *translation* and *Translation* with a capital letter, where the latter includes interpreting.

'Constrained communication'. This term comes from Lanstyák and Heltai (2012): in the context of investigating so-called universals of translation, they set up a category that is more general than translation, including all kinds of bilingual communication. Their claim is that many tendencies found in translation are also found in other kinds of what they called constrained communication (e.g. constrained by the level of the speaker's second-language competence). A similar argument is found in Ulrych's work (e.g. 2009) on 'mediated discourse', another category that includes more than just translation.

'Sway': this is the term used by Robinson (2011) to denote all kinds of collective influence that affect a translator's decisions, such as norms, ideology, habits, prevailing narratives, and the like. I am not sure whether having such a general cover-term really helps us to analyse the various causes of translator decisions; we shall see in time, whether the terminological suggestion catches on.

'Voice': some scholars have recently begun to give this term a new superordinate meaning, to include several different senses, both textual (such as heteroglossia, as in Bakhtin 1981) and contextual (such as the voices of different translation agents, e.g. as seen in paratexts, interviews etc.). Will this merging of senses bring new generalisations, concerning e.g. identity and power? For some evidence, see e.g. Alvstad (2013), and Taivalkoski-Shilov and Suchet (2013).

'Translation' itself is of course a quintessential lumper concept, covering an ever-expanding range of activities, like the increasingly fragmented interdiscipline of

'Translation Studies'. Both terms serve to maintain institutions and thus fulfil social and cultural purposes. However, there have also been major proposals that the whole field of TS should be lumped under some more general discipline such as communication studies (Gutt 1991) or, more recently, systemic studies (Marais 2014: see Halverson 2015). Such lumpings may indeed be valuable for certain research questions, but for others it makes more sense to use more specific concepts. The value of exploring more general conceptualisations of translation is illustrated by Ella Vihelmaa's work on the translation of birdsong, i.e. on how birdsong is described in language. She wants to extend the notion of translation even further than Jakobson's intersemiotic type, to include interspecies translation as well. This extension is not to be taken metaphorically, like the use of 'translation' in biology etc. Vihelmaa demonstrates how current TS concepts can bring a deeper understanding of human responses to birdsong, and to the natural environment in general. So far at least, no new term has been proposed for this "traduction en sens large" (she works in French and Finnish: see Vihelmaa 2015 for an online article on the topic in Finnish, but with many references to work in other languages).

Rebranding concepts

Here we are dealing with cases where a new term is given to an existing concept. Such rebranding is often initiated by industry, not academia. Rebranding does not necessarily alter the conceptual map as such (if the concept itself remains the same), but it does usually change connotations, associations, and attitudes, and the balance of power, and can have economic consequences too. But the conceptual map itself may also be changed, as when a new hierarchical classification of a family of related concepts is proposed. Recall, for instance, the rebranding of TS that took place in the 1970s, when it shifted (or more accurately: was shifted, deliberately) from being seen as a discipline to promoting itself as an interdiscipline. Not all attempts to rebrand the field are successful. For instance, Holz-Mänttäri (1984) proposed new terms for key translation concepts (such as *Botschaftsträger* 'message-carrier' instead of *Text* 'translator'), but they never really caught on, although her general functional approach was highly influential.

'Localisation' is a classic example of rebranding, and shows how the notion of translation can be downgraded to a small corner of a rebranded larger practice, in order to highlight something presented as radically new, for commercial reasons. Is localisation a small part of translation, or is translation a small part of localisation? It largely depends on where you come from: see Pym (2004) for an extended discussion.

'Transcreation' is another example of evidently quite successful rebranding. The term refers to marketing and website translation, often multimodal, and has begun to make its way from the industry into academia. In a special issue of *Cultus* on the topic of transcreation, Munday writes:

> the New York-based company Transcreation Services, for instance, claims that the distinction of transcreation lies in "capturing the desired persuasive or

> emotive effect" of the source text and is "usually" (but not exclusively) used for the translation of advertising, marketing material, and the like.
>
> *(Gambier and Munday 2014: 20)*

This view thus makes "capturing the desired persuasive or emotive effect" an extra service, beyond translation proper, to be paid for as something extra. But very few TS scholars, I imagine, would agree that achieving an appropriate effect is something outside translation proper! The case of transcreation certainly shows something about clients' perceptions of how limited 'translation' is. Among other things, 'transcreation' unfortunately also implies that ordinary translators do not need to be creative. On the positive side, one translator informed me not long ago that when she had a job that could be billed as 'transcreation' she could triple the price! So the term evidently has its uses.

'Universals' can be seen as another example of rebranding – in this case, the rebranding of the basic notion of a (widespread) tendency. This term became particularly popular after an influential paper by Mona Baker (1993), and was perhaps selected in order to exploit associations with the more established concepts of linguistic universals, or behavioural universals in anthropology. But the term is actually rather misleading. Calling features (hypothetically) universal meant that hypotheses risked being interpreted as applying literally to all translations, so they could be proved false by even a single example of counter-evidence. Formulations in terms of general *tendencies* of course need an explicit definition of what counts as a tendency, if they are to be falsifiable.

An interesting case illustrating how the term 'translation' itself can serve to rebrand something else is to be found in the work of sociologists of the Scandinavian institutionalist school, who have started to drop the phrase "diffusion of ideas" and replace it by "translation of ideas" (see e.g. Bromley and Suárez 2015). In this way, they choose to stress the way that ideas change as they move from one place to another. So for these sociologists, the essence of 'translation' is not that something remains invariant but that something changes, adapting to new circumstances.

The hermeneutic *as*

I now briefly consider a second aspect of conceptual innovation, which has to do with the exploitation of new metaphors and comparisons. All purely conceptual innovation, including the examples discussed above, has to do with interpretive hypotheses, not empirical ones. These are based on the *hermeneutic 'as'* (or one of its many variants, such as 'in terms of'). The term comes originally from Heidegger (e.g. 1962: 186f), but the idea itself is ancient. In order to understand something new or complex, we typically try to see it *as* something more familiar. The hermeneutic *as* underlies all our definitions, classifications, and metaphors. They have the form: X can be usefully interpreted *as* Y. Empirical hypotheses can be falsified if the evidence goes against them. Interpretive hypotheses, on the other hand, are assessed in terms of their usefulness, not in terms of truth. If I say that I see translations as

bananas, you cannot prove that this is false, that I do not see them in this way. My interpretation remains possible at least for me. (For further discussion, see Chesterman 2008, and especially Føllesdal 1979.) When testing an interpretive hypothesis we ask: what is the use of it? What testable generalisations does it allow one to make? What new research questions might it facilitate? What consequences does it lead to (especially: what empirical consequences)? How does it compare with competing hypotheses? How strong are the arguments in favour, compared to those against? How might it change our way of thinking? What problem might it help to solve? (True, my bananas interpretation does not do well on such tests . . .)

Those aiming at conceptual innovation in TS sometimes propose a new *as*, but without really assessing its value and testing it pragmatically. So we have ever more translation metaphors, for instance. Some of these are very deeply ingrained in the TS community, such as seeing translation as transfer, i.e. as a kind of movement. But using this metaphor carries a cost in terms of problematic assumptions: for instance, the translation process does not actually *move* texts from A to B, but derives an additional, new text from a source, and the source usually remains where it was. (For a recent version of this argument, see e.g. Hill-Madsen and Zethsen 2016; and for a useful discussion of some of the consequences of working with a given translation metaphor – in this case, metaphors of transfer and performance – see Cheetham 2016.) A good example of how different definitions of translation can be critically assessed can be found in Pym (2007). Several other fields have chosen to see other phenomena *as* translation – examples can be found in Actor Network Theory, in biology and in chemistry, for instance. (See Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016.)

Some of this "seeing as" has to do with seeing a continuum as a set of discrete categories. Richard Dawkins (2004: 232), discussing the impossibility of drawing clear borders in palaeontology, laments what he calls "the tyranny of the discontinuous mind": our inbuilt tendency to think in terms of discrete entities rather than continua. In geology, for instance, there is currently a debate about whether or not we should say we are now living in an Anthropocene period, a terminological choice that would highlight the effects that human life and technology are having on the planet's climate, and thus perhaps help to shape human attitudes and behaviour. Even if there is a majority among geologists in favour of this innovation, there are still disagreements about when this new period can be said to have started. In TS, one good example of seeing a continuum *as* discrete chunks is to be found in Lance Hewson's work (2011) on translation criticism. Here, after going through a detailed analysis of a number of English translations of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and French ones of Jane Austin's *Emma*, Hewson places each translation in one of four categories based on the degree of difference-of-interpretational-effect compared to the original. He finds four to be a useful number of categories for this purpose, and indeed, why not? It allows a reasonable grouping of similarities and differences which sheds some light on the profiles of the different translations, and works well enough. However, he is well aware that the categories he positions along the continuum are not empirical facts, not natural categories, but interpretive, conceptual tools.

Risky rhetoric

Sometimes the rhetoric of an argument that sets out to make an innovative claim risks misleading readers about the status of the claim in question. For instance, a writer may present a conceptual claim in such a way that the reader may take it as an empirical one, in other words not as an interpretive opinion but as a factual truth. This misreading may come about only because the writer is using a kind of shorthand. For instance, the statement "there are two kinds of translation, A and B" is ultimately an interpretive hypothesis meaning "I think it is useful, for a given purpose, to see translations as falling into two types, for this allows us to analyse certain data in a meaningful way and to make significant generalisations." It is not the case that these are the only two types that are ever recognised or relevant for any purpose, as universally accepted facts.

A misreading of this kind can also arise via the inappropriate use of factive verbs. These are verbs, in any language, whose meaning carries the shared assumption that a statement governed by such a verb is a true fact. English examples of such verbs are *prove*, *show*, *point out*. "He pointed out that the Earth is round" states a well-known fact; but "he pointed out that the Earth is flat" sounds very strange today, ungrammatical even, because we know that this is not a fact. Non-factive verbs (such as English *suggest*, *argue*, *claim*) do not carry the assumption of being factually true, and so they allow disagreement. "He claimed that the Earth is flat" is a grammatically acceptable utterance, although we may doubt the sanity of the person referred to, as we retort ". . . but it isn't". All the examples in this section are in English, but I should underline that my point about this kind of risky rhetoric is by no means language-specific.

Consider this example, from a recent article in *Target*, which I will anonymise: "NN *points out* that concepts are essentially 'theories about ontology'" (emphasis added). But is this a fact, about what concepts are? Or rather an (interesting) interpretation concerning how we might consider them? Or a suggestion about categorising concepts under some more general term ('theories')? Or an assumption about a standard definition (despite that slippery 'essentially')? There are obviously many questions about interpretations of reality that can be discussed, but they are conceptual, philosophical, or metaphysical arguments rather than empirical facts or standard definitions. This leads on to my next point.

Another risk of using loose rhetoric is to use a stipulative definition as if it were a lexical one. (For a detailed discussion of kinds of definition, also on the question of factual vs value-laden language, see Cattrysse 2014.) A stipulative definition is one that is not (or at least not yet) a dictionary or terminological standard, but one proposed by a given scholar or group as a working definition, useful for a given purpose at a given time, or indeed one proposed by a particular group for ideological reasons. In other words, such a definition is an interpretation that has pragmatic implications only for those that accept the interpretation. And here lies the problem: what happens if the interpretation is not accepted by everyone concerned? For those who prefer other interpretations, other definitions, no pragmatic

consequences follow. Consider the current terrible situation in Syria: the various military policies involved depend on who is defined as a terrorist group, and there is more than one interpretation available. In TS, the sentence "translation is X" could easily be taken as a lexical definition, but this would be misleading if it is really intended as a stipulative one, to be glossed as "I define translation as X, for present purposes (because . . .)".

Readers may also be misled by descriptive statements that have the form of a definition but are not intended to be definitions at all. I was once criticised by a colleague for writing "Translation is something that people do with words." This is a totally inadequate definition, much too broad, I was told. But it was not intended as a definition but a partial description, in fact a categorisation: translation can be placed in the general class of things that people do with words (and in many other classes too, of course).

In now mentioning a few more examples of such risky rhetoric I will keep the authors anonymous, as some are from unpublished work which I have seen as a referee, and I will mostly paraphrase rather than quote directly. My first example comes from a student who once emailed me, after reading my book about translation memes, asking whether I had *found* any new supermemes recently. She had presumably read my discussion of memes as if I had been presenting empirical discoveries rather than proposing hopefully useful metaphors (i.e. seeing ideas as memes and supermemes).

An author regrets that some scholars "still resist" the post-structuralist view of meaning as something negotiated and interpreted rather than transferred – rather as if those who thus "resist" are comparable to the deluded souls who still resist the idea that the Earth is round. But the post-structuralist view is an opinion, not a factual, empirical truth, and as an opinion one can legitimately disagree with it. Another scholar might hold to a transfer view of meaning, at least in certain contexts, and for justifiable reasons. Yet another might argue that there are different kinds of meaning, some needing more interpretation and negotiation than others. One can weigh up the evidence in favour of one or another view, to be applied in a particular context for a particular purpose.

Someone else writes that we can *only* make sense of the world by construing it as narrative. But again, this is an opinion, not an empirical fact that is, or ought to be, universally accepted. Suppose someone is quite content to make sense of the world by construing it as a structure or a pattern? As in the previous example, there is an uncomfortable implication here that the writer believes his own opinion to be the only correct one. But any hermeneutic *as* expresses a *view*, one possible way of seeing something.

A scholar appeals to a particular philosophy of language in support of a particular position, and argues that because of this philosophy, it follows that certain things should be done. But a philosophy, as an interpretive, conceptual structure, can only entail empirical consequences for those who accept this view (cf. the terrorist example above). The consequences are contingent on the degree of acceptance of the view in question. The writer's task, therefore, is to persuade readers that the view in question is reasonable and well justified, and better than alternatives.

A skopos critic argues that the skopos "should not" be seen as essential in the translation process. But when we are dealing with interpretations, the use of 'should' is misleading. Anyone can, after all, see anything as anything, if they find it useful.

Summing up

Conceptual innovation means proposing new interpretive hypotheses. These need to be critically assessed, pragmatically: their actual or potential usefulness needs to be demonstrated, so that their added value as conceptual research tools is made clear. What kinds of generalisations, hypotheses, or definitions would a proposed innovation enable? At what cost? What kinds of new research questions would it allow? What kinds of similarities or distinctions would we become more aware of? What problems would it help us to solve? How would the widespread adoption of the innovation affect the field's existing conceptual map? If the new proposal gains general acceptance, what social or economic consequences might there be? What losses?

And: let us write more carefully, avoiding risky rhetoric which may convey the impression that our conceptual tools are empirical facts. Our texts may contain many a hidden *as*, many interpretations that need to be more carefully justified. It is not only other people's texts that we need to read more critically, but also our own.

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2

LOCALISATION RESEARCH IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

Expanding the limits or blurring the lines?

Miguel A. Jiménez-Crespo

Introduction

The digital revolution has had a profound impact on translation practices and, by extension, on translation studies (TS). As the discipline of TS came of age, the world was moving to a digital paradigm. A number of technological landmarks such as the emergence of the Internet in the 1970s, personal computing in the 1980s, the World Wide Web in the 1990s, and social networking in the 2000s led to a wide range of novel technologies that attracted the attention of TS scholars. Over the years, the discipline has slowly integrated these phenomena along with imported and home-grown theories, approaches, and methodologies, reflecting its interdisciplinary nature (Snell-Hornby et al. 1994). The integration and impact of technologies in TS led to the "technological turn" (Cronin 2010; O'Hagan 2013):

> [T]ranslation theories [began] to incorporate the increasingly evident impact of technology, in turn providing a relevant theoretical framework to language and translation technology researchers.
>
> *(O'Hagan 2013: 513)*

This chapter broadly deals with how the new digital textual forms that emerged since the 1980s and their translation processes may have contributed to broadening the remit of TS, pushing the boundaries of pre-digital understandings of what is meant by translation. More specifically, it deals with 'localisation', a complex, technological, textual, communicative, and cognitive process by which source interactive digital texts (i.e. software, websites, and video games) undergo modifications so that they may be used in linguistic and sociocultural contexts other than those of production (Jiménez-Crespo 2013). Localisation is an invisible part of modern life in non-English speaking contexts with vast amounts of digital texts being produced,

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distributed, and accessed by end users via computers, smartphones, gaming consoles, or tablets. Nowadays, 'localisation' encompasses two distinct conceptualisations in TS: (1) translational processes associated with digital texts such as software (Dunne 2006; Roturier 2015), web (Jiménez-Crespo 2013), video games (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013), or smartphone app localisation (Serón-Ordoñez 2017), and (2) theorisations that have adopted theoretical localisation models to the study of non-digital texts in TS, such as the news (Bielsa and Bassnet 2008), advertising (Declercq 2011), or comic books (Zanettin 2008). In this sense, localisation can be considered an 'umbrella term', using the terminology of Vandepitte (2008) in her ontology of TS. The main question that this chapter addresses is the following: has the irruption of localisation processes and associated research redefined, blurred, or broadened the notion of translation within TS in the process of incorporating these phenomena, or have the peculiarities of this process and its distinct interdisciplinary connections led to a consolidation of 'localisation studies' as a distinct (sub)discipline with specific theoretical models and associated research (Jiménez-Crespo 2013; Munday 2016)?

To address this question, the chapter is structured as follows: it first discusses the evolution of localisation in the industry and how TS started to incorporate this phenomenon. This serves as an introduction to the dynamic, rapidly evolving nature of localisation in business contexts and TS. It then reviews the evolution of definition(s) of localisation. This section argues that centrifugal forces behind the interdisciplinary nature of TS and the lack of an agreed definition of translation (Halverson 2010; Hermans 2013) have meant that theories of localisation are often fuzzy and focus on specific components or issues that are supposedly not part of translation proper. It follows this by exploring whether the proposed 'localisation studies' within the discipline has, or ever will, become a reality. The chapter then proceeds to discuss border-crossing within and outside the discipline, helping to bring clarity to the "unresolved conceptual boundary" between 'localisation', 'translation' (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 327), and other notions such as 'screen translation' in audiovisual translation studies (AVT) (Gambier 2003, 2014).

The emergence of localisation and related TS theorisations

Localisation can historically be considered a result of the ongoing digital revolution that started in the second half of the 20th century, has expanded the global reach of digital texts via digital networks, and enabled all sorts of digital communication exchanges across sociocultural and sociolinguistic communities. It represents a "lucrative, dynamic and interprofessional field, often involving marketing, design, software engineering, as well as linguistic processes" (Pym and Windle 2011: 410). As an industry phenomenon, it dates back to the emergence of personal computing and software in the late 1970s and early 1980s. After early successes in the US market, many US computing companies set out to extend the use of personal computing to international users who did not possess programming skills (Esselink 2006). Japan and the so-called FIGS countries (France, Italy, Germany, and Spain) were the initial targets, so localisation flows primarily started from English into these other

languages. Soon, the emergence of video games, and later the WWW, started to change that trend, with localisations flowing in different directions: for example, Japanese video games were localised into English and websites started to be localised into the lingua franca, English. National and linguistic borders did not hinder digital texts from reaching international audiences. The term 'localisation' itself emerged from one of the most useful notions that the industry provided to TS, that of 'locale' which is defined as the combination of sociocultural region and language in industrial settings for production and marketing purposes (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 12). Locale, then, can include any information tied to a particular geographical region including cultural, legal, ethical, technical (i.e. keyboard layout), representational, ideological, and political elements (Pym 2004). While theorisations of translation often revolved around languages, industry experts needed a more geographically delimited construct related to *markets* rather than languages, hence the adoption of the term 'localisation'. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that localisation was already used in TS to denote extreme domestication or translocation of theatre plays.

The initial epistemological and conceptual confusion between 'localisation' and 'translation' can be traced back to how programmers initially approached this process. Once a software product or video game was completed, developers would attempt to incorporate translation as an afterthought. Developers and business managers reductively conceptualised translation as a straightforward linguistic process to handle textual strings extracted from computer coding (Dunne 2006; Dunne 2014; Jiménez-Crespo 2013). Translation, which they considered a simple process of linguistic equivalence, was just a discrete stage or secondary step in the global development chain. Once these translations were completed, developers would attempt to reintegrate them in software or other digital products. All interested parties, business partners, developers, localisation managers, and translators soon discovered that separating the development from the translation stage was impractical for a wide variety of reasons. For example, translated segments were often often longer than source texts and could not be fitted into the spaces allotted to them; frequently, textual strings would include code (the so-called 'hard coded strings')[1] that could not be translated when target locales required specific number, gender or declination agreements, and dealing with these types of textual strings required, among other things, a basic understanding of programming. With time, realisation that localisation had to be collaboratively conceived from the start of the development cycle resulted in what is now known as the globalisation, internationalisation, localisation, and translation (GILT) process (Dunne 2006; Jiménez-Crespo 2013). Globalisation refers to general adaptations of business organisations to face the challenges posed by software localisation into multiple languages effectively. Similarly, internationalisation refers to changes in software or product development processes to facilitate subsequent localisation processes (ibid.). Localisation in this model is broadly perceived as a process that includes not only translation of textual strings, but also engineering and product testing. Translation is subsequently conceptualised primarily as a linguistic equivalence process, and this set of interrelated stages

constitutes the industry notion of GILT. In this global cycle, developers, managers, localisation engineers, and the so-called 'localisers' or 'localisation specialists' and-or translators actively collaborate to ensure the global localisation process, normally working side by side (Gouadec 2007). This overlapping circular set of processes thus gave rise to the industry notion that localisation represents a process in which translation is generally a less complex stage than other technology-oriented tasks or processes.

These initial developments led to the development of the pervasive 'translation plus' model (Jiménez-Crespo 2013) to conceptualise localisation that has permeated both industry and scholarly publications. In this model, translation is reductively understood as processing textual chunks or isolated textual segments, hence the focus on language and texts (Pym 2004), while localisation involves a more complex set of processes beyond the linguistic-oriented prototype of 'translation'. These additional components involve aspects such as adaptation, collaboration, multimodality, and user-centred features related to geographical or cultural aspects. The *addition* of these components to the translation stage initiated the lasting debate on whether they were exclusive to localisation, or whether they were new names for age-old practices included as part of any regular translation process. For example, if translation has historically been [. . .] "a collaborative act" (St. André 2010: 72), has collaboration between multiple agents in localisation (i.e. Gouadec 2007: 266–7) made it a distinctive process? The answer to whether localisation has been the first process to include collaboration is a resounding *no*, since typesetters, graphic designers, and editors have always collaborated to produce a final target text.

At this early stage, industry-based publications started to drive the discourse on localisation from both software development/programming and economic perspectives. These views were often amplified by descriptive publications by industry experts that started to establish the groundwork for initial approaches in TS (i.e. Dunne 2006; Esselink 2000; Reineke 2005a, 2005b). They adopted what can be referred to as a 'techno-centric' view of localisation (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 101). The first publications that addressed the integration of localisation in the discipline came from AVT. Localisation was incorporated within research into novel notions such as 'screen translation', 'multimodal translation', or 'multimedia translation' (Gambier and Gottlieb 2004; Hurtado 2000). In this context, localisation was also included as a case of 'constrained' or 'subordinate' translation (Mayoral 1997), two synonymous notions that attempted to encompass translation types restricted by screen or graphic formatting, such as localisation, AVT, and multimedia translation.

Theoretical research in TS started to emerge in the late 1990s and included articles in the main research areas of software localisation, as well as publications that attempted to delimit and define this object of study (Arevalillo 2000; Parra 1999). Esselink published his seminal book on software localisation from an industry perspective (2000), while the first theoretical monograph on localisation was Pym's (2004) *The Moving Text: Localisation, Translation and Distribution*. This was followed by others, such as edited collections on localisation in Spanish (Reineke 2005a), German (Reineke 2005b) and English (Dunne 2006). The first journal to publish

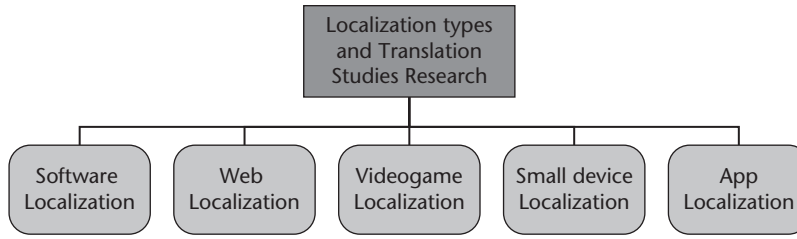

FIGURE 2.1 Different areas of research in localisation studies

Source: Adapted from Jiménez-Crespo (2011: 4).

an issue on localisation in 2002 was *Tradumática*, edited by the research group by the same name at the Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona. This issue included articles on software, web, and video game localisation, as well as general articles on internationalisation and localisation management. Soon, other issues on video game (2007), web (2010) and app localisation (2017) followed, reflecting the consolidation of these areas within localisation in the industry and the discipline. Industry practices and products as well as bibliometric analyses and university courses confirm the consolidation of the localisation types that types shown in Figure 2.1 that Jiménez-Crespo (2011: 4) proposed, such as software localisation (Esselink 2000; Pym 2004), web localisation (Jiménez-Crespo 2013), video game localisation (Bernal-Merino 2015; O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013) and smartphone/tablet app localisation (Roturier 2015; Serón-Ordoñez 2017).

Although the umbrella term 'localisation' and the aforementioned areas are firmly consolidated both epistemologically and empirically, definitions are still in flux and offer interesting cases of fuzzy boundaries. The next section reviews the shifting epistemological ground in definitions of localisation and underlying models or definitions of translation.

Defining localisation – or should we first define translation?

Localisation currently represents a consolidated concept in translation studies, as witnessed by the inclusion of entries on localisation in encyclopaedias (Baker and Saldanha 2007) and handbooks of TS (i.e. Malmkjaer and Windle 2011; Millán and Bartrina 2013). Similarly, all comprehensive monographs on translation theory also include it as part of the discipline (Hatim and Munday 2004; Hurtado 2000; Munday 2008, 2016; Pym 2010). It is a consolidated concept in the language service industry, as reflected in associations such as the Globalization and Localization Association (www.gala-global.org/) and the conference series such as Localization World (https://locworld.com/). Nevertheless, if both industry and TS discourses are analysed, to date "the division between translation and localisation is not quite [. . .] clear-cut", as the terms are often used "interchangeably within the industry" (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 104) and even within the discipline of TS. One of the most interesting issues in the definition of localisation is the use of translation

models and paradigms, theoretical and atheoretical alike, to attempt to define it in relation to translation. It follows that the main hurdle that TS researchers encounter when approaching localisation from an epistemological standpoint is the lack of a common definition or model for translation itself (i.e. Halverson 2010; Hermans 2013). Attempting to define localisation without having a consolidated model or agreed definition of translation is thus like jumping into the void without a net.

The debate on the definition of translation(s)

During the first decades of consolidation of TS, debates on the need for an agreed definition of translation were commonplace. Earlier discussions often indicated that delineating the object of study was vital, as agreement on this issue was essential for establishing coherence within the discipline (Halverson 1999). Definitional efforts were intended to bring coherence to what is considered an interdiscipline (Snell-Hornby et al. 1994), consolidated through a generative merging and distillation process where two completely opposing approaches prevail: on the one hand, hermeneutic literary approaches and, on the other hand, the more objectivist and empirical trend present in descriptive TS since the 1980s (Toury 2012). Despite intense attempts to bridge the gap (Chesterman and Arrojo 2000), both approaches still seem to have irreconcilable differences in their points of departure, which has led to a definitional stalemate where both sides seem to agree to disagree. Reflecting this situation, the entry on translation by Halverson (2010) in the *Handbook of Translation Studies* includes at least five definitional perspectives. Halverson indicates that the discipline has moved beyond "the ideal of a definitive Translation to the exploration of multiple Translations" (Halverson 2010: 378). Here, localisation could in principle represent one of those 'translations'. Along similar lines, Hermans indicates that disciplinary efforts to define translation have failed due to "the wide range of phenomena that need to be covered and the difficulty of drawing a distinct line separating translation from what is not or no longer translation" (Hermans 2013: 75).

In addition, the myriad definitions and diverse angles they bring "suggest that translation is a complex thing and that a comprehensive and clear-cut view of it is hard to obtain" (Hermans 2013: 75). This is even truer of localisation, since changes in that area seem to happen at an even faster pace. Two competing models offer conflicting frames of reference. At one extreme (i.e. Chesterman 2009; Hatim and Munday 2004; Hurtado 2000; Pym 2010), 'translation' is considered an umbrella term that includes all of Jacobson's translations and provides a broad approach to what translation as an object of study offers, including what Chesterman refers to as 'translator studies' (2009). Here, translation is understood as a comprehensive phenomenon that not only includes intersemiotic and intralinguistic translation, but also translation management, desktop publishing, translators' ethics, as well as political and ideological issues. On the other hand, some models of localisation (Dunne 2006; Gouadec 2007; LISA 2003; Schäler 2010; Schmitz 2007) consider translation to be reduceable to a part within overall processes, where translation

refers exclusively to actual textual, cognitive, communicative, and linguistic acts, while other stages such as localisation engineering or internationalisation are outside the scope of the notion of 'translation'. The paradox here is that localisation normally includes translation as one stage or step. Meanwhile, in TS, definitions and conceptualisations are unclear about whether translation is an umbrella term that encompasses phenomena like localisation or not. In this context, Remael states:

> It is difficult to predict if the trend towards expanding the concept of translation to encompass this diversification will prevail over the opposite trend, that of introducing new terms (such as localisation, technical communication, and multimedia localisation) that aims to reduce translation to one link within a larger communication chain.
>
> *(Remael 2010: 15)*

Remael further indicates that the decision about future directions is influenced by politico-economic developments and, as industry perspectives tend to drive subsequent scholarly work, what industry experts develop or produce next.

Definitions of localisation in relation to translation(s)

As far as definitions of localisation are concerned, Jiménez-Crespo (2013: 11–9) describes the historical development of conceptualisations and definitions, pointing at the prevalence of industry approaches in publications from industry experts and academics with strong professional ties. The first definitions in TS were directly adopted from proposals in seminal industry publications, such as those released by the now defunct Localisation Industry Standard Association (LISA). This ground-breaking industry association defined localisation as a process that involves "taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language) where it will be used and sold" (LISA 2003: 13). The industry organisation that filled the void left by LISA, the Globalization and Localisation Association (GALA), subsequently defined localisation as a process whose "goal is to provide a product with the look and feel of having been created for the target market to eliminate or minimize local sensitivities" (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 14). These definitional efforts by industry experts were often built upon simplistic, implicit, or explicit models of translation as a generic, simpler, and less complex process. Metaphorical devices were often used in order to define localisation in relation to translation, where the latter is seen as a process focused on *texts, words, or language*. This was done primarily with an eye to justifying the added value (and cost) of web localisation in the industry as a process that was "more sophisticated than translation" (Pym 2004: 25).

As mentioned previously, the most pervasive industry conceptualisation was the 'translation plus' adaptation model, in which localisation supposedly entails the translation of texts with an added level of adaptation, often said to be cultural, technological, or legal. This metaphor can probably be traced back to one of the seminal publications on localisation (Esselink 2000: 1), where localisation was defined as

"the translation and *adaptation* of a software or web product" [own emphasis]. Because the terms 'adaptation' and 'localisation' were frequently used interchangeably in early literature published by industry and TS scholars alike, this meant that boundaries became fuzzier. Pym (2004: 4–5) and Achkasov (2017: 288) indicate that when localisation is broadly understood as adaptation, it covers many different types of working and reworking of texts with cultural domestications, for example, adapations of plays for children or novels for broadcasting: "for the past twenty years or so, translation theory has been accepting ever wider forms of text transformation, without having to call it *localisation*" (Pym 2006: np). This tendency to highlight adaptation has been pervasive in the discipline for over two decades:

> [L]ocalization seems to exceed all other variants of naming linguistic, cultural, social, economic, political, legal, etc. aspects of a product adaptation and is increasingly favored in industry-related research and academia, even in translation studies as a generic concept for all types of complex content modifications.
> *(Achkasov 2017: 289)*

This includes notions such as 'localisation of news' (Bielsa and Bassnet 2008: 66; Clausen 2004; Jukes and Danko 2011), 'localisation of comics' (Zanettin 2008), and 'ontology localisation' (Espinoza et al 2012: 171). Nevertheless, despite early theorists of localisation claiming that those adaptations have been part of TS theories for decades (Quirion 2003), some correctly indicate that some types required by software, video games, or websites are specific and different to print media conceptions. Primarily, scholars such as Quirion (2003) and Pym and Windle (2011) refer to those adaptations in which collaboration with other specialised agents is required such as technical or business ones as follows: "not many notions of translation would include all the technical and marketing decisions that are encompassed by the concept of localisation" (Pym and Windle 2011: 414). Technological adaptations, such as changing the code to fit any target language, are precisely those that did not exist in translation prior to the emergence of localisation.

It came as no surprise that TS scholars, after using 'translation plus adaptation' approaches for a considerable time, started to propose definitions that stressed *distinct* features of localisation with respect to translation. Scholars have argued that linguistic and cultural adaptation stages can, in fact, be separated (Gouadec 2007; Schäler 2010; Schmitz 2007; Wright and Budin 2001). Some definitions stress stages that are not present in *regular* translation processes, such as 'multilingual management' (Schäler 2010), the 'adaptation of icons and graphics' (Dunne 2006), and 'the use of technology'. With a few exceptions (Dunne 2006; Schäler 2010), few definitions highlight tasks or processes that often cannot be completed by translators themselves, such as technological adaptations of programming of websites or software products. Nowadays, the tendency to highlight localisation as distinctively involving adaptation seems to be fading in TS. It should be mentioned, however, that new concepts have emerged to account for adaptation in translation, such as 'transcreation' (Pedersen 2014).

Other scholars in TS have encouraged a distinctive approach informed by translation theory, delving into critical analyses of definitions of localisation (Achkasov 2017; Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 12–9; Pym 2004, 2010). This has, among other things, helped to identify distinct features of localisation that are often not present in prototypical industry or TS theorisation of translation, such as the fact that localisation involves distinctive technological and procedural features related to pre-translation management, text processing, integration of text and encoding, testing, quality analysis (Pym and Windle 2011), the handling of large projects (Gouadec 2007), and the collaborative nature of translation as different job profiles are associated with localisation processes (Pym and Windle 2011; Snopek 2014). Scholars have also argued that localisation revolves around "communicative, cognitive, textual, and technological" processes (Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 20), that it involves "interactive digital texts" and that economic constraints often result in "degrees of localisation" (ibid). However, irrespective of whether all of these components constitute a distinct framework that differentiates localisation from other processes such as AVT, it would be hard to justify the idea that localisation represents a process separate from translation only due to management, technological processes (since most texts nowadays are processed digitally anyhow), adaptations, or economic limitations. To summarise, it can be argued that the expansion of the borders that localisation has brought to the discipline is primarily accounted for in terms of:

1. Providing new concepts and perspectives to expand translation theory. As Munday indicates, localisation "has been active in supplying theory with new conceptual terms, such as *localisation* and *locale*" (Munday 2016: 288). In this regard, localisation initially highlighted the inadequacy of languages as targets of the translation process in market-based scenarios, providing other industry constructs such as 'locale'. Translation theories and models have included similar notions with connotations close to what Venuti (1995) refers to as 'domestication'. While Venuti's 'domestication' is grounded on literary, cultural, ideological, and political stances, localisation discourse emerged from industry circles with a strong economic positioning related to *market segments* (Pym 2004: 3) with specific social, cultural, economic, political, and legal specificities. These concepts and others have been adopted, as seen in this chapter, as many areas and research trends in TS cross intradisciplinary borders.
2. Highlighting and bringing to the forefront of the discipline economic and product development considerations. Theorisations and industry-based literature on localisation brought to TS economic issues such as the impact of return on investment on translation processes related to the size of the target market, the degree of localisation requested depending on economic issues and development limitations. These issues can help reframe notions such as translation or localisation loss (Jiménez-Crespo 2012) and are now proving fruitful given the emergence of the *economic turn* in the discipline (Gambier 2014; Biel and Sosoni 2017).
3. Moving to a multilingual, rather than bidirectional, approach to translation processes. Localisation projects are often multilingual in nature and require

distinctive localisation management procedures to structure all the assets that are shared among local versions of multilingual digital products or texts, such as graphics, Cascading Style Sheets, and embedded videos (Dunne and Dunne 2011).

4. Including a wider network of actors and agents in the global process beyond the reductionist approach as simple language transfer. This is in line with Gouadec's (2007) project-based approach to translation, as well as more recent explorations of translation networks (e.g. Risku and Dickinson 2009; Risku et al. 2016) and translation as a collaborative process (Jiménez-Crespo 2017). The wider conceptualisation of the localisation process with the GILT process means that this global process incorporates from the start a wider range of actors, such as localisation managers, quality assurance testers, localisation graphic specialists, localisation engineers, translators, and internationalisation experts.

Localisation, interdisciplinarity, and the emergence of 'localisation studies'

TS is an interdiscipline (Snell-Hornby et al. 1994), and has been nurtured by a multitude of imported and home-grown paradigms, theories, and models since the 1970s. Localisation has fostered new interdisciplinary connections in a unique convergence of diverse fields (Folaron 2006: 206; Jiménez-Crespo 2013: 134–6; Jiménez-Crespo and Singh 2016; O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013) including linguistics, computational linguistics, computer science, desktop publishing, graphic design and layout, documentation science, information management, usability, accessibility, game studies, human computer interaction, fandom studies, media studies, and international business. Figure 2.2 presents an updated overview of interdisciplinary connections adapted from Jiménez-Crespo (2013: 135) who drew, in turn, on Hatim and Munday (2004: 8). The overview has been updated, as researchers have incorporated insights from media studies (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013) and workflow development (Morera-Mesa et al. 2013) since its original publication.

This map has also been updated to incorporate crowdsourcing and related research, one of the most dynamic areas that has attracted the attention of scholars in recent years (Jiménez-Crespo 2017). The origins of crowdsourcing and volunteer translations are closely tied to localisation processes, even when they are varied in nature and encompass almost all possible translation scenarios (Jiménez-Crespo 2017: 33–6). Currently, crowdsourcing and volunteer translations are redrawing the limits of TS. For example, Jiménez-Crespo (2017) argues that crowdsourcing and online collaborative translation can problematise some of the tenets of translation theory, from what is meant by a 'translator', to the dynamic nature of texts in translation processes, conceptualisations of translational quality and how prototypical translational processes emerge and develop. Additionally, crowdsourcing and online collaborative translations are of great interest to TS as a discipline since they can have an impact on how society and the industry frame their perspectives on translation and localisation.

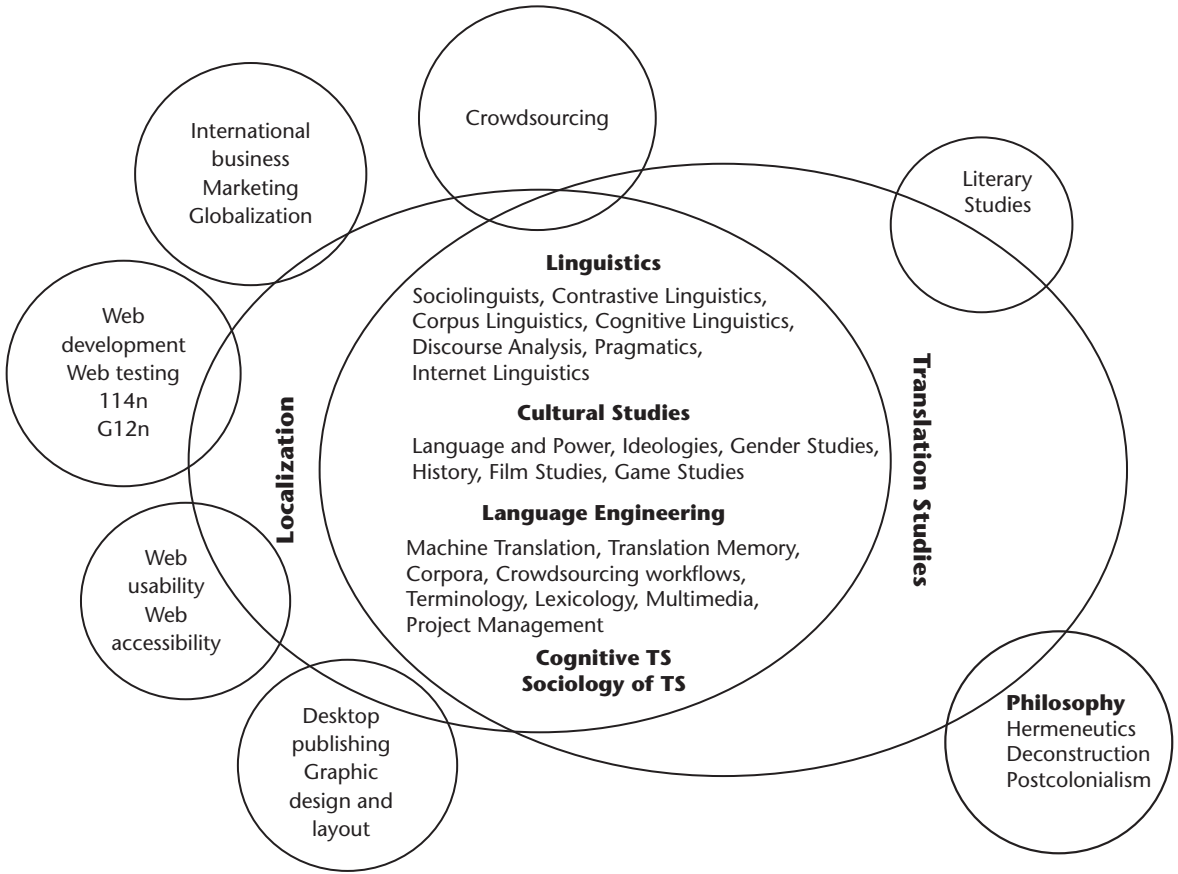

FIGURE 2.2 Localisation and interdisciplinarity within translation studies

These types of interdisciplinary connections and the specific disciplines that localisation draws on raise the question of whether 'localisation studies' (Jiménez-Crespo 2013; Munday 2016) can still be considered to exist. It was originally proposed as a sub-discipline within TS with strong external connections. Jiménez-Crespo (2013: 141) presented a map of localisation studies with an emphasis on the applied branch of TS, which adapted the classic Holmes and Toury map for TS (see Figure 2.3). The theoretical branch covers theoretical efforts such as those by Pym (2004), as well as the extensive product-oriented research carried out in web localisation using corpus methodologies.

As time has passed since publication of this proposal, it is interesting to consider whether the proposed independent sub-branch of localisation studies in TS can be said to exist. Initially, some scholars saw it as an *external* discipline that needed to converge with TS (Mazur 2007: 355; Sandrini 2005). Sandrini, for example, claimed that

> [. . .] there has to be a convergence between translation studies and localisation, or in other words, translation studies must address localisation issues, or else we will end up having an academic field of localisation studies, independent from translation [. . .]. The interrelationship of localisation and translation, therefore, opens up a new research paradigm.
>
> *(Sandrini 2005: np)*

Similarly, O'Hagan and Mangiron (2013: 99) also perceive it as external to translation studies due to resistance from the TS community: "The position of localisation in translation studies remains one of separation rather than integration, where it is often seen as a business model rather than as a translation phenomenon worthy of in-depth investigation from a theoretical perspective."

Others, such as Remael (2010), Munday (2008) and Jiménez-Crespo (2013), consider it to be a sub-discipline within TS with strong interdisciplinary connections. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the consolidation of localisation studies has been weak to date. If the personal interests of researchers in TS can be considered indicative, a recent survey of 305 TS scholars showed that 2% of them have worked on localisation projects in the past (Torres-Simón and Pym 2016). Given the weak connection between researchers and localisation, it might be supposed that research into localisation might not expand or grow as quickly as research in other fields, like AVT. Despite industry conferences such as those organised by GALA or the Localisation World, in TS conferences, "localisation topics tend to be (if included at all) consigned to special technology tracks, often divorced from translation theory discussion" (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 99). TS localisation conferences are almost non-existent. Similarly, two journals are exclusively devoted to localisation matters: the new *Journal of Internationalization and Localization* published by John Benjamins and *Localisation Focus: The International Journal of Localisation* published by the Localisation Research Centre at the University of Limerick, Ireland.

To conclude the discussion of how TS has internalised the notion of localisation and how it has evolved since its adoption, the next section explores the blurring of

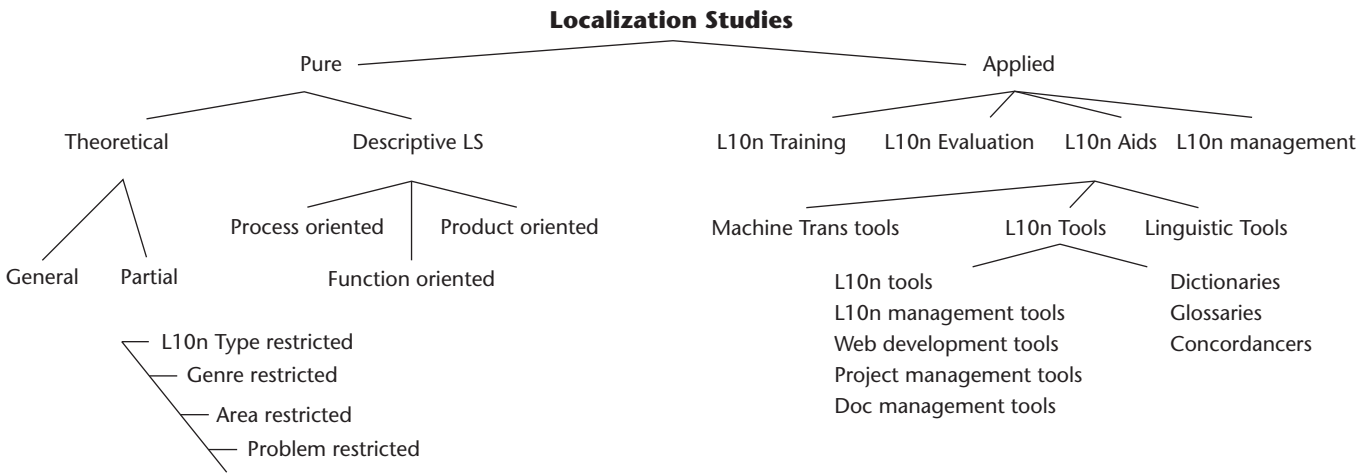

FIGURE 2.3 Proposed map of localisation studies in Jiménez-Crespo (2013: 141)

Source: Adapted from the map of translation studies from Holmes (1988) and Toury (2012).

the borders between translation and localisation and the adoption of prototype-inspired discourses.

Crossing internal borders: from 'translation proper' to 'localisation proper'

The ongoing discussions on the nature of localisation reflect an interest in internal border-crossing in TS. Munday rightly observed that in the discipline of TS "the difference between localisation and translation is blurred" (2008: 191). TS scholars often see localisation as a process that is subsumed under the wider notion of 'translational phenomena', often seen as a specific translation modality (Hurtado 2000). However, as Munday has previously argued and as proposed earlier in this chapter, "generally localisation is seen by industry as a superordinate term that encompasses translation" (Munday 2008: 191). The most surprising effect of this border-crossing has been the emergence in TS literature of rhetorical devices to discuss the terminological fuzziness such as 'translation proper' and 'localisation proper'. On the one hand, 'translation proper' is used by scholars when discussing localisation to indicate a fuzzy notion that involves the previously mentioned reductionist approach to translation. O'Hagan and Mangiron (2013: 98), for example, assert that "the relatively new domain of localisation sits somewhat precariously in relation to what is currently considered to be *translation proper*" (my emphasis). On the other hand, Achkasov (2017), in his review of the evolution of definitions of localisation in TS, complains about scholars using localisation to refer to processes that do not involve digital text or digital mediation. He resorts to using the term 'localisation proper' to refer to processes that involve digital texts such as software or video games, rather than comic books, news, or theatre plays (Achkasov 2017: 288).

Over the last two decades, scholars in AVT have discussed the boundaries between localisation and translation, since these sub-disciplines "face a constant erosion of their mutual boundaries due to technological advances" (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 106). The origins of this boundary discussion between AVT and localisation can be traced back to the fact that localisation in TS was considered to be part of 'constrained translation' processes within AVT (Mayoral 1997), before branching off to become a distinct area within TS. It can also be traced to the fact that localisation "content is often multimodal, it can come as text, audio, or video" (Schäler 2010: 201). In this context, the initial period in which localisation discourse had an impact in AVT involved the introduction of terms such as 'DVD localisation' (O'Hagan 2005), 'film localisation', 'audiovisual localisation' (Achkasov 2017), and 'screen translation' (Chiaro et al. 2008; Gambier and Gottlieb 2004; Gambier 2003). This last concept is the notion that initially blurred epistemological boundaries between localisation and AVT. Scholars in this subfield initially argued that "screen translation includes localisation", even when the latter "is not a form of AVT" (Gambier 2013: 46). As proposed by Gambier, localisation is included in screen translation because both of them include teamwork, go beyond the bidirectional ST/TT dichotomy, and the criteria for quality are not only "acceptability but

compressibility, accessibility, and usability are also brought into account" (2013: 58). Nowadays, even though 'screen translation' is a popular term in AVT, discussions on whether localisation is included in this sub-discipline have subsided and both now seem clearly separated.

The emergence of rhetorical devices, such as 'translation proper' and 'localisation proper', highlights the pervasiveness of prototypical approaches, where these notions supposedly represent what scholars identify as prototypical exemplars in the discipline. In this context, Jiménez-Crespo (2016) has suggested extending the prototype approach to the (non) definition of translation proposed by Halverson (1999) to localisation. This prototype approach makes it possible to characterise any translational phenomena more or less at the core of what members of any society, professional or research community conceive as the prototype of that phenomenon, or what industry and society view, for example, as a prototypical web or video game localisation process. This has been proposed in order to avoid the ongoing need to distinguish between localisation and translation: "prototype will relieve our discipline from a lot of unnecessary discourse and dissensions [on the definition of translation] that can never be resolved" (Halverson 1999: 20). This prototype approach entails the identification of core features that can currently be located around the centre of the localisation *prototype*. Analysis by Jiménez-Crespo (2016) identifies the following core prototypical features of localisation: (1) localisation operates on digital genres, i.e. software products, operating systems, corporate websites, simulation video games, or communication apps, (2) it operates on digitally mediated communication, and (3) texts are interactive and are stored in digital format. Thus, it is argued that the core prototypical feature of 'localisation proper' relates to the digital genres that are recognised by industry, society, and the research community. These digital genres include different types of video games, software products, apps, and corporate or social networking websites. Anything else, be it management, technology, internationalisation, or adaptations, does not provide a sound and central enough prototypical feature to avoid endless debates on the borders between translation and localisation. This approach is also defended by Schäler (2010) who claims that only those processes used in the localisation of digital products can be considered 'localisation proper' in line with the previously mentioned approach by Achkasov (2017).

Conclusions

The emergence of localisation and translation technologies have transformed translation practices and now exert "an impact on the theorization of translation" (Munday 2016: 275). One of the consequences of localisation, a technological process that found its way into TS, has been the moving, crossing, and shifting of boundaries of conceptualisations of what translation entails, helping to expand the limits of TS and crossfertilise interdisciplinary connections. From an epistemological perspective, it has been argued that the fuzziness of localisation is due in part to the lack of agreed-upon definitions or models of 'translation' that the discipline can

provide to industry, society at large, and scholars across disciplines. Nevertheless, this chapter has claimed that localisation has brought to the forefront of TS and TS theorisations a number of specific models, constructs, and perspectives. These have been subsequently adopted to extend the notion of localisation to non-digital texts such as comics, news, and advertising. In this sense, localisation has introduced new theories, approaches, and conceptualisations to TS, validating Munday's words that interdisciplinarity "challenges the current conventional way of thinking by promoting and responding to new links between different types of knowledge and technologies" (Munday 2016: 25). This specific set of new interdisciplinary connections has been examined in the present chapter with respect to whether they can be said to make up the proposed sub-branch called 'localisation studies'. In the context of the conflux of a number of technological phenomena in the discipline such as translation technologies, machine translation, and crowdsourcing, it is still uncertain whether this will ever become an established reality in TS. This is partly due to the fact that technological phenomena in translation often mixed and combined in the early stages of development, and maybe it would be more productive to combine inter and intradisciplinary approaches and propose the notion of 'technology-oriented translation studies'. Borders and limits will continue to be fuzzy, and ongoing technological developments will continue to challenge TS scholars and expand the reach and limits of the discipline. The potential research paths and trajectories into this dynamic set of phenomena are likely to be as unpredictable as the technologies themselves.

Note

1 *Hard coded strings* are those software strings that include translatable material combined with software coding. Examples offered by Esselink (2000: 63) are "Can't find record %s.@, where "%s." represents a variable or "%d%% complete. Formatting . . . please wait@".

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3

MOVING BOUNDARIES IN INTERPRETING

Franz Pöchhacker

Introduction

With the aim of discussing changing boundaries in interpreting, and therefore also in interpreting studies, my focus will be on the way interpreting has been defined, and hence on the changing *conceptual* boundaries of the object as well as the field of study. This requires closer examination of the criteria underlying our definition of interpreting, and some consideration of the forces of change that have prompted a redrawing of conceptual boundaries.

The definition to serve as a foundation for subsequent conceptual reflection is an *intensional* one, which seeks to specify intrinsic requirements, or necessary and sufficient conditions, for something to be subsumed under a given concept. This needs to be distinguished from an *extensional* definition, which indicates the range of meaning of a concept by specifying all the objects 'in the world' to which a particular concept can refer. In this chapter, these two approaches are brought together in an effort to examine whether or to what extent some novel forms of translational activity can (still) be defined as interpreting.

For the purpose of this discussion, I will not take the easier route of merely defining interpreting as a form of 'translation' and then specifying its distinctive features (Pöchhacker 2016: 11ff.). Rather, I will posit a set of criteria that can be derived from what I take to be common ways of understanding the task. One such starting point is to describe interpreting simply as *enabling understanding*, which could in turn be paraphrased as 'expressing or giving access to the meaning of something'. To interpret would then signify that *someone says what something means*. In order to narrow down this broad understanding of interpreting as a hermeneutic process, we need to set some initial boundaries by specifying certain criteria, such as that two languages are involved in the activity. This leads to the construal of interpreting as an activity that consists in *saying what has been said in another language*.

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As will be shown in the following, this descriptive paraphrase involves a number of assumptions that need to be made explicit in order to arrive at a criteria-based definition.

Among the key assumptions underlying our definitional starting point is that this language-use activity serves to re-express meaning 'on the spot' – that is, *to say what has just been said in another language*. Unless we wanted to include bilingual self-expression ('self-interpreting') in our understanding of interpreting, we would need to specify that the re-expressing is done by someone else. And given the assumption of immediacy, which excludes the case of a bilingual messenger sent to another place, we would assume at least a triadic constellation of interacting parties in physical co-presence.

Another fundamental assumption is that the act of re-expressing aims at giving a 'faithful rendering' of what has been said. Harris' (1990: 118) norm of the "honest spokesperson" captures the requirement of faithfulness for the human agent, whereas the notion of fidelity, or sameness of meaning between the original message and the interpreter's rendering, is the criterion applied to the task.

The involvement of two languages in the process implies the basic need for an interpreter to know or be proficient in the two languages in question. This means that *only* individuals with some degree of bilinguality ('bilinguals') can interpret/translate, whereas a broader claim, by Brian Harris (1977), holds that *all* bilinguals can, to some degree, translate/interpret. The assumption of a certain degree or standard of proficiency points to the issue of professionalism, which has been a central concern in the study of interpreting. At the same time, the reality of 'natural translation', in the sense of untrained bilinguals (i.e., non-professionals) enabling communication in everyday circumstances (cf. Harris and Sherwood 1978: 155), suggests that being 'professional' cannot be posited as an inherent, defining feature of interpreting.

Based on the considerations above, interpreting can be characterised more fully as an activity in which a bilingual individual enables communication between users of two different languages by immediately providing a faithful rendering of what has been said. This (intensional) definition specifies the necessary and sufficient conditions for categorising a particular language-use activity as interpreting, namely: *human* agent, *bilingual* competence, *interlingual* task, *immediate* performance, and *faithful* rendering. Metaphorically speaking, these criteria serve to draw the boundaries around the 'native' conceptual territory of interpreting.

Refining criteria

The definition proposed above rests on five main criteria: humanness, bilinguality, interlinguality, immediacy, and fidelity. The last-mentioned criterion – the crucial requirement of sameness of meaning – may be the most theoretically fraught, but for the purpose of the present discussion seems least controversial. The idea of re-expression with some degree of sameness is so fundamental, and applies so pervasively (notwithstanding its philosophical and linguistic limitations) to any form

of translational activity, that it seems particularly stable as a principle. Similarly, it seems evident that interpreting is done by an interpreter, with the assumption that an interpreter is a human being. The ISO definition, for instance, succinctly describes an 'interpreter' as a "person who interprets" (ISO 2016). This then leaves two issues as central points of concern: one relates to various aspects of the language(s) involved, and might be subsumed here under the heading of *linguality*; the other has to do with the spatiotemporal nature of the process, as reflected in the term *immediacy*. Both reveal a high degree of complexity, and require further analysis.

Linguality

Conceiving of interpreting as a language-use activity suggests giving attention to the number as well as the nature of the languages involved. Historically, most interpreter-mediated communication took place between (representatives of) different territorially defined state-like entities ('nations'), as in the field of diplomacy, and interpreting was typically seen as involving different (spoken) 'national languages'. Consideration of signed languages gained ground only in the second half of the 20th century, mainly in North America (see Roy and Napier 2015), and the move beyond official spoken national languages subsequently also encompassed interpreting involving the languages of indigenous communities and of migrants and refugees.

While it has thus become generally accepted that interpreting may be "spoken or signed" (ISO 2016), the role of written language in interpreting remains uncertain. Though Kade's (1968) process-oriented distinction between translation and interpreting points beyond the simple association of the former with written language and the latter with spoken language, the written–spoken distinction between translation and interpreting is deeply entrenched. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify translational phenomena that involve the written modality of language and bear some relation to interpreting. This can be highlighted in a matrix of linguistic modalities that features more or less typical forms of translation and interpreting (see Figure 3.1).

As indicated in Figure 3.1, four of the nine cells in the matrix are clearly labelled 'interpreting', whereas the various hybrid forms involving written source messages

ST \ TT	WRITTEN	SPOKEN	SIGNED
WRITTEN	translation	sight translation	SL translation
	transterpreting	sight interpreting	'prepared live int.'
SPOKEN	projected interpretation	interpreting	Interpreting ('voice-to-sign')
SIGNED	SL translation	Interpreting ('sign-to-voice')	interpreting

FIGURE 3.1 Matrix of modalities in interpreting (and translation)

may be given interpreting-related labels but can also be considered forms of translation, depending on the working conditions under which the interpreter's (or translator's) target text (TT) is produced. This has been discussed for sight translation vs interpreting (e.g. Čeňková 2015) and also for a signed-language counterpart in which a written text is rendered into sign language with prior preparation, which has been referred to as "prepared live interpretation" (Banna 2004).

Figure 3.1 also indicates, through lighter shading, that the most unusual cases to be considered here involve forms of interpreting that result in a written TT. The most striking example is the automatic rendering of a signed message into written text. Such automatic sign language translation, which is still in an experimental phase, comprises image recognition of a signer's gestures followed by an automatic translation process. Rather mundane, by contrast, is what Paneth (1990) called 'projected interpretation', in which an interpreter renders a spoken source-language message into a target-language text visible to the audience. This is different from 'transterpreting', a hybrid label coined by David Ashworth in the late 1990s (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2002: 61) to refer to the live ('online') translation of written chat messages.

To complement this account of different manifestations of linguality, one should also consider the distinction between inter- and intralingual translational processes. This is done in Figure 3.2, which focuses on interpreting (in any linguistic modality – spoken, signed or written) as defined by Kade (1968) in the sense that both reception and production are done "in a single take". The matrix scheme relates the distinction between an interlingual and an intralingual rendering to whether the semiotic modality, or mode, of language (spoken, signed, or written) remains the same ('intramodal') or not ('cross-modal' or 'intermodal'). The various 'types' identified in Figure 3.2 will be taken up again below, after some further reflection on the criterion of immediacy.

semiotic mode / **linguality**	**INTRA-** MODAL	**INTER-** MODAL
INTER- LINGUAL	speech-to-speech	SL interpreting
	sign-to-sign interpreting	sight translation/interpreting
	live chat translation	speech-to-text
INTRA- LINGUAL	respeaking	live subtitling
	're-signing'	live captioning
	(Deaf relay interpreting)	

FIGURE 3.2 Matrix relating 'linguality' to modality

Immediacy

The notion of immediacy is most spontaneously understood in a temporal sense, as relating to something that is or should be happening "without loss or interval of

time" (Merriam-Webster 2017). In this sense, 'immediate' corresponds to such expressions as 'in an instant', 'at once', or 'now' – or the more technical term 'in real time', coined in the 1950s to refer to the response time of early computers. The prominence of simultaneous conference interpreting as a particularly striking form of practice that is based on the (quasi-)simultaneous rendering of the source has obviously tended to reinforce the temporal sense of immediacy in relation to interpreting, but temporal immediacy would of course apply to consecutive interpreting as well, even though the audience may need to wait for the speaker to finish and the interpreter to provide a rendition.

But immediacy also has a distinct spatial component, as evident in the Latin expression *hic et nunc* ('here and now'). The indication of place ('here'), in turn, comes with the implication of unity, of only a single place in which something is occurring. In relation to communication (and interpreting), this sense of something happening 'on the spot' is easily associated with the expression 'face to face', which aptly characterises what is now commonly known as 'dialogue interpreting' but would of course have been typical of earliest forms of practice since Antiquity. However, the exact spatial circumstances of what is considered 'face to face' remain poorly defined. Unless the expression is combined with 'conversation', which implies a one-on-one encounter, the visual perceptual requirements are unclear. Would negotiators sitting around a table or participants in a workshop be regarded as communicating face to face? Arguably, all participants are sharing the same perceptual space and can be said to be 'within earshot', even though technical devices may be employed to extend human sensory capabilities for communicative contact. The use of a microphone is the simplest example, whereas such arrangements as a speaker's image on a video wall or audiovisual contact through a videoconference link would be at the other end of the spectrum. In all these cases, immediacy is transcended by technology as a medium enabling perceptual contact, so that communication can no longer be said to be 'immediate' in the sense of being 'un*media*ted'.

Moving boundaries

Having shown how the criteria underlying the intensional definition of interpreting can be further refined, I will now consider various ways in which a broader understanding of such fundamental assumptions as immediacy and (inter)linguality allows for a more comprehensive extensional definition of interpreting. By considering less typical and novel forms of practice, this discussion indicates how traditional boundaries may be moving – and be moved. Many of these innovations involve the use of technology, which is therefore not treated under a single heading but viewed as a cross-cutting force of change.

Extra-temporality

One of the least striking examples of technology use that has helped loosen traditional definitional constraints regarding immediacy are delayed forms of interpreting,

in which the interpreter's output production, in consecutive or simultaneous mode, is not bound to the real-time production of the source message because the latter is available as a recording (audio or video). This allows the original to be replayed, so that pre-audited or previewed interpreting clashes with Kade's (1968) definitional criterion that the source message is presented or available to the interpreter only once. Such arrangements have been described for news interpreting (e.g. Tsuruta 2011) in broadcast media, where interpreting is used to cope with specific time constraints. The more time is available, the sooner the preferred mode of language transfer shifts to forms of translation, such as prepared voice-over, which allow for replaying of the source as well as correction of the target-language text.

A similar opportunity to listen to the source speech and then render it in simultaneous mode while hearing the original a second time is afforded by the working mode of simultaneous consecutive (SimConsec), in which a speaker is audio-recorded and then rendered, consecutively, by the interpreter working in simultaneous mode while replaying the recording (Pöchhacker 2015). This innovation in technology-based interpreting, which is credited to DG-SCIC interpreter Michele Ferrari, still requires the interpreter to produce a first-and-final target-language rendition, without the option of subsequent review and correction.

Extra-spatiality

A shift away from the definitional assumption of immediacy is made possible by technology also in the spatial sense ('*here* and now'), and the extension of the spatial boundaries of what is regarded as interpreting is both long-established and typologically diverse. While the early use, from the 1920s, of the expression 'telephonic interpreting' (Baigorri-Jalón 2014) referred to electro-acoustic transmission equipment for simultaneous interpreting (SI), typically used within the same conference room, it pointed to the feasibility of the oldest form of remote interpreting (RI), which was proposed for large-scale use already in the 1950s (Nestler 1957) and gained ground in community-based settings in the 1970s, particularly in Australia. That decade also saw the employment of satellite technology for audiovisual transmission, and hence the beginning of RI through videoconference links, now differentiated as (video) remote interpreting (Braun 2015a) and videoconference interpreting (Braun 2015b) under the recent umbrella term 'distance interpreting' (ISO 2017).

These relatively new forms of interpreting, in which the interpreter is not necessarily present at the site of the primary parties' interaction, have faced scepticism and resistance particularly from conference interpreters, who have consistently lamented a lack of 'presence', or sense of 'being there' (Moser-Mercer 2005). Arguably, though, the impact of technological mediation is even greater for dialogue interpreters, who used to 'be there' right next to primary participants in such community settings as courtrooms, police stations, or hospitals, and now find themselves physically removed from the interaction, save for their image on a screen display and their voice over a loudspeaker or headphones.

Intermodality

Spoken-language interpreting has traditionally come with the implication, or even requirement, of orality in both the source and the target message, and has therefore been seen as a process within a given linguistic modality (i.e., speech rather than writing). In signed-language interpreting, on the other hand, it is the *change* in modality – from a spoken to a signed language or vice versa – that is typical, even though intramodal forms (between different sign languages) are no less possible. Since signed-language interpreting has become established as a significant form of practice, there is little ground for assuming that a change in linguistic modality violates any definitional constraints on the notion of interpreting. The question is, however, to what extent the move beyond the oral-aural channel of language use can also include the written modality.

Interestingly, the answer to this question seems conditioned by the direction in which the process occurs. Orally rendering a written source text 'at sight', which is commonly referred to as (real-time) 'sight translation', has long been seen as forming part of (spoken-language) interpreters' skill set and is now widely acknowledged as a relevant working mode for interpreters across professional domains (e.g. Čeňková 2015). However, sight interpreting is much less visible than other modes of practice, because it is not usually contracted for as such. Rather, such text-to-speech interpreting is typically required as part of a professional assignment done in simultaneous or consecutive mode and can take many different forms, from orally back-translating the record of an interview to rendering printed forms or expert opinions to doing 'SI with text'. All this applies also to sign language interpreters, who have to contend with special constraints in the visual channel, so that working in written-to-signed mode tends to require (more) preparation and is often more akin to translation than interpreting (see, e.g., Cardinaletti 2012). Still, text-to-sign interpreting may be required in some settings, particularly in the media. Banna (2004), for one, acknowledges the need for special preparation when working from written texts but nevertheless prefers to speak of interpreting rather than translation in such contexts as theatre performances. This is expressed in her term 'prepared live interpretation'. The text-to-sign mode of interpreting also has major implications for the sign language interpreting profession, which largely consists of hearing individuals. The fact that both source and target texts are in the visual modality makes sight translation/interpreting a highly suited working mode for Deaf interpreters.

When the direction of cross-modal transfer is reversed, the focus on interpreting is quickly blurred. A written text as the outcome of an interpreting process seems much more unusual than a written source text, given the widespread assumption that interpreters speak – or sign – their 'translation'. And yet it was none other than one of the first academic authors in interpreting studies, Eva Paneth, who wrote about such a form of interpreter service delivery under the heading of 'projected interpretation' in the late 1980s (Paneth 1990). The technology available at the time for serving participants in multilingual conferences by projecting live target-language notes or

summaries on a screen was the overhead projector, but Paneth also saw great potential in switching over to the use of word processors.

In the age of omnipresent digital video, when the source speaker's image can easily be shown on screen, the notion of projected interpretation can be taken one step further and reconceived in the form of (live) subtitles, as used by broadcasters not only to provide linguistic access to foreign-language speeches but to programme content in general. An early example of this, dating from around the same time as Paneth's initial article on projected interpretation, was described by Kurz and Katschinka (1988), who participated in an experiment on Austrian TV in which two English speakers on an arts programme were simultaneously interpreted into German, with the interpreter's (compressed) interpretation typed live for on-screen display as subtitles by another professional. In addition to the cross-modal (speech-to-text) nature, this procedure also requires two different steps (and two different professionals) to complete the process from source-text reception by the interpreter to target-text reception by the audience. Unlike relay interpreting, in which two interpreting processes by two interpreters are linked together in order to cover language combinations that are not offered by any single interpreter, the two steps, or stages, in live subtitling are entirely different – one centering on 'translation' and the other on transcription (and appropriate visualisation on screen). While one might claim that the two-stage procedure includes a core element of conventional SI, the interpreter's spoken output is in fact not intended to be communicative as such, and is only heard and processed by the (monolingual) subtitler for the purpose of written text production. The compound (and in fact collaborative) process of SI-based subtitling is therefore a new and unique form of interpreting. It may be interesting to note that Edward Filene's original idea for a system of 'telephonic interpretation' involved the collaboration of an interpreter with a stenographer, whose verbatim record of the source message was to be rendered orally in the target language (Baigorri-Jalón 2014: 134). In other words, simultaneous conference interpreting was initially conceived of as a two-stage process of stenographic transcription followed by interpreting at sight. Since the latter can be considered a form of simultaneous interpreting, one could claim that the idea of interpreting as a two-stage process dates back to the mid-1920s, with the order of stages – transcription plus interpreting – having come to be reversed six decades later.

While the live-subtitling experiment reported by Kurz and Katschinka (1988) remained without follow-up, live subtitling of audiovisual content has become common practice for many broadcasters striving to make their programmes accessible to deaf audiences. However, such speech-to-text (STT) interpreting services are typically provided intralingually (i.e., from a spoken language to its written form) and will therefore be discussed in more detail in the following section. Nevertheless, there are efforts to offer live subtitling also interlingually, and interest in this mode can be expected to grow. Since this practice generally relies on technological support in the form of automatic speech recognition (ASR), this cross-modal and interlingual manifestation of interpreting will be taken up under the heading of machine support, or automaticity.

Intra-linguality

Compared to subtitling for the cinema, which dates back to the 1920s as one of the earliest modes of audiovisual translation and was thus widely regarded as an essentially interlingual process, same-language subtitles (originally in the form of so-called closed captions), which came to the fore in the 1970s, constitute a departure from the assumption of interlinguality, and raise the issue of whether intralingual subtitles are still a form of translation. Such subtitles are intended to provide linguistic access to audiovisual content, but only with regard to the linguistic modality (written rather than spoken) rather than the language as such. As mentioned earlier, this is mainly done for deaf and hard-of-hearing persons, but may also help hearing audiences understand unfamiliar linguistic varieties or cope with noisy conditions. When same-language subtitles are produced live, the immediacy of the process makes such live subtitling akin to interpreting, and the same applies to other (intralingual) STT services offered for hearing-impaired users beyond media settings (e.g. in education).

The terms used to designate such services show considerable variation, which may be taken to reflect uncertainty regarding their conceptual status. Terms like 'real-time captioning', 'STT reporting' and 'electronic notetaking', which are commonly used in the US and the UK, avoid any reference to translation or interpreting – unlike the Swedish term *skrivtolkning* and German *Schriftdolmetschen*, which include the respective words for 'interpreting' (see Norberg et al. 2015). A particularly salient designation in the US is 'CART', which can stand for 'communication access real-time translation' or 'computer-assisted real-time transcription': a spoken message is taken down by a trained operator, whose stenographic notes on a digital device are instantly converted into English words and displayed on a screen. In this two-stage process of (verbatim) transcription, the 'translation' component refers to a switching between different encoding systems for the same language by a data processing device. Alternatively, such STT services are also provided in single-process mode through conventional typing, where a so-called 'text interpreter' offers an informed written summary that is tailored to the hearing-impaired user's needs (Stinson 2015). Increasingly, written text production in this mode is left to an ASR system and the STT interpreter is in fact a respeaker. From a linguistic point of view, such respeaking is a form of intralingual simultaneous paraphrasing, which has been identified as a task that most closely resembles SI between spoken languages (e.g. Russo 2014).

Apart from additional requirements for adjusting their spoken output to the needs of the ASR system (such as dictating punctuation marks), what respeakers do in the aural-oral modality of language use is highly similar to what Deaf interpreters do when they take relay from a hearing interpreter's rendering into the B language and produce a simultaneous 'interpretation' that is optimised for particular deaf users' needs (see, e.g., Boudreault 2005). Though no special term has been proposed for this intralingual as well as intramodal sign-to-sign processing task, it seems to be unquestioned, perhaps also due to the sensitive nature of the argument in the Deaf community, that the paraphrasing or re-expression done by Deaf interpreters in the

visuogestural modality can be regarded as a form of interpreting. At any rate, both respeaking (as used in live subtitling and STT interpreting) and 're-signing' (as used by Deaf relay interpreters) form part of a more complex communication-enabling service.

What emerges from this discussion of intralingual processing with regard to its conceptual status as translation, or interpreting, is that the departure from the definitional standard of interlinguality constitutes a particularly radical shift of conceptual boundaries, not least because it also amounts to discarding the fundamental assumption of bilinguality as a requirement for someone to be called an interpreter. It appears that attempts to reconcile intralingual processing with the notion of interpreting are founded not so much on an analysis at the linguistic level, where the task(s) would be described as monolingual paraphrasing and/or summarising, as on an overall view of the communicative interaction, together with an account of the cognitive processing involved.

Automaticity

As noted at the outset, the various conceptual shifts are mostly linked to the use of different types of digital technologies, ranging from such simple devices as voice recorders to complex videoconferencing systems. Much more than hardware, these technologies are of course driven by powerful software for various types of natural-language processing tasks. Such programmes can be used to automate parts of the interpreting process, or the entire process altogether.

A number of digital technologies are now commonly used to support interpreters in their work, often in relation to document and terminology management. However, such computer-aided interpreting has hardly touched the core tasks of traditional single-process interpreting, which are source-text reception and target-text generation as well as a complex translational process in between. Even though simultaneous interpreters' source-speech processing may be aided by electronic glossaries with online look-up functions or even by online term extraction and display, comprehension remains the sole responsibility of the individual interpreter. It is only when technology is used to implement interpreting as a compound intermodal process that parts of it can be taken over by machines. The best example here is the generation of a written TT (in the form of subtitles or running text) from a respeaker's spoken output. To date, most of this STT processing has been done intralingually, but the step from intralingual to interlingual re-expression should not seem all that daunting. This gives rise to such new professional profiles as interlingual live subtitling (Romero-Fresco and Pöchhacker 2017) and interlingual STT interpreting. In describing these new working modes, the term 'respeaking' may be carried over from the original intralingual task, though it would seem preferable to have a designation reflecting the translational nature of the interlingual task, such as the term *transpeaking*. The whole process would then be characterised as partially automated (i.e., compound) interlingual and cross-modal interpreting. Despite the compound nature of the process, these forms of practice are immediate, at least in

the temporal sense; in spatial terms, respeaking/interpreting in STT mode, like other forms of interpreting, can also be done from a distance. In this kind of scenario, in particular, STT displays a particularly high degree of technological mediation. Nevertheless, these modes of interpreting still feature a human agent responsible for the core task of comprehension-based re-expression. This is no longer the case in fully automatic speech-to-speech translation, which might aptly be abbreviated as 'FAST'.

For some years now, the advances achieved with machine interpreting systems, which basically combine speech recognition and speech synthesis with a core module of machine translation (MT), have been too impressive to be ignored as ridiculously error-prone. Mobile apps to enable bilingual conversation have been found suitable for simple dialogues in everyday situations. While the number of languages for which such systems are available has been steadily increasing, reliable speech recognition remains a major challenge even in widely used languages, despite machine learning harnessing Big Data and deep neural networks. Nevertheless, the prospect of FAST is a possibility to consider, at least for areas of use requiring basic comprehensibility more than high-quality output. The question here is whether such FAST systems should be regarded as interpreting – or interpreters. The spread of interpreting done by complete reliance on digital equipment and software can easily become reflected in labels that are suggestive of a human agent. Examples include the *Pilot Speech Translator* and the *Lecture Translator* built and operated at Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (Fügen et al. 2007; Fünfer 2013), which can output either written text or synthesised speech, as well as *Skype Translator*, with similar dual-mode output capabilities.

A look at ISO terminology in this domain shows that even now the possibility of interpreting done by machines can easily be accommodated. While the current definition does not yet account for the cross-modal forms discussed above and limits interpreting to the spoken and/or signed modalities at either end of the process, that process as such is merely specified as a "rendering" of (spoken or signed) "information" from a source language to a target language (ISO 2017: 3.6.1.2). Though the signed modality of language may seem a much more complex challenge to automatic recognition than essentially serial speech, here, too, progress has been reported in designing and testing an Automatic Sign Language Translator (e.g. Akmeliawati et al. 2014). Such systems link image recognition for identifying a signer's gestures with a form of automatic translation in what could be characterised as a fully automated compound process of interlingual cross-modal (sign-to-text) interpreting.

By comparison, automating the real-time translation of written communication (as in live chat or multilingual group communication) should be infinitely more feasible, if possibly not in as much demand. Aiken (2009), for instance, reports an experiment in which manually facilitated MT in a multilingual electronic meeting was compared to a fully automatic translation application based on Google Translate, and finds the latter much more efficient despite a "relative lack of accuracy" (Aiken 2009: 45).

This case of real-time translation assistance in multilingual electronic group communication, for which Aiken (2009) adopts the term 'transterpreting' (O'Hagan and Ashworth 2002) to foreground the hybrid nature of using MT to facilitate live interaction, serves to highlight a basic issue of terminology. Once source-to-target processing is fully automated and accomplished by MT software, it is by definition immediate. Microsoft's *Skype Translator*, for instance, recommends stretches of seven to 15 words for sentence-based processing, in which output is delivered with little more delay, if any, than in human dialogue interpreting; and even for longer utterances, the system starts giving the target-language rendering after some 30 seconds (Wonisch 2017: 39). In other words, automatic translation systems linked up with speech recognition and speech synthesis modules are more or less as immediate as human interpreting, for which immediacy of processing is posited as a defining characteristic. Since the core of automatic interpreting is in fact MT, one might conclude that all automatic *interpreting* is in fact machine *translation* (with peripheral modules), and that, at the same time, all machine translation is in fact interpreting – by virtue of its immediacy, at least on the input side. The remaining distinction, in terms of Kade's (1968) definition, is of course the revisability of MT output. Unlike interpreting applications, for which no post-editing is envisaged, MT is typically a compound process of automatic translation followed by human post-editing. Given the shared ground between machine-based translation and interpreting, it would be conceivable to implement machine interpreting as a compound process as well. In this case, the speech output of the MT system, which is known to suffer from the prosodic shortcomings of artificial speech synthesis, could be simultaneously 'post-edited' by a human (monolingual) respeaker. Alternatively, the original written output of the MT system could be immediately re-expressed in text-to-speech mode, which would then constitute simultaneous intralingual and cross-modal post-editing. If one were to foreground the simultaneous processing – and communicative – skills required for this (intralingual) task, and apply the same standards as for STT interpreting (in which the human and the machine-based stages are reversed), one could view such a monolingual post-editor, who in fact serves as a 're-expresser' of MT output, as a kind of interpreter. A thought experiment, admittedly, but perhaps appropriate for highlighting the entire range along which shifts in the conceptual boundaries of interpreting might be envisaged. If nothing else, this example, like various others mentioned above, prompts the key question whether any or all of this is still interpreting, and where boundaries might be drawn. Some possible answers will be discussed in the following, concluding section of this chapter.

Remapping interpreting?

The present examination of shifts in the conceptual boundaries of interpreting has set the focus to developments in the 21st century. Nevertheless, the entire evolution of interpreting practices has also been taken into account, in order to establish their 'native' territory on the conceptual map as well as to locate areas in which boundary shifts have occurred in the past. Such 'areas' of conceptual change have been

identified with reference to a set of criteria that make up the (intensional) definition of interpreting as an activity consisting in the immediate re-expression of what has been said in another language. On the assumption that the activity is carried out by a (bilingual) human being, these defining criteria were specified as humanness, bilinguality, interlinguality, immediacy, and fidelity.

By these definitional standards, the millennial practice of interpreting can be said to have had fixed and stable boundaries from Antiquity until well into the 20th century. Even though it was regarded, at various times and in particular circumstances, as a defined social role and occupation in its own right, the consistent view of interpreting as a profession only emerged in the course of the 20th century. Therefore, in a long-term perspective, professional competence or status cannot serve as necessary criteria. Rather, the evolution of interpreting would be divided into two phases: a pre-professional period, from ancient times to the early 20th century, and a professional period, encompassing most of the 20th century, in which *most* interpreting was done professionally (i.e., at performance levels requiring specific training and ethical behaviour and justifying adequate remuneration). Such a binary distinction is of course deceptive unless one emphasises the idea of preponderance (i.e., that in either period the 'other' manifestation was also present) and takes note of profound changes in the sociocultural environment. Since the 20th century, more interpreting has been done, and more of it has been done professionally, and, increasingly, in different professional domains. Shifts in professional boundaries, based on more or less widespread and socially recognised practices, therefore constitute an obvious analytical concern (see Grbić and Kujamäki, this volume), but not for the purpose of the present discussion, which focuses on the conceptual boundaries of interpreting, of which professional interpreting is only one (albeit crucially important) manifestation. Thus, the central question here has been where and in what sense and direction the previously stable conceptual boundaries of interpreting may have been shifting.

With reference to the criteria mentioned above, such changes have been explored in particular for the criteria of immediacy and (bi- and inter-)linguality. Prior access to the source message, as in previewed/prepared live interpreting, was found to violate the principle of (temporal) immediacy regarding the interpreter's input reception; nevertheless, the requirement of immediate and non-revisable ('first and final') output production laid down in Kade's (1968) process-based definition of interpreting still applies, so that technologically facilitated types of interpreting allowing prior or repeated source-text access would still be characterised as interpreting rather than translation. By the same token, RI, which is feasible in any mode and linguistic modality – from consecutive interpreting over the phone and sight translation in videoconference interpreting to remote SI in conference settings and video RI into signed languages – reduces interpreters' (acoustic or audiovisual) (co-)presence and hence deviates from the criterion of immediacy in the spatial sense. And yet, practitioners as well as clients, not to mention employers and agencies, still regard these forms of practice as interpreting.

Flexibility in categorisation can also be noted for linguistic modality (i.e., intra- vs intermodal), at least for interpreting from and into spoken and signed languages;

not so much, though, when written text is involved. Whereas sight translation/interpreting, where the interpreter's output is still spoken (or signed), is often viewed as a hybrid form, other modes of practice, such as various forms of STT interpreting or the real-time translation of written chat messages, seem more difficult to accommodate within traditional conceptual boundaries. This suggests that such intermodal interpreting is not viewed symmetrically, and that written text is not easily conceived as the output of an interpreting process.

Moreover, STT interpreting (used in a broad sense to include both live captioning and subtitling) is usually done intralingually. While this can be assumed to ensure a higher degree of fidelity, it represents a far-reaching departure from the definitional standards of bilinguality in the interpreter and the interlingual nature of the process. This in itself would probably be sufficient grounds for most practising interpreters to draw the line and exclude such tasks as STT 'interpreting' from their understanding of what it means to be an interpreter. And the shift in question is even more fundamental, as it may also involve a change from interpreting as a single human performance to a compound machine-assisted process. In real-time captioning, for instance, it is increasingly common for the captioner to respeak the source message into an ASR system that will produce the written text. The overall communicative process, from spoken source message to written TT, is therefore no longer accomplished by the human agent; rather, production of the written text received by the user or client is taken over by a machine, whereas the human agent is limited to the preliminary sub-task of (intralingual) respeaking.

It seems likely that interpreting as a compound, machine-assisted process, and done intralingually at that, would remain alien to the native conceptual territory of interpreting – were it not for the case of Deaf relay interpreting, which is in essence an intralingual 're-signing' of the speech-to-sign output of a hearing interpreter working into his or her B language. Unlike in respeaking-based captioning, the Deaf interpreter communicates directly with the receiver of the target message, and the overall compound process is inter- rather than intralingual. This may bring this mode of practice closer to established notions of interpreting, but the fact remains that interpreting as a communication service can be a compound process in which an interpreter accomplishes only part of the task. When that sub-task is intralingual, so that bilingual competence is no longer a requirement, such 'interpreting' is difficult to accommodate within the conceptual boundaries drawn with the criteria posited in the present discussion. It is only when recourse is made to a more process- and communication-oriented definition that the boundaries of interpreting can be sufficiently extended. Interpreting is then conceived of as immediate source-message comprehension and user-oriented reformulation of semantic content for the purpose of producing a TT that can serve the needs of particular users in a given sociocultural, institutional, and situational context.

Modelling moving boundaries

What emerges from this concluding discussion is the difficulty, if not impossibility, of using any single criterion as a basis for totally excluding a given phenomenon

from the conceptual category of interpreting. Admittedly, there are some prototypical forms of practice that meet all criteria for interpreting defined as a single immediate, interlingual, and intramodal process accomplished by a bilingual human being. But even such important variants as (real-time) sight translation and indeed signed-language interpreting require a loosening of one criterial constraint or another, not to mention their implementation in remote mode with the use of technology. On the other hand, there are radically different forms of 'interpreting' that fulfil all these criteria except one, namely, that the interpreting be done by a human being. Based on a checklist-like quantitative assessment of criterial fit, FAST (fully automatic speech-to-speech translation) would come much closer to fulfilling the definitional requirements of interpreting than, say, simultaneous STT interpreting by a human respeaker using speech recognition. On the other hand, the weight of a millennial tradition, of interpreting as a human performance, would probably translate into giving more value to the humanness of an interpreter's performance, perhaps even to the point of excluding machine interpreting from the conceptual category on account of its automaticity. But since the latter can form part of some novel compound forms, from transpeaking-based interlingual live subtitling to simultaneous human text-to-speech post-editing of MT output, a simple man-vs-machine distinction may no longer be realistic.

With regard to redrawing the conceptual map of interpreting so as to accommodate new forms of practice, I would therefore suggest a model akin to Kachru's (e.g. 1986) concentric circles representing core and peripheral areas of 'World Englishes'. Accordingly, Figure 3.3 features prototypical forms of interpreting in an 'inner circle', which, together with variants shown in an 'outer circle', make up the 'core area(s)' of the field, whereas the 'expanding circle' includes novel manifestations that would still be regarded as peripheral. Whereas Kachru originally depicted his 'circles' as partially superimposed upward-rising ellipses, foregrounding the scope of the expanding circle, it seems preferable here to adopt the simpler convention of actual concentric circles so as to better reflect the sense of (prototypical) core and (concept-expanding) periphery that was also hinted at in the matrix figures above.

As most of the arguments concerning the criterial fit of various forms of interpreting were given above, Figure 3.3 is essentially a summary of what has been discussed in the later sections of this chapter, and needs little further explanation. One might draw attention, though, to the items plotted on the borderlines in order to suggest fuzzy boundaries and ongoing development. This concerns in particular the area of RI, but also the possible extension of intralingual STT interpreting, in the generic sense (including live captioning and subtitling), to interlingual STT interpreting, in which case monolingual respeaking turns into the sub-task form of interpreting one could call transpeaking.

Since any categorisation is always contingent and conditioned by "social and intellectual developments" (Grbić 2011: 249), what is shown in Figure 3.3 can be no more than a snapshot taken from a particular analyst's perspective. This should prompt a final set of reflections concerning the agents and forces involved in the kind of boundary drawing illustrated above.

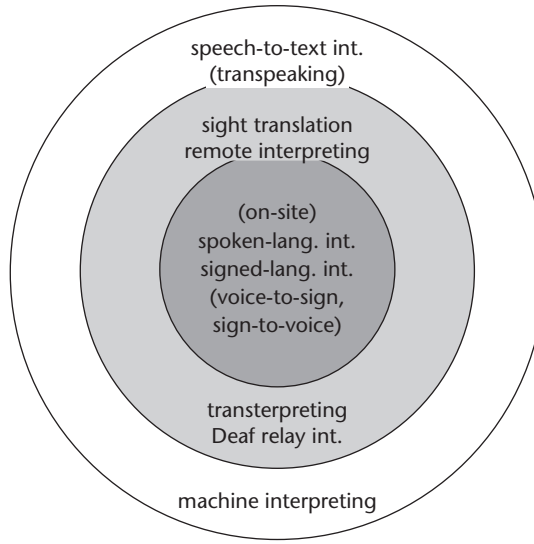

FIGURE 3.3 Concentric-circles model of the conceptual territory of interpreting

Interests and prospects

Throughout the pre-professional period, little need was apparently felt to categorise or label different types of interpreting, aside from indicating an interpreter's status through job titles such as 'apprentice dragoman' or (royal) 'Court interpreter'. In defining professional standards for the task, requirements such as fidelity and impartiality were formulated by state authority and by increasingly well-organised professions themselves, still under the generic term 'interpreting' or with setting-related labels. Not surprisingly, strict and narrow definitions are usually promoted by professional bodies in the interest of sharpening a given professional profile and safeguarding their members' expert status. In line with the principle of altruism, this can be assumed to serve also the interests of clients and other stakeholders, but the latter may also wield the power of definition and labelling themselves.

Yet another powerful force in this regard emanates from the fields of business and technology. Progress achieved by computer scientists in implementing automatic translation and other natural-language processing tasks feeds into the development of products and services for large-scale commercialisation, using labels that obey the principles of marketing rather than of scholarly definition.

In contrast to commercial interests and to the immediate stakeholder preferences of interpreting service providers and clients, which may be protected by state authority through appropriate legal provisions, the role of academic scholarship in addressing issues of definition and labelling is of a more fundamental nature. Academics claiming responsibility for a certain field of knowledge need to know their object of study as well as its limits, even and especially if the approach to be adopted purports to be interdisciplinary. For translation scholars, whose object is not only historical

but also part of changing present-day realities, this requires a keen awareness of translation-related social developments. Where new types of phenomena arise from the efforts of one or more of the stakeholder groups mentioned above, it is incumbent upon academics to decide whether these fall within the conceptual boundaries of their field. But though they may aspire to scientific rigour, they are well advised not to claim authority to issue ultimate judgements, above and beyond the interests of other social groups, or any conflicts between them.

All of this applies to the present effort to account for novel types of translational activities and suggest where conceptual boundaries may be drawn, and why. The concentric-circles model of the conceptual territory of interpreting posits an 'inner circle' of established practices as well as an 'outer circle' of phenomena which differ in some criteria (e.g. immediacy or interlinguality) and are therefore (still) regarded as less prototypical of interpreting. In addition, the model's 'expanding circle' includes novel forms of immediate linguistic re-expression that typically involve some degree of machine support or automaticity. In the expanding circle, in particular, the model therefore demonstrates that the recent moving of boundaries in interpreting has mainly been driven by technology.

Based on this kind of model, stakeholders in the field of interpreting may decide whether to take a more 'conservative' stance and limit their purview to the activities encompassed by the inner and outer circles, or whether to embrace some or all of the newly emerging forms of practice in the expanding circle. In the former case, they would reaffirm the status quo in what was characterised as the professional period of interpreting; in the latter, the addition of increasingly automated types of interpreting to the variable mix of professional and non-professional forms of practice may usher in a period of ever greater diversification, to the extent that one may have to envisage a post-professional period in the evolution of interpreting.

In any case, decisions on conceptual boundaries are consequential not only for the profession(s) but also for academics, who would face the need to account for (i.e., 'understand') and do research on new kinds of phenomena. Especially where academic teaching programmes include not only the transmission of the theoretical and methodological state of the art but also the acquisition of practical professional skills, forward-looking decisions would be required as to which forms of practice to include in the curriculum. For some tasks, such as respeaking, this is already under way; others, such as simultaneous text-to-speech post-editing of MT output, are still out of sight and out of bounds. Time will tell in which direction these and other boundaries in interpreting will be moving.

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4

MOVING TRANSLATION, REVISION, AND POST-EDITING BOUNDARIES

Arnt Lykke Jakobsen

Introduction: on the indeterminacy and universality of translation and revision

If translation is everywhere (Reynolds 2016), and if revision is one of three major cognitive processes of translation (Englund Dimitrova 2005: 30) and integral to translation (Malkiel 2009: 150), we cannot hope to expand the boundaries of translation and revision any further. But even if it may be true, in some sense, that translation and revision are everywhere, they constantly engage with new technologies leading to new practices and shifting of their internal boundaries. Translation and revision are more in transition than ever before (Jakobsen and Mesa-Lao 2017), with profound effects on how translations are made and on our understanding of what translation and revision are.

One uncertain translation boundary is with texts that are not translations. Literary history is full of speculative attempts to determine if a text, claimed to be an original composition, was in fact translated, adapted, or imitated from some already existing text. Similar attempts have been made to establish if a text, claimed to have been translated from an original composition, was in fact an original composition. In recent years, sophisticated computational analyses of texts have been made to establish authorship or translation. Success rates of close to 90 per cent have been reported for computerised identification of translated texts (Bernardini and Baroni 2006), but what such figures illustrate is that although translated text is very frequently recognisable, both by computers and human readers, sometimes it is not. Therefore, there is no clearly determinable boundary between an original composition and a translation. From a process perspective, striking similarities between writing and translating have been noted. Dam-Jensen and Heine (2013) and Risku et al. (2016) have studied the two activities as types of text production and explored the fuzzy edges between them while also noting differences. From a

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competence and quality perspective, it is generally thought that it is possible to have strong writing skills without translation skills, but not to be a good translator or reviser without good writing skills; however, such asymmetric boundaries have been challenged in recent years by new translation and revision practices that make it increasingly possible to produce a translation by monolingually post-editing a machine-translated text (Koehn 2010: 537) with no knowledge of the source language.

It is true that often translated language is less expressive and lacking in zest in comparison with original writing. Translated language may be full of explicitation (Englund Dimitrova 2005), lacking in unique items (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004) and characterised by a general gravitational pull (Halverson 2003), but it need not be. Translations are not inevitably written in a "third code" (Frawley 1984) or in "translationese" (Gellerstam 1986). The stylistic features we associate with translationese have been demonstrated in corpora comparing translated and non-translated bodies of text (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998). In large amounts of translated text, there would seem to be less lexical density and variety, more explicitation of text cohesion and culture-specific references, and fewer occurrences of unique target culture items. But, although this appears to be true of observations in a large corpus of translated text, produced by diverse translators, it is not necessarily true of a given individual translation, which may be as creatively original and linguistically rich as any original composition. In recent years, with the ubiquity of 'good enough' and wonderfully creative 'crowd' and 'fan' translation, there have been few inquiries into the differences between translated and non-translated language.

Juliane House (1997, 2015) made the famous distinction between overt and covert translations. An overt translation deliberately stretches and twists the boundaries of target language norms to convey an imitative and foreignised representation of the source text (ST). By contrast, a translator aiming to produce a covert translation will seek to remove all traces of a translation's dependence on an ST by attempting to bring the text of the translation into full conformity with target language text norms, possibly even localising references. In both cases, revision will aim to support the overall aim of the translation. If a translation aiming not to appear to be a translation is still found to be recognisably a translation, it could be said to be the result of inadequate revision. Revision is so integral to writing and translation that we cannot truly say where text production begins, and where text revision ends. Likewise, when we read a text, we cannot know how much or how little revision was involved in its making.

Revision has always been an important part of a translator's work, aiming to correct errors and optimise accuracy and fluency, i.e. faithfully represent correctly understood meaning in the new language and represent this meaning in a readable way to prospective readers. Finding an appropriate balance between these two main considerations is demanding, especially because of familiar cross-linguistic asymmetries. Furthermore, the two considerations often require the translator to draw on skills and knowledge that challenge and perhaps lie beyond the boundaries of translation competence as traditionally understood. As we shall see, working in interaction with a translation memory and machine translation (TM/MT) system extends a

translator's cognitive capacity. However, it does not make a translator into a universal domain expert, and caution is advisable when the machine is offering translation solutions beyond the translator's domain-specific knowledge. Therefore, interacting with a modern translation system introduces new cognitive constraints by altogether reconfiguring translational writing and revision into a new production form with less writing and revision, more editing of TM matches, and more post-editing of MT suggestions.

The distinction just made between revision, editing, and post-editing is becoming more and more blurred with the use of translation systems that combine TM and MT, but may still be useful. In what follows, 'revision' will occasionally be used generically to refer to any changes made in a translation, but mainly to refer specifically to changes made in a translation written by a translator, either by the translator (self-revision) or by another person (other-revision). 'Editing' will be used to refer to changes made by a translator to match suggestions from a TM, and 'post-editing' to refer to changes made by a translator to suggestions generated by an MT system, although with the integration of MT and TM, this distinction is often lost.

In the first of the following sections, I aim to show how pervasive self-revision is in translational text production and what cognitive processes are involved in it. After that comes a brief consideration of other-revision, and how it differs from self-revision. Then follows a section on contemporary TM- and MT-supported forms of translational text production, and the editing and post-editing they involve. A section then briefly compares human revision and post-editing and confronts the question of what space remains for human creativity in interaction with the computer. Finally, the concluding section takes up the discussion of the translation/revision boundary and the fundamentally different way computers and humans translate and revise.

Self-revision

Self-revision comes in two main forms. There is revision which is an integral part of the translation process as a translator drafts a translation. This has sometimes been referred to as online revision. The other main form of self-revision is the checking that a translator undertakes after the first full draft of a translation has been made. This is often referred to as end-revision.

The purpose of a translator's self-revision is to ensure that the translation is accurate and complete and that it is readable and correct by the standards of the target language norms when a covert translation is aimed for. Most translators make far more changes online than during end-revision although translators have different individual revision styles (Dragsted and Carl 2013: 147). Some prefer to produce a draft that is as nearly perfect as possible. Others prefer to leave untranslated portions in the draft and return to them in a revision phase after completing the first draft. Still others prefer to insert several alternative translation solutions in the draft translation, thus postponing the decision on which solution to finally prefer until a later (end) revision phase (Dragsted and Carl 2013: 136). To some extent, the preferred

revision style may depend on the genre of the ST. Some literary translators, for instance, follow very complex and original revision procedures aimed at ensuring consistency of global effects like tone (Borg 2016).

Why is it that translators revise their own text? Translation is sometimes unproblematic and more or less an automatised routine. When not automatic, it may still be the result of quick decision-making, a deliberate choice from among competing solutions. But very often translation is far from unproblematic. Several competing translation solutions present themselves, and evaluating their appropriateness is difficult, takes time, and a tentative decision may be revised. The nature of translational decision-making is often intuitive at first. A solution presents itself and is typed, but meanwhile another solution emerges into consciousness which strikes the translator as better, and the earlier solution is deleted and revised. Translators do not have full control over how successive solutions present themselves into consciousness. Sometimes a translator knows that there is a better solution than the one s/he has just typed, but is momentarily unable to produce it. All the translator can then do, for the moment, is to indicate that there is a better translation and wait for the brain to work on retrieving or constructing the translation. If the translator is in luck, the solution will present itself a short while after, or the translator may wake up the next morning and suddenly remember. The processes by which such translation solutions are retrieved or constructed are beyond our control and not well understood, but they are a frequent cause of revision during translation drafting.

Revision is sometimes done because translators' fingers accidentally hit a wrong key and mistype a word. Spelling mistakes are another cause of revision. Typos and spelling mistakes are both frequent triggers of revision, but they are part of text production generally and not specific to translational text production and consequently not the focus here. Online self-revision not triggered by typos or misspelling may be syntactic, e.g. when previously unread, new information in the ST makes it necessary for the translator to change the word or phrase order of the translation produced so far. It may also be lexical/semantic, as when a different translation of a word recently translated suggests itself to the translator. The new suggestion may come from the translator's mind, or it may be the result of research done on a solution the translator was uncertain about. Several researchers (Englund Dimitrova 2005: 121; Munday 2013: 132) have claimed that one can often observe a deliteralisation process going on in the succession of translation solutions. This would support Ivir's literal default hypothesis (Ivir 1981), by which a translator's first impulse is always to translate literally.

From the point of view of correctness and presentation, avoidance of typos and misspellings is very important. In many social contexts, spelling mistakes and errors are seen as embarrassing and unprofessional and should be fixed. From a cognitive perspective, they are less interesting because they are subject to generally agreed orthographic norms and grammatical rules and therefore do not leave a translator much choice (see, however, Muñoz Martín 2009). Syntactic and lexical/semantic revisions are far more interesting, both for what they reveal about the kinds of choices and decisions that are made as part of translation and revision, and for what they tell us cognitively about how the human mind decides among alternative modes of action.

Lexical/semantic revisions often reflect a different interpretation of the ST. If Kierkegaard, the Danish philosopher, wrote *sygdom*, a translator might first suggest *disease*, but then wonder if *illness* or *sickness* would be better. Walter Lowrie opted for *sickness* (*The Sickness unto Death*, 1941). Or if Kierkegaard wrote *opbyggelig*, a translator might first write *upbuilding*, then try out *educational*, or *edifying*. Swenson & Swenson (1958) had *Edifying Discourses in Diverse Spirits*. Hong and Hong (1993) had *Upbuilding Discourses in Various Spirits*. What is involved here is more than a simple matter of mapping words. It is a question of how to best align the mental image or idea created from an ST expression in the translator with an expression in the target language which the translator believes is most likely to produce a similar mental image in the reader of the translation. The meanings of lexical items and expressions across related languages can often be closely matched in their root or literal meaning, but even in such cases, they cannot always be expected to stand for each other when used in a text. Here, translation and revision require more than what is ordinarily meant by translation and revision skills, viz. either specialist subject domain knowledge (such as knowing the difference between sickle cell disease and sickle cell syndrome (da Silva 2016)) or (as in the Kierkegaard example above) expert hermeneutic and theological knowledge. When translation travels across unrelated languages and distant cultures, the challenge becomes much greater and may give rise to much discussion and revision and very different translations.

The ability to manage uncertainty, including delayed decision-making, has been claimed to be an integral part of translation and an indicator of translation proficiency (Tirkkonen-Condit 2000: 141; Angelone 2010: 18). This ability is one that handles conscious decision-making and involves decision-making both about competing internal translation suggestions based on the translator's knowledge and suggestions found in external information sources. With experience, the process of meaning matching across languages may become routinised and intuitive, to some extent, but the factors which potentially affect the translator's choice among competing matches are innumerable. In addition to the ST, they include factors like the translator's awareness of a brief (Nord 1997: 46), knowledge of the intended audience, and target language text-linguistic norms (Toury 2012: 83), technical knowledge, personal stylistic preferences, and language policy ideology (Rojo López and Ramos Caro 2016). The translator's well-being and affective state may also be a factor (Lehr 2014; Rojo López and Ramos Caro 2014). For all these reasons, different translations of the same text by different translators may turn out quite different. It also means that each individual translator is constantly choosing among many competing candidate solutions. It is no wonder, therefore, that revision at the lexical and phrase levels is so frequent.

It is unclear what cognitive processes decide among alternative translation solutions. In process studies, one can often see suggestions being cascaded in rapid succession as if the typing of one suggestion sparks an association to another, leading to deletion of the earlier solution. This suggests that in the individual translator, the (often intuitive) process by which translation solutions are produced is associative,

sequential, and emergent. If instead of successively replacing previous solutions with later solutions, the translator chooses to list the various competing candidates and postpone deciding among them (Englund Dimitrova 2005: 108; Kolb 2013: 218), then on coming to the list of suggestions in a subsequent end-revision phase, s/he faces a paradigmatic list of options requiring a more highly conscious, deliberate choice. This situation has been studied by Munday (2012) and in-depth by Borg (2016), who obtained privileged access to the workshop of a distinguished Maltese translator and was able to follow the coming into being of his literary translation from French into Maltese. Borg was able to report in minute detail on the translator's personal revision practice. His highly complex revision routines involved translation drafting with much concurrent revision and also with a lot of alternative translation suggestions in places where he preferred to leave a decision for later. Altogether, this translator revised his draft in no less than eight complete rounds to ensure full artistic unity to the translation all the way to publication.

Borg and Munday both see paradigmatic listing of alternative translation solutions as evidence of uncertainty on the translator's part. The practice can also be seen as evidence of the fundamental indeterminacy of meaning, which makes translation a task with multiple possible solutions. Studies of so-called entropy in translation (Degaetano-Ortlieb and Teich 2017; Schaeffer et al. 2016) based on corpora of data from multiple translations of the same text indicate that what is experienced individually as a difficult translation problem correlates with locations where multiple translation solutions (yielding high entropy) are recorded from different translators of the same text. The individual translator obviously cannot be aware of the many solutions suggested by other translators and is not choosing from a finite list of suggestions. Nevertheless, high entropy correlates with individually perceived difficulty and with text locations which can be predicted to be subject to extensive revision.

What the above suggests is that during translation drafting, translation solutions, at first often imperfect solutions, emerge in the translator's mind, presenting a sequence of more and more acceptable solutions. This emergence of imperfect, tentative, replaceable suggestions before an acceptable translation solution is found is a major cognitive cause of revision, both during drafting and during end-revision.

Other-revision

In international organisations, company in-house translation departments, and with language service providers, it is now customary to have someone other than the translator check the text of a translation. Other-revision is prescribed in standards for translation practice such as EN 15038 (2006) and ISO 17100 (2015) and may be said to have become institutionalised in the profession.

A strong argument in favour of other-revision is that four eyes are better than two. What this saying reflects is that writers, including translators, often overlook their own mistakes and tend to become partial to their own text. This partiality locks them into favourite formulations, develops personal idiosyncrasies, and tends

to blind them to errors and alternative solutions. Therefore, other-revision has long been implemented as a separate, obligatory post-translation procedure in the interest of assuring the quality of translations.

The overall aim of other-revision is similar to that of self-revision, but the process resembles end-revision more than online revision in that it generally operates on a full draft translation. A distinction can be made between bilingual and monolingual other-revision. Bilingual other-revision firstly seeks to check accuracy, i.e. for adequate and full correspondence of the target text (TT) with the ST. When texts were still printed on paper, this was typically a two-finger exercise. The accuracy reviser had one finger in the ST and one in the TT to ensure that the translation was everywhere accurate and complete. An accuracy reviser should be as perfectly bilingual as possible and should have at least the same translation competences as the translator. A reviser can be a colleague with similar translation expertise, but with no special authority in relation to the translator. In that case, and depending on the personal relationship involved, other-revision can be collaborative and co-creative in the spirit of helpful manuscript revision. In a more hierarchical environment, a reviser can also be a person with authority to overrule a translator's solutions, much like a translation teacher's power to assess the level of accuracy and general quality achieved in a student translation.

A reviser checking for accuracy is inevitably also checking content and meaning. Therefore, the general recommendation is that accuracy and content revisers should have more translating experience in the domain under consideration than the translator and should possibly collaborate with a subject expert in the domain. Checking content overlaps with accuracy checking. Both involve checking numbers and facts or checking terminology against a list and for consistency, but content checking quickly shades into specialist subject knowledge beyond the range of a reviser and into issues concerning language usage in specialist communities and subject-domain knowledge. Subject specialists have specialist domain knowledge and are also members of a specialist language community, in which they have the authority to interpret meaning and to say what is right and wrong. As domain specialists, they maintain and develop the language norms that apply in their discipline through professional negotiation with their colleagues, and when specialist content and associated language usage is at stake, other-revisers (as well as translators) have no choice but to accept the specialists' recommendation.

The second main aim of other-revision is to make sure that the translated text conforms to target language norms for the kind of text concerned. If bilingual other-revision has been undertaken, this kind of revision may be carried out by target-language experts who are not necessarily bilingual and do not necessarily have access to the ST. From the point of view of other-revision, it may be regarded as an advantage not to have access to the ST, as this will allow the reviser to attend fully to ensuring that the translated text is perfectly functional, comprehensible, readable, and user-friendly. The assumption is that a fresh pair of eyes, unhampered by knowledge of the ST, will better detect errors and inappropriate solutions and will more easily see alternative solutions.

Robert et al. (2016: 3) and Mossop (2014: 192) recommend that an other-reviser should have strong interpersonal skills and should also possess an ability to justify the changes s/he wishes to make in a translator's text, either by reference to what the ST means or by reference to how its meaning is best expressed in the target language by the speech norms of that language, or both. Justifying changes presupposes an ability to produce arguments based both on experience, on (meta-)linguistic knowledge and knowledge of translation theory – the kind of argumentative arsenal by which a reviser demonstrates professional authority. Translators sometimes receive suggestions and interventions by other-revisers with a certain amount of sensitivity. For this reason, professional other-revisers are generally careful not to over-revise (Mossop 2014: 195), but to accept suboptimal solutions (by their personal standards) and concentrate on clearly unacceptable occurrences.

Empirical research on other-revision is relatively scarce. Ipsen and Dam (2016) survey the literature and find early results based on questionnaire surveys inconclusive. Later observational studies (e.g. Robert 2013, 2014; Robert and Waes 2014) have targeted the relative merits of comparative [i.e. bilingual] and monolingual other-revision and looked into occurrences of correct revision, omission of revision where needed (under-revision), and unnecessary or erroneous revision (over-revision). They were interested in investigating the relative merits of monolingual revision (only), comparative revision (only), comparative revision followed by monolingual revision, and monolingual revision followed by comparative revision. While monolingual revision (only) was found by Robert to produce poorer revision quality than the other three procedures, no significant difference was found among those three. The revision procedures followed in Ipsen and Dam's study were either comparative [bilingual] or monolingual, or they were combinations and/or iterations of the two procedures, adding to the total number of steps undertaken. The most successful revisers were found to have employed a two-step procedure involving, first, a (partly) comparative procedure followed by a monolingual reading and revision of the translation, with the important additional observation that in the comparative step, the most successful revisers all read the translated sentence before they read the corresponding ST sentence. The least successful revisers all read the ST sentence first before turning their attention to the translation. Although the study was small-scale and exploratory, the directionality effect here observed is potentially very interesting and could be interpreted as a way of reducing the risk of literalness interference from the ST.

Editing and post-editing

The vast majority of professional translation is now done by translators who interact with a CAT system, i.e. a computer-assisted translation system, such as SDL Trados, memoQ, Déjà Vu, or Wordfast Pro, which is designed to aid the translator by producing a full MT version or by suggesting translations, sentence by sentence. The CAT tool used may also suggest translations of specific terms, display a concordance of word collocations or otherwise help the translator access relevant information.

Suggestions come from the program's store of previously translated sentences, its TM, an electronic dictionary, a specialised term-base, a concordance linked to a relevant corpus, or Internet searches. Several systems now also work with a built-in MT system. In the past 20 years, the quality of MT has greatly improved, and it is now widely accepted in the translation profession as part of the workflow. In the most frequently used implementation, MT is combined with a TM system and will offer a translation of sentences for which no match is found in the TM. The TM will mostly present sentences which are not 100 per cent matches, with an indication of the level of divergence from a full match and perhaps highlighting which portions of the match are different. (Post-)editing typically involves either deleting an element, inserting a new element or rearranging elements, somewhat like traditional revision, but the fact that suggestions come from a machine rather than the translator herself/himself or another human translator creates new cognitive challenges.

Using an electronic dictionary does not require the translator to work very differently from using a paper dictionary, and with the technical computer skills translators now possess, using an electronic term-base is no doubt easier than using a printed terminology list, and a concordance may offer very relevant collocational information not available in dictionaries, printed or electronic. Using a TM system, however, is more complicated. It involves having to learn how to use a fairly advanced computer program, having to adapt to a very different cognitive situation where the translator does not control the intake of new ST segments for translation, but is presented with new segments by the system, and having to learn to alternate between reading and (post-)editing a translation presented by a machine and translating from scratch when what the machine suggests is too inadequate to be repaired.

So there is a considerable initial price to be paid in order to reach a functional level of mastery of a TM system. Once that initial cost has been paid, there are also operating costs. Firstly, there is the additional cognitive effort involved in having to attend not just to an ST and an input window for the TT, but to an ST and a suggested, possibly only partially usable translation, which has to be evaluated for usability on the basis of the translator's comparison of the ST and the suggested (partial) match. Only then can the translator decide whether to translate the segment from scratch or to repair it by editing the portions that need to be changed. Another operating cost arises from the fact that the computer presents information in multiple windows: an ST (possibly in two different windows), a translation suggestion (also possibly presented doubly), a match percentage value, user information, a terminology proposal, and possibly still more, all of which is potentially relevant, but all of which competes for the translator's attention. The wealth of information in multiple windows causes many disruptive attentional shifts, as demonstrated in a series of eye-tracking studies by O'Brien (2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2009). Despite all this, the success of TM, with or without MT, demonstrates that the overall gains obtained by recycling translations and feeding (partial) matches to translators outweigh the cognitive costs for most professional translation purposes, depending on the quality of the TM population of matched segments and their match levels in relation to a given text under translation.

If the TM system used does not find a match, and no suggestion is offered by an MT engine, translation has to be done from scratch with the usual accompanying online revision phenomena described earlier. When a match is found or generated by an MT engine, editing or post-editing procedures are activated. In systems where the provenance of suggestions is not transparent, the distinction between editing and post-editing disappears, and post-editing is now often used synonymously with editing. The term 'post-editing' originated at a time when MT required a document to be pre-edited before translation to reduce the number of predictable errors otherwise made by the MT engine. After pre-editing and batch-translation, post-editing would follow.

If a full match is returned, some translators instantly accept it (O'Brien 2006a: 198), trusting the system and bypassing checking, although 100 per cent matches are not always appropriate in all contexts. If the system returns a fuzzy match, the translator will normally need to read the ST and see what repair changes are required. When investigating how much cognitive effort was spent on TM matches with different match values, O'Brien (2008) found that exact matches were processed many times faster and required much less effort than suggestions with low-match values (between 50 and 75%) and where there was no match. Interestingly, O'Brien found that the correlation was linear only down to a match level of around 75 per cent. Below that, a plateau was reached, and today it is generally estimated that if fuzzy match suggestions have a match value of less than 70–75 per cent, it is faster to discard them and translate from scratch (Teixeira 2014).

Post-editing effort has been studied from a variety of perspectives and methodologies. Working from think-aloud data, Krings (2001) found it useful to distinguish between three types of effort: technical, temporal, and cognitive. Later keylogging studies (Lacruz et al. 2012), which focussed on studying temporal delays as indicators of effort, and Koponen (2016), which correlated editing time with reports on editors' perceived effort, have not succeeded either in firmly establishing that post-editing requires less cognitive effort than translating, although interesting observations were made. Thus, Koponen (2016) found that although there appeared to be a tendency for some ST and post-editing phenomena to require much effort (e.g. very long ST sentence constructions and translation suggestions requiring word order rearrangement), editing time did not always correlate with perceived editing difficulty, which challenges our methods of measuring effort.

The general trust invested by translators in solutions presented by a TM system is another important factor (Teixeira 2014). Trust depends very much on translators' knowledge of who populated the TM, on whether the TM was created by themselves, by trusted colleagues, by a client, or by unknown translators, and the degree of trust strongly impacts translators' editing behaviour. If TM suggestions are generally distrusted, editing will be slow and over-editing is likely to result. Conversely, if a translator knows about the provenance of TM suggestions and trusts their quality, translation and editing will proceed more efficiently and comfortably.

Once translator editors are satisfied that a segment has been translated satisfactorily, they seem to have an unfortunate tendency to be done with it. TM/MT technology appears to induce a tendency in (post-)editors to attend to translation segment by

segment rather than supra-segmentally to the whole text. Even a final reading of the completed translation often tends to focus more on orthographic proofreading and terminology (copyediting) than on checking overall coherence. Clearly human translators do not translate one sentence at a time (cf. e.g. Aragonés Lumeras and Way 2017: 34). The fact that current TM/MT systems impose this constraint on users causes cognitive friction and appears to lead to suboptimal editing behaviour.

It might be said that (post-)editing is not very different from other-revision. Here, also, a human reviser edits a translation done by someone else. In the case of post-editing, this 'someone else' is often taken to be a translation engine, but the translation produced by the engine is in reality the result of the joint efforts of a team of human translators, linguists, language engineers, and programmers, so the difference might not be that great. Nevertheless, (post-)editing is considerably different from revising a human translator's draft translation. As often pointed out, post-editing requires different skills from ordinary revision (e.g. O'Brien 2002). Many of them are skills based on critically distrusting seductive suggestions from the system (Pym 2013: 473–9). Although, taken one by one, the operations involved in other-revision and (post-)editing may be similar, the number of obviously erroneous and meaningless solutions suggested by a translation engine is still mostly quite high, and the mere fact that a reviser knows that a suggestion was generated by a machine or does not know if a suggestion was made by a machine or a human translator is psychologically stressful to the reviser/(post-editor) (Teixeira 2014). Mellinger and Shreve (2016) demonstrate that uncertainty about the provenance of a translation suggestion may also lead to over-revision by post-editors.

Revision and post-editing compared

What is new and different in relation to traditional revision procedures is that in a TM/MT environment the translator alternates between translating from the ST when what the machine suggests is useless and reading and (post-)editing a translation produced by a machine, which mostly also involves reading the relevant ST segment and comparing it with the suggested translation. As technology develops, the need for from-scratch translation becomes less and less, and the boundary between writing a translation and editing an automatically produced draft is shifted to the point where we may feel that what a translator does is no longer translating but (post-)editing. This development is not always welcomed by translators. Many see (post-)editing as an uncreative and primarily corrective activity and resent having to learn new techno-skills and having to unlearn old skills (Bundgaard 2017: 139). They resent the increased productivity expectations, the confusion caused by the overwhelming amounts of information in multiple windows on the screen, and having to correct stupid mistakes made by the MT engine or propagated from the TM. In a similar vein, O'Brien et al. (2017: 146) identified considerable cognitive friction, arising mainly from the complexity of the user interface and from forced segmentation. Bundgaard (2017: 138) reports one translator as saying she felt she had to "turn off the creative process". When (post-)editing, she also reported a complicating change

in her cognitive processes from reading an ST and translating it to reading a suggested TT, then reading the ST and creating her own translation of it, and then comparing her own mental translation of the ST with the suggested TT.

In the 1990s and well into the 2000s, there was already much debate about the benefits of automated translation. In his very comprehensive think-aloud study, originally undertaken in 1994, Krings (2001: 359) found that post-editing was more cognitively demanding than translating directly from a ST. This finding was based on a simple count of the number of ST and MT related verbalisations elicited in his experiments. He also found that if given the choice, post-editors preferred to comprehend the text through the ST and not the deficient MT. The presence of the deficient MT text was found to have a "cognitive pull-down effect" (Krings 2001: 360) on ST comprehension. Krings (2001: 417) also wondered if suggestions coming from the computer would beneficially add to the number of translation solutions from which a translation was selected, provide new ideas, and altogether 'catalyse' the process, or if it would reduce the number of options by leading translators' minds in a certain direction they had difficulty departing from.

With all the technological advances in the more than 20 years since Krings's experiments, this is still a major concern to many translators and researchers. As more and more text is suggested by a computer and (post-)edited, we still wonder what happens to original and creative meaning representation and to the human translator's translation competence as a result of the shifting of the boundary between writing and editing. Some translators still report feeling "trapped by MT" (Bundgaard 2017: 138), and there is still no clear answer to this question. Pessimists say we are losing our humanity to the machine. More optimistic persons see our interaction with translation tools as a welcome extension of our ability to translate.

Concluding discussion of the translation-revision-editing boundary

It is true, as stated by Dam-Jensen and Heine (2013: 94), that translators' physical environments, technical tools, electronic search facilities, and collaborative network options have led to drastic changes. There are changes in the way translations are produced and perceived, and also in the way they are disseminated, available, and used. It is also true, as stated by Pym (2013), that the use of TM/MT systems requires new skills, very likely the ten skills listed by Pym. It is perhaps also true that the use of these systems is destined to soon push the revision boundary in the direction of post-editing and turn most translators into post-editors, and it is possible that post-editing can be done "without requirements for extensive area knowledge and possibly with a reduced emphasis on foreign-language expertise" (Pym 2013: 488).

However, we tend to forget that TM/MT systems are not active, autonomous text producers. Like other instruments, they are designed for a specific purpose, which is to assist translators by extending their ability to produce translations, by allowing them to benefit from their own earlier translation work and the work of colleagues as well as by giving them access to vast information resources. This access

to information, possibly in combination with access to colleagues in a collaborative network or to non-professional fans in a 'crowd', extends translators' linguistic and knowledge range and enables them to appropriately translate a broader suite of types of text from a larger variety of knowledge domains.

The instruments, particularly freely available MT systems, also make it possible for people with little or no knowledge of translation to produce translations. Rather than deplore the fact that translations can now be produced by uninformed users, we should welcome this possibility. It is precisely the potentially ubiquitous availability (Cronin 2010) of translation technology that makes it increasingly meaningful to say that translation is everywhere. The combination of speech recognition, MT in the cloud, and speech synthesis makes it possible to communicate across multiple (but not all) languages in the spoken medium. MT still depends on written representations, but users no longer have to be able to write in order to translate. This democratisation of translation means that a lot of translation is produced which a professional translator or client would never accept, but not all translation needs to be professional and perfect. Even for professional purposes, good-enough standards and gist translation will often suffice, and in many social situations we are not only very tolerant but welcoming of irregular language, and very good at constructing intended meaning from it, unlike computers which are bad at handling such language – one of the many ways in which the human mind works differently from computers.

Do we need to say that translations are no longer written and that the translator has become a post-editor? We certainly need to acknowledge that the boundary between writing and (post-)editing has shifted. In much professional translation, there is less writing and less translation from scratch, than editing and post-editing of text suggested by TM/MT systems. Translation no longer necessarily involves a translator writing anything. A short, successful translation can now be produced by somebody who does not know how to write and does not know a word of the target language, but possesses a smart phone with a relevant app. To theoretically accommodate this development, we have to extend our conception of an ST, but we need not abandon it. Translation still starts from a meaningful human message, i.e. a written, signed or spoken representation of meaning, which a human-made tool may be able to represent in written or spoken words in a different language, but in the end the message still has to be interpreted by a human recipient to be meaningful.

The power of a modern translation system is scary to some and impressive to most, especially the speed with which such systems operate, but also the accuracy of the translations they suggest, in many cases. It must be remembered, however, that there is a fundamental difference between the way computers produce translations, and the way human translators work. When we say that a computer reads and translates an ST, we are speaking metaphorically. The computer enters a string of letters into its system with no meaning attached. It can do wonderful things with strings of letters very quickly, but it cannot (yet) construct meaning from it. Its performance is based on the assumption that there is a translation short-cut from meaning representation A to meaning representation B, and surprisingly often it

succeeds in suggesting a string which successfully mediates the relevant meaning to us. But the machine does not work from any consideration of meaning.

When a human translator reads an ST or listens to a spoken ST, this is also a matter of initially perceiving and recognising letters and words, but the human reader is able to construct relevant meaning from the text or message. Without that ability, a human translator or interpreter would be like a machine, for it is this ability which enables the human translator/interpreter to translate/interpret and revise. The human translator translates and revises meaning, represented in words, it is true, but motivated by the mental representations we call meaning. Words are the medium we use to move meaning from one mind to another when we speak or write, or when we interpret, translate, and revise. In a superficial sense, revision is all about words, but our use of words is motivated by our will to best represent and convey the flux of our thoughts, emotions, and ideas, and so we keep on formulating, reformulating, paraphrasing, and revising them to make our meaning shareable. Computers can be used as our tools serving the same purpose, but unlike humans they have no intentions, good or bad, and they never revise.

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5

MOVING TOWARDS PERSONALISING TRANSLATION TECHNOLOGY

Sharon O'Brien and Owen Conlan

Introduction

The translation profession has seen many changes since the 1990s, notably since the introduction of translation memory (TM) tools. It is generally accepted that the 'technological turn' in translation (O'Hagan 2013) has had an impact on translators, on the translation process and product, as well as on the academic discipline of translation studies. The more recent successes of data-driven statistical machine translation (SMT) and, even more recently, neural machine translation (NMT) signal yet another change for some sectors of the translation profession. Generally speaking, technologisation is driven by the basic assumption that things will be better as a result. Few would argue that TM tools, for instance, have not brought about advantages. Yet recent research shows that there is still disgruntlement among users of TM technology. And, despite significant advances in machine translation (MT), the voices within the translation profession singing the praises of that technology are few.

This chapter first examines these shifts in the translation technology landscape and argues that the traditional boundaries between TM and MT technology are becoming blurred, so much so that it is difficult now to treat them as separate. This is relevant for translation practice, research, and teaching. Where a clear divide existed previously, that is now disappearing. It considers the implications of increasing technologisation, especially in the context of some continued dissatisfaction among translators with their tools. The chapter then turns its attention to the concepts of personalisation and adaptation to explore whether and how these notions could be applied, to the benefit of users, to translation technology. It is emphasised here that personalisation and adaptation are not trivial techniques and so we do not suggest trivial tweaks to existing technologies, but fundamental changes that could be explored to see if personalising translation technology might eventually lead to a better symbiosis between the translator and her tools. As personalisation and adaptation have not, to the best of our knowledge, been considered at any length in the context of translation, the ideas presented here are necessarily exploratory.

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Major boundary shifts

Translation Memory

The introduction of TM tools in the early 1990s represented a considerable shift in translator work practices and had an important effect on the translation process. Prior to its introduction, in high volume, repetitive translation environments, the word processing 'compare' feature was used to identify changes in the source text (ST) and translations were then cut and pasted into the updated source, before translation could continue. This tedious and error-prone process was eliminated by TM tools. Expectations for translator productivity consequently increased as did expectations for quality, in particular for the dimension of consistency. In the TM environment, translators now had to deal with processing two STs, the 'true' ST and a match from the TM database. The implications of this were that they not only had to engage with the usual translation sub-processes, but also cross-language comparison and evaluation, acceptability decision making, and editing.

In large-scale translation contexts, translation became more 'collaborative', or derivative, since translations from others were stored in a shared database and reused. Furthermore, TM tools meant that translators did not necessarily have to be experts in multiple file formats and applications such as Framemaker, SGML, or HTML. That is, they now translated within the TM environment, which filtered these file formats. There were economic implications too as TM tools forced a downward pressure on cost-per-word based on exact and fuzzy match volumes. It is also argued that TM tools forced translators to focus more on segments than on text and that this impacted on the translated product (Dragsted 2005; Mellinger and Shreve 2016).

Thus it can be argued that TM technology impacted on the profession, the product, and the process of translation. TM tools are now firmly embedded in many sectors of the translation profession. In a recent survey by SDL (SDL 2016) one of the leading computer-aided translation (CAT) tool developers, 83 per cent of respondents reported using 'translation productivity' software. The survey had 2,784 responses from across 115 countries. Over half of the respondents had at least five to more than ten years of experience with these tools.

We could assume that the major shift that occurred with the introduction of TM is long past, yet more than 20 years on translators still sometimes report that they are not completely satisfied with their TM tools; in particular they mention complexity of the user interface and forced segmentation as being problematic (O'Brien et al. 2017; Moorkens and O'Brien 2016; LeBlanc 2013).

Statistical machine translation

The more recent increase in MT usage can be compared to this seismic shift represented by the introduction of TM. Rule-based MT trundled on for many years in the background, being used in only some organisations (e.g. PAHO – the

Pan American Health Organization – Vasconcellos 1985, Vasconcellos and León 1985). The introduction of data-driven MT, or statistical machine translation (SMT), on the other hand, resulted in a considerable uptake in the specialised translation market, though this has been less accelerated than for TM, and the impact has been limited to certain domains and language pairs (e.g. IT, legislation, TAUS 2014). The impact of advances in MT technology could be considerably greater in the longer term. Some translation scholars are asking if all translators will become post-editors (Pym 2013) and suggest that translation technologies, including MT, "are altering the very nature of the translator's cognitive activity" (Pym 2011: 1). There will be implications for translator training programmes and for models of translation competence where one additional competence will be to learn to trust the data (Pym 2013).

Neural network MT?

At the time of writing, a new shift in boundaries for translation technology has already become obvious. SMT has certainly brought about advances in the quality that could be produced by MT systems, but the general consensus is that a quality ceiling has been reached. At the same time, advances in artificial intelligence (AI), in particular in the domain of neural networks, have occurred. More and more (translation) data has become available and the high performance computing requirements for processing neural networks is becoming more of a reality. AI researchers have consequently turned their attention to whether MT quality could be improved by using a neural network, rather than a phrase-based statistical approach.

NNMT stands for neural network machine translation. NNMT, or just NMT, is based on the concept of deep learning and neural nets. Deep learning is linked with the concept of machine learning, where a computer automatically 'learns' from data. For MT, this means that the system can create a predictive model to translate new source material based on 'knowledge' it has gleaned from TM or other natural language data. In contrast, SMT systems work on the word and phrase level, which means that some phrases can be fluently and accurately translated within a sentence, while other parts of the sentence can sound disfluent. The main promise offered by NMT over SMT is that greater context can be taken into account and that this can lead to greater accuracy and fluency when compared with SMT. (For an accessible comparison of NMT and SMT, see Forcada 2017 and the blog post by Vashee 2016).

Although NMT appears promising, it still has limitations at the time of writing. For example, it is reportedly slower than SMT because it is computationally more complex (days vs. weeks of time for training the engine). Also, increases in quality over SMT engines have been reported primarily in the currency of automatic evaluation metrics, such as BLEU scores (see Koehn 2010 for a full description of BLEU and similar metrics), which still do not have acceptance as a valid quality metric among translation scholars or the translation profession. The impact of

NMT is unknown at this point, but it is likely to contribute further to the changing translation technology landscape.

Blurring boundaries

With ever-increasing usage of MT, we are witnessing a blurring of traditional boundaries between the two technologies of TM and MT. Many TM tools now also include MT suggestions as an option. It is expected that eventually the technology will be such that automated confidence estimation (a quality estimate generated by the MT system) will be used to triage MT by comparing with available TM matches and presenting the best suggestion to the translator, which might be a fuzzy match from the TM database or a suggestion from the MT system (Dara et al. 2013).

One term that has been used to describe translator interaction with MT is 'Human-in-the-Loop' automated translation, but this places the human translator in a peripheral position in relation to the machine process and reduces her to the role of verifying or fixing the machine errors. A more desirable description from the translator's perspective might be 'Machine-in-the-Loop' translation, where the human agent is served by the machine, and not the other way around.

It is not only the case that MT is now mixed in with TM, but the boundaries between what is 'human translation' and what is 'machine translation' are also becoming blurred. With the application of deep learning techniques, the machine effectively learns from the examples produced by humans (via TMs and parallel translated data). The learning can happen at particular junctures in time moving from intervals of weeks or months, to within the same text editing instance, to within the current segment editing instance. In the first case, the system is retrained using post-edited data at monthly intervals, for example. In the second, the system learns on the fly through what is called 'adaptive' MT and provides suggestions to the translator based on decisions she made earlier in the text editing process. The third interval is known as 'interactive MT', where the MT proposal for the current segment changes in real time depending on decisions the translator makes. Interactive MT was proposed as a prototype technology many years ago (Foster et al. 1997, 2002) and has lately become a reality through technologies such as Lilt, which has been hailed by some in the translation profession as a game changer (Zetsche 2016). With adaptive and interactive MT, the dividing lines between TM and MT are no longer clear.

Implications of shifting and blurring boundaries

Considering the changing landscape sketched above and assuming that NMT will meet expectations, it is not unrealistic to state that translation technology will only grow in importance in the translation profession. There are concerns that the role of the human translator will be, at a minimum, reduced to that of 'post-editor'. A more optimistic view is presented by Melby (2016), who argues that until we experience the phenomenon known as the 'singularity' (Kurzweil 2010), humans

will still outperform machines in terms of emotion and agency, and maybe also creativity. (The 'singularity', as explained by Kurzweil, refers to a time in the future when technological change will be so rapid and so advanced that human life as we know it now will be radically and irreversibly changed.)

We know from experience that the introduction of TM technology represented a significant change for translators and that it was not always positive. That the introduction of TM technology was seen and experienced as being forced by the translation industry in a top-down manner was unhelpful. Translators were unsuspecting and ill-prepared; they were not consulted in terms of needs or design of tools and we are still seeing the repercussions today in terms of dissatisfaction with tools and the process, as mentioned in the section on 'major boundary shifts' above. As Olohan puts it, systems sometimes fail (or meet with less success) because their development is seen as a technical change process, rather than a *socio*-technical change process (Olohan 2011, our emphasis).

Considering the major shifts we are witnessing due to technological innovation, and to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past, it is surely worth making translators central to the current developments. More collaboration and consultation between technology researchers and developers and their end users is needed. However, we go beyond calling for just consultation of translators regarding the design of the technologies they use and move one step further to call for intelligent personalisation and adaptation of translation technologies. The next section will discuss this in some detail.

Considerations on personalisation and adaptation

What is personalisation and adaptation?

Prior to discussing personalisation and adaptation in the context of translation (see the section 'Relevance to Translation Technology' below), we first give a brief introduction to those concepts. According to Göker & Myrhaug (2002: 1), "[p]ersonalisation is about tailoring products and services to better fit the user". There are several ways of achieving personalisation, and the main ways involve focusing on the user needs, preferences, interests, expertise, workload, tasks etc. "We advocate user context as a means of capturing all these" (ibid.). Personalisation has been shown to have strong potential in allowing users to access and understand complex information and processes (Hampson et al. 2014), and in alleviating cognitive overload (Höök 1998).

At the core of all personalisation research is the need for a User Model (Knutov et al. 2009), which uses terms from a Domain Model to indicate a user's relationship to different concepts. The Domain Model describes how concepts are connected to each other defining a semantic relationship between them (De Bra et al. 1999; Conlan et al. 2002; Brusilovsky 2008). The User Model contains characteristics of individual users such as goals, knowledge, background, and preferences modelled in terms of the Domain Model concepts. For example, in the case of translation, the

User Model might contain information on the degree of expertise or experience a translator has in translating a specialised domain (background). Information about environment and location is often added to the User Model to handle mobility and the use of various devices (Joerding 1999; Garlatti et al. 1999; Billsus et al. 2000).

Discussion of personalisation is often accompanied by the term *adaptation*, which necessarily raises a question about the differences between these two concepts. García-Barrios et al. (2005: 122) discuss the conceptual differences between personalisation and adaptation and argue that the concepts are interdependent: "*personalising* is the same as *adapting towards a specific user*" and, therefore, "personalisation systems represent a specific subtype of general adaptation systems" (emphasis in original).

Background and contexts

Early discussions on adaptive user interfaces stem from the 1980s and initially focused on needs, preferences, and expertise but then also merged with work on user modelling. IT systems that model users in this way are sometimes referred to as 'context-aware applications' and 'affective user interfaces'. According to Göker and Myrhaug (2002: 5), "[a] context can be defined as a description of aspects of a situation". Personalisation can be implemented in a range of contexts, including, for instance, online e-commerce (e.g. Karat et al. 2004) and e-learning (Green et al. 2005; Conlan et al. 2002).

Green et al. (2005) argue for the reversal of logic in education systems to make the system conform to the learner, rather than the learner to the system. This is, according to them, "the essence of personalisation". Commenting on the same domain, Oulasvirta and Blom highlight that individuation of learning materials has been shown to increase "not only motivation, but depth of engagement, amount learned, perceived competence, and levels of aspiration" (2008: 3).

Motivation for personalisation

Oulasvirta and Blom (2008: 13) tell us that "there is no special need for personalisation, rather there are context-independent basic needs that are idiosyncratically manifested as motivations related to the use of a product's features". Using Deci and Ryan's Theory of Self-Determination (Deci and Ryan 1985, 2000), Oulasvirta and Blom (2008: 14) claim that "there is a link between well-being and personalisation". As mentioned above, they also show better learning experience through personalisation in the field of e-learning and list the following as motivational factors for personalisation: autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Autonomy is about freedom and 'unpressured willingness' to engage in an activity (ibid.: 5). It can be affected by surveillance, evaluation, and deadlines. Competence is seen by them as "a psychological need that provides an inherent source of motivation for seeking out and mastering optimal challenges" (ibid.: 6). Relatedness is "the need to establish close emotional bonds and attachments with other people" (ibid.). We discuss these

in more detail and in relation to translation in the section 'Relevance to Translation Technology' below.

Oulasvirta and Blom (2008) sound a warning about personalisation efforts in general, maintaining that too many attempts have been made at personalisation without regard to what people really want and "increasing availability of new features has coincided with underutilization of services, as well as degradations in usability and user acceptance" (ibid.: 2).

In summary, then, it can be said that the motivation behind personalisation should be to increase the well-being of the system's user by increasing autonomy, competence, and relatedness.

User modelling and personalisation

Humans' conceptual understanding of the systems they interact with has advanced in recent decades, but there have been few advances in the development of user models by systems (Karat et al. 2004). Personalisation is not an easy task and techniques are still being sought that would allow for "a future in which human-computer interaction is greatly enhanced through advances in the ability of technology to utilize personal information about users to realize better, more valuable interactions" (ibid.: 9).

Generally speaking, personalisation is achieved through user modelling. User modelling can involve learning about 'interests' through online like/dislike votes, for example. Additionally, software can analyse web pages to determine what features caused the user to be (dis)interested, e.g. keyword extraction. Length of time spent on a page might also be used, as well as metadata in the HTML markup and number of click throughs from a page. In the section 'Relevance to Translation Technology', we propose how this modelling of 'interests' could be transferred to the translation context, for example by taking note of terminology look-up by the translator.

Munnelly et al. (2013) present an online user modelling model that has four phases: Guide, Explore, Reflect, Suggest. At first, the online system guides the user and learns from them as they explore the information in question. The user is then afforded a phase to reflect on and examine the user model produced by the system and to make changes (e.g. giving keywords more or less weight) to improve that model. The system subsequently uses the modelling information to suggest content that the user might be interested in exploring further. However, what actually matters for user modelling is not altogether clear and some tasks might require different inputs to build a user profile compared with others. This four-phase model is necessarily iterative as the user's interests and expertise evolve through exploration, both within the system and from external sources. According to Soltysiak and Crabtree (1998), user modelling for personalisation takes four aspects into consideration: content, acquisition, privacy, and trust. We discuss these in relation to translation below.

A differentiation between user-adaptive (automatic) personalisation and user-driven (adaptable) systems is made (Oulasvirta and Blom 2008). The former is an automatic process, the latter is controlled by the user. Soltysiak and Crabtree (1998)

suggested that user profiles should be acquired automatically with minimal user input. In contrast, Oulasvirta and Blom warn that

> *The need for autonomy and self-determination is seriously risked when personalisation, as a process that aims to enhance personal significance to the user, is driven by a computer instead of the user. In the worst case, the user is deprived of being the source of action, of being the author of decisions between action alternatives, and of the feeling of unpressured willingness to engage in an activity.*
>
> *(2008: 15)*

Therefore a balance needs to be maintained between implicit and explicit modelling, such that accurate and timely models of the user can be assembled without overburdening the user.

Personalisation and trust

Briggs et al. (2004) discuss personalisation and trust in the context of e-commerce and argue that the two are related and that trust is normally seen as a prerequisite for good personalisation. They suggest that the converse might also be true – good personalisation is a prerequisite for trust building. Trust is an extremely difficult concept to work with since different factors are likely to be influential on trust at different times. The nature of trust depends on the 'threat'. McKnight and Chervany (2001 in Briggs et al. 2004) discuss the stages of trust building as (i) intention to trust and (ii) trusting activity. Briggs et al. (ibid.) add to this a third stage (iii) development of a trusting relationship, and highlight that very few studies focus on this type of trust development.

In the domain of e-commerce, scholars have generated a family of trust models; trust which supports online engagement "is influenced by perceived integrity and expertise, predictability, or familiarity of content and reputation … A number of studies also highlighted the importance of interface factors (ease of use and functionality)" (Briggs et al. 2004: 43). In e-commerce studies, tailoring of information (selection of content according to your previous preferences, recognising you as a previous user etc.) was found to increase 'credibility', which is in itself seen as a factor of trust.

In the domain of Technology Enhanced Learning (TEL), research has been undertaken on Open User Models (Conejo et al. 2011; Kay 2008; Kobsa 2007), specifically in an attempt to promote 'scrutability' (Bull and Kay 2007, 2013), a word coined to represent the user examining their user model. Open Learner Models usually present learner models through visualisations to support reflection and allows students to participate in the construction or modification of their personal model. It uses student responses to questions, number of attempts, and task response times, to build models of student competencies and levels of understanding. These models visualise learner competencies and levels of understanding, supporting reflection, assessment and monitoring (Bull and Kay 2013). The visualisations are inferred from

learner interactions and have been shown to guide learning, help improve the performance of weaker students (Yousuf and Conlan 2015), and motivate stronger learners (Mitrovic and Martin 2007; Bull and Kay 2007). Open Learner Models and scrutability have typically given the user some control over the data modelled about them, rather than control over personalisation techniques directly.

Relevance to translation technology?

Here we consider how the field of personalisation and adaptation could be relevant to translation technology. We focus on the primary concepts alluded to above, i.e. the importance of context, user modelling, trust, motivation, and well-being.

Context

García-Barrios et al. (2005) present a personalisation model that requires input from a modelling engine. The modelling engine, in turn, is divided into a User Model and other models that take the 'environment' into account. As discussed above, context in personalisation refers broadly to aspects of a situation that are internally represented in the computer. Context is a necessary and important aspect of all translation work too, but is known to be especially challenging for translation technology (Killman 2015). How then could personalisation engines take 'context' into account in translation? We propose that there could be a theoretical link between context modelling and translation specifications, as the latter are espoused by Hague et al. (2011). A specification defines what is expected in the translation task and includes parameters such as (but not limited to) audience, purpose, and register. In a theoretical translation personalisation engine, models of the translation specifications could be built in order to control the output from the MT engine. Hague et al. (2011) discuss the importance of structured translation specifications, especially in the context of translator training and Melby more recently (personal communication: July 2016) proposes the association of structured translation specifications with points on a spectrum between fully automatic MT and full human translation. There are 21 standardised, hierarchical parameters proposed in the American Society for Testing and Materials' Standard Guide for Quality Assurance in Translation ASTM F2575–14 (American Society for Testing and Materials 2014), organised under the categories of Product, Process, and Project. While it may not be feasible to operationalise all 21 specifications in a context model of a personalisation translation engine, it would be theoretically possible to adapt the engine according to some specifications, such as relative importance of productivity, accuracy, text type, domain, and end user requirements. For example, translation of a text in the medical domain, where accuracy is of very high importance for end users, might have very high thresholds for quality estimation so that the translator is much less likely to erroneously accept an incorrect translation. In this context, a translator might even turn off the MT component and only work with exact or high fuzzy matches from a reliable TM. Conversely, a translation of a customer review for a

new coffee maker which has to go on a website in 24 hours might have a lower threshold for quality estimation.

User modelling

It was mentioned above that individuation of learning materials resulted in better outcomes in e-learning environments. The considerable array of translation process research that has been conducted in recent years suggests that, while translators often approach the translation task in similar ways, for example, by adopting an orientation, drafting, and monitoring stage, their sub-processes and solutions are often quite individualistic. And yet difference in translation solutions does not mean that one solution is correct while the alternatives are incorrect. (This is perhaps why translation quality assessment is fraught with subjectivity and it proves difficult to even agree on a definition of translation quality (Melby et al. 2014; Fields et al. 2014; Koby et al. 2014). Just as personalisation in learning is put forward as being beneficial to learners, personalisation in CAT may also be beneficial. If we assume that translators might approach the task of translation in different ways, that they are likely to have different levels of tolerance for MT quality, and that this might depend on the task at hand (i.e. context), including the language pair they are working with, then we can also assume that personalisation according to these requirements, likes and tolerances would be a good idea, in principle at least.

User modelling would be required so as to personalise technology according to individual translator profiles. As mentioned previously, user modelling for personalisation takes four aspects into consideration: content, acquisition, privacy, and trust (Soltysiak and Crabtree 1998). We consider here how these might be applied to modelling for a translator.

In the realm of personalisation and user modelling, content is seen to reflect users' interests (e.g. what they search for, how often, which pages they browse or ignore etc.) and acquisition involves learning from this type of information. For translator modelling, a personalisation engine could draw on the information sources searched (e.g. encyclopedic, specialised content from expert content producers, monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual websites, and dictionaries), how frequently such resources are checked, for how long, how much double or triple checking is done for terminology, collocations etc. In this way a personalised translation engine could learn about the translators' 'interests', which are, of course, driven by their clients, and also about the keywords (terms) they need to understand and which mono- and multilingual resources they rely on and trust.

Acquisition of information for personalisation could additionally be acquired by learning not only from the translators' search activities but also from the number and types of edits for TM matches and MT suggestions. Given the considerable research to date involving keyboard logging for translation process research, the implementation of these features in commercial TM tools (e.g. iOmegaT, MateCAT), as well as automatic post-editing, and machine learning research in Natural Language Processing in general, it is not unrealistic to suggest that these techniques could be

deployed to acquire information for translator modelling. Furthermore, eye tracking has been used as a method for measuring cognitive load in language processing in general, and in translation and post-editing research specifically. In principle, eye tracking could also be used to determine what information a translator pays most attention to and what aspects of a text demand most processing effort. Such information could then be used to tune a personalised translation engine. We can reasonably expect eye tracking technology to eventually be embedded in our computing hardware, making this even more of a reality in the (near) future.

User modelling using such techniques inevitably raises concerns about ethics and privacy. Individual translators would have to give consent to be profiled in this way. The translator would also have to be convinced that divulging task activity would have a high probability of leading to a better technological experience in the longer term and that it would not interfere in a detrimental way in their normal process, which is, after all, one on which they rely to make a living. Being monitored in such a way potentially exposes a lack of knowledge or weakness in the individual translator, as well as providing evidence of good practice and expertise. The privacy of information acquired for user modelling would therefore need to be guaranteed.

The fourth aspect listed by Soltysiak and Crabtree is trust, which, alongside privacy, is a considerable issue and is dealt with in more detail below.

In the previous section, we mentioned Oulasvirta and Blom's (2008) differentiation between user-adaptive (automatic) personalisation and user-driven (adaptable) systems. Automatic modelling is still some way off, it would seem, and this may especially be the case for multifaceted expert tasks such as translation. Supervised learning of individual profiles might be more realistic in the shorter term. In this scenario, the user would 'teach' the system about preferences and needs. The questions that emerge here for translation is whether data like edit distance, fixations, number of searches etc. could be used as 'semi-automated' supervised learning of translator profiles and whether these could be linked with the contextual models (structured translation specifications) mentioned earlier. Would this data be too 'noisy' to be meaningful in the generation of a personalised CAT tool? Should the personalisation model also factor in the translation revision cycle, both self-revision and third party revision (e.g. quality scores, reviewer feedback, number of comments, disagreements etc.)?

A final question that arises is whether there should be one profile per translator or many? A translator might have a profile when working on one topic for one client and a different profile for another, depending on task specifications. The profile(s) might also change over time. Automatic detection of changes in profile over time may be useful.

Trust

The concept of trust has recently been linked with translation in general and translation technology in particular, especially MT (Pym 2013, 2015; Cadwell et al. 2017; Abdallah and Koskinen 2007).

Translators will make use of metadata in TM systems to decide on their trust levels for a TM match. A translator known to them will, generally, be awarded more trust than one who is not known. The fuzzy match score and markup of differences will also contribute to levels of trust. In the context of MT, translators have been known to report that they do not trust the output and will check it more thoroughly if they know it has been generated by an MT system (Bundgaard 2017). Quality estimates from the MT system should, in theory, guide the trust levels but this technology is too new at this point and translators are likely to be quite sceptical of a machine's rating of its own output (Moorkens and O'Brien 2016).

A personalisation system could learn, through user modelling, about the trust levels and techniques used to establish trust by an individual translator. Moreover, personalisation could offer a scrutable trace to the translator to support their understanding of why a particular translation is being suggested. For example, length of time spent on an MT suggestion compared with a TM suggestion (if the two are clearly differentiated) could be taken as an indicator of trust, as could edit distance data, i.e. how much the suggestion has been edited. Information about the origin of the MT suggestion (whether from System A or System B) could be factored in. Trust levels could also be estimated using gaze data from an eye tracker, e.g. how often is the source segment re-read, what metadata does the translator look at, how often does she check the glossary or external lexicographical resources, does she take the confidence score into account when making editing decisions, or does she largely ignore that metadata?

Apart from learning about what drives trust in a translator, reliable personalisation techniques could, in principle, also lead to higher trust among translators. If the personalisation techniques are seen to be successful, the translator will trust the personalisation engine more. Until that success is experienced, trust levels for the personalisation translation engine are likely to be low.

Motivation and well-being

Earlier we alluded to the fact that the introduction of TM technology was top-down and mostly treated as a technical change process and not a socio-technical change process (Olohan 2011). With increased technologisation, the risks of negative impacts on translator motivation and well-being are high. As already discussed, there is evidence that while translators mostly find TM tools very helpful in their jobs, they are still, 20 or more years on, dissatisfied with certain aspects of them. They fear MT, its impact on their language and translation skills and their creativity, and also fear being 'reduced' to merely a post-editor.

The question that emerges then is whether personalisation and adaptation of translation technology has the potential to contribute positively to translator motivation and well-being. Could CAT be developed further as a 'personal agent', i.e. "software capable of operating autonomously in order to provide timely and relevant information for an individual" (Soltysiak and Crabtree 1998: 110)?

Through personalisation and adaptation techniques, could CAT positively influence the three dimensions listed above: autonomy, competence, and relatedness? If the translator is pressured to use the technology then feelings of autonomy are likely to be compromised. In the emerging scenario where translation technology is becoming more pervasive, an important question is how translator autonomy can be preserved while also interacting with CAT tools. Having control over how the technology serves the individual translator's working methods through a personalisation engine might contribute to feelings of autonomy.

If using CAT tools gives translators a sense of loss of competence, this will surely affect motivation and well-being. A challenge for the personalisation of translation technology, then, is to limit this effect and to create a personalised system that increases the sense of competence rather than having the opposite effect. For example, if the system learns about the translator's individual tolerance for MT errors, it can customise the situations and frequency with which MT-generated text is presented to the translator. In this way, the translator may have less of a sense of being 'reduced' to 'fixing' errors produced by technology and the sense of being able to produce a fit-for-purpose text in a timely manner may be increased. Moreover, scrutability and control of the user model may foster more nuanced control over how CAT works for individual translators.

In one respect, CAT can be seen as increasing relatedness as it is a form of collaborative translation, where the translator reuses another translator's suggestion, or benefits in real time from a shared online TM. Adaptive and interactive MT might also offer a sense of 'relatedness'. However, interaction with a machine, especially in circumstances where the machine is learning and benefitting from the human activity could also have the opposite effect. Another challenge for personalisation is how to increase relatedness between the translator and his tools? A focus on creating software that serves the individual and therefore increases relatedness is desirable.

Conclusion and a research agenda

This chapter reflected on some of the major boundary shifts that have occurred to date in the domain of translation technology and on the impact that has had on the translator, the process, and the product. It then introduced the concepts of personalisation and adaptation and described how they have been deployed in e-commerce and e-learning, and the most important inputs: context, motivation, user modelling, trust, and well-being. We turned our attention then to considering how personalisation might be relevant to translation technology and the translator, suggesting that a theoretical personalised translation engine could take account of concepts in translation studies, e.g. translation specifications, measurement techniques, e.g. keyboard logging, eye tracking, edit distance, and research innovations, e.g. quality estimation, to build a personalised translation technology engine that would serve to maintain autonomy, competence, and relatedness, as well as motivation and well-being for professional translators in an increasingly technologised profession.

This chapter represents initial ideas and explorations into how personalisation might be used to the advantage of translators. As mentioned previously, personalisation is not an easy technique and so considerable research would be required to determine if and how it might be useful in the field of translation. We conclude here by highlighting some research directions that need to be addressed. What type of translation data might be of most use in a personalised translation engine? Edit distance, fixation, search, or temporal data, or some combination of these? And would the usefulness of the data depend on the stage of translation (e.g. drafting versus revision)? How might translation specifications be formalised in a personalised translation engine? How willing are translators to engage in a user-driven personalisation process? Should there be more than one profile per translator? Would personalisation contribute to feelings of autonomy, competence, and relatedness? How could personalisation build trust among translators, of both the personalisation process and of the translating machine?

These questions suggest a challenging research agenda for the future. The alternative option of continuing with a generic technology that tries to fit all contexts and suit all translators is not very compelling.

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6

MAPPING TRANSLATION BLOG NETWORKS AND COMMUNITIES

Julie McDonough Dolmaya

Introduction

The past decade has seen an increase in the amount of translation studies research focusing on translation in virtual environments, whether this means online fan translation communities (e.g. O'Hagan 2009; Pérez-González 2014), crowdsourced translation initiatives (e.g. McDonough Dolmaya 2012), or translators interacting with one another via social media platforms such as blogs, micro-blogs, online forums, and professional networks (cf. Dam 2013; Desjardins 2017; McDonough 2007; McDonough Dolmaya 2011; Risku et al. 2016; Risku and Dickinson 2009). Such technologies push the boundaries of traditional translation practices: crowdsourcing platforms such as Wikipedia facilitate the integration of non-professionals into translation activities, including quality assessment (Jiménez-Crespo 2011; McDonough Dolmaya 2012, 2015), fan translation communities allow internet users to disrupt traditional translation practices and distribution channels (O'Hagan 2009), and virtual translation networks provide an open forum for discussions between novice and experienced translators, professionals and non-professionals (McDonough 2007).

In this same vein, blogs, the frequently modified webpages with entries arranged in reverse chronological order (Herring et al. 2007: 3), have been popular with translators for more than a decade (McDonough Dolmaya 2011: 78–9), often for empowerment and as a means of boosting business activities (Dam 2013: 19). In that time, translation studies research has examined various aspects of blogging, including the profiles of translation bloggers and the content of their blogs (Lima de Paulo 2011; McDonough Dolmaya 2011), and the way translators present themselves on their blogs, particularly with respect to income and pay rates, skills and expertise, visibility and fame, and power and influence (Dam 2013). Other researchers have mined translation blogs for insight into translator attitudes toward topics such as

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crowdsourcing (Flanagan 2016) or discussed how blogging can be incorporated into translator training programmes (Creeze 2016; García Santiago 2016). In some cases, translation bloggers have reflected on their own blogging practices (Harris 2017; Scott 2016).

Previous studies have suggested that translators build online communities through their blogs and that certain bloggers function as "stars" within this community (Dam 2013: 28–9), but to date, no research has specifically examined how these communities are constructed or what characteristics they might share, even though translation blog communities offer much new ground for translation studies. We could enhance our understanding of translator networks and virtual translator communities by examining whether and how bloggers form communities, studying the strength of the ties between various translator-bloggers, and analysing the extent to which online blogging communities cross geographic and linguistic borders.

To start exploring some of these topics, this chapter uses social network analysis and the graph visualisation and manipulation program Gephi to examine three translation blog networks. It attempts to understand the characteristics of actors who are a part of these networks, the strength of the ties between these actors in the networks, and the extent to which these blog networks form communities. Its conclusions are tentative and not generalisable, given the small sample size, but the goal is to point to aspects that deserve further scrutiny and to demonstrate how social network analysis could be used to study translation blog communities more systematically in the future.

Social network analysis

Social network analysis provides a framework for studying the relationship(s) between the actors in a network and the ties among these actors (Wasserman and Faust 1994). *Actors* can be individual people (e.g. freelance translators) or larger organisational units (e.g. translation agencies, professional translator associations). The types of *relational ties* that are of interest to social network analysts include the transfer of material resources (e.g. selling translation services), social interactions (e.g. asking questions on a discussion forum), physical connections (e.g. computers connected to a wide area network), and formal or biological relationships (e.g. between a reviser and a novice translator). Social network analysis never studies only one individual. The smallest objects of study are *dyads* (two actors and their ties) and *triads* (three actors and their ties). Larger systems consisting of groups of actors or entire networks of actors can also be examined (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 4–21).

When networks of actors and relations are graphed, *nodes* are used to represent actors, while *lines* (or *edges*) are used to represent the ties between actors (Borgatti et al. 2013: 11–2; Wasserman and Faust 1994: 94). Graphs can be *directed*, meaning that the edges have arrows to indicate, for instance, which actor initiated contact with another actor, or *undirected*, meaning that the edges do not have arrows and the direction of the relational ties between actors is either unimportant or reciprocal,

such as when a network graph is illustrating who is related to whom (Borgatti et al. 2013: 12–13).

The blog networks in this study are one-mode networks (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 36) comprised of one set of actors (bloggers and other internet users) and the interactions between these actors from January to December 2016. More specifically, they would be described as *ego* (Borgatti et al. 2013) or *ego-centred* (Wasserman and Faust 1994: 53) networks, in that they involve a focal person (or *ego*) – in this case the blogger whose posts and comments are being studied – and a set of *alters* who have ties to the ego – in this case the internet users who have been mentioned by the blogger or who interacted with the blogger's posts.

While blog research in other fields has relied on a range of qualitative and quantitative methods (Larsson and Hrastinski 2011), social network analysis has often been used to examine the connections between bloggers and to explore issues such as influence and community (e.g. Ali-Hasan and Adamic 2007; Chin and Chignell 2007). Within translation studies, social network analysis has been used to examine online translator networks (McDonough 2007; Risku and Dickinson 2009; Risku et al. 2016), but it has not been adopted to study blogging networks in particular. Network graphing software has been used occasionally to examine online translator networks (e.g. Risku et al. 2016), and Gephi was recently used to map translations in early modern Chinese periodicals (Ye 2017), while Pajek, a similar program, was used in conjunction with citation analysis to map out the relationships between authors of terminology articles (Castro-Prieto and Olvera Lobo 2007). This study therefore serves as an example of how social network analysis and graphing software can be combined to study online translation networks such as those formed by bloggers and their readers.

Methodology

To help determine what translation blog networks look like, and the extent to which these blog networks form communities, I selected three unilingual blogs and studied the inbound and outbound links on all posts from 2016. This methodology was based in part on those adopted by Chin and Chignell (2007: 352), who used a web crawler to mine the comments and posts in a series of blogs to find links to and from other blogs, and Ali-Hasan and Adamic (2007), who manually collected blogroll links, post citations and comments from blogs in three geographic areas.

The three blogs were chosen from the Mapping Translation Blogs Database project, which aims to collect meta-data about as many translation blogs as possible. Though still under construction, the database contains a list of more than 200 blogs written primarily in English, French, and Spanish. Information categories are used in the database to describe the blogs and their content so that researchers can better identify blogs with similar characteristics. The database project is described in more detail in McDonough Dolmaya (under review). In this case, the three blogs were chosen because they all a) had been active for at

least three years (so that the bloggers would have been able to establish a readership), b) were written only by freelance translators (allowing for future comparison with blogs run by corporations, organisations, or other actors), and c) consisted of posts that focused on professional translation practices rather than translation studies. The three bloggers were, however, based in different countries, which allowed me to explore the extent to which the blog network borders corresponded with geographic borders. The three blogs chosen for analysis were *Musings from an Overworked Translator,* which was established in 2008 by a blogger in the US, *ABK Translations*, which was established in 2013 by a blogger in the Netherlands, and *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*, which was established in 2012 by a blogger in Spain.

For each blog, the following method was used to track incoming and outgoing links: I read all blog posts from 2016 and all comments on these posts. I then noted whether the post or comment feed contained a reference or a link to a) someone else's social media profile (e.g. Twitter handle, LinkedIn page), b) another blog, c) a translator association (e.g. American Translators Association, ProZ.com) or d) another website (e.g. Washington Post, Amazon). This allowed me to assign each incoming and outgoing link to one of six categories, according to who had left the comment or who was being linked to: a) translation bloggers – i.e. someone who maintains a blog that is primarily about translation or interpreting, b) non-blogging translators – i.e. someone who is identified as a translator/interpreter but who did not have a blog about translation, c) other bloggers – i.e. someone who is not identified as a translator and who maintains a blog that is not primarily about translating or interpreting, d) unknown internet users – i.e. someone who could not be identified because there was no link to a website or social media profile with biographical details, e) translator associations, and f) other websites. Occasionally, incoming or outgoing links involved internet users who were identified as translators, but who maintained blogs on topics other than translation. These internet users were labelled 'non-blogging translators' because this study focuses on blogs primarily about translation: blogs written by translators on topics other than translation were not considered relevant.

While tracking the incoming and outgoing links, I attempted to determine the country in which each node was based so that the geographic borders of the blogging networks could be studied. The geographic information is based on self-reported, public information in blogs, social media profiles, and professional websites, so it is only as reliable as the information that is currently online. In a number of cases, commenters provided their first and/or last name or a pseudonym/nickname but no identifying details (e.g. no link to a social media profile and no personal details within the comment itself). For these commenters, the country was marked as 'unknown'.

The lists of actors, along with the related incoming and outgoing links, were then imported into Gephi, the open-source graphing software, so that the relationships between the nodes in the network could be visualised and analysed more effectively.

Results

Blog 1: Musings from an Overworked Translator

In 2016, *Musings from an Overworked Translator* published approximately six posts per month. Most of these were 'Wordless Wednesday' posts, which typically included a humorous image related to translation or language. This means that despite the frequency of the publications, very few posts had outgoing links since there was seldom any text and only occasional mentions of the source of the image. A total of 76 connections (or *edges*) exist between the 47 nodes in this network. These 47 nodes represent the total number of actors in the network, and the 76 connections represent the number of times these 47 nodes interacted with one another, either because the central node (*Musings from an Overworked Translator*) linked to another actor's blog, website, or social media profile, or because an actor left a comment on the central node's blog. These nodes and edges can be seen in Figure 6.1.

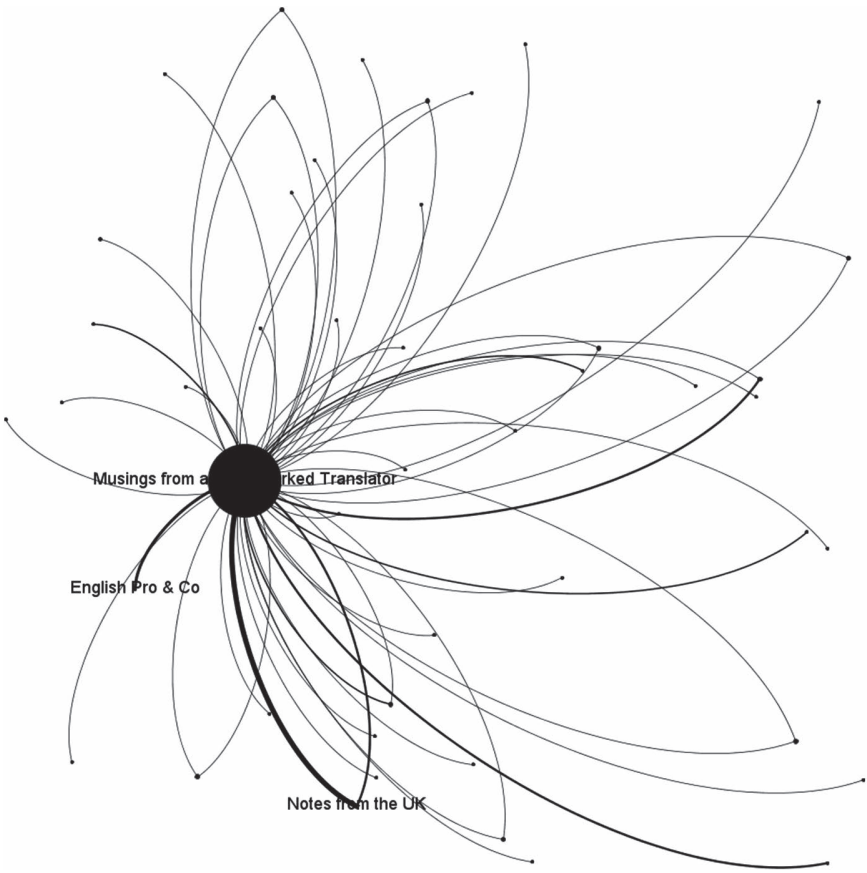

FIGURE 6.1 *Musings from an Overworked Translator*, nodes and edges, January–December 2016

As Figure 6.1 illustrates, *Musings from an Overworked Translator* was an extremely centralised network between January and December 2016: very centralised networks resemble a star, where a node at the centre has ties to all other nodes and no other ties exist (Borgatti et al. 2013: 159–61). In this case, the central node (i.e. *Musings from an Overworked Translator*) was connected to all the other nodes, while the other nodes were not connected to one another. Translation bloggers make up most of the nodes (29.8%), followed by unknown internet users (27.7%), non-blogging translators (19.2%), other websites (10.6%), other bloggers (8.5%), and translation networks (4.3%).

In this graph, the curves should be read in a clockwise fashion: a curve that bends anticlockwise starting at the central node and moving toward the other node represents incoming links – that is, internet users who have left a comment on the blog. Most of these incoming connections are from translation bloggers, unknown commenters, and non-blogging translators, rather than other websites and translation networks. Curves that are bent in a clockwise direction from the central node to the others represent outgoing links from *Musings from an Overworked Translator* to another actor. These outgoing links are occasionally to translation bloggers – typically in response to a comment – but they are also frequently to other websites, such as the Washington Post and the software company ABBYY, who were cited within the body of blog posts. As the graph demonstrates, the links in this network are mainly incoming rather than outgoing and only few are reciprocal (represented by both a clockwise and counter-clockwise curve connecting the central node with another node). This can be seen more clearly in the in-degree and out-degree measurements calculated automatically by Gephi: in-degree is a measurement of incoming connections, and out-degree is a measurement of outgoing connections (Borgatti et al. 2013: 176). The more similar these figures are, the more reciprocal the network is. *Musings from an Overworked Translator* had an in-degree measurement of 37, and an out-degree measurement of 20, meaning that there were nearly twice as many incoming links as outgoing ones.

Finally, Figure 6.1 gives some indication of the strength of the ties between the nodes in the network. Gephi is able to weight the connections between the nodes so that the more times the two nodes were connected during 2016, the thicker the lines between them are. Nearly all the connections have a weighting of 1, meaning that this network consists largely of weak-tie relationships. Stronger ties do exist, though, between *Musings from an Overworked Translator* and two other nodes: non-translation blog *Notes from the UK* (weight of 7 for incoming links from *Notes from the UK*, and 3 for outgoing links from *Musings from an Overworked Translator*) and translation blog *English Pro & Co* (weight of 4 for incoming links from *English Pro & Co,* but 0 for outgoing links from *Musings from an Overworked Translator*). The nodes representing both of these blogs have been indicated in Figure 6.1.

Blog 2: ABK Translations

ABK Translations published only two posts in 2016: one in February and another in October. Both posts did, however, have comments on them from various sources.

In total, the network consists of only 17 nodes and 24 edges, comprised mainly of links to external websites (47.1%). The remaining nodes were split evenly between translation bloggers, other bloggers and non-blogging translators (17.7% each). None of the comments or posts on *ABK Translations* linked to or from unknown internet users.

Figure 6.2 shows that the *ABK Translations* network was slightly less centralised than that of *Musings of an Overworked Translator*: in one instance, two nodes within the network *(Inbox Translation* and *Claire Cox Translations*) were connected with each other in addition to being connected with the central node (*ABK Translations*). This is because a comment left by *Inbox Translation* on 22 February 2016 was in response to both *ABK Translations*' 20 February blog post and a comment made that same day by *Claire Cox Translations*. Similarly, non-blogging translator Douglas Carnall was connected to both *ABK Translations* and two other nodes that were not connected at all with *ABK Translations*.

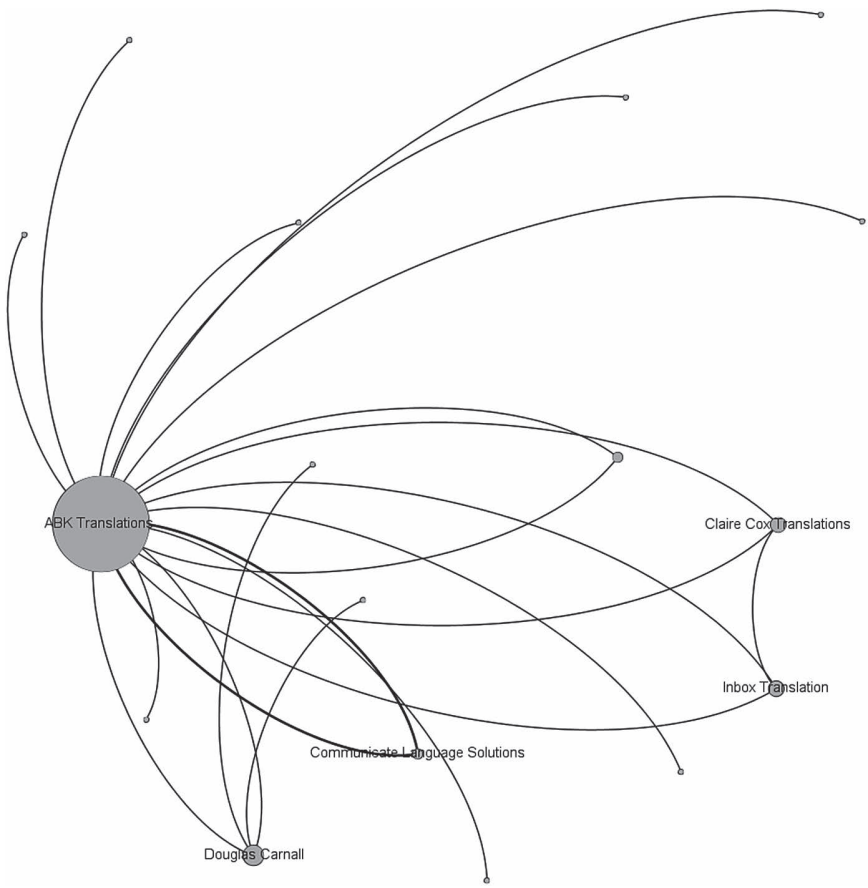

FIGURE 6.2 *ABK Translations*, nodes and edges, January–December 2016

In the *ABK Translations* network, all non-reciprocal connections were to external websites, and there were more outgoing links than incoming: the in-degree measurement was 5, while the out-degree measurement was 14. The strongest ties existed between *ABK Translations* and non-blogging translator Jane Davis (of Communicate Language Solutions) (weight of 2 for both inbound and outbound links).

Blog 3: Signs and Symptoms of Translation

In 2016, *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* had fewer blog posts than *Musings from an Overworked Translator*, but considerably more than *ABK Translations*. On average, two posts were published on the blog each month, and none of these were image-only entries like the Wordless Wednesday posts on the *Musings from an Overworked Translator* blog. On several occasions, *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* published posts by guest bloggers; these were mainly reviews of different computer keyboards. The *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* network is comprised of 126 nodes and 391 connections – making this network considerably larger than the previous two.

Signs and Symptoms of Translation was also the most reciprocal of the three networks: the in-degree measurement was 86, while the out-degree measurement was 85, meaning that *Signs and Symptoms* had almost the same number of incoming and outgoing links between January and December 2016, as can be seen in Figure 6.3.

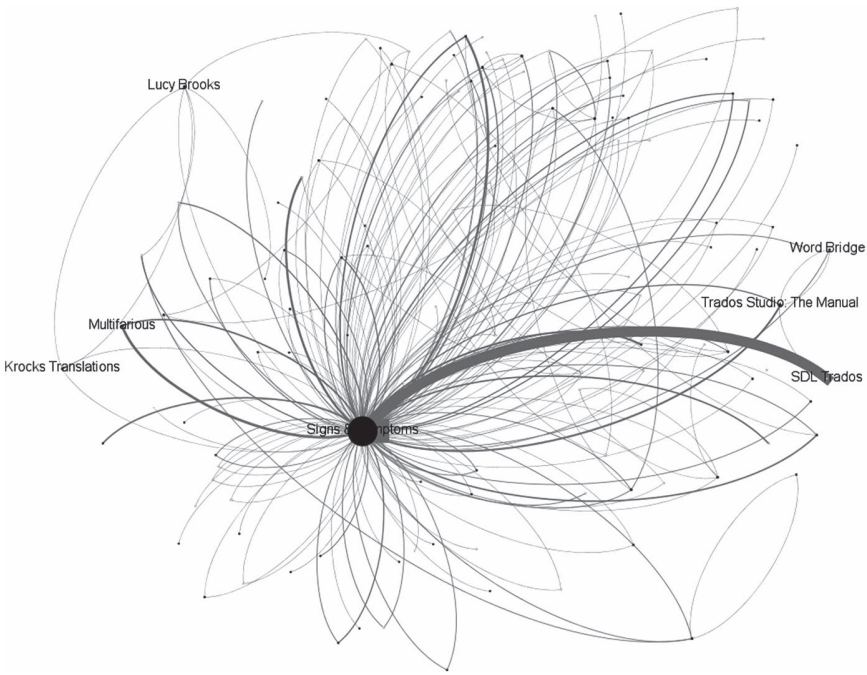

FIGURE 6.3 *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*, nodes and edges, January–December 2016

Ali-Hasan and Adamic (2007) would argue that this greater number of reciprocal ties makes the *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* network more of a community than the other two networks, because there is greater interaction among the nodes and a greater effort on the part of the central node (*Signs and Symptoms*) to form relationships with the alters.

The strongest connections in this network exist between *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* and the company SDL Trados (weighting of 28 for links going to SDL, and 1 for links coming from SDL) and translation blogger *Multifarious* (weighting of 8 for links to *Multifarious*, and 5 for links from *Multifarious*).

As Figure 6.3 illustrates, the *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* network was less centralised in 2016 than the other two translation blog networks. Because of the guest posts, there are many instances in which nodes in the network connected directly with one another in addition to (or instead of) connecting with the central node. One example of these interactions is identified in Figure 6.3. Non-blogging translator Lucy Brooks wrote a guest post for *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* on November 14, 2016. Translation blogger *Krocks Translations* subsequently left a comment for Lucy, and Lucy responded directly to *Krocks Translations* one day later. Both Lucy Brooks and *Krocks Translations* are, however, also connected with *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*, since *Signs and Symptoms* introduced Lucy Brooks before the guest post started and provided a link to Brooks' professional website after the post, while *Krocks Translations* left a comment on the *Signs and Symptoms* blog on 7 November.

Connections between the various nodes also occurred in the comment feed of regular (i.e. non-guest) posts on the *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* blog, when various blog readers responded to one another's comments. For instance, in the comments on the 17 May blog post, Mats D. Linder (listed in Figure 6.3 under the name of his blog, *Trados Studio: The Manual*) engaged in a conversation with *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*, and then replied to another relevant comment left by translation blogger *Word Bridge*. Later, in the comment feed on the 31 May 2016 blog post, Mats D. Linder responded to the main blog post, and then a representative from SDL Trados responded to Linder's comment.

Interconnectedness of the translation blog networks

Now that we have examined the three sample translation blog networks individually, it is worth assessing the extent to which nodes from any of the three translation networks were connected with nodes in the other two networks during the period of study. As discussed, the three blogs were chosen from the Mapping Translation Blogs Database based on just a few broad criteria (e.g. years of existence, general topic) and not because they shared specific traits (e.g. geographic origin, coverage of a particular sub-field such as legal translation) or had overt ties to one another (e.g. reciprocal links in one another's blog rolls, guest posts on one another's blogs). Thus, it is unlikely that the blog networks are extensively connected to one another via the nodes in their networks. Nonetheless, it is worth exploring their

interconnectedness, if any, as this can help us understand whether internet users who interact with one blogger also interact with other bloggers, even when these bloggers have few specific similarities.

In general, the nodes in each translation blog network were unique to it: only three nodes in the *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* and *Musings from an Overworked Translator* networks were identical. In the *ABK Translations* network, two nodes matched those of *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*. The *Musings from an Overworked Translator* and *ABK Translations* networks did not share any nodes, although the two blogs are connected indirectly to one another via *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*.

In Figure 6.4, there is no direct connection between *ABK Translations* and *Signs and Symptoms*: the shortest paths are via translation blogger *Claire Cox Translations* and non-blogging translator Communicate Language Solutions. The same is true of *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* and *Musings from an Overworked Translator*, which are connected via three translation bloggers: *Between Translations, XTRF* and *English Pro & Co*. This suggests that translation bloggers may cross between translation blog networks more easily than other actors, but more research would need to be done to confirm this hypothesis.

Figure 6.4 also seems to illustrate the 'blogipelago' concept described by Dean (2010), who argues that the term *blogosphere* may be more widespread but does not accurately depict the way blogs are connected: 'blogosphere' implies that bloggers form a community together, but in Dean's view, the term *blogipelago,* derived from the word archipelago, invokes the "separateness, disconnection, and the immense effort it can take to move from one island or network to another. It incites us to attend to the variety of uses, engagements, performances, and intensities blogging contributes and circulates" (2010: 38). Figure 6.4 clearly depicts separate islands of highly centralised networks linked to one another by a small number of fairly weak-link connections.

The small sample size does not allow us to draw any conclusions about the nature of the larger translation blogosphere/blogipelago, but it does point to the need to

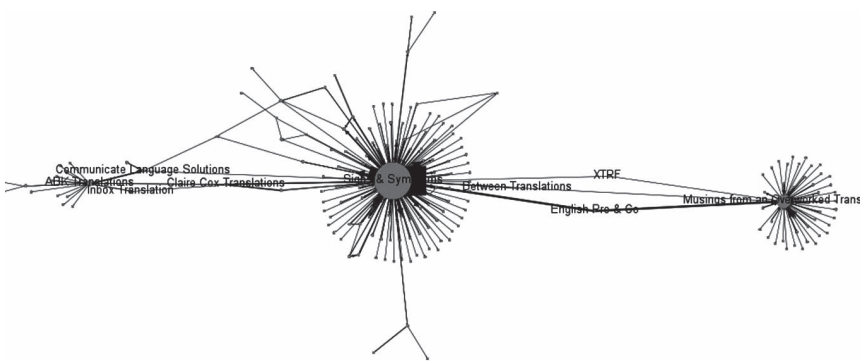

FIGURE 6.4 *ABK Translations*, *Signs and Symptoms*, and *Musings from an Overworked Translator*, nodes and edges, January–December 2016

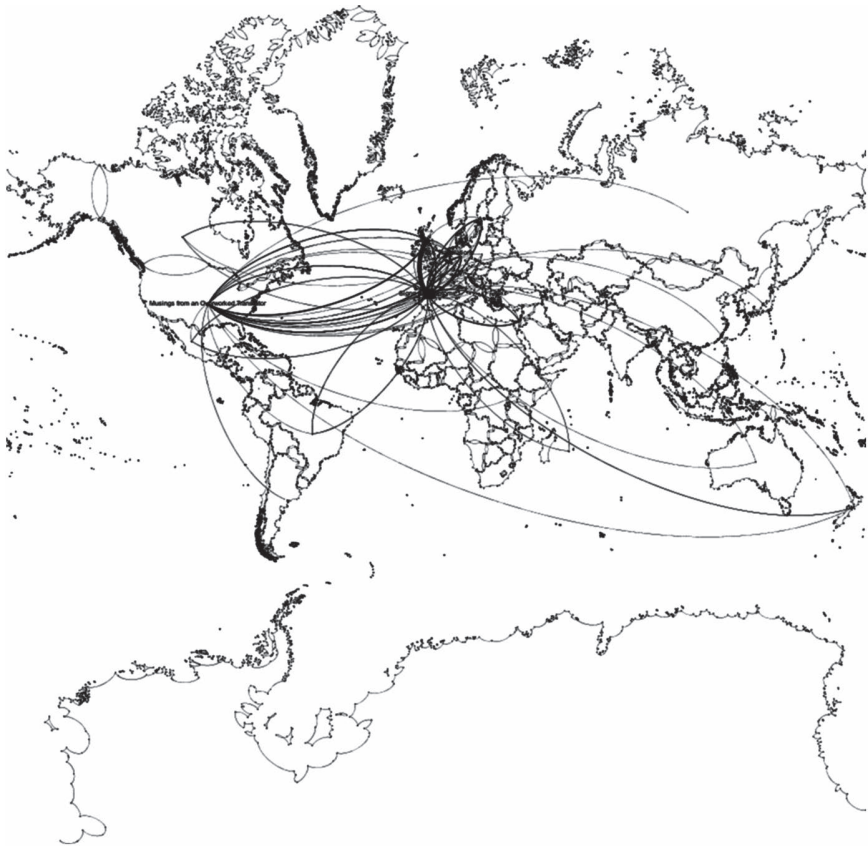

FIGURE 6.5 *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*, *ABK Translations*, and *Musings from an Overworked Translator*, geographic distribution of nodes, January–December 2016

map a greater number of translation blogs to see how interconnected each blogger is with the wider network. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that Figure 6.4 would likely look considerably different if another sampling method had been used: for instance, in this study, the three blogs were chosen before their networks were graphed. If, however, snowball sampling had been used to determine the second, third and subsequent networks to include in the study (cf. Wasserman and Faust 1994: 34), the map in Figure 6.4 might have shown more numerous and more frequent ties between the nodes in each ego-network, since the second, third, and subsequent networks would have been studied precisely *because* they were linked to the first, second, and subsequent networks.

Geographically, however, the three translation networks show greater interconnectedness. In the *ABKTranslations* network, only the central node (*ABKTranslations*) was based in the Netherlands. All inbound and outbound connections with the central node involved actors based in other countries – primarily the UK (29%).

Although most of the actors were based in European countries (82%), a small number were North American (one blogger was in Canada and three websites were in the US). Likewise, the *Musings from an Overworked Translator* network was geographically diverse. Comprised of 47 nodes, 12 of which were from an unknown country, the network did have a significant number of nodes (28%) based in the blogger's home country – the US – but it was also comprised of connections with actors from Germany (13%), the UK (9%), and twelve other countries (26%). Finally, the 126 nodes that comprised the *Signs and Symptoms of Translation* network were often from unknown countries (28%), but those actors whose country was identified were based in the UK (16%), US (13%), Spain (10%), and nearly 20 other countries (approximately 32%). Interestingly, in all three cases, most of the nodes in the network were not based in the blogger's home country. Since other studies (e.g. Ali-Hasan and Adamic 2007) have found that the geographic diversity of a blogging community varies from one community to the next, it would be worth exploring this question in greater detail to see whether translation blog networks are consistently geographically diverse or whether the diversity of actors in the network varies based on the content of the blog, the language(s) in which it is written, the geographic location of the blogger, etc.

Figure 6.5 depicts these geographic connections visually. The map includes all nodes except for those representing unknown internet users whose geographic location could not be determined.

Conclusions: On translation networks and communities

Because this small-scale study has examined only three translator blogs, its findings are necessarily limited. However, some tentative conclusions can still be drawn about blogging networks and communities. First, it is important to note that not every blog network forms a community. Given that other studies (e.g. Ali-Hasan and Adamic 2007) have emphasised that communities need to be based on reciprocal ties among actors, it is clear even in this small study that some translation blog networks do not meet this standard, as the connections between actors in the *Musings from an Overworked Translator* network, for instance, are mainly unidirectional rather than reciprocal.

Likewise, the degree of centrality differed in all three sample blogs, ranging from the highly centralised *Musings from an Overworked Translator* to the somewhat centralised *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*, with *ABK Translations* falling somewhere in between. In all cases, though, given that these were ego-networks, the central node was the most connected, the networks were largely centralised, and the three blog networks did not seem very interconnected with one another. However, if additional blogs were included in the study, we would have a better idea of how the three blog networks fit into the larger translation blogosphere/blogipelago. For instance, while *Musings from an Overworked Translator*, *Signs and Symptoms of Translation*, and *ABK Translations* are central nodes within their own ego-networks, we do not know whether they are central or peripheral within the broader network of blogs

that share similar characteristics (e.g. blogs on similar topics, bloggers from the same geographic region).

This study, though limited in scale, has also demonstrated that translation blog networks are composed of diverse actors. Non-blogging translators, non-translators who blog about other topics, and organisations such as SDL Trados made up a portion of the nodes in each network. This was true even for the *ABK Translations* network, which had only 17 nodes. These findings suggest that the borders of translation blog networks are not restricted to translators, nor to just translators who blog – something that has been noted by other researchers as well (e.g. Dam 2013: 27). While future studies could test whether these findings hold true in other translation blog networks, these tentative conclusions do help demonstrate that any comprehensive study of translation blog networks should not be limited to just translators who maintain blogs.

Finally, this project's findings suggest that blog networks are not restricted to the geographic regions in which a blogger is based. In all three cases – including *ABK Translations*, the smallest network – the central node was connected to alters from a wide range of countries. The fact that the actor's geographic base could not be identified in only a small number of cases (less than 30% of the nodes) is promising, as it indicates that future studies will likely be able to easily explore the geographic distribution of translation networks, building on the tentative results from this study.

Obviously, a study of only three blog networks cannot represent the entire blogosphere/blogipelago, particularly since it is impossible to know how large the translation blogosphere is (Dam 2013; McDonough Dolmaya 2011), but it can start a discussion about how we might begin to map out translation blog networks, to explore the extent to which translation blog networks form communities, and understand more about the ways translators interact online with both translators and non-translators.

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Multifarious: https://multifarious.filkin.com/
Musings from an Overworked Translator: https://translationmusings.com
Signs and Symptoms of Translation: https://signsandsymptomsoftranslation.com/
SDL Trados Studio: The Manual: http://tradosstudiomanual.com/

7

PROFESSIONAL VS NON-PROFESSIONAL?

How boundary work shapes research agendas in translation and interpreting studies

Nadja Grbić and Pekka Kujamäki

Introduction

So-called non-professional translation and interpreting practices entered our "social gates of consciousness" (Zerubavel 1997: 35) a few years ago. Although a range of translation and interpreting scholars has put a strong focus on studying translation and interpreting beyond the professional scope in a wealth of fields, at different points in time and in various cultural contexts, this branch of research is still not part of the mainstream. It seems as if non-professional translation and interpreting is still perceived as "a dangerous practice both for the professional category and the parties involved in interactions" (Antonini 2011: 102), and, as a consequence, is generally identified as a foreign or at least peripheral object in the translation and interpreting studies (TIS) culturescape.

When drawing the cultural map of TIS, scholars draw in the edges and fill up its boundaries, defining the contents of research and claiming epistemic authority over their objects of study. In the course of this cultural cartography, the translation/interpreting map is carved up into various different territories of practice, highlighting internal boundaries, e.g. between translation and interpreting, as well as defining insiders and outsiders by creating a great divide between professionals on the one side and non-professional translators and interpreters on the other. Boundary work, i.e. the social construction of symbolic boundaries, is often driven by social interests. It aims at stressing differences between 'us' and 'them' and creating spaces with populations that are perceived as homogeneous. In this respect, boundary work plays a critical role in constructing identities, gaining status, and determining what we notice and what we ignore (Gieryn 1999; Lamont and Molnár 2002). Although TIS is struggling with a comprehensive definition of the concept of professionalism (e.g. Jääskeläinen et al. 2011), professional and non-professional translators and interpreters are typically perceived as separate groups, whereby the

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categories and the hierarchies between these categories have become naturalised and unquestioned.

The binary distinction between 'professional' and 'non-professional' spheres of translation and interpreting has a further implication. It does not only camouflage or exclude a herd of 'elephants in the room', it also obscures the fact that translation and interpreting activities have always been carried out not only on an ad hoc basis, but also in a more or less organised manner, well before the onset of modern professionalisation tendencies.

As early as 1962, sociologist Howard S. Becker (1962/1977) pointed to the ambiguity of the term 'profession', indicating that it has a descriptive as well as a moral and evaluative character. He sees 'profession' as a collective symbol which, unlike 'occupation', functions as an honorific title in society. Therefore, he suggests treating 'profession' as a 'folk concept', instead of searching for objective definitions of a neutral scientific concept. According to this view, 'true professions' do not exist and consequently, no set of features can be necessarily attributed to the title. Notwithstanding this early criticism, functional trait theory was popular in the sociology of professions until the early 1970s. It was adopted by a range of disciplines attempting to classify occupations as professions, non-professions (Millerson 1964), or semi-professions (Etzioni 1969) – the latter two implying an idea of subordination – or seeking to establish 'natural' routes of professionalisation by identifying developmental stages (Wilensky 1964). In a context of growing criticism towards the elitist position of this approach, scholars like Freidson (1970) or Larson (1977) turned their attention towards the relationship between professions, the state, and the market, focusing on power, control, and the ideology of meritocracy.

These approaches of traditional sociology of professions have been applied and discussed in TIS (see e.g. the overview in Paloposki 2016); furthermore, more recent concepts and theories have been imported from the social sciences, e.g. Bourdieu's sociology of culture and the concept of habitus (see e.g. Sela-Sheffy 2005). Surprisingly, the concept of 'work' has been less attractive in TIS than the notion of 'profession' – except in workplace studies (see e.g. Risku 2017) – although engaging with the concept of 'work' might potentially help to resolve some taxonomic problems pertaining to the professional vs non-professional dilemma. In a paper on online amateur translation communities, Rogl (2016: 122) points to the difficulty in determining "what kind of activity (such as labour, play, charity, slavery, etc.) we are actually talking about when we look at certain new types of translation". Both Rogl (ibid.) and Grbić (2017) refer to Rebecca Taylor, who argues that an activity is constituted as work "as opposed to something else such as leisure, [...] not whether it is paid, but whether it involves the provision of a service to others or the production of goods for the consumption of others" (Taylor 2004: 38). By situating private and public as well as formal and informal aspects of work relations along a continuum, alongside the differentiation into paid and unpaid work, she offers a broader basis for mapping agents' various constellations of labour and exploring the boundaries of their (shifting) work identities.

In this chapter, we will first introduce some general problems pertaining to categorisation and present three types of boundary work as introduced by Thomas F. Gieryn (1983). This will serve as a theoretical framework for our subsequent discussion of instances in the development of TIS, showing how the constant drawing and redrawing of boundaries has contributed to the expansion, monopolisation, and protection of authority over the discipline(s) and how boundary work has been used to push the concept of 'professional' translator/interpreter into the foreground. Finally, we will demonstrate how recent research on so-called 'non-professional' practices as well as empirical findings from our projects on translation and interpreting in Finland during the Second World War and on the history of signed language interpreting in Austria unveil a range of empirical phenomena that defy explicit boundaries between or clear definitions of non-professional and professional practices or agents.

Categories and boundaries: an overview

Categorisation is a fundamental principle of human thought, perception, understanding, learning, expectation, action, and communication. Categories are not only the results of complex brain operations, but also the product of cultural socialisation, insofar as traditions, value systems, and beliefs control the perception of sameness and difference (Cerulo 2002: 60). Categories are learned and internalised through social exchange, and as such represent collective ideas pertaining to social and moral order. In this sense they are contingent, historically variable, and culturally divergent but are also imbued with power (Bowker and Star 2000).

In the act of forming categories, boundaries are set in order to differentiate between (possible) entities, either in the form of categorical inequivalence or gradual inequality. In his investigations into the cultural authority of science, Thomas F. Gieryn (1983) developed the concept of *boundary work*. He uses the term to describe the use of discursive styles in order to bring about the expansion, monopolisation (later "expulsion", Gieryn 1999: 16), or protection of epistemological (or fundamentally any professional) authority. In the case of *expansion*, one side tries to stretch the boundaries of the contested ontological domain, while the other side challenges the exclusive right of the former to judge truth. Gieryn sees "heightening contrast" as a typical discursive tool in these processes. When the goal is *monopolisation*, rival sides strive to legitimise their respective rights. Gieryn describes the discursive model of monopolisation as "exclusion". As soon as the boundary has been set, it serves as a means of implementing internal social control: researchers learn the boundaries of the framework in which they are expected to operate without crossing the borders of legitimacy. Finally, in relation to the *protection* of autonomy science is compromised by the emergence of problems. If problems occur, "blaming" sets in: in order to protect the group's members from having to take responsibility, scapegoats from the outside are sought (Gieryn 1983: 791–2, 1999: 16). As characteristics attributed to science may vary, boundaries are "ambiguous, flexible, historically changing, contextually variable, internally inconsistent and sometimes disputed"

(Gieryn 1983: 792). In his later work, Gieryn sees science as a "culturescape" (Gieryn 1999: 7) and boundary work as "strategic practical action" (ibid.: 23). The assumption that agents are subjects who act intentionally and always consciously, strategically formulating their position in order to attain social segregation, has also, however, been criticised (for a discussion, see Grbić 2017: 131–2).

As regards boundary work, one of the most productive researchers is the cultural sociologist Michèle Lamont, who developed the concept further in her studies on the construction of class differences. Together with Molnár she describes boundary work as a cultural practice to construct inequality, by means of which concepts such as class, ethnicity, gender, religion, nationhood, or profession are imbued with social significance (Lamont and Molnár 2002). Lamont defines three types of boundaries: *cultural* boundaries are drawn according to perceptions of education, intelligence, manners, or taste; *socioeconomic* boundaries are based on judgements of a given subject's social position as indicated by factors such as wealth, power, or professional success; and *moral* boundaries refer to qualities such as honesty, ethics, integrity, empathy, or consideration for others (Lamont 1992: 4). As will be shown, all three boundary types operate in TIS to structure the relationship between the professional and the non-professional.

In TIS, Grbić (2010) introduced the concept of boundary work in relation to her research into the construction of the profession of signed language interpreters in Austria and it has since been addressed in a number of papers and theses (e.g. Guéry 2014; Kinnunen and Vik-Tuovinen 2013; Koskinen and Dam 2016; Shaw 2014). For this chapter, Koskinen and Dam's essay is of particular relevance. It looks at the articles published in a special issue on *The Translation Profession: Centres and Peripheries* (Dam and Koskinen 2016) in the light of authors' boundary work and demonstrates the way and extent to which researchers significantly contribute to the construction of the boundaries surrounding the profession.

'Professionalism', boundary work, and TIS

Encouraged by sociological perspectives of the field, TIS scholars have been attracted to studying translators and interpreters as professional agents situated in a plexus of cultural, social, political, and economic contexts (cf. overviews in Grbić 2015 and in Sela-Sheffy 2016). In addition to the interest in translators and interpreters as an occupational group, the phenomena of 'natural', 'non-professional', and/or 'volunteer' translators/interpreters have recently come to the fore.

It is well-known that TIS has experienced a wealth of turns or *Neuorientierungen* in the past 40 years, all of them both signifying and strengthening its fundamental nature as an inter-discipline and at the same time drawing attention to the dynamics of its thematic, conceptual, and methodological boundaries. These moves across traditional disciplinary boundaries have not only brought about new ways of collecting and arranging observations and descriptions surrounding the phenomena of 'translation' and 'interpreting'; they have also changed the ways of "organizing a community (with gatekeeping mechanisms)" as pointed out by Gambier and

van Doorslaer (2016: 8) in their recent volume on disciplinary border crossing. In our view, many of these organising practices and gatekeeping agencies inside TIS can be described in terms of *boundary work*, featuring all of the rhetorical resources discussed above: *expansion* of authority through heightening contrast; *monopolisation* of authority and the processes of exclusion; and *protection* as expressed through blaming. In these discursive, occasionally coinciding processes surrounding the emancipation of the discipline, the issue of the professionalism of translation and interpreting practice has long been and continues to be one of the core elements.

In what follows, we will demonstrate how boundaries have been set in TIS to draw a mental fence between professionals and non-professionals. Following that, we will discuss the challenges that arose when this boundary was crossed, shifted, or spanned in the course of research turning increasingly towards so-called non-professional translation and interpreting practices.

Expansion and monopolisation

The several changes in the research perspectives constitute an obvious expression of an attempted expansion of the ontological domain of TIS. However, with these 'turns', the discipline has not only been developing itself but also continuously and consciously striving for emancipation: with its evolving research interests, TIS has not only claimed authority over domains possessed so far by other disciplines but has also gradually worked towards monopolising its authority in the field. By the end of the 1970s, to give a couple of examples, Wolfram Wilss (1977: 8) had already announced the first stage of the emancipation of translation studies (or, in his terms, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*) from prescriptive, first and foremost philosophical translation theory and pointed towards the consolidation of a linguistic discipline with its own specific research questions and interests. For Werner Koller (1979/1997), the specific interests and the key issues of translation theory were to be found in the search for the essential *sine qua non* features signifying the so-called translation proper (*eigentliche Übersetzung*). For a long time, this was seen to refer to equivalence relationships predominantly associated with the source text (Koller 1997: 188–90) as the "measure of all things" (*Maß aller Dinge*, Reiss 1988: 73), which the translator must respect if he or she wishes to be regarded as one. Normative statements such as these reveal how, in translation studies, monopolisation has coincided with the definition of the boundaries that demarcate legitimate professional behaviour.

The path that led towards a further emancipation of the discipline could be seen as having emerged as a direct reaction to this approach. On one hand, a contrast to the tight scope of linguistically oriented approaches was drawn in a new approach to (literary) translations which saw them as empirical phenomena pertaining to the target culture (Toury 1980: 37, 43–5) and as such independent of any a priori definition of essential features. On the other hand, boundaries were expanded by developing a *Neuorientierung* (Snell-Hornby 1986) or an "integrated approach" (Snell-Hornby 1988) that borrowed from text- and functional linguistics, scenes and frames semantics, action theory, and other areas "without being a subdivision of any of them"

(Snell-Hornby 1988: 2) – a claim for the independent legitimacy of the new approach. One part of the now emancipated inter-discipline focused on (literary) translations in relation to their semiotic functions in the target culture (e.g. Toury 1995: 71), another on "dethroning" the source text as well as on positioning the (ideal) translator as an independent decision-maker (Reiss and Vermeer 1984: 87) placed at the centre of a given translational communication. When the disciplinary boundary work of heightening contrast began to merge with discursive processes of exclusion, the concept of 'professional translator' (or 'professional interpreter') was pushed into the foreground, emphasising the importance of systematic research into features of professional translatorial action, which also marked the beginnings of the monopolisation of translator and interpreter education by academic institutions.

The discourse of exclusion took on various forms in diverse conceptual and methodological frameworks. Justa Holz-Mänttäri's (1984) theory of translatorial action was particularly influential. While recognising the long and important tradition of translating and interpreting that had developed and sustained itself without an academic educational framework, she also witnessed modern societies (of the 1980s) turning into expert societies, with growing cross-cultural communicative needs that called for new scientific and educational measures. On this basis, Holz-Mänttäri (1984: 92f.) anchored the institutional collation and dissemination of expert knowledge in universities. The properly (with theoretical and pragmatic qualifications) trained translator was then designated as an expert in the collaborative networks of cross-cultural communication. Consequently, the professionalisation of translators and interpreters was soon perceived to be the primary reason for the existence of translation and interpreting institutions in contemporary societies (Hönig 1995: 156). As we will show further below, this social and institutional anchoring of translation studies was occasionally coupled with an exclusive discourse against perspectives that deviated from this dominant paradigm by suggesting a broadening of the scope of research to cover all translation by all kinds of translators.

In a similar vein, interpreting studies, described by Miriam Shlesinger as "a (sub) discipline in the making within a discipline in the making" (Shlesinger 1995: 9), has gradually striven for expansion as well as monopolisation, claiming disciplinary autonomy around the image of the 'professional (conference) interpreter'. Danica Seleskovitch, herself a conference interpreter, established a doctoral studies programme in *traductologie* at ESIT (École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs) in the mid-1970s and, together with her colleagues, developed a theoretical framework, the 'théorie du sens' or 'Interpretive Theory of Translation' (Seleskovitch 1975; Seleskovitch and Lederer 1984). Conceptualising interpreting as a task undertaken in order to convey sense rather than transcoding words, this theory, also known as the *Paris School*, highlighted its fundamental difference from contemporary linguistic approaches in translation studies. By emphasising observations of authentic interpreting data, a distinctive boundary was set with regard to previous experimental psychology research on simultaneous interpreting in the laboratory. Within the Paris School, these disciplinary outsiders were eyed with suspicion for carrying "the risk of misleading conclusions about the 'natural' interpreting process" (Lederer 2015: 209).

The expansion continued in the work of interdisciplinary practitioners and researchers, such as Daniel Gile or Barbara Moser-Mercer. Drawing on frameworks and methodologies from cognitive sciences, their goal was to focus on empirical research on the interpreting process. In the aftermath of the Trieste Symposium in 1986, which in Gile's words rang in the "Renaissance" (Gile 1994: 151) of the discipline, scepticism towards theory grew considerably. Despite epistemological and methodological differences to the Paris School in an increasingly contrast-ridden discourse – Moser-Mercer (1994) described it as a "liberal arts" vs a "natural science" paradigm – the predominant focus on the professional conference interpreter remained. While empirical, mainly experimental research on simultaneous interpreting prevailed as a winning paradigm, the 'liberal arts paradigm' lost ground in the (sub)disciplinary turf battle. Nonetheless, critical voices such as Garcia Landa (1995) not only pointed to the epistemic necessity of theory building but also asserted that interpreting and translation should be perceived as *social processes* and not *as natural objects*.

Boundaries were gradually expanded in the wake of the first Critical Link Conference in 1995. Turning to the examination of authentic non-conference assignments, researchers started to ask questions as to how interpreting is performed in relation to a given social context and how the social context is affected by interpreters. Wadensjö's (1998) analytical work highlighted the triadic nature of interpreter-mediated interaction and served as an influential source of inspiration for further research on community interpreting. Since much of the interpreting in community settings was performed by so-called 'non-professionals' and in view of the conference interpreting research community's monopolising discourse, qualifications, training, and professionalisation became central topics of an applied branch of research inspired by professional policy, aiming to help gain recognition and appreciation. Thus it took quite some time until TIS started to take non-professional practices into serious consideration as legitimate objects of research, as discussed further down.

Monopolisation and protection

The focus on translation and interpreting practices as expert activities was followed by a need to protect the expanding field. The best illustration of *exclusive discourse* coupled with blaming is the discussion surrounding the concept of 'natural translation', a term coined by Brian Harris to describe "translation done by bilinguals in everyday circumstances and without special training for it" (Harris 1977: 99) as well as his suggestion that proper TIS should not only study all translation, but also that it should start with natural translation (ibid.). Harris' own preconception was, as he confirmed 16 years later (Harris 1992: 101), that the study of natural translation would reveal the foundations, the basic translation and interpreting competence as a "third skill" of bilinguals, on which their education, e.g. at universities, for professional translation and interpreting tasks could be constructed. Furthermore, it would challenge the conceptual premises and perspectives of the dominant paradigm. Harris' proposal from 1976 was taken up ten years later by Hans P. Krings

(1986) and Willis Edmondson (1986). Krings objected primarily to the primacy that Harris claimed for natural translation in TIS: a primary focus on translation practices in contexts with a very fluid and fuzzy concept of 'translation' seemed absolutely unreasonable (*schlichtweg unsinnig*), although he did, on the other hand, recognise the theoretical benefits of expanding the scope beyond the realm of professional translation (Krings 1986: 20; see also Krings 1992). In a similar vein, Edmonson spelled out a sceptical viewpoint by questioning whether

> such natural "acquirers" of interpretive skills in fact evidence the specific set of skills we wish to call interpreting, or are they simply bilinguals called upon by social circumstances to assume at times a mediating role, such that their behaviour can on these occasions be called 'interpreting'? Surely the latter.
>
> *(Edmondson 1986: 130)*

A couple of years later, Hans G. Hönig (1995) presented a similar, explicit protection separating (professional) translation from non-translation in his critical discussion of the 'illusion of naturality', thus alluding to Harris' concepts and to Harris' and Bianca Sherwood's (1978) view of "translation as an innate skill". According to Hönig (1995: 26–32), the qualitative differences between 'natural' and 'professional' translation can be defined with reference to the opposition of reflex and reflexivity, insofar as only reflexivity signifies the conscious and controlled decision-making of a trained professional. It is also interesting to note that Hönig (1995: 26) refers to both Harris and Sherwood as 'bilingualism researchers' (*Bilingualismus-Forscher*) – a label that quite explicitly positioned them outside TIS or at least questioned their authority in the field. (For a further critical view presented by Toury on the basis of his concept of 'native translation', see Toury 1995: 248–54.)

Today, both Krings and Hönig can be associated with the branch of translation studies that focuses on research into translation processes that evolve e.g. through think-aloud protocols, key-logging, or screen recordings. In this field, the boundary work pertaining to categories of translators' levels of knowledge, – i.e. novices, non-professionals, semi-professionals, professionals, experts – is usually part of the empirical setting and therefore very visible, albeit not unproblematic (see e.g. Jääskeläinen 2010). Here, as well as in the 'expert-novice paradigm' in interpreting studies (see e.g. Moser-Mercer et al. 2000), such categorisation is strongly motivated by the applied educational goals of the research. At the same time, however, there is also a strong social commitment to professional translators and interpreters and to the development of circumstances in favour of a less subservient habitus of both translators and interpreters in a conscious shift towards "democratic translation cultures" (Prunč 2008: 30–2) in general. As Krings (2005: 344) points out, one of the driving forces behind translation process research is the desire to demonstrate the complexity of translation and, as a consequence, to highlight the necessity of professionalism, both in translation education, and practice. In interpreting studies, likewise, the stance that "interpreters are made not born" (Mackintosh 1999) tended to guide research agendas. Against this backdrop, it is hardly surprising that the

notions of 'competence', 'skills', and 'quality' are central to both (sub)fields in relation to both educational and research purposes. Through this explicit commitment to the professional community, boundary work takes further steps towards monopolising as well as protecting authority by claiming translation for 'professionals' and emphasising their role and status on the one hand and putting the blame for suboptimal practices, dumping prices etc. on non-professionals, authorities, and clients on the other. To put it bluntly, TIS seems to have emancipated itself from essentialist definitions of the product (e.g. 'translation') but still sustains a rather rigorous and homogeneous view of translators and interpreters. The extensional definition excludes "the humble and the everyday" (Harris 1977: 97) and thus marginalises a significant part of translatorial practices in past and contemporary societies treating them, as pointed out by O'Hagan (2011: 15), "simply as a dilettante, anti-professional movement". At the same time, it allows for the construction of the idea of a homogeneous and coherent professional identity with 'mono-professionalism' as a core element which determines both the educational framework and the focus of research.

From time to time, the strong interest of TIS in professionalisation has also framed research into the history of translation and interpreting. In such instances, history is implicitly and more or less unconsciously instrumentalised to serve professional concerns by focusing on high-profile translators (e.g. recognised through their prolific literary translation bibliography) and interpreters (e.g. those associated with prominent political figures or high-profile settings) and suppressing those who work in less visible, more common settings. The framing may take explicit forms that aim to reconstruct "a noble lineage for the translator's profession" (Pym 1996: 448). Anthony Pym refers here to the FIT (International Federation of Translators) publication project on *Translators through History*, a project that – as the editors maintain – was openly motivated by the goal "to enhance the translation profession throughout the world by revealing the immeasurable contribution of translators to the intellectual and cultural history of humanity" (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995: 2).

Quite a few translation historians act simultaneously as translator and interpreter trainers. This double agency can cause uneasy feelings when confronted with historical data that does not quite match the prevailing preconceptions e.g. with regard to translation and interpreting as professions. However, as we will demonstrate further on, translation history abounds with data that continues to challenge both today's prevalent essentialist view of professionalism and the assumption of 'mono-professionalism'.

Pushing and pulling the borders

Against the backdrop of the existing disciplinary boundary work, it perhaps comes as no surprise that research into non-professional translation and interpreting has traditionally been conducted primarily outside TIS, i.e. in disciplines that have not been driven by a "vested interest in the professionalization of translation" (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012: 150). Translational phenomena addressed by disciplines such as anthropology, cultural studies, educational studies, foreign language learning, psychology, and (socio)linguistics initially addressed topics such

as everyday language brokering by children and other family members or friends (e.g. Faulstich Orellana et al. 2003; Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp 1986; Malakoff and Hakuta 1991; Weisskirch and Alva 2002) and later branched out to examine activist, volunteer, and amateur (fandom) translation and interpreting in various different social networks and media environments (e.g. O'Hagan 2011). A common feature of these mediation practices is that they occur in settings in which public or commercial linguistic-communicative services have remained deficient – either in respect to the basic need for social inclusion and engagement in public life or in relation to various altruistic motivations or personal interests. As Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva (2012: 153–4) observe, such instances of translational activity are prompted not only by global demographic and cultural flows but also by technological developments that foster the "empowerment of citizens to actively take their place in society by assembling and distributing their own representations of reality through media". Web 2.0 and 'crowdsourcing' are examples of key concepts illustrating both the technological and human potential in this context (see contributions for O'Hagan 2011).

Of course, it would be both premature and unfair to maintain that these global trends and changes have remained unseen in TIS. Indeed, TIS has witnessed a general shift of focus towards translators and interpreters (Chesterman 2009; Dam and Zethsen 2009; Pym 1998; Wolf 2007, 2012) that has gradually led to charting forms and contexts of mediation (e.g. conflicts, migration, political activism) that challenge the predominant understanding of translation and interpreting as a profession. This pushing of boundaries beyond the earlier margins is not only visible in special issues of TIS journals, but is also evident in the new conference series on non-professional interpreting and translating (NPIT) launched in 2012 in Forli with subsequent events in Germersheim in 2014 and Winterthur in 2016. Both the calls for NPIT conference papers and the presentations themselves have demonstrated very vividly how the complexity of empirical phenomena defies explicit boundaries between or clear definitions of non-professional and professional practices or agents. More importantly, however, the general shift of focus has not only shed light on the full range of both professional and non-professional translation and interpreting practices, but also highlighted their omnipresence and importance in today's multicultural societies. As such, this shift has also paved way for the argument, as presented by Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva in their introduction to the special issue of *The Translator* dedicated to non-professional translation, that

> it is professional – rather than non-professional – translation that should be taken as the exception within the wider context of translation. Looking at the issue from this angle, professional translation becomes merely one sub-type of translation, rather than the norm-setting, prototypical form.
>
> *(Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012: 157)*

This provides a strong incentive to open TIS more consistently to agents beyond the assumedly coherent group of trained, salaried, and institutionalised translators and

interpreters. These include agents for whom mediation is an act of political engagement, a way of assisting families and friends, a role imposed on them in sites of violent conflicts, simply a source of (self-)entertainment, i.e. as a hobby or pastime, or just one part of everyday communicative routine in contemporary multicultural societies and as such often invisible and seemingly insignificant. It seems that this further expansion of boundaries already begins to manifest itself in the reconfiguration of earlier established concepts. One example of this process is Kaisa Koskinen's expansion of Holz-Mänttäri's concept of *translatorisches Handeln* to cover a range of "translational events, moments of overcoming linguistic and cultural barriers in written or spoken communicative situations in which more than one language is involved", without associating the concept with professional agency (Koskinen 2014: 187). These "moments of 'translational action'" (ibid.) that fall into the scope of research can include e.g. translated signage as part of a linguistic landscape in cities, self-interpreting or translation in multilingual conversations, or the work of anonymous translators and interpreters in past and present governmental and municipal administration settings.

Challenges arising from translation history

Although TIS is a young discipline, both the practice of and reflection on translation have a long history. As we are convinced that studying the past helps us to understand the present by giving us a broader perspective on what to look at today, we will provide a few historical examples from two projects on translation and interpreting practices in Finland during the Second World War and signed language interpreting in Austria in the 19th and 20th centuries. When looking at translation and interpreting in history, we have to take into account that concepts of 'work', 'occupation', and 'profession' have changed over time. Working lives were very different in the past, beginning with hunting and gathering societies, and moving through agricultural labour and crafts, involuntary servitude, and slavery, to changes based on the development of new artefacts and technologies, and the consequences of the Industrial Revolution and bureaucratisation, etc. (Volti 2012). Ethnographic research has furthermore revealed that the boundaries between work and non-work can vary considerably, insofar as work can fulfil various different functions – e.g. economic, social, and mythical – concurrently (Füllsack 2009). With this in mind, we are not referring to historical translators and interpreters as representatives of an occupational group but instead choose to talk of 'work' or 'tasks' which, as discussed shortly in the introduction, can be paid or unpaid, private or public, and formal or informal. What is missing – as we will demonstrate – in Taylor's (2004) framework is the time factor as well as the question of whether work is carried out on the basis of personal volition or rather according to certain external circumstances.

Translators and interpreters in Finland during WW2

The larger picture that emerges from archived sources, autobiographic texts (e.g. published or unpublished diaries or memoires), photographs, oral history, and

historiographical accounts demonstrates that, in the context of war, TIS needs to account for "all that translators and interpreters can, in principle, be" (Kujamäki and Footitt 2016: 62) – an allusion to Gideon Toury's point of departure for the descriptive approach (Toury 1995). This general picture encompasses the following, more specific, observations.

People who translated or interpreted in military settings had various occupational and/or military positions, mostly labelled otherwise than as 'translators' or 'interpreters'. In archived documents, the category of 'interpreters' nevertheless appears regularly, thus indicating a more or less visible boundary to other agencies. For example, in the personnel structures of the Finnish Liaison Staff in Rovaniemi, Northern Finland, which was responsible for mediation between Finnish and German troops, an explicit distinction was made between 'liaison officers' and 'interpreters' subordinated to German units. However, the boundary between the two groups becomes rather fluid when looking at it from both groups' weekly reports: the tasks overlap significantly, with both groups not only interpreting and translating, but also organising daily supplies, mediating, and collecting intelligence. As such, the group designation primarily amounts to a description of a given soldier's military rank either as an officer (liaison officer) or a non-commissioned officer (interpreter). An interesting example of boundary work in this context is the way liaison officers were occasionally commanded to accompany and assist high-ranking German officers 'as interpreters' on their trips to towns in Southern Finland. In other words, officers who interpreted as part of their daily routine were additionally labelled as interpreters for the purposes of the task assigned to them. Similarly, in some lists provided by the Finnish prisoner-of-war camps, Red Army prisoners are divided into a range of occupational groups including e.g. carpenters, cooks, painters, and tailors along with 'interpreters'. In this list, the term 'interpreter' presumably signifies a bilingual person's tasks inside the prisoners-of-war camp rather than his or her training or professional experience before the war (Pasanen and Kujamäki 2017).

This indicates furthermore that people who were designated as translators or interpreters, either as 'badged' for a short task or commissioned for the duration of the entire military campaign, did far more than just translate or interpret. Those prisoners of war who interpreted also cooked and maintained the Red Cross prisoner-of-war catalogues or the camp supply depots, and female Finnish civilians also could be engaged as 'secretaries and interpreters' (*Schreibkraft und Dolmetscherin*), who were responsible for a range of tasks in the headquarters of the respective German unit (Kujamäki 2015, 2016). In a similar way, many Finnish nurses with sufficient language skills acted as interpreters in Finnish and German military hospitals.

These and other examples show how the archival data strictly precludes the possibility of delineating boundaries between professional and non-professional mediation. Military translation cultures in WW2 in Finland amount to (often ad hoc) engagements based on the (minimal) bilingualism of individuals for whom no training was deemed necessary, nor was it provided. They undertook the tasks without

any prior experience of translating and interpreting and, furthermore, hardly ever pursued translation or interpreting after the war. In other words, for the military authorities, professionalism was clearly not an issue in their search for translators and interpreters required for military and warfare-related communication structures. However, there are a number of cases where some traditional features of (occasional or short-time) professionalism are evident: quite a few interpreters and translators received payment for their services – a compensation that could be substantial enough to raise adolescent Finnish schoolgirls working as interpreters in the German military to the same economic level as their teachers (Kujamäki 2012: 92, 2016: 112). Here, the idea of 'natural translation' merges with social recognition which is expressed through remuneration. Taken together, this leads to the concept of 'natural professionals' representing at least some of the mediation agents in this context. For many others, especially for prisoners of war, however, interpreting was a task forced upon them or, in some cases, the only way to survive, and their compensation amounted to a few extra cigarettes or a slice of bread.

Observations from the history of signed language interpreting in Austria

In the history of signed language interpreting, we also encounter interpreting (and translation) practices that spread across a continuum from public, formal and (typically) paid assignments to assignments of a rather private and informal character. They show, furthermore, that multi-professionalism tended to be the norm. In Austria in the 19th century, male 'teachers of the deaf-mute' (*Taubstummenlehrer*) acted as court interpreters and, as they lived together with their pupils in residential schools, also functioned as expert witnesses. In this capacity, teacher-interpreters contributed to the assessment of the criminal liability of deaf defendants as well as to showing up hearing delinquents who tried to feign deafness in order to escape punishment. Although they were sworn in and officially given the title of 'interpreters for the deaf-mute' (*Dolmetsch der Taubstummen*), it was not until 1922 that they were listed in the 'court interpreter' section of the Court and State Manuals (*Hof- und Staatshandbücher*). Before 1922, they had been registered in annual directories under 'humanitarian institutions', listed according to their respective school for the deaf (Grbić 2017: 205–6, 214).

At the other end of the continuum, children of deaf adults (CODA) have interpreted for their family members on an informal and private basis throughout history. In interviews conducted to explore the origins of the professionalisation process of signed language interpreters in Austria, CODA tended to struggle with the question of whether to describe their interpreting tasks in childhood, which they perceived as work and not as fun or leisure, as 'real' interpreting or not. Instances that caused classification problems were e.g. writing letters or obtaining information on the phone. Some CODA were lent to other deaf families as a kind of 'subcontracted worker', some took on more formal tasks as interpreters in deaf clubs, and some resigned from interpreting when they grew up. In the mid-1920s, the first female CODA was

sworn in as a court interpreter in Vienna and took on the formal position of an interpreter-secretary-social welfare worker (*Dolmetscherin, geschäftsführende Sekretärin, Fürsorgerin*) in a Viennese deaf club. She also had an assistant, a so-called auxiliary interpreter (*Hilfsdolmetscher*), in case support was needed. The multi-role positions imbued these women with considerable powers, and their efforts for the deaf community were rewarded with social recognition and honour – they were praised in countless articles in the deaf community's journal, one of them even going down in history as 'mother of the deaf'. Actually, these interpreter-secretary-social welfare workers seemed to have oscillated between altruistic commitment and paternalistic presumptions and between exploitation and self-exploitation (Grbić 2014, 2017).

These cases illustrate not only the factors of multitasking, the wide scope of the agents' action, and some kind of 'natural professionalism' as mentioned above, but also throw up questions pertaining to time and volition in issues such as the lack of boundaries to separate public and private time; temporariness vs durability of duty; and the blurred boundary between voluntary choice and imposed obligation.

Conclusion

Our short overview of the developments of TIS focused on stages of boundary work with reference to past and present boundary negotiations by researchers and practitioners in relation to the issue of professional vs non-professional translation and interpreting. A range of processes related to boundary work were identified, including the setting, institutionalisation, disputing, maintenance, blurring, spanning, crossing, and shifting of boundaries. The discussion, together with the examples we provided from two historical settings, serve to illustrate the socially constructed nature of such symbolic boundaries comprising socioeconomic (remuneration), cultural (training), social (status), and moral (empathy) dimensions (Lamont 1992: 4). We also hope to have shown the strong relational quality of these boundaries, which both divide and connect scholars and practitioners, illustrating historical contingency, contextual variability, and internal inconsistency (Gieryn 1983: 792).

Historical perspectives on translation and interpreting policies and practice before the era of (academic) TI-training and before the institutionalisation of the issue of professionalisation in TIS have a potential to undermine dominant concepts which determine the way we look at translation and interpreting. It is interesting to see how the broad range of mediation practices that become evident in the course of such analyses, ranging from informal to formal, private to public, incidental to accidental, unpaid to paid, temporary to long-term, volunteer to forced, monolithic to multifaceted, is still visible in contemporary societies. For us, this historical consistency is an incentive to open up a broader view on the full range of translational activity and thus readjust our conceptual categories.

As shown above, such shifting of boundaries is already taking place, and there is a growing number of studies that try to account for the range of mediation activities required in various communicative contexts, irrespective of the question of professionalism. This ongoing renegotiation of boundaries is, however, neither self-evident

nor undisputed, as developments and discussions at the NPIT conferences have shown. The second NPIT conference in Germersheim (2014) marked a slight turn back towards the issue of professionalisation, and this was developed further at the Winterthur conference two years later. Coupled with this is the critical discussion – voiced by a few practitioners and researchers – which questions the justification for research into NPIT. The underlying assumption here seems to be that paying attention to 'questionable' (i.e. non-professional) structures would strengthen their existence and increase the threat they represent to professional activities. However, there are good reasons for TIS to work with a more flexible mindset. As Claudia Angelelli (2016) pointed out at the EST panel discussion on moving boundaries between non-professional and professional translating and interpreting in Arhus in 2016, it is the task, freedom and indeed even responsibility of research to account for all existing phenomena. Along these lines, Şebnem Susam-Saraeva (2017: 81) provides an important argument by pointing at the possibility of "losing valuable opportunities for growth", should the discipline keep on considering non-professional activities as existing beyond its boundaries. Indeed, by looking beyond professional activities and approaching the entire varied phenomenon of translation and interpreting, TIS has the opportunity to open itself to new conceptual tools and to new definitions of the established frameworks. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, TIS can certainly fare much better in its effort to understand and convey the full relevance of translation and interpreting activities in contemporary societies by looking at the broader practice rather than through the narrow lens of professional practice alone. In its full breadth, translating and interpreting is not only an expanded object of research, but also has the potential to become a powerful lens to facilitate the analysis of communicative, cultural, and social agencies and structures.

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8

ERGONOMICS OF TRANSLATION

Methodological, practical, and educational implications

Maureen Ehrensberger-Dow and Riitta Jääskeläinen

Introduction

In the past few years, the boundaries of translation studies have shifted to include inter- and transdisciplinary research into the realities of the translation workplace. Constraints inherent in being part of a system and the resultant effects on translators' decision-making have become the focus of interest by translation studies researchers with different theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches (e.g. Désilets et al. 2009; Ehrensberger-Dow 2014; Koskinen 2008; Kuznik and Verd 2010; LeBlanc 2013; Marshman 2014; Risku 2014).

As professional communicators, translators are expected to create high-quality texts that meet the needs of their clients and readers while at the same time being subject to physical, temporal, economic, organisational, and cultural constraints. And since translation can be regarded as a complex system involving many agents, organisational factors such as workflow, communication processes, project management, job security, and translator status also influence this type of work. Environmental factors in the physical sense (e.g. lighting, temperature, air quality, space) as well in the broader sense of the role of translation and translators in the economy and society as a whole can also influence how this situated activity is carried out. All of this is congruent with Chesterman's (2009) proposal to broaden the disciplinary map of translation studies to include what he called *translator studies*. Focussing on the people involved in a situated activity is also what ergonomics, a term attributed to Jastrzebowski (1857/2006) to describe the "natural laws of work", has been doing since it became more or less synonymous with human factors (Stramler 1993).

Viewing translation from an ergonomic perspective, as first proposed by Lavault-Olléon (2011), can provide an appropriate framework to understand the impact of various factors on the demanding bilingual activity that translators engage in. Because their work requires close attention and concentration, translators have

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to exert energy and ultimately cognitive resources to compensate for the distraction of any physical discomfort or frustration with organisational problems. The potential for poor physical, cognitive, and organisational ergonomics to have detrimental effects on translation quality and translators' job satisfaction seems obvious.

According to the International Ergonomics Association (IEA 2017), ergonomics is concerned with "physical, cognitive, social, organisational, environmental, and other relevant factors" of human work and the promotion of conditions that are "compatible with the needs, abilities, and limitations of people". These factors can vary and there can be considerable overlap among them, depending upon the situated activity that is in focus. For translation, the physical factors include the furniture and equipment that translators use and their suitability for the extended periods they spend sitting in the same position. Cognitive factors include the demands placed by source texts that can differ with respect to quality, subject matter, and terminological, conceptual, and linguistic complexity. Human–computer interactions, information sources, and language technology are also all factors related to the cognitive ergonomics of a translator's workplace. In light of machine solutions being a part of virtually all translation tasks at modern workplaces (see O'Brien 2012), the importance of improving ergonomic conditions has become an imperative.

Social factors in translation include collaboration and exchanges among translators as well as the personal interactions between them and other agents and among other agents in the chain of target text production, such as project managers and revisers. Even freelancers working on their own account operate within complex networks that involve many other agents (cf. Risku 2014). This overlaps with organisational factors, which are defined by the IEA as "sociotechnical systems, including their organisational structures, policies, and processes". The technologised reality of professional translation, driven by rapid developments in computer-aided translation and increasingly usable machine translation (MT), has led to higher expectations regarding productivity and consequently additional time pressure. Advances such as neural machine translation being integrated into translation memory (TM) systems are blurring the boundaries between human translation, post-editing of MT output and fully-automatic usable translation (also known as FAUT; see van der Meer 2006). In most of the systems currently deployed, the origin of the suggested segment is marked as MT or TM, which may help the translators in their decision-making as to whether to accept the suggestion or not but also contributes to cognitive load. The quality of the MT suggestions is highly dependent on the programming effort that has gone into the development and tuning of the system, which is an organisational matter usually beyond individual translators' control. In a recent focus group study carried out at the European Commission's Directorate-General for Translation, reasons given for not using MT included fear of its influence on translators' performance as well as general discomfort with the technology (Cadwell et al. 2016). Policies and training with respect to working optimally with TM and MT as well as meeting clients' demands regarding quality, pricing, and deadlines need to be reviewed regularly and aligned with teams'

expectations, expertise, software, and equipment. Other organisational structures and workflow management systems also need to be in place to support translators in their tasks and to deal efficiently with maintaining and upgrading technical equipment and software as needed.

Environmental and other relevant factors related to ergonomics can be understood in terms of both physical conditions (e.g. size of office, temperature, noise levels) and softer issues such as team climate, diversity, innovativeness, respect, trust, collaboration, and management support. The added-value of human translation (i.e. novel solutions, appropriate lexis, and stylistic choice) compared to MT is increasingly recognised to be related to uniquely human traits such as creativity, discourse awareness, and reader empathy. These constructs are consistent with an appreciation of human cognition that extends beyond the boundaries of mental processes and rational decision-making to include notions of situatedness and embeddedness (see Englund Dimitrova and Ehrensberger-Dow 2016; Muñoz Martín 2016) as well as with an ergonomic perspective that prioritises the well-being of the human translator.

Such an ergonomic perspective can also offer tools for examining translation quality in terms of a multidimensional concept (Abdallah 2010; Jääskeläinen 2016). In the past, translation quality was usually assessed in relation to the final product. Abdallah suggests adopting a multidimensional quality concept in which product quality results from process quality (including source texts and available tools), which in turn is determined by social quality (i.e. working conditions). Thus, the quality of the translation product is the outcome of factors that can be understood to be essentially ergonomic in nature.

However, there is no single picture of the ergonomics of professional translation: a large-scale survey completed by translators from almost 50 countries revealed that profiles differ depending on employment condition, age group, number of hours worked per week, as well as other factors (see Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2016 for more details). In the following sections, we consider the survey results of two multilingual countries in more depth, compare them, and reflect on how an ergonomic perspective can provide insights into the reality of professional translation as translators cope with the transition of their work becoming increasingly machine-driven (see Marshman 2014).

Ergonomic issues in Swiss and Finnish translation practice

In order to assess the ergonomic situation of professional translation, a battery of questions was prepared by a team of translation studies and occupational therapy researchers to cover the various aspects of ergonomics defined by the IEA. The questionnaire items were formulated in English and first pilot-tested in an exploratory study with freelancers and commercial translators (see Ehrensberger-Dow and O'Brien 2015), and then adapted to include the option to identify as working in institutional settings. Many of the items offered a limited number of choices (e.g. *I am: □ male □ female □ prefer not to specify*), others included a comment field if no category applied or to supply additional information (e.g. *I would describe my*

position as a/an: □ freelancer □ employee at a company □ employee at a governmental institution □ other: _____), and in a number of cases, a comment field opened if a certain response was provided for an item (e.g. *There are things that irritate me about the CAT tools I use. □ Yes Please explain what:* _____ *□ No*). The final version included items related to good ergonomic practice divided into the following six categories: 1) general information; 2) workspace and working environment; 3) computer workstation; 4) tools and resources; 5) workflow and organisation; and 6) health and related issues (see the Appendix for an overview of the categories and items). Professional translators produced five more language versions (de, es, fr, it, pt), which were checked by other language professionals and revised as necessary in a process of adjudication (see Harkness 2003; Mohler et al. 2016).

In the early autumn of 2014, links to the six language versions of the online survey were sent to about 25 multipliers in the first author's Swiss and international network, which included the second author, with the request to forward the survey links to other professional organisations, language service providers, and translators in their own networks. This snowball sampling technique was quite effective, since a total of 1850 respondents completed the survey. The interest in the survey was positive not only from countries in the immediate vicinity of Switzerland (i.e. Germany, Italy, France, Austria), but also from other countries in Europe (e.g. UK, Spain, Finland, Luxembourg, Belgium) as well as several outside Europe (e.g. Canada and Brazil).

In the first section below, the three samples (i.e. Total, Swiss-based and Finnish-based) are described, with implications drawn for potential differences in the ergonomic reality of professional translation in various settings. There is the inherent bias of self-selection in this type of survey research, since people who are uninterested in ergonomics are unlikely to take the time to complete a survey on the topic. Because of this, no claims are made about the representativeness of the results or, for example, the relative demographics of professional translation in the two countries. In the subsequent sections, the patterns for the various factors that are considered especially relevant to the ergonomics of professional translation practice from the Finnish-based and Swiss-based respondents are contrasted with the responses from the total sample. Finally, the ergonomic aspects that respondents explicitly identified as issues for themselves are considered with respect to differences in the demographics and reality of professional translation depending on locale.

Description of the samples

Of the 1850 respondents to the international survey, 118 specified their place of work as Switzerland (CH) and 95 as Finland (FI). Most of the respondents based in Switzerland accessed the survey versions in the Swiss national languages German (47%), French (28%), and Italian (8%), as well as in English (15%), and even a few in Spanish (3%). An invitation to participate in the survey was translated into Finnish by the second author and distributed via the Finnish Association of

Translators and Interpreters. Although the majority of the respondents based in Finland used the English version of the survey (85%), some chose other languages (i.e. 11% German, 3% French, 1% Spanish), confirming the value of multilingual survey techniques (see Harkness 2003 for a discussion of this topic).

By far the majority of the respondents in both countries were female, with slightly more from Finland (91%) than from Switzerland (82%), the latter quite congruent with the results of the survey overall (i.e. 80% female respondents). The distribution of respondents by age range differed between the two countries and from the total results (see Figure 8.1), with proportionately more translators aged 45 or younger in Switzerland and over 55 in Finland. These demographic differences in the three samples might be reflected in the physical ergonomic issues that emerge in the survey results presented below.

Far more of the Finnish respondents reported working alone (i.e. not sharing an office with another person) compared with those in Switzerland (i.e. 79% vs. 51%). One quarter of the Swiss respondents shared an office with another person and about one fifth of them did so with two to four other people. The relatively greater physical isolation of the Finnish-based translators compared with those in Switzerland corresponds to the proportion in the total sample (i.e. 79%) and might be attributable to the different employment profiles (see below and Figure 8.2). Ergonomic issues associated with environmental and social factors are thus predicted to differ among the samples in line with the predominance of office settings.

The samples also differed with respect to habitual translation directions, with the Swiss-based respondents much more likely to translate mostly or exclusively into their first language (L1) than the Finnish-based sample (i.e. 93% vs. 69%, compared with 84% for the total sample). Far more of the Finnish sample reported translating mostly or exclusively into their second language (L2) than either the Swiss sample

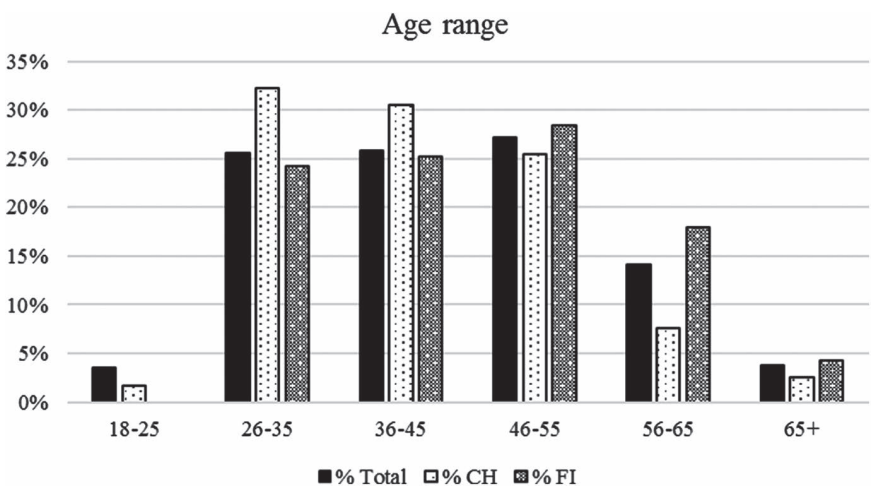

FIGURE 8.1 Distribution of age ranges in the three samples

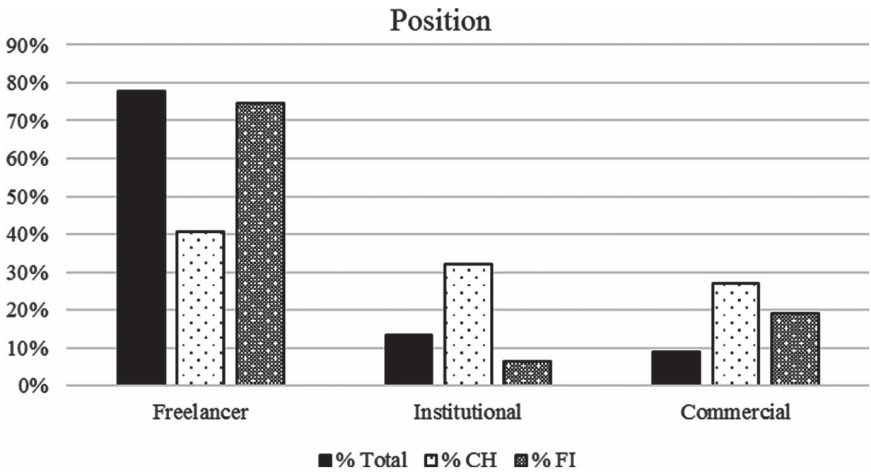

FIGURE 8.2 Proportion of respondents by employment position in the three samples

or the total sample (i.e. 20% vs. 2% and 6%). L2 translating, albeit traditionally shunned by professional associations in some countries, appears to be very much in demand in the professional translation market in Finland. Jääskeläinen and Mauranen (2001) report on a small-scale study in which language professionals indicated that 76 per cent of their translation tasks were L2 translation. More recently, the majority of members of the Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters who responded to a survey reported that L2 translation was part of their work, which in their own estimation comprised 24 per cent of the total volume (Korpio 2007). Since there is some evidence that translation into the L2 is more effortful (e.g. Hunziker Heeb 2016), cognitive ergonomic issues might be predicted to emerge as especially problematic for the Finnish sample.

The distribution of the three samples (i.e. Total, Swiss-based, Finnish-based) with respect to employment position also differed. The Swiss respondents were quite evenly spread among translators working as freelancers, in institutions, or in commercial settings (e.g. in language service providers or language department in companies; see Figure 8.2). In contrast, most of the Finnish-based respondents were freelancers, just as in the total sample and reported for Europe in Pym et al. (2013) as well as in a recent survey carried out in the UK (UK Translator Survey 2016/17). Although the numbers in the Finnish and Swiss samples are too small to allow comparisons based on employment position, it is important to keep these differences in mind when considering the results presented in the following sections, especially those related to organisational factors. In the analyses of the total sample, ergonomic issues and profiles seemed to be linked to employment position (see Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2016).

In the following sections, the responses to the items concerning physical, environmental, social, cognitive, and organisational factors are reported in terms of percentage of each sample. The percentages can be understood as indicating good

practice (i.e. 85% or more of the respondents), as being possibly problematic (i.e. 30–84% of the respondents), or as warning signs (i.e. fewer than 30% of the respondents), in line with the categorisation applied in the exploratory study before the international survey was launched (see Ehrensberger-Dow and O'Brien 2015). The statistical significance of differences between the categorical responses of the Swiss and Finnish samples was tested with the chi-square test of independence. In the following sections, only significant differences and those of at least five percentage points are mentioned.

Differences in physical factors

The physical factors of the translation workplace that are related to ergonomics involve the furniture itself (i.e. the desk and chair), the layout (i.e. the space around and under the desk and chair), and the hardware (i.e. the computer and peripherals). As is clear from the percentages in Table 8.1, there seems to be room for improvement in most aspects of physical ergonomics at Swiss and Finnish translation workplaces, especially with respect to furniture and use of peripherals. Only four items suggested good practice for both samples: sufficient legroom; location of screen; screen size; and use of keyboard shortcuts (which reduce strain on the wrist and arm muscles).

Good practices with respect to the desk size, seating arrangements, and perceived comfort of the keyboard are more frequent among the Swiss respondents than their Finnish colleagues although the latter are slightly more likely to have a dedicated workspace for translation work. Both samples are more likely to have a choice of desk height than the total sample, but a significantly larger percentage of the respondents based in Finland than in Switzerland take advantage of that to work standing up (i.e. 35% vs. 17%; $p<0.01$). Very few translators used a footrest, perhaps because its potential ergonomic advantages are not obvious to those who do not use one.

Although most of the practices concerning the computer and peripherals are in the mid-range for both samples (i.e. possibly problematic), the results actually suggest that Finnish translators are more ergonomically aware than their Swiss colleagues are. Significantly more of the Swiss sample use a desktop computer for most translation work (i.e. 72% vs. 51%; $p<0.05$), but the Finnish translators are significantly more likely to have the monitor positioned ergonomically (i.e. 58% vs. 32%; $p<0.01$) and to use a wrist rest (i.e. 34% vs. 17%; $p<0.01$) and a touchpad (i.e. 25% vs. 8%; $p<0.01$) at least sometimes. The respondents from Finland also indicated that they are more likely to: have the keyboard lying flat on the desk; use an ergonomic keyboard and mouse; and avoid using the mouse. As mentioned in the previous section, there are proportionately more Finnish respondents in the older age ranges, so better ergonomic practices with peripherals may be a consequence of "learning from negative experience" (see also Meidert et al. 2016 or UK Translator Survey 2016/17: 40). This is partly supported by the responses to a question at the beginning of the survey about whether the translator had ever had an ergonomic assessment of the workplace: 36 per cent of the Finnish respondents said they had versus only 30 per cent of the Swiss and 13 per cent of the respondents overall.

TABLE 8.1 Responses to items concerning physical factors

Furniture:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• dedicated workspace	*84%*	83%	89%
• desk size adequate	*79%*	92%	72%
• choice of desk height	*29%*	45%	40%
• at least sometimes work standing up**	*11%*	17%	35%
• chair height mostly or always adjustable	*78%*	86%	82%
• adjustable backrest mostly or always	*63%*	72%	63%
• footrest used mostly or always	*24%*	16%	27%
Layout:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• sufficient legroom under desk	*91%*	95%	85%
• sufficient pushback room	*85%*	86%	79%
• elbows horizontal to desk	*63%*	70%	67%
• satisfied with layout	*78%*	84%	75%
Computer:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• desktop for most translation work*	*61%*	72%	51%
• top of monitor slightly below eye level**	*37%*	32%	58%
• screen located directly in front	*92%*	92%	91%
• screen about an arm's length away	*68%*	64%	63%
• two screens for translation work	*30%*	31%	27%
• screen larger than A4 (>20 × 30 cm)	*81%*	93%	91%
• magnification of screen adjusted	*41%*	47%	52%
Peripherals:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• keyboard flat on desk	*66%*	64%	74%
• wrist rest at least sometimes**	*25%*	17%	34%
• keyboard comfortable to use	*92%*	88%	82%
• ergonomic keyboard	*20%*	9%	19%
• keyboard shortcuts at least sometimes	*90%*	88%	92%
• mouse rarely or never used for translation	*13%*	8%	13%
• ergonomic mouse	*35%*	19%	27%
• mouse comfortable to use	*86%*	73%	75%
• touchpad at least sometimes**	*17%*	8%	25%

*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$ for differences between the CH and FI samples.

Differences in environmental and social factors

In general, the responses about control over the physical environment indicate good practices, although the Finnish translators reported having less control over room temperature and airflow than the Swiss and the total sample (see Table 8.2). This is surprising, considering that almost 80 per cent of the Finnish translators reported that they worked in a room on their own and three quarters of them are freelancers.

TABLE 8.2 Responses to items concerning environmental and social factors

Control over physical environment:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• room temperature	*74%*	72%	64%
• fresh air	*95%*	95%	84%
• airflow	*84%*	77%	65%
• lighting	*95%*	92%	95%
• view out of window from desk	*87%*	94%	91%
• glare or reflection on screen rare or never	*83%*	85%	86%
Distractions from social environment:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• outside noise rarely or never disturbing*	*72%*	63%	87%
• inside noise rarely or never disturbing	*85%*	73%	87%
• headphones rarely or never used	*85%*	82%	82%
• people rarely or never moving around	*62%*	44%	59%
Social contact:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• discuss work in person at least sometimes	*55%*	74%	60%
• discuss work by phone at least sometimes*	*54%*	67%	43%
• discuss work on forums at least sometimes**	*43%*	10%	39%
• discuss work by e-mail at least sometimes	*78%*	75%	80%

*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$ for differences between the CH and FI samples.

There are far fewer freelancers in the Swiss sample (i.e. 41%), so the higher rates of distractions from the social environment are probably attributable to the translators in shared offices in the institutional and commercial settings. This would also account for the significant difference in the proportions of each group that reported rarely or never being disturbed by outside noise (i.e. 87% of the Finnish vs. only 63% of the Swiss; $p<0.05$).

Both groups indicated that they had some kind of social contact in the context of their work, with significantly more Swiss translators discussing their work by phone at least sometimes (i.e. 67% vs. 43%; $p<0.05$). The only really low response rate in the items concerning environmental and social factors is for the Swiss sample: significantly fewer of them discuss their work on forums (i.e. only 10% vs. 39% of the Finnish translators; $p<0.01$). This could also be a reflection of the higher relative proportions of institutional and commercial translators in the Swiss sample, whose employers may not allow communication about translation work outside of their organisations. The preferred mode of communication for all three samples is email, with an especially high rate for the Finnish respondents.

Differences in cognitive factors

From a situated cognition perspective, it is difficult to clearly separate physical, social, and environmental factors from those that might be considered more directly

TABLE 8.3 Responses to items concerning cognitive factors

Translation workflow:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• workflow software at least sometimes	*31%*	42%	27%
• resources provided at least sometimes	*65%*	75%	57%
• internet connection mostly or always good	*96%*	97%	96%
• communication mostly or always adequate	*97%*	96%	97%
• communication rarely or never disturbing	*28%*	31%	26%
CAT tool use:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• CAT tool(s) used for translation	*73%*	89%	77%
• CAT tool(s) at least sometimes helpful	*97%*	98%	97%
• rarely or never switch between CAT tools*	*64%*	83%	58%
• switching tools rarely or never disruptive**	*45%*	47%	67%
• customise CAT tool(s)	*46%*	43%	51%
• CAT tools not irritating	*41%*	28%	20%

*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$ for differences between the CH and FI samples.

related to cognitive activity. The questions in the survey about translation workflow and CAT tool use are relevant to notions of distributed cognition in the context of translation, which can be understood as the effect that interactions between tools and users have on the cognitive demands of the task at hand (see Dragsted 2006). As shown in Table 8.3, more Swiss translators used workflow software, and resources were provided to them more often than was the case with Finnish translators or the total sample. There were proportionately more institutional and commercial translators in the Swiss sample, so this might simply reflect the reality of those professional settings (see Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2016). Nevertheless, the percentage for Finnish translators reporting that resources are provided at least sometimes is lower than for the total sample, even though the proportion of freelancers was similar in those two groups (see Figure 8.2).

The internet connection and communication were reported to be almost always good by all three groups. However, communication in the form of emails, chats, and phone calls was also generally considered to be a disturbance: only about 30 per cent of each sample reported that these were rarely or never disturbing, and the rest of the translators said that they always, almost always, or sometimes were.

Other potential sources of disturbance that can affect concentration originate in the tools used at many professional workplaces, as discussed in more detail elsewhere (see O'Brien et al. 2017). The uptake of CAT tools was higher in the Swiss sample than among the Finnish translators or overall, again perhaps because of the higher representation of commercial and institutional settings among the Swiss respondents. Of those who use CAT tools, the vast majority find them helpful at least some of the time. Significantly more of the Swiss group who use CAT tools rarely or never switch between tools (i.e. 83% vs. 58%; $p<0.05$). Even though there is more switching between CAT tools by the Finnish sample of translators, they are

significantly less likely to find that disruptive than those in the Swiss sample (i.e. 67% vs. 47%; $p<0.01$). The Finnish respondents are also more likely to take ownership of their tools and customise them compared with the other two samples, which perhaps explains why so few of them (only 20%) reported not being irritated by certain CAT features. Of the 80 per cent of the Finnish group who reported being irritated by their tools (i.e. 76 translators), more than half of them chose to explain why. Of the 72 per cent of the Swiss sample who reported being irritated, proportionately even more chose to comment about what was irritating about their tools (i.e. 54/85). This may have more to do with the fact that the survey was available in three Swiss languages in addition to English than with any lack of suggestions on the part of the Finnish respondents, some of whom might have been more inclined to respond in Finnish. This again highlights the importance of making international surveys available in as many languages as possible in order to achieve representative results.

Differences in organisational factors

The most noticeable differences between the Swiss and Finnish samples with respect to organisational factors seem to highlight freelancers' relative autonomy in organising their work (see Table 8.4 below). The translators in the Swiss sample report less freedom in deciding when they work and what they do, and significantly fewer even sometimes take hourly breaks (i.e. only 47% vs. 69% for the Finnish group; $p<0.05$). Deadlines are almost always clear for all three samples, with almost half of the respondents also experiencing time pressure mostly or always. Very consistently across the three samples, only about three quarters of the respondents report that they at least sometimes receive feedback.

Fewer uniquely organisational factors were identified as problematic in the survey than was the case with the physical, environmental, social, and cognitive factors. As pointed out in the previous section, it is difficult from a situated cognition perspective to clearly delineate these categories. In addition, the survey was

TABLE 8.4 Responses to items concerning organisational factors

Organisational factors:	*Total*	*% CH*	*% FI*
• decide timing of work at least sometimes	*86%*	72%	87%
• decide which jobs at least sometimes	*83%*	66%	85%
• decide order of jobs at least sometimes	*90%*	87%	94%
• decide timing of breaks at least sometimes	*98%*	95%	100%
• workspace left for at least some breaks	*85%*	89%	84%
• hourly breaks at least sometimes*	*68%*	47%	69%
• deadlines for tasks mostly or always clear	*95%*	96%	95%
• not mostly or always time pressure	*51%*	58%	52%
• feedback about work at least sometimes	*74%*	76%	77%

*$p<0.05$ for difference between the CH and FI samples.

originally designed to capture the physical and cognitive ergonomics of professional translation rather than to focus on organisational aspects.

Potential improvements to workplace ergonomics

At the end of the survey, respondents could indicate whether they would like certain aspects of their workplace to be more ergonomic. The choices provided were: mouse, touchpad, keyboard, screen, chair, desk size, office size, privacy, lighting, room temperature, air quality, noise levels, workflow, tools and resources, or "other aspects", with a text box opening up if the last option was chosen. Almost all of the respondents chose to answer this question (92% and 93% of the Finnish and Swiss samples, respectively), with the distribution of priorities varying between the groups (see Figure 8.3). Of the physical features, the mouse, keyboard, and desk size were of more concern to the Finnish translators than to the Swiss. The greatest concern for both groups was chairs (i.e. just over 30% of the respondents), which is consistent with the survey results overall (i.e. the highest value, at 44%). The Swiss translators seemed more concerned about environmental features than the Finnish translators were (i.e. privacy, lighting, room temperature, air quality, and noise levels). This is probably attributable to a greater proportion of the Swiss sharing an office with at

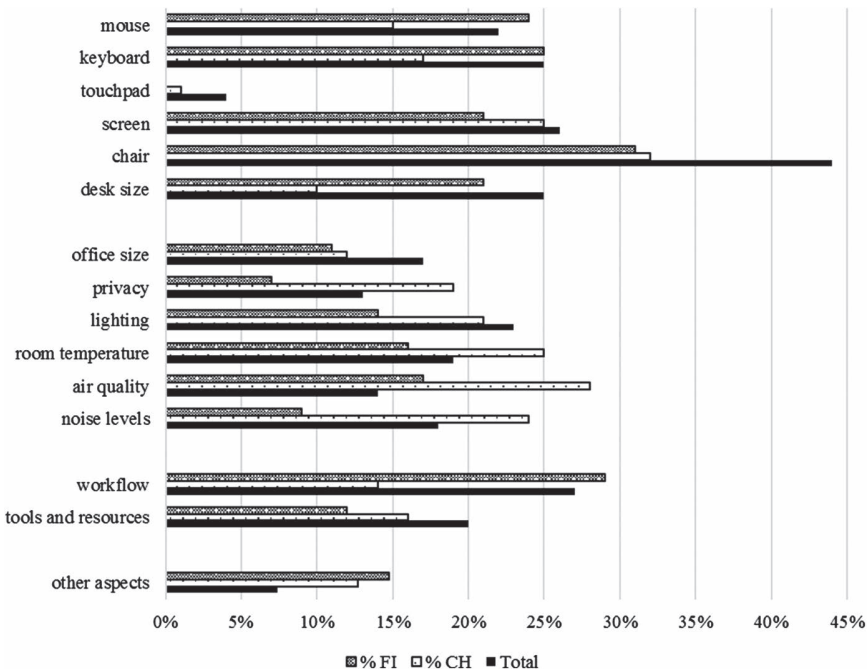

FIGURE 8.3 Workplace features explicitly identified as needing to be more ergonomic (%)

least one other person (i.e. 49% vs. only 21% of the Finnish sample), which usually demands certain compromises with respect to personal physical comfort.

With respect to organisational aspects, almost twice as many of the Finnish sample compared to the Swiss recognised that their workflow should be more ergonomic. Far fewer of the two groups mentioned tools and resources as in need of improvement, and the difference between the groups was quite small. Other aspects explicitly mentioned by both groups of translators generally related to the sedentary nature of translation as an activity (e.g. need to be able to adjust the height of their desks). Many of the general comments made at the end of this section of the survey related to improvements that the translators had noticed because of ergonomic features being introduced into their workplaces.

Discussion and future perspectives

The preceding sections presented and compared the results from an ergonomic survey of professional translation practice in two European countries that have some (partly overlapping) practical, educational, and methodological implications, which we discuss below. We also outline some future perspectives for ergonomically-oriented translation research, which have been partly inspired and informed by the papers presented in a panel dedicated to the topic at the EST (European Society for Translation Studies) Congress in Aarhus in 2016 (Ehrensberger-Dow and Jääskeläinen 2016).

At first glance, taking an ergonomic perspective on translation may appear rather limited if the focus is only on aspects such as desks and adjustable chairs (i.e. physical ergonomics). However, taking an ergonomic perspective in the wider sense, including organisational and cognitive dimensions, can unearth translation-related issues that merit further exploration and have practical implications. For example, the potential long-term effects on well-being and job satisfaction of working in settings in which translators have limited control over basic aspects of their environment such as temperature, airflow, and noise levels (see Table 8.2) should be taken seriously and considered in office policies. Another practical implication relates to the proportion of respondents who reported being disturbed at least sometimes by emails, chats, and phone calls. If translators are often disturbed while working on a translation, they might have trouble entering or maintaining a state of flow (see Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi 2002).

Another example of a practical issue emerging from the present study is the predominance of L2 translation in different countries and workplace contexts and its potential impact on cognitive ergonomics. Although not the focus of this particular ergonomics survey, future research could specifically explore how the availability of resources, email disturbances, and distractions such as having to switch between CAT tools might influence cognitive load and differentially affect L1 and L2 translation. Such results would have immediate implications for translator education programmes in many countries, and especially for those with languages of lower diffusion.

An ergonomic perspective could also help overcome cases of misunderstanding such as that reported by Abdallah (2016), which appears to have resulted from organisational issues related to the relative lack of translators' autonomy in organising their work (see Table 8.4 above), including the commissioner's lack of trust in the translators. The commissioner's measures to reduce the risk of piracy detrimentally affected the subtitling process and the translators' working conditions, leading to very low quality in the final product. Risk management emerged as a central factor in Séguinot's study as well (2016), in which she recognised that the rapidly changing conditions and varied practices in the workplace required a reconsideration of research questions and methodology. Séguinot's study also highlights the need for methodological dexterity in translation studies to enable manoeuvring in the changing landscape of translation work. As our study has shown, an ergonomic perspective can provide a framework for conceptualising research involving the realities of the translation workplace.

The methodology for the survey reported here was inspired by Katan's (2009) work on translators' status and images of themselves as professionals as well as a more recent survey of professional translators' and post-editors' attitudes about their editing interfaces (Moorkens and O'Brien 2013). The face and content validity of items in such survey research is often assessed by expert judgement (Sun 2016: 270). In the ergonomic survey discussed here, items were constructed based on the recommendations for good ergonomic practice for computer-related office work derived from the literature (Chevalier and Kicka 2006; Lavault-Olléon 2011; de León 2017; Salvendy 2012) and from guidelines published by insurance companies (SUVA 2010) and governmental agencies (CCOHS 2011). Nevertheless, the in-depth look at the results of two countries that has been taken in this chapter shows that quantitative survey methods cannot provide answers to all of the issues that emerge from such data. Other methodological approaches, such as blog analyses, interviews, or non-participant observation, might be more suitable for investigating organisational aspects of professional translation (e.g. Dam 2013; Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey 2017; Risku et al. 2017).

In terms of translator education, an ergonomic perspective can help prepare students for the realities of the workplace; furthermore, it may empower them to identify and change dysfunctional practices in the workplace (Galán-Mañas 2016; Kiraly and Hofmann 2016; Lavault-Olléon and Frérot 2016; Massey 2016). Research into the ergonomics of translation technology (e.g. Teixeira and O'Brien 2017) has obvious implications for translator training at the undergraduate and graduate level as well as for continuing professional development. Incorporating a basic understanding of physical ergonomics into translation courses also serves a purpose in translator training. If translators receive information about good ergonomic practices early in their education and careers, they can procure suitable equipment and furniture and thereby minimise the risk of musculoskeletal complaints developing in their upper extremities, backs, shoulders, arms, and hands (see also Meidert et al. 2016).

Ergonomically-oriented translation research could also contribute to raising awareness of what translation is and what translators actually do. In the interdisciplinary

study that the ergonomics survey presented here was part of, the occupational therapy researchers were surprised to discover that the apparently monotonous work at the computer that translators were doing could actually be perceived as very challenging and interesting (see Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb 2016: 75). Rather than waiting for other disciplines to take an interest in our topics, we should continue to push the boundaries of translation studies to increase our appreciation of the situated cognitive activity that translators engage in and the resources they draw on to deal with their complex bilingual work. Framing such research in terms of ergonomics might seem more convincing, accessible, and societally relevant to potential participants, stakeholders, and funding bodies than theoretical issues in translation studies could ever be.

The survey results reported here have indicated that there seem to be specific ergonomic challenges at professional translation workplaces in at least two multilingual countries that place a high value on translation activities. However, there are many related questions left to explore, including the impact of ergonomic factors on translation practices and processes, on decision-making and translation quality, and on creativity. Despite what might be considered substandard conditions, translators report that their work is exciting, satisfying, varied, stimulating, challenging, important, and meaningful (see Dam and Zethsen 2016: 180). We suggest that an ergonomic perspective lends itself well to contributing to a greater understanding of the wonderful, embedded, embodied, extended, enacted, affective activity that is translation.

Appendix. Categories, number of items, and items in the survey

	Category	*Number of items*	*Items in the order they appeared in the survey*
1	General information	11	hours per week as a translator*, directionality*, other job*, country*, age range*, sex*, handedness*, typing ability*, employment position*, place of work, shared workspace*
2	Workspace and working environment	19	dedicated workplace, desk size, desk height, sitting/standing position, leg room, space behind chair, elbow position, control over environment (temperature, fresh air, airflow, lighting, window), satisfaction with workspace layout, use of headphones, potential distractions (outside noise, inside noise, people, communication, glare)
3	Computer workstation	14	type, peripherals, number of screens, position of screen, height of monitor, screen size, adequacy of screen size, distance to screen, magnification, mouse, touchpad, wrist rest, keyboard, keyboard shortcuts

(*continued*)

Appendix. (Continued)

	Category	*Number of items*	*Items in the order they appeared in the survey*
4	Tools and resources	7–14	workflow software, number of CAT tools* (if 1 or more: helpful, switching frequency, switching disruptive, default, customising, irritating features, missing features), ST/TT display, pen & pencil use, additional resources, internet connection, adequacy of communication tools
5	Workflow and organisation	6	discuss problems with others, feedback about quality, clarity of deadlines, autonomy at work (when, breaks, which jobs, order of jobs), break behaviour, time pressure
6	Health and related issues	8	general health, exercise, health problems (15 different ones), relationship of problems to work, stress due to work, coping with stress, previous ergonomic consultation, desired ergonomic improvements

*compulsory items.

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9

FROM BINARIES TO BORDERS

Literary *and* non-literary translation

Margaret Rogers

Introduction

The relative status of 'literary' and 'non-literary' translation is clearly implied in their customary designations: one is the default and one is what the default is not. Similar terminological patterns in other fields of interest can give rise to ideological and political debate – as in the racial epithets 'white' and 'non-white'. But what lies beneath the words? Discussions about the scope and nature of translation within translation studies have already moved on from a binary division to encompass a growing number of 'subfields', so that "the traditional inclination of translation studies towards literary translation is now only one among many and varied preoccupations" (Brems et al. 2012: 3). Included in Brem's et al.'s understanding of translation studies are various interpreting activities, although the spoken/written distinction becomes harder to sustain in the light of multimedia developments and some professional practices. Borders have become porous here too (see Shlesinger & Ordan 2012). Furthermore, while the propositional content of what are broadly known as non-literary texts has been said to differ from that of literary texts (see Harvey 1998: 277), as also their respective functions – "transactional or informational" aiming to "influence or inform" as opposed to "affective/aesthetic [. . .] aiming to provoke emotions and/or entertain" (Jones 2009: 152) – the linguistic and stylistic devices which are used to fulfil those functions are less easily categorised. In both cases, the translator is moving between cultures and languages, making decisions about optimal solutions for the setting, and deploying his/her interpretive and creative abilities.

My main concern in this chapter is to explore common territory between literary and non-literary translation: in so doing, I will draw on some existing ideas and try to add value through consolidation and elaboration, moving away from the issue of prestige which often colours popular (mis)understandings and (mis) conceptualisations of 'non-literary' translation as somehow inferior (see, for example,

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Scarpa 2010: 97–8). Establishing similarities is one way to break down boundaries. Even if differences end up outweighing similarities, the case for a binary understanding is weakened. In any case, the issue here is so open-ended that it would not be productive, let alone practicable, to think in terms of a finite set of distinguishing characteristics. This contribution is therefore intended as a set of discussion points which can be challenged and/or expanded.

Following a preliminary discussion of 'borders' and classifications, I go on to consider literary and 'non-literary' translation from a range of intersecting perspectives: genre, people or things, readers, agency, terminology 'crossovers', institutional organisation and professional activity, and training for the translation market, before offering some concluding remarks including suggestions for future research.

I am very much aware that in continuing to use the designation 'non-literary' in many places in this chapter I am at risk of perpetuating the binary divide which is at issue here: the term is, however, crucial to making the argument as it names the concept under scrutiny.

Borders and classifications

Binaries imply absolute categories: either/or. Borders, on the other hand, show ambivalence. They can function as heavily policed barriers or allow easy passage. All borders, whether material or immaterial, are human constructions: they can be virtual, social, and/or cultural as well as physical. Physical borderlands can at times be risky places, but they can also be exciting places to be. Disciplinary borderlands can be equally risky places, blurring evaluative and methodological criteria, for example, but also with the promise of innovative insights into given problems. The conventional distinction between literary and non-literary translation is a similar case in point with its own fuzzy and shifting borders within the 'mother' discipline of translation studies. Boase-Beier et al., for example, consider how literary translation "can cross disciplinary boundaries" citing the translation of texts such as teaching manuals "in a literary way" (2014: 1), and Rogers (2015) attempts to recast the common perception of non-literary translation as the 'dogsbody' of the professional and arguably also of the academic world, by re-articulating its scope based on both historical and contemporary factors.

In short, we are dealing with a fluid world, one which therefore opens up possibilities for different conceptualisations. My understanding of borders is that of a productive interface. In what follows here, literary translation is understood to encompass mass-market publications as well as the canon, and non-literary translation to cover any kind of text – from learned scientific papers to furniture assembly instructions – which presupposes specialist knowledge and/or experience in order to achieve a particular purpose on the part of the author/translator. The purpose of non-literary texts and their translation lies outside the text itself.

Binary classifications can certainly be reconceptualised as borders, but any kind of system which assigns objects to classes presupposes distinguishing criteria. The necessary-and-sufficient criteria of the Aristotelean model at the root of

taxonomic hierarchies – and binaries – suggest a relatively fixed world view, at least at any particular time. But the landscape of translation studies is, as argued here, constantly shifting. Indeed, it is very much part of the practice of the social sciences and humanities that core concepts – such as 'culture', 'discourse', *and* 'translation' (for the latter, see Brems et al. 2012: 6) – are continually challenged and reconceptualised, perhaps more broadly, perhaps more narrowly (see Chesterman's 'lumpers' and 'splitters', this volume). Such dialogues are part of the regular disciplinary engagement and do not necessarily imply some kind of paradigm shift. This in itself suggests that our discipline of translation studies constructively inhabits a world with shifting internal and external borders. Nevertheless, the need to classify in some way does not disappear, for at least two interconnected reasons. First, classifications can be useful in translation research, e.g. in describing patterns and trends, which in turn increases the likelihood of identifying, naming, and understanding given phenomena. Second, classifications are productive in teaching, at least as a starting point. One of the core areas of classification in translation studies is genre.

Genre

Both literary and non-literary translation have within their scope a wide range of genres and sub-genres, depending on how the former are configured. For literary translation, the 'core' contemporary genres are generally agreed to be drama, poetry, and (fictional) prose with numerous and sometimes unnamed sub-genres (Wales 2001: 177; Jones 2009: 152; Grutman 2017). Mapping out the scope – or borders – of non-literary genres presents equally if not more challenging problems, especially as the scope of these texts, and hence of their translation, cannot be defined in any insightful way as "everything that is not literary". While literary translation has 'literature' at its core (others may wish to question the apparent simplicity of this proposal), the subject matter of non-literary – or 'specialised' translation – is "drawn from many disciplines, all with their own special languages and disciplinary associations" (Rogers 2015: 44).

The classificatory assumptions underlying the traditional literary/non-literary distinction are rarely if ever articulated; the dichotomy seems to render it redundant, implying an apparently clear differentiation between literary and non-literary genres. Yet cross-border forays can easily be identified. In his "practical guide" to literary translation, for example, Landers devotes a small section of a chapter on "Other areas of literary translation" to non-fiction, alongside theatre and children's literature (2001: 103–4). His concept of 'other' is understood as genres reaching beyond "fiction, the dominant mode" of literary translation, and poetry (ibid.). His examples of non-fiction include biography, history, and memoirs, reminiscent of Newmark's in-between genres (see next section). The basis of Lander's inclusion of these genres in the territory of literary translation concerns what he views as shared "issues", including "the author-translator-reader relationship, the same sensitivity to nuance, the same sense of dedication" (ibid.).

While Landers is writing from a contemporary point of view, there are also indications that the scope of the 'literary' has – unsurprisingly – changed over time. In the 19th century, for example, literary awards and membership of literary academies could be based on historical or biographical writings, genres that "no longer fit into our modern, much narrower, idea of 'literature' (which is commonly restricted to fiction, poetry, and plays)" (Grutman 2017: 34). Elsewhere, literary specialist Clive Scott suggests that: "We are, perhaps, too wedded to certain views of what constitutes the literary" (2014: x).

Beyond the borderlands of (auto)biography and history, the last decades have seen the emergence of popular new genres especially in the digital media which, in terms of their purpose sit better with Jones' criteria for literary texts – "aiming to provoke emotions and/or entertain" – than with those assigned to non-literary texts. It is, of course, not surprising that new genres emerge when social and technical conditions change (evolution), and that the form of genres changes over time (dynamism) (see Garzone 2012 for professional genres; Wales 2001 for literary genres). The new forms of digital text which have emerged in recent years – including Twitter as well as blogs and vlogs – are of a distinctly personal kind. But while these texts are intended for public consumption and may also reach the print media, they are not subject to the usual processes of commissioning, editing, and marketing as are conventionally published literary works. Moreover, txting (*sic*) has developed its own well-known, often maligned but also creative forms of expression; its language could be regarded as a kind of special language with its own lexical choices including initialisms and spelling conventions, logograms, as well as clippings and contractions (Crystal 2008). As innovative forms which can exhibit mixed characteristics – a strong personal voice but now often in a relatively conventionalised special language – these new genres have already attracted academic attention (e.g. Tagg 2012 for texting; Desjardins 2017 for the translation of social media). Any classificatory uncertainty does not, however, exclude these texts from the set which is chosen for translation: the security services, for example, are certainly interested in capturing personal messages and digital communications in a range of languages.

The growing prominence of audiovisual translation (AVT) in both practice and research (see, for instance, Díaz Cintas and Baños Piñero 2015) further calls into question the value of the literary/non-literary divide if we consider the range of genres included in its remit: feature and documentary films for the cinema or DVD, programmes for TV including news, discussion/chat shows, soaps, documentaries, serials, reality shows, and so on, as well as video games. These genres include fictional works of the imagination as well as 'fact-based' programmes, not to mention hybrid creations, in a range of media and modes, creating a rich, varied, and changing generic landscape.

The naturally expanding and shifting nature of genres and genre forms provides further reasons for rejecting strict binary divisions which actually limit rather than promote a better understanding of contemporary translation practices. And all translators – of whichever genres – need to engage with changing genre conventions.

We return to the issue of genre below in the section on agency.

People or things?

Another view of what distinguishes literary from non-literary translation is that the former is concerned with people – "the world of the imagination", the latter with things – "the world of facts", although this is tempered by the expedient of an interim class of texts between the two, encompassing certain genres (e.g. the essay and autobiography) as well as some subject fields (broadly speaking, social sciences and humanities) (Newmark 2004: 8,10). But it is not only this apparent in-between area which calls into question the value of the original dichotomy. Literary texts such as novels may contain 'facts' as part of their contextualisation in a particular location or professional setting. And the nature of many non-literary texts, in both form and content, has been shown to be richer than their often banal image tends to convey, and to have an array of human connections.

Culture is understood in many different ways by translation scholars (see, for instance, Pinchuk 1977: 155–6; Newmark 1988: 94–103; Stolze 1999: 202–3; Stolze 2009) but core to all interpretations is its relevance to human behaviour, whether between people (e.g. in texts of the imagination but also in public notices), or between people and things. The shift in translation studies from a linguistic encoding/decoding approach to an acknowledgement of the importance of "contextual knowledge of both source and target systems" (Bassnett 2014: 31) was certainly initiated by scholars with a focus on literary texts, but specialised texts cannot be considered to be culture-free, whether in a value-driven and relatively covert way, or in fairly explicit ways which are more easily identifiable. Culture cannot therefore be said to be a distinguishing criterion for literary and non-literary texts.

In the case of culture-as-values, attitudes around individualism (individual responsibility vs self-promotion) or collectivism (the well-being of the group benefits all vs the group stifles individual freedom) are well-known examples (see, for instance, Stolze 1999: 204–11). Attitudes are a matter of affect, and relate to our emotional commitment to different views of human interaction. Their connection with literature – typologically *expressive* texts in Reiss's terms (1971) – is therefore arguably closer. Indeed, reflecting the emotional commitment of the author to their work, Woodsworth has commented on what she sees as "*affinité, amour, respect*" on the part of the literary translator (1988: 124).

However, although the connection with non-literary translation may seem more oblique, the translator dealing, for example, with advertising copy, i.e. texts related to the promotion of 'things', is close to the literary translator in so far as adverts are often lexically innovative and replete with cultural implications appealing to the reader (see also Jones 2009: 153). The difference lies rather in how cultural values are handled. The literary translator is interpreting textual voices within a source-culture and source-language context for a different culture and language, possibly at a different time. Bearing in mind their promotional purpose, adverts on the other hand need to be focused on their often highly specific contemporary target market and the values which are said to characterise this. Two examples can illustrate the

shifts that can occur. One concerns a label for a French bath product being translated into English, the other a UK advert in English for financial products intended for the Arabic market.

The target market for the French bath product is men; the French label – *bain moussant relaxant* – was changed to "foaming muscle soak" for the English label, suggesting a functional post-exercise necessity rather than an indulgent sensual experience. The target market for the finance advert is wealthy investors in the Arab world. The original multimodal advert included a large image of a vintage car set against the background of the green English countryside. But when the translated advert – retaining the image – was trialled locally, the reaction was negative. The intended implication that a vintage car symbolises wealth and class flopped: why have an old car when you can afford a new one? The image was therefore changed. In both cases, the underlying values are different: sensuality is good/functionality is good; old is good/new is good. In both these examples, the translation – or the transcreation – is influenced as much by people (the target audience) as the things (the subject matter).

Adopting Edward T. Hall's familiar metaphor of the cultural iceberg (see Katan 2004: 42–8 for a critical summary), knowledge of the embedded values described above is located below the waterline, i.e. out of immediate and clear sight. Others such as the well-known examples of food, clothing, working hours, and so on are more visible. As has been well documented for certain translation activities such as the localisation of software, even routine problems are widely acknowledged to be exercises in cultural adaptation. Two of the three major elements involved in localisation (LISA 2007: 12–4) concern people, i.e. the users. The first is the translation of verbal messages in the user interface; the second concerns explicitly cultural issues such as colour, icons, and norms related to the software application such as accounting conventions. The third relates to purely technical issues, such as non-roman scripts and different alphabetic orders.

For particular types of software, however – high-profile examples include video games and websites – greater freedom is granted to the translator. For example, the translation strategy of compensation, often associated with tricky problems and almost last-resort solutions in literary translation (Harvey 1995: 65), is said to be widely used, for example, in games localisation, in which the translator is apparently free to replace cultural aspects specific to the source culture: "the translator does not have to be loyal to the original text, but rather to the overall game experience" (Mangiron and O'Hagan 2006: 15).

Video games are, of course, a kind of interactive narrative and hence close in this sense to literary texts, although they are distinguished by their realisation as dynamic multimodal productions consisting of image, verbal signs, and sound (verbal and non-verbal), the latter also marking them out from printed comics or graphic novels. Their purpose is also consistent with Newmark's conception of the world of the imagination and with Jones' focus on emotion and entertainment. Hence, even within the localisation of digital products – sometimes regarded as a technical job – the border between the literary and the non-literary has been crossed.

Readers

It was mentioned earlier that propositional content has been argued to be a distinguishing factor when comparing literary and non-literary translation. However, that content can reflect deep human concerns in texts which are neither literary nor imaginative. The history of translation shows strong connections with, for instance, medicine and astronomy (Salama-Carr 2009: 45), reflecting an understandable and even necessary concern with our well-being as human beings as well as a sense of curiosity about observable but distant phenomena beyond our immediate world. Contemporary medical issues include the provision of health-related information to reduce child mortality rates in developing countries (as, for instance, in the work of Translators without Borders, https://translatorswithoutborders.org/). This translation work requires considerable sensitivity to local cultural practices, as well as to the use of languages of low diffusion in order to convey preventative medical information and instructions. Other issues of high import to us as members of society as well as individuals include the highly personal nature even of legal texts such as witness and accused statements, and contracts as agreements between two parties (i.e. between people). All these texts come across the desks of translators and have the potential for impact on our lives. The way in which we are addressed as readers is therefore of considerable importance.

In some sense, the reader is always addressed in any text: whether they are addressed in the same way linguistically and with the same cultural assumptions depends on genre conventions, among other things. Establishing the target readership is a crucial step in 'technical writing' as Göpferich (1998) has pointed out in her richly illustrated volume on intercultural 'technical writing' (understood to encompass any specialised domain), glossed in the book title as "*Fachliches adressatengerecht vermittlen*" (communicating specialised material for the target reader, *my translation*). (See Cronin, 2010: 4–5 for an alternative view on the translator–reader relationship).

But how else do translators of literary texts make well-motivated decisions about preferred solutions to problems of intercultural difference, of time gaps between source and target texts, and of the balance between their loyalty to the author and/or the reader? The concept of the translation brief, originating in functionalist approaches relating to non-literary translation (Schäffner 2009), focuses on the needs of the reader rather than the voice of the author. Nevertheless, in literary translation, decisions are made in view of the anticipated reception of the translation even if not subject to a specific translation brief: this is the concern of descriptive translation studies and its focus on the place of translations in literary systems (Toury 1995). The difference is arguably that such decisions are often less reflected and less explicitly articulated than in non-literary translation. Put another way, the reader-orientation in literary translation could be viewed as an analytic construct after the event, whereas in non-literary translation it is a starting point for the translator.

Author–reader relations have also been considered from a philosophical point of view by Pym (2007), who also makes a case for the role of the personal in the

technical by referring to the choice between *Ich-Du* or *Ich-Es* (after Buber), arguing that technical translation and localisation in particular should involve a relation of "understanding and exchange" with an intimate second person: "Wherever our work processes and perceptions seem most caught up in networks of things, one must make at least the pedagogical effort to insist on the people." It is this human connection which can be considered to supersede that between the person and the thing, and which Pym considers to encapsulate "the act of translation, in its most ethical dimension" (ibid.).

Agency

A number of examples have been outlined above indicating that so-called border crossings can occur in a number of areas, including genre (e.g. advertising), translation strategy (e.g. compensation), and subject matter (e.g. biography), as well as culture and author–reader relations. That is not to say that the border simply has to be shifted, but rather, that other dimensions in addition to the status of the text as literary or not are important in any broad study of translation. Another of these dimensions is agency, which I construe here as exercising choice in the process of translation.

Given the range of translation choices open to literary translators, especially in cases of "[m]arkedly non-standard and/or non-modern source text style", Jones argues that "translators need expertise in writing multiple styles" (2009: 153). But non-literary translators also have in principle to be prepared to write in many genre-appropriate 'styles', relating for example to reports, contracts, scholarly abstracts, and papers, to instructions for use, manuals, guarantees, and invoices inter alia. In practice, of course, professional translators are unlikely to cover the whole of the textual range, not to mention the possible variations in subject matter. Whether literary translators also regularly restrict their expertise to, say, either poetry or prose, is a question I cannot answer here. Nevertheless, while all translators need to cultivate the ability to write in a versatile way, genre is not the only dimension which implies agency through versatility. In order to illustrate the often unacknowledged agency of non-literary translators, the following examples are taken from the social and natural sciences.

The translation brief is, as noted earlier, important in shaping decisions for the non-literary translator. Harvey (1998) provides a good example of this in a discussion of translating into English a journalistic article on the role of the European Union as an economic area or as a federated political entity. The source text is taken from the French newspaper *Le Monde Diplomatique*, a monthly supplement to *Le Monde*. The choices open to the translator are, he argues, constrained by the specified purpose of the translation. So the title of the article – *Le Grand Marché Contre la Grande Europe* – could be translated either as *The Single Market versus the Single European State*, evoking anti-European sentiments in which 'federation' has taken on negative connotations of weakening national sovereignty, or, more closely as *The Great Market versus the Great Europe*. Harvey's point is that the first

translation rather than the second would, for example, be useful if the text were to be used by a Eurosceptic UK politician seeking to connect with views opposed to greater European integration. Beyond this specific but now dated example (and others to do with the translation of metaphors in the article), Harvey's point is an important one in terms of ascribing agency to the translator relating to "interpretive work – both of the source-text message and of contemporary target-language culture" with the aim of "furnish[ing] a specific audience with the reading that corresponds most closely to their needs" (1998: 276). His conclusion is based in particular on how "the presence of creative metaphors and their elaboration through syntactic complexity" – said to be a feature of serious French journalism – "arguably problematizes the very category of non-literary, as opposed to literary, text" (ibid.: 277).

Context in specialised discourse has also been the focus of attention for Gotti in the field of economics, citing Keynes' anti-positivistic 1930s stance on the topic: "a formalized language" can be considered "inappropriate for the discussion of theoretical matters", as "the univocal reference of each term in the vocabulary to a specified concept cannot take into account the need to give words different meanings in different contexts, and at different points in the procedure" (2003: 47). As Gotti goes on to suggest, comparisons with the terminology of science, especially in its early stages of development in 17th-century English, suggest a different set of requirements, according to which 'monoreferentiality' or univocality i.e. a reversible one-to-one relationship between form and meaning, was seen as the ideal (ibid.: 165). Similar preconceptions regarding science (and technology) continued to be expressed in the 20th century in the context of 'terminology science' (*Terminologiewissenschaft*), although even here *Eineindeutigkeit* was seen as "a pious wish" ("*ein frommer Wunsch*") (Wüster 1985/1979: 79).

This striving towards a fairly static specialised vocabulary – rejected by Keynes for a *social* science – is suggestive on the one hand of a fixed reality or an objectively elaborated system of concepts and terms, and on the other hand of a universal understanding of natural phenomena and technological artefacts which facilitates translation. This view of science as displaying "*un caractère universel*" (as discussed by Scarpa 2010: 112–3) can be contrasted with Olohan's recent work on science and translation comparing it with literary translation rather than specialised translation in other fields. She argues that "universalist and positivist perspectives on science" encourage the assumption that "the translation of science will lack the richness of features that fascinate in literary texts and will provide little scope for translators to make decisions, exercise agency, etc." (2013: 428). So while sensitivity to context may vary according to subject matter, absolutes are not usually helpful even in the natural sciences and technology. Absolute clarity is, of course, still essential in the administration of medication (see Olohan, 2016: 93 for further examples).

The universalist view of science and the associated implication that translators of scientific (in the sense of the natural sciences) texts act as "mere conduits for the smooth transition of authoritative knowledge" are further challenged from outside the translation discourse community from an epistemological perspective

(Fuller 1998: 54). Resonating with Lefevere's literary concept of translation as "rewriting", Fuller remarks that "scientific knowledge is not simply reproduced as it gets distributed across a variety of settings, but rather it is produced anew to suit the needs of new users" (ibid.). He rejects the view of science as "a spatiotemporally invariant 'content' that is transmitted across contexts" (ibid.: 55). Hence, like translators of literature, translators of science interpret, make choices from available options and are sensitive to issues of reception in the target culture. Translators of specialised texts in other subject fields (such as Harvey's politics or Gotti's economics) are arguably even more likely to be presented with terminological choices with the potential for differing conceptualisations.

Terminology 'crossovers'

Terms, as items of vocabulary mapping out areas of specialised knowledge, are often assumed to be the concern of technical writers with no relevance or 'crossover' to literary authors. In this section, some examples are provided to show that: terms are not exclusive to non-literary texts; sacred texts contain challenging terminological problems; and scientists sometimes borrow terms from literature. The following examples are reproduced from Rogers (2015).

Citing the Russian-English writer and translator Vladimir Nabokov commenting on his translation of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* (1964), Bassnett remarks that literary translators need encyclopaedic knowledge: examples given include subject fields ranging from banking to pistol duels and berry fruits (2014: 12). The use of terms is also widespread in contemporary popular literature (e.g. forensic terms in Nordic noir novels) and in TV series such as *The Sopranos* (legal and mafia terms) (Whithorn 2014).

The early compilation of dictionaries also indicates scientific-literary synergies. Gotti (2003: 172) reports, for example, on emerging scientific terms and "hard words" in literature being presented together in so-called "hard-words" dictionaries of 17th-century English.

Working in teams and consulting expert sources are not new techniques: they featured in the translation of the Bible into Latin, English, and German as sacred texts also include terms. St Jerome employed a rabbi as a linguistic informant when translating the Hebrew Old Testament (Kelly 1979: 126); and Wycliffe's 14th-century Bible translation team included theologians as well as Latin experts, later consulting with "old grammarians and old divines" about hard words and complex meanings (Bassnett 1991: 47). Even Luther is said to have consulted foresters and gamekeepers for their knowledge of specialised terminology (Woodsworth 1998: 41).

Not only do terms feature in literary and in sacred texts, requiring research and consultation, literary texts have also served as a source of neologisms in that most imaginative of natural sciences, physics. The 20th-century American physicist David Mermin chose the term 'boojum' from Lewis Carroll's *The Hunting of the Snark* (1876) to denote a spherical drop of a helium isotope over competing and apparently more well-motivated terms as it ultimately fades away, as also the "Snark" (aka the

'boojum') in Lewis Carroll's poem (Pavel 1993). Murray Gell-Mann's choice of "quark" from a nonsense rhyme in James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* (1939) to denote a sub-atomic particle (Ahmad 1998) is another reported example of the confluence of the literary and the scientific imagination.

Having documented a number of lexical border crossings between literature and specialised communication, in the final two sections we move on to consider two institutional issues: the organisation of professional activity and training for the translation market, before presenting some conclusions.

Institutional organisation and professional activity

Organisations such as professional associations are indicative not only of a shared focus of activities but also of perceived identity, both within and without. Literary and non-literary translators in many European countries have different associations, or possibly different branches within a larger organisation, suggesting that their interests and activities are indeed perceived differently. Based on a survey of 217 associations for translators and interpreters, Pym (2014) reports an even greater fractionalisation: literary translators, sworn/authorised translators and interpreters, public-service interpreters, and audiovisual translators. I am not concerned here with the borders between 'professional' and other groups engaged in translation – volunteers, crowdsourcers, machine translation users, adherents of translation websites (for this, see Dam and Koskinen 2016a) – but rather with the relationship between groups of translators as indicated by professional affiliations.

As a case study, in the UK there are three main professional organisations which offer membership to translators. The Institute of Translation & Interpreting (ITI), established in 1986, is described on its website as "the UK's only dedicated association for practising translation and interpreting professionals" (www.iti.org.uk). But, in addition to a number of language-based "networks", it also lists 12 "other services" which are available to potential customers in its online directory, ranging from abstracting, through language training to voice-overs. The Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIOL), established in 1910, is more broadly profiled as "the leading UK-based membership body for language professionals" (CIOL). Interestingly, of the five well-recognised qualifications which it offers – through the IoL Educational Trust – one is in translation and two in interpreting. The CIOL online "Find-a-Linguist" service places translators and then interpreters at the top of the list, ahead of tutor/teacher and "language specialist".

Neither the ITI nor the CIOL make explicit mention of literary translation. Instead, the Society of Authors, which is described online as "a trade union for all types of writers, illustrators and literary translators" (www.societyofauthors.org), has included a "Translators Association" (TA) since 1958, in order to "provide literary translators with an effective means of protecting their interests and sharing their concerns" (ibid.). Other "Groups" include academic writers, medical writers, and children's writers and illustrators, as well as some regional groups. There is no directory or register for potential buyers of services to consult; the emphasis is on

supporting members in matters such as contract negotiation and rates of pay. All three organisations publish their own magazine: *ITI Bulletin*, *The Linguist*, and *The Author*.

This all suggests a fragmented but rather fuzzy distribution of translation professionals, with literary translators apparently outside the orbit of the ITI and the CIOL and aligned with "writers", including, we can note, authors working with non-literary subject matter, as well as authors working with literary texts, including poetry.

One of the characteristics of the contemporary distribution of translating activity is, put one way, the shift away from literary translation to certain types of non-literary translation. In a recent contribution to the story, it is claimed that "business translators seem to have come to occupy centre stage" being "responsible for the bulk of translation in today's globalised business world", with literary translators no longer located "at the very centre of the profession" (Dam and Koskinen 2016b: 3). An alternative perspective would be a growing acknowledgement of the contribution to many aspects of our lives of 'non-literary' translation. Various estimates of the distribution of translation activity confirm this trend towards 'business' translation – assuming this to be an alternative umbrella term covering similar ground to 'non-literary' or 'specialised' translation – ranging between 80 to 90 per cent, although the quantitative balance of translation research still seems to be weighted towards literary translation (Rogers 2015: 20).

A recent UK survey of nearly 600 respondents self-identifying as 'translation professionals' further indicates that business, marketing, legal, technical, and administrative/institutional texts are – in that order – the most frequently translated; literary texts rank in ninth place (European Commission Representation in the UK/CIOL/ITI 2017: 11). The survey authors point out that the results have to be interpreted in the light of factors such as the promotion of the survey by professional associations among their members, notably the ITI. The statistics in the report do, however, indicate that translators in the survey belong to more than one professional association: 59.4 per cent to the CIOL; 39.9 per cent to the ITI; 12.1 per cent to the TA (ibid.: 13). Of particular interest for our purpose here is whether there is any overlap in membership between the TA and the CIOL and/or ITI. In fact, nearly two thirds of those belonging to the TA *also* belong to another organisation (Paul Kaye, EC Representation in the UK, pers. comm.). A comment from one of the respondents also suggests overlapping activity: "I find CAT tools useful for general commercial translation, but for creative work and literature they are irrelevant" (ibid.: 42).

An understanding of the distribution of translators' activities as fluid and porous is further supported by Sela-Sheffy's interview-based study of 141 Israeli translators: of the one third of translators who work mainly in 'commercial/technical' translation, over one quarter also work as literary translators; and of those who work mainly in the literary field (just under one quarter of the sample), nearly 40 per cent reported working in commercial/technical translation as well (2016: 61). Issues of remuneration and status go beyond the scope of this chapter, but remain a topic in which the complexities of literary/non-literary borders can be further explored.

Training for the translation market

As academics and translator trainers responsible for curriculum design, assessment, and the assignment of teaching, we are, as Koskinen and Dam point out (2016), actively contributing to the drawing of boundaries both within translation (studies) and without in so far as it intersects with other fields. In designing translation programmes for students to enter the market as translators – at Bachelor's or Master's level – we make assumptions about many issues. These include (1) how (and which) aspects of translation theory can contribute to students' understanding of their own agency e.g. as decision-makers when negotiating jobs and contracts, when refusing or accepting assignments on ethical grounds, and when carrying out the actual translation work itself; and (2) how within a constrained set of financial, technical and human resources we can accommodate the broad knowledge and skills needed for whatever market our students will enter given the apparent porosity of borders between literary and non-literary translation, between literary and AVT, and so on.

Our decisions are based on many assumptions about how translation jobs are negotiated and assigned for literary and non-literary translators, whether ethical considerations are shared or are of a similar kind, or whether all translators share a common core of translation strategies. While these questions remain open for the most part, the link between theory and practice is in principle equally important, regardless of the type of translation activity. It is therefore of concern to all translation trainers, as well as to researchers (Brems et al. 2012: 3).

Some programmes attempt to deal with the second set of issues – and by implication with the first – by offering highly focused courses in, say, specialised translation, in literary translation, or in AVT. But the risk to recruitment and therefore to sustainability can be significant, particularly at times of increasing financial pressures in universities; such specialisation also assumes that applicants already know where their interests and strengths lie. A popular alternative solution is to offer a more generalised curriculum with options to specialise, sometimes even without language-specific possibilities, again in order to minimise problems of recruitment as well as of organisation.

Whenever we make decisions about how to structure and segment translator training, we are making decisions about borders: highly specialised programmes reinforce borders between categories such as literary and non-literary with the laudable aim of offering students relevance and optimal coherence. More loosely designed programmes acknowledge the possible future fluidity of translators' activities, but with the consequence of reduced focus. Nevertheless, there are indications that crossing borders can lead to a better understanding of the commonalities between different translation types. As Godev and Sykes report, their Master's-level literary translation students were helped to develop core skills of interpretation within a pragmatic framework of meaning construction by translating texts from selected non-literary genres such as AVT material and political speeches (Godev and Sykes 2017).

Concluding remarks

"So what?", as Chesterman asks (this volume). So what if the borders between literary and non-literary translation *are* fuzzy, moveable, or accessible without a passport? There are a number of reasons to question the value of what has been a rather expedient pair of labels and to regard these borderlands as a fertile area for research.

First, the binary designation is unhelpful in so far as it presupposes an exclusive non-reciprocal relationship. Second, a negative affix implies lower status and less complexity. Thirdly, the disciplines on which literary and non-literary translation draw are themselves constantly evolving. Fourthly, technological and professional developments have overtaken such a simplified view of the world of translation (studies).

In reviewing the points of similarity discussed in this chapter, it seems to me that *all* translators share the following, in addition, of course, to a high linguistic proficiency:

> audience and genre awareness, a knowledge of intercultural differences and how to manage them for a new audience, as well as the ability to interpret the indeterminacies characteristic of the majority of texts and to make judgments about when to introduce greater determinacy (coherence).
>
> *(Rogers 2015: 48)*

Versatility has also been argued to be important for all types of translation work, whether literary or non-literary, notwithstanding the fact that versatility and creativity will be needed to varying degrees in both. Compare, for example, works of the literary canon with those of popular romance on the one hand, and learned journal articles with parts lists on the other hand.

In order to explore where differences as well as similarities lie, the following are suggested as possible research topics: (1) process-oriented studies of translation and revision strategies and the use of resources; (2) the operation of the translation process (in the broader sense of Nord 1991: 6) and its participants; (3) patterns of activity-crossover between conventional categories of translation such as literary/non-literary/audiovisual and translator (self-)identity; (4) curriculum design and its implementation in a fluid translation market; (5) ethical issues facing translators in the literary and non-literary fields, and their resolution; and (6) research methods and their relevance/productivity for literary and non-literary topics e.g. corpus-based methods, ethnographic studies, quasi-experimental designs. All these topics have the potential to impact on translator training.

The perspective adopted in this chapter has been that the literary/non-literary border is like the pre-Brexit border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland: open with no border or customs controls, a situation which has been commercially and politically advantageous to both countries as well as conducive to amicable interpersonal relations. But perhaps the whole border metaphor should

be reconsidered, moving away from the idea of cross-border forays – which tend to be presented as largely unidirectional with non-literary translators venturing onto literary territory – to an understanding of the landscape on both sides of the border as exhibiting similar features in some parts.

As Tytler stated over 200 years ago: "good translations" – of whatever kind – give us access to "all the stores of ancient knowledge" and create "a free intercourse of science *and* literature between all modern nations" (1978/1813: 3–4, my emphasis).

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10

CHALLENGING THE BOUNDARIES OF TRANSLATION AND FILLING THE GAPS IN TRANSLATION HISTORY

Two cases of intralingual translation from the 19th-century Ottoman literary scene

Özlem Berk Albachten

Introduction

This chapter argues that the incorporation of various modes of intralingual translation, as an integral part of translation history, will shed light on this little-explored area of practice and serve to move the boundaries of translation and translation studies. Although there are a few scholars who argue against the inclusion of intralingual translation in a definition of translation (Mossop 1998, 2016; Newmark 1991; Schubert 2005), various (translation) scholars have advocated for the inclusion of intralingual translation into the discipline of translation studies.[1] Focusing on a diverse range of intralingual translations, including expert-to-layman translation (Hill-Madsen 2014; Schmid 2008, 2012; Zethsen 2007), translation between registers for various target groups (Denton 2007; Zethsen 2009), legal specialised communication (Vlachopoulos 2007), oral-to-written intralingual translation in audiovisual media for people with hearing or visual disabilities (Gottlieb 2005), and for didactics (Caimi 2006; Šilhánková 2014), among others, these scholars confirmed the relevance of intralingual translation for translators and translation scholars. Intralingual intertemporal – or cross-temporal – translation in different languages has also been studied, among others, in connection with more typical translations (Karas 2016), as modernisation of (Shakespearean) plays (Delabastita 2016), in the making of a language (between Anglo-Saxon and modern English) (Davis 2014), from an ideological viewpoint (Berk Albachten 2013, 2014, 2015), and in relation to (re)editing (Birkan Baydan 2011).

The present study follows the objective of the above-mentioned line of studies in their attempt to properly include intralingual translation into the discipline of

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translation studies. However, the goal of this study is not to bring a new (or expanded) definition to translation or offer a detailed categorisation for all possible translations. Instead, 'translation' is understood as a cluster concept (Tymoczko 2007: 54–106), and the incorporation of intralingual translation into the discipline, as I argue, is only possible by exploring translational phenomena in various languages and cultures across historic periods.

To support this argument and based on data of some previous research done within the (Ottoman) Turkish literary context, I will look at two examples of intralingual translation in Turkish, where Jakobson's (1959) notion of 'rewording' will be inadequate to describe these translational practices, as they exceed seeking linguistic equivalence alone. Research into intralingual translation (as well as translation history) also requires approaching translational phenomena in their historical context with the categorisation used in their time. Thus, this chapter will specifically review the contexts of these intralingual translations, factors that influence or create the demand for intralingual translations, and (micro) strategies applied in them. While the examination of the functions of these translations will shed some light on various text production practices in the Ottoman literary system, I will argue, researching translational phenomena in their historicity will call for the inclusion of intralingual translation into translation research, thus expanding the boundaries of the discipline and its research domain.

Intralingual translation as renewal (*tecdid*) in the 19th century

One of the earlier examples of intralingual translation in Ottoman Turkish is Ahmed Midhat's (1844–1913) *Hulâsa-i Hümâyunnâme* (1888, Summary of the Book for the Emperor). This was indeed a 'summary translation' of *Hümâyunnâme* (Book for the Emperor) by Ali bin Salih Çelebi (d. 1543), a previous Turkish translation of the Persian poet Hüseyin Vâiz Kâşifî's (d. 1505) *Anwar-ı Suheylî* (*Anwar-i Suhaili*, Lights of Canopus), Persian reworkings of the fables known as *Kelile and Dimne*. *Kelile and Dimne* is based on the answers allegedly given to the Indian king Dabshalim by his vizier Bidpai in the form of animal fables that provided subtle allusions to human life and experience. Thus, as Zehra Toska indicated, Ahmed Midhat's *Summary* can be seen "as the last link in the long tradition of Ottoman Turkish translations of *Kelile and Dimne* from the Neo-Persian versions of the well-known animal fables that had originated in Sanskrit" (Toska 2015: 74). Both translations were presented to the Ottoman Sultans of the time, the first to Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), the latter to Sultan Abdülhamit II (1842–1918). It is in fact Sultan Abdülhamit II, known for his strict policies of censorship during his 33-year reign, who commissioned the translation of *Hümâyunnâme* and who also banned the book from circulation.[2]

Ahmed Midhat was a prominent Ottoman novelist, translator, publisher, and journalist. He published an enormous number of short stories, novels, plays, and articles on various topics such as history, geography, science, politics, economics, military matters, pedagogy, family law, biography, religion, etc., and played a pioneering role in the popularisation of Western literature in the Ottoman Empire. He was the

owner of the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (Interpreter of Truth) and edited other journals and newspapers. His translations ranged from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Victor Hugo's *Les Burgraves*, Alexandre Dumas *fils*' *La Dame aux Camélias*, to the detective stories of Xavier de Montépin, and popular novels of Paul de Kock, all translated from or via French. He was a supporter and an advocate of a plain language, as well as "a part of the movement for a New Literature, a new literary conception, which was taking root as a result of the introduction of European thought and literary genres in the mid-19th century" (Toska 2015: 76).

Upon the request of the Sultan to produce a summary (*hulâsa*)[3] by 'renewing' *Hümâyunnâme*, Ahmed Midhat embarked upon writing a summary of the book in "the 'new' language of his time" (Toska 2015: 78) with a slightly changed content. As a matter of fact, it was the Sultan who requested him not only to produce a text in "fluent, plain, and comprehensive style", but also to make his own 'critical remarks' (*mülahaza*) where necessary (Toska 2015: 79). In his epilogue to the Summary, Ahmed Midhat maintained that his source, *Hümâyunnâme*, was "incomprehensible for the readers of the late 19th century because of its ornate and long sentences" (Demircioğlu 2005: 279). It was an ancient work, not only, as Toska (2015: 76) argued, because the Turkish translation was written three centuries prior to Midhat, but also because the source text belonged to a different literary tradition. By giving a short history of previous retranslations of *Kelile and Dimne*, Ahmed Midhat further argued that obsolete language of the (re)translations and the changing taste in the use of language made the work fall into oblivion, thus necessitated rewriting. For Ahmed Midhat, renewal of a work also meant its survival, indicating that as the (Ottoman) language will be renewed, so will this "book of wisdom" undergo other renewals for its survival (Toska 2015: 79). Thus, Ahmed Mitdhat's term used for his act of rewriting the *Hümâyunnâme* was *tecdid*, renewal. But he identified his text as a summary (*hulâsa*) and referred to himself as '*mülahhis*' (one who summarises) (Demircioğlu 2005: 280).

Ahmed Midhat's 'renewal' strategies were executed on a variety of levels. On the one hand, the linguistic, stylistic, and narrative features of the 16th-century Ottoman high literary conventions were either simplified or eliminated. In his text, Ahmet Midhat totally eliminated *Hümâyunnâme*'s poetic features, archaic Arabic and Persian expressions, the Qur'anic verses, and the hadith (the Prophet's sayings) (Toska 2007: 303–7, 2015: 80). The symbolic and implicit language of the older literary tradition became a plain and clear narrative in Ahmed Midhat's version. His 'renewal' of *Hümâyunnâme* also involved changes in the content. While his Summary kept all the 101 stories (in their abridged versions) that were in his source text, Ahmed Midhat added "five stories, two anecdotes, and an account of a contemporary event to the book" to his version (Toska 2015: 80). When he did not find the stories in his source to express the moral appropriately, Ahmed Midhat wrote "a new story that he deemed more fitting" (Toska 2015: 81). Yet, Ahmed Midhat's version was only half as long as his source text (Toska 2007: 303).

The changes in the content were not limited to the additions. Ahmed Midhat manipulated the text by inserting his own views when he disagreed with his source

or when he simply wanted to express his own opinions, or by "correcting" or deleting passages he deemed "harmful or misleading his readers", such as descriptions of male and female beauty, and certain erotic scenes (Toska 2015: 80–3). Furthermore, he inserted eight 'critical remarks' (*mülahazaralar*) into the chapters (three in 1, two in 2, and one in 3, 5, and 9) where he commented on certain issues, such as governing and education. In his first critical remark, for example, "he denounced the use of torture as a method of interrogation", a topic that was not present in his source text. In his second 'critical remark' concerning the question of hierarchy in the state, he criticised Dabshalim's categorisation of human beings commenting that he should have included "all those working for the State administration" in the first category that Dabshalim named as "rulers and sultans", further remarking that "it was not the Sultan, but the salaried government employees who had to work tirelessly for the well-being of the people, since they were paid for this task" (Toska 2015: 82). Toska maintains that it must have been these and other 'critical remarks' by Ahmed Midhat that resulted in the ban of the book by the Sultan (see Toska 2007 for more examples).

The categorisation of Ahmed Midhat's summary – like his other works – by later critics and scholars has been a tricky one because of the diverse terms he used for his works, as well as the strategies he implemented in them. Looking at them from today's perspective, many bibliographers and literary histories did not agree on the classification of Ahmed Midhat's – and of course other writers'/translators' – works. Clearly, what constituted a translation (*terceme*) in the 19th century was different from what we understand from a *çeviri* (translation) today. Thus, Cemal Demircioğlu (2005, 2009), who studied the paratextual data of some of Ahmed Midhat's works, identified a number of culture-bound terms and notions of translation (*terceme*) in his discourse. His translated works were produced "in the form of *conveying*, *borrowing*, *emulation*, *imitation*, *conversion*, *summary* and *conversation*" (Demircioğlu 2009: 133; emphasis original). Toska (2015) also brings into our consideration the practice and concept of 'renewal' (*tecdid*) in the Ottoman tradition and draws our attention to the importance of not glossing over the culture-specific terms and aspects of translation practices.

Intralingual translation between different alphabets: translation as *nakl* (conveying)

Intralingual translation between different alphabets of the same language is an understudied phenomenon, which (necessarily includes, but also) exceeds the act of transcription as in the case discussed below. The wider picture of the 19th-century Ottoman Turkish literary production written in Turkish with the Arabic letters, but also in different alphabets, such as in *Karamanlidika*[4] (Turkish written in Greek letters), provides good examples of this phenomenon. There were, moreover, Armeno-Turkish (Turkish written in Armenian script), Judeo-Turkish (Turkish written in Rashdi script), Cyrillic-Turkish, and Syro-Turkish books written and published in the Ottoman Empire. All these languages had their own characteristics and were used to meet different needs. For example, unlike *Karamanlidika* and

Armeno-Turkish texts that were written by linguistically Turkified authors, Judeo-Turkish texts "were written by authors for whom Turkish was not the main language of expression", as part of "an educational project with the aim of promoting the knowledge and use of Turkish in the Jewish community" in the 19th century (Mignon 2015: 634). The labels used for these "languages" by contemporary researchers are also not necessarily appropriate. Johann Strauss underlines (2010: 153–4) that the use of the term 'Karamanli' was detested by speakers of the language, and the phrase "Armeno-Turkish" might be misleading since "the language is Turkish and not an Armenized Turkish". Because of the common features in the religious and secular literary productions of these scripts, Strauss considers them as a part of "Turco-Christian literature" (2010:154). Ethnic groups used the polymorphism in the scripts to express the Turkish language in order to differentiate themselves from Muslims and also from each other. These local identities also died out during the same period when the Arabic script was abolished in 1928.

Recent studies focusing on book production activity by non-Muslim Ottoman subjects and the literary exchanges between Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects have contributed to a more complete literary history that for a long time has almost only looked into Turkish works written in Arabic (or Latin) letters. For example, until recently, the first Turkish novel was thought to be Şemseddin Sami's *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* (The Love Affair between Talat and Fitnat, 1872). However, as Turgut Kut (1985) revealed, there were at least five novels written in Armenian letters before the publication of *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat*. The earliest of these novels was *Akabi Hikâyesi* (The story of Akabi) written by Vartan Paşa (Hovsep Vartanian, 1813–1879) in 1851. The novel was first rendered into Latin script in 1991 by Andreas Tietze.

The situation is similar for Turkish translation history, which, with the help of "archaeological" research (Pym 1998: 5) awaits a rewriting. For a long time, Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* was considered the first novel translated from a Western language into Turkish. The book was translated by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa in 1859. The manuscript, which had been widely circulated, was published three years later. However, already in 1853, Vartan Paşa's translation of Alain-René Lesage's *Le Diable Boîteux* (1707) was published in Turkish with Armenian letters as *Topal şeytan hikâyesi* (Strauss 2010: 164). In 1858, the popular novel by Eugène Sue (1804–1857), *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842–1843) was translated into Turkish in Armenian letters and published by the title *Parisin Sırları* (Cankara 2011: 8, see also entry 355 in Stepanyan 2005: 109).

Even earlier, in 1846, Xavier de Maistre's *La Jeune Sibérienne* appeared in the first volume of *İrfan-name* by Misailidis, and in 1851, the *Story of Theagenes and Chariclea* was translated into *Karamanlidika* from a modern Greek version of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* (Strauss 2010: 163). In 1853, a translation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* in *Karamanlidika* was published at Ioannis Lazaridis publishing house in Istanbul (Berkol 1986; Petropoulou 2007). The translator was Çelebi Dimitraki Hadji Ephraim from Adalia (Antalya), but the source language of the translation is unknown (for more on this translation, see Berkol 1986). The translation of *Robinson*

Crusoe into Ottoman Turkish was first made from its Arabic version by Ahmet Lûtfi, an imperial chronicler, under the title *Hikâye-i Robenson* and was published as a book in 1864, almost a decade after its *Karamanlidika* version.

Books in *Karamanlidika* were aimed primarily at Turkish-speaking Christians. In fact, literature in *Karamanlidika* was initially born out of a religious necessity. "From their initial publication and until approximately the Tanzimat period, they remained in their overwhelming majority, religious and liturgical books" (Petropoulou 2007: 97). According to Robert Anhegger (1988: 647), the Orthodox Church had embarked upon a project to translate religious texts into an intelligible Turkish for fear that over time its relevance to the non-Greek speaking Orthodox Christians living in Anatolia would be lost. The language of the translation, as Anhegger argued, was to be clear and simple. When Istanbul became the centre of culture and publication for *karamanlides* (*Karamanlı* people), the content and language of *Karamanlidika* was also altered. Referring to the *Karamanlidika* translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, Anhegger argued that the concept of 'simple Turkish' became to mean the spoken language of Istanbulites. Towards the end of the century, as he argued, texts in *Karamalidika* started to contain the spoken language together with the more complex Ottoman Turkish (Anhegger 1988: 647–8).

Translations into *Karamanlidika* were not only made from Western sources, but also from Ottoman Turkish texts written by Ottoman Turkish (Muslim) writers. One of these writers was Ahmed Midhat who, as indicated above, was known for his clear and plain language. Shortly after their publication, three of his works were translated intralingually into *Karamanlidika* by Ioannis Gavriilidis, a journalist who worked at Ahmed Midhat's *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* for 17 years, as well as in other Karamanli newspapers such as *Anatoli* (Anatolia), *Anatol Ahteri* (Anatolian Star), and *Terakki* (Progress) (Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2011: 250). These translations were not produced because of the change of the language in such a short period or because of the unintelligibility of Ahmed Midhat's texts. In this case, the translations were intended for a different community within the society, the Turcophone Orthodox Christians, to meet different needs.

Gavriilidis translated Ahmed Midhat's three works of fiction: *Yeniçeriler* (The Janissaries, 1871), *Şeytankaya Tılsımı* (*Devil-rock Talisman*, 1890), and *Diplomalı Kız* (The Girl with a Diploma, 1890). All of them were serialised in the *Anatoli*[5] newspaper, the first two in 1890/1891, the second in 1891, and the last in 1896 (Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2011, 2014). Thus, whereas there are almost 20 years between the publication of Ahmed Midhat's and Gavriilidis' *Yeniçeriler*, there are only six years between Ahmed Midhat's *Diplomalı Kız* and Gavriilidis' version, and *Şeytankaya Tılsımı* was rendered into *Karamanlidika* only one year after its publication. Both *Yeniçeriler* and *Şeytan Kaya Tılsımı* (as used in *Karamanlidika*) were also published in the book form in *Karamanlidika* after their serialisation, which shows the popularity of these works (Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2011: 249).

It needs to be underlined, similar to our example of *Hümâyunnâme*, Ahmed Midhat's *Şeytankaya Tılsımı* and *Diplomalı Kız* have been classified in literary

histories as original as well as translated works as the origins of these works lie in foreign sources. Although Ahmed Midhat referred to himself as the *muharrir* (writer) of *Şeytankaya Tılsımı*, in his short preface he stated that he "arranged and wrote this beautiful novel using a French anecdote", which he "expanded and spread out" (Demircioğlu 2005: 250). Ahmed Midhat's name also appeared as the writer of *Diplomalı Kız*; however, he stated in his preface that he wrote the novel upon "an anecdote written by a writer by the name of Dik May which [he] read in the newspaper *Levant Herald* published on the seventh day of the January according to the Gregorian calendar" (Demircioğlu 2005: 244).

For his translation of *Yeniçeriler*, Gavriilis used two different terms referring to his function. In the first two parts of *Yeniçeriler*'s serialisations, Ahmed Midhat was announced as the writer (*muharrir*), and Gavriilidis' name was given as the conveyor (*nakili*), later it was changed to the translator (*mütercimi*) (Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2011: 258). In *Diplomalı Kız* and *Şeytan Kaya Tılsımı*, Gavriilidis' name was given as the translator (*mütercimi*).

In her study on *Yeniçeriler* in *Karamanlidika*, Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek (2011: 247) finds the term translation "problematic" for Gavriilidis' act and refers to Genette's (1997) notion of transtextuality using the 'hypotext' and 'hypertext' for source and target texts. These two terms, she argues, are "value-free, meaning that there is no negative connotation hidden behind the hypertext in the sense of a rough copy of the 'original' text"; they also "suspend the discussion about the genre of the hypertext, i.e. whether it is a translation or an adaptation", offering an alternative naming (2011: 260). Şişmanoğlu Şimşek's choice of terminology demonstrates the inadequacy of the term 'translation' when it is based on a restricted 'equivalence relation' (Hill-Madsen and Zethsen 2016: 697–701). In his short preface, Ioannis Gavriilidis stated that he was going to 'convey' (*nakl*) an event based on history and gave the reasons for 'choosing' (*intihab*) this story to convey. The first two reasons for his choice of *Yeniçeriler*, he claimed, were that both the characters and the places in the story were local/native (*millî*). Then he emphasises his reason for choosing a local story instead of a European novel, most of which contain certain elements that were unknown to the readers and thus would make it difficult to enjoy these novels, concluding that "it is better for someone to get interested in things he is acquainted with rather than things unknown to him" (Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2011: 254).

Gavriilidis also explains the difficulties and his strategies in conveying Ahmed Midhat's story:

> such a story cannot be conveyed very easily because many of the words expressed by this unique author cannot even be seen in the dreams of us Anatolians. I will try to write in a plain Turkish. I will explain most places as much as it is required and refrain from it when it is necessary. In short, I will neither write in a highfalutin way like Mr. Yiorgos Sürmelidis at the Anatoli newspaper, nor use a vulgar Turkish like calling the sole of *yemeni* shoes "*pine*" [patch] in most places in Anatolia. But I will try to write in a language

> intelligible to everyone within the limits of my strength and according to the rules that the Turkish language has established in this great era.
>
> *(Original quoted in Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2014: 437, n. 33, translation mine)*

From Gavriilidis' preface, we can deduce some of his reasons to translate Ahmed Midhat's texts into *Karamanlidika*. In this case, the reasons are not merely linguistic, i.e. the short time span between the publication of Ahmed Midhat's works and Gavriilidis translations should not have created a communication barrier that necessitated these translations. We can argue that Gavriilidis was aiming to create a common identity among the Turcophone Christians of Anatolia and to contribute to the reading repertoire of the readers of *Anatoli* newspaper who were the "Turkish-speaking Orthodox community of Istanbul and the Turcophone Orthodox population living in the interior parts of Asia Minor" (Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2011: 254). Original literary works in *Karamanlidika* were rare (see Strauss 2010 and Balta 2010, 2016 on *Karamanlidika* publications), and translations from Western literatures were the main sources to fill this gap. However, as Gavriilidis suggested in his preface, "native" stories must have seemed more relevant and appealing for the readers. Familiar characters, locations, and themes, as well as clear and plain language and style would help the Turcophone Orthodox readers from various corners of Anatolia to read the story, familiarising themselves at the same time with a new genre, the novel.

In fact, Gavriilidis' strategies to make his text more accessible for his readers are not limited to linguistic changes in the form of 'simplification', but also stylistic modifications to make the story more compelling. In her comparative textual analysis of the two texts, Şişmanoğlu Şimşek (2011: 260–70) concluded that Gavriilidis resorted to (1) 'expansion' in the form of creating dialogues, scenic presentations, and using preciosity, i.e. "figures of speech and strong images and metaphors to increase the effect of the words", to (2) 'modifications' by using a plain Turkish "devoid of Ottoman compounds derived from Arabic and Persian words" and replacing some alien concepts, words, and phrases with more familiar ones, and to (3) 'additions' by addressing the readers directly, and in only one instance, by adding a Christian identity in the description of a character. The explanations Gavriilidis promised in his preface were also to be found in one introductory note to the second part and in a few footnotes. The function of some of the footnotes and the slightly changed titles of the chapters can be seen as the insertion of Gavriilidis' views into his text.

Intralingual translation as a text production practice and final remarks

Examples from different times and cultures demonstrate that the distinction between writing, translating (interlingual and intralingual), summarising, anthologising, etc. was not always clear-cut, and various text production strategies were used together. Lieven D'hulst (1995: 3) argued that until the second half of the 18th century

intralingual translations of French "medieval texts into 'modern' texts were not perceived as a category distinct from what is assumed to be interlingual translation". D'hulst (1995: 3) furthermore noted that in this period interlingual translation in France and Germany was considered a 'multilayered activity' and "could merge with other kinds of 'rewording' [. . .] and even with pseudotranslation".

The above-cited cases from the 19th-century Ottoman Turkish context demonstrate a similar situation. Translating, writing, summarising, etc. were parts of text production in Turkish written with different alphabets, and the boundaries between these strategies were not always clear. The paratextual data surrounding Ahmed Midhat's and Gavriilidis' texts reveal that various denominations such as 'writing', 'translation', 'renewal', and 'summary' were used to describe their activities. This is also in line with Demircioğlu's (2005) research, that studied the concepts used for the 19th-century translational practices, such as literal (*harfiyyen*), as the same (*aynen*), free (*mealen*), expanded (*tevsien*), summary (*hulâsa*), imitation (*taklid*), emulation (*tanzir*), and conversion (*tahvil*). Thus, Saliha Paker (2002: 124–7) pointed to the widespread Ottoman practice of translation (*terceme* or *tercüme* in Ottoman Turkish) and argued that while some forms of translational behaviour in *terceme* and its related practices in the 19th-century Ottoman literary system conform to our modern conceptualisation of *çeviri* (Turkish neologism for translation), others do not.

Finding the appropriate language and adopting the linguistic, stylistic, and narrative features of the source text to current literary conventions were essential for both translators to reach wider audiences. Updating the language secured the survival of the text for Ahmed Midhat. For Gavriilidis, finding the most suitable language, one that was not too ornate and difficult, but also not too colloquial and vulgar, was a good tool to educate and enlighten his readers. Thus, the use of plain language – although it did not necessarily mean the same thing for both translators – was at the same time a political and ideological stance and strategy.

These intralingual translations exceeded language purification (*sadeleştirme*), a common practice in modern Turkey after the language reform of the late 1920s and 1930s where the language of "older" literary works is updated and rendered into the "modern" language (Berk Albachten 2014, 2015), including strategies such as additions, omissions, and manipulation in the content of the text. The term translation (*terceme*) indicated a wide range of text production activities from interlingual literal translation to rewriting a text based on several source texts by expanding or reducing it based on other sources or on the rewriter's own views (Paker 2002). Thus, translation scholars need to be careful not to dismiss various text production strategies that were not necessarily labelled as 'translation' from the present-day viewpoint and therefore disregard the culture-specific terms and notions of translation.

Another "blank space" (Santoyo 2006: 11) in the history of translation is the translations in the same language with different writing systems. Within this context, the specific case of the multitude of different scripts used for Turkish texts produced widely in the 19th century opens up a new window not only for the study of intralingual translations and various text production activities, but also for interlingual translations, furthermore shedding light on literary interactions between different

groups using different alphabets. One of the questions regarding the interaction between interlingual translations in different scripts is, for example, whether the translations of Western literatures into Armeno-Turkish or *Karamanlidika* were influenced by the Ottoman Turkish versions in Arabic script (Strauss 2010: 183). This is still an unexplored area in Turkish translation history.

Echoing Dirk Delabastita (2016: 3), I, too, do not aim "for the creation of a new subfield of Intralingual Translation Studies". Broadening the concept of translation to include other forms than 'proper', thus interlingual translation, does not mean undermining the core of the discipline. The hard and complex labour of translators dealing with texts in different languages is and will always be at the core of translation studies; thus translation scholars should not be concerned with losing control over the borders of their discipline. On the contrary, opening up the concept of interlingual translation to intralingual translation, as the cases in this chapter demonstrated, enables the construction of a fuller picture of translation history.

Notes

1 For a detailed discussion on these arguments, see Hill-Madsen and Zethsen 2016.
2 For the Turkish intralingual translation of *Hulâsa-i Hümâyunnâme* in Latin script, see Çatıkkaş 1999.
3 In fact, in his instructions, the Sultan used two different terms, *telhis* and *hulâsa*, both meaning 'summary'. However, Toska notes that the first sense of *hulâsa* is "closer to 'gist', 'essence', 'epitome'", thus is a deliberate choice of Ahmed Midhat for the title of his work (Toska 2015: 78).
4 For an analysis of a number of terms used in relation to Karamanlidika, see Kappler 2016.
5 *Anatoli* was in fact a long-lived Karamanli newspaper, which first started to be published in Izmir by Evangelinos Misailidis for Turcophone Christian Orthodox readers. It then moved to Istanbul, and after its founder's death, the newspaper was circulated until 1923 by his son Hristos Misailidis (Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2010).

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11

TRANSLANGUAGING AND TRANSLATION PEDAGOGIES

Sara Laviosa

Introduction

Applied translation studies is opening up, more than ever before, to neighbouring disciplines that partake in some of its key concerns and areas of enquiry. Educational linguistics is one such discipline. Both academic fields are being influenced by a paradigm shift in applied linguistics named the 'multilingual turn'. Within a broad multilingual orientation, this chapter introduces the notion of translanguaging in translation studies and explores how this bilingual practice may enrich language and translation teaching in higher education. First, the chapter expounds the principles upheld by the multilingual turn. Then, it traces the development of the concept of translanguaging from its Welsh origins at Bangor University in Gwynedd to recent pedagogical applications in a variety of educational contexts. Next, it reports on a descriptive observational case study of translating and translanguaging in second language learning at an Italian university. The aim of the chapter is to extend the boundaries of pedagogic translation, an area of interdisciplinary enquiry that has recently attracted the interest of translation scholars and educationalists, particularly in Europe and the U (cf. Cook 2010; Kramsch 2009; Laviosa 2014; Pym et al. 2013; Tsagari and Floros 2013; Witte et al. 2009).

The multilingual turn

In applied linguistics the expression 'multilingual turn' foregrounds "multilingualism, rather than monolingualism, as the new norm of applied linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis" (May 2014: 1). More specifically, the multilingual orientation in educational linguistics is engendered by concerns relating to how multilingual identities and competences can be valued pedagogically, that is, "how multilingualism can serve to construct a sense of belonging to one or more groups, and how,

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through multilingualism, social cohesion, and justice for all can be promoted" (Conteh and Meier 2014: 1).

Within a multilingual perspective, the goal of languages education in the 21st century is to develop translingual and transcultural competence, as envisaged by the Ad Hoc Report on Foreign Languages issued by the Modern Language Association of North America (MLA 2007). The idea of translingual and transcultural competence places value on the ability to operate between languages and entails the capacity to reflect on the world and on ourselves through the lens of another language and culture (MLA 2007: 3–4).

Such a vision is reflected in the pilot extended version of the illustrative descriptors in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). Sight translation, creating pluricultural space, exploiting plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires, as well as achieving plurilingual comprehension are the new descriptors that recognise the key role of interlingual and intercultural mediation in honing plurilingual and pluricultural competence (Council of Europe 2016).

Translanguaging

Bilingual education in Wales

The term 'translanguaging' originates in the context of bilingual education, where in the mid-1990s Colin Baker (Baker et al. 2012) proposed it as the English equivalent of the Welsh term *trawsieithu*. Baker launched translanguaging in the international arena with the publication of the third edition of *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (Baker 2001). As Baker et al. (2012) recount, *trawsieithu* was coined in the early 1980s by Cen Williams and Dafydd Whittall during an in-service course for deputy head teachers in Llandudno (North Wales). Later, the term appeared in Cen Williams' unpublished PhD thesis to name a pedagogical practice implemented in English/Welsh bilingual secondary schools. This practice involves the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson (Williams 1994 in Baker et al. 2012: 643). More specifically, *trawsieithu* means receiving information through the medium of one language (e.g. reading a letter, a newspaper article or an information leaflet in English) and responding to it through the medium of another language (e.g. summarising it in Welsh). *Trawsieithu* continues to be used to this day in bilingual education in Wales. It is, for example, a component of the Advanced (A2) Level Welsh written exam.

Cen Williams' conceptualisation of translanguaging as a pedagogical theory focuses on a child's balanced development of two languages. As Williams explains, translanguaging is a natural skill for any actively bilingual individual (Williams 2002: 40). Translanguaging requires a full understanding of the receptive language and "sufficient vocabulary and a firm enough grasp of the other language in order to express the message". Hence, as Williams contends, this teaching tool is particularly appropriate for retaining and developing bilingualism rather than for the initial stages of second language learning (Williams 2002: 40, 47). Throughout Wales,

given the achievements of bilingual nursery, infant, and primary schools, "the challenge", as Williams argues, "is to preserve pupils' bilinguality" (Williams 2002: 47). So, the aim of bilingual education in Wales is to learn two languages to a high level and to learn *in* two languages. This involves forming truly bilingual pupils who master the L2 (e.g. Welsh) as a language of communication and as an academic/cognitive language to the same standard as most of the L1 Welsh fellow-pupils (Williams 2002).

In line with Williams' vision, Baker (2001, 2006, 2011 in Baker et al. 2012: 646–7) focuses on the importance of translanguaging as a pedagogical practice and discusses four educational advantages. The first one is that translanguaging may promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject content because reading and discussing a topic in one language in order to write about it in another language requires the use of both linguistic and cognitive capabilities. The second advantage is that it may lead to a fuller bilingualism and biliteracy because it requires the use of both the stronger and the weaker language. The third advantage is that it may expand and strengthen what has been studied in one language at school through discussion with parents at home in the other language. This benefit is particularly relevant when children are educated in a language that is not spoken by their parents. The fourth advantage is that it may facilitate the integration of fluent L1 speakers with L2 learners at various levels of linguistic competence.

Baker believes that "[t]ranslanguaging is the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (Baker 2011: 288). Together with Gwyn Lewis and Bryn Jones, Baker applies this general definition to bilingual pedagogy (Lewis et al. 2012: 655):

> In the classroom, translanguaging tries to draw on all the linguistic resources of the child to maximise understanding and achievement. Thus, both languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organise and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning.

This conceptualisation goes beyond traditional, additive bilingualism, which posits that bilinguals add up two autonomous languages, and underscores, instead, the very nature of how a bilingual thinks, understands, and achieves. It also stresses bilingual processes in learning rather than just the outcomes of bilingual education (Lewis et al. 2012: 667). Over the past two decades of teacher education in Wales, translanguaging has been spread by initial teacher training at Universities in Bangor, Aberystwyth, and Carmarthen and through in-service education for teachers in bilingual schools (Lewis et al. 2012: 129). Empirical evidence of the application of this pedagogy is being collected through field research (cf. Lewis et al. 2012).

To sum up, since the mid-1990s, in the Welsh context, translanguaging has been posited as a natural skill of any bilingual individual (universal translanguaging) and an effective learning and teaching strategy in bilingual education (classroom translanguaging) (Baker et al. 2012: 650). The latter is further subdivided into two

models: "teacher-directed translanguaging", a planned and structured activity by the teacher such as the selective use of a television recording interspersed with focused and purposeful questions that lead to a constant switching from one language to the other [and] "pupil-directed translanguaging", whereby translanguaging activities are undertaken independently by more competent bilinguals, who are able to work independently and usually choose how to complete the translanguaging activity (Lewis et al. 2012: 665).

Both concepts are relevant to translation studies. Translanguaging as a universal ability is a skill displayed in natural translation, which, as defined by Harris and Sherwood (1978: 155), is "[t]he translating done in everyday circumstances by people who have had no special training for it". See also the blog *Natural Translation, Native Translation, and Language Brokering* (2017) as well as the collected volume on non-professional translation and interpreting edited by Antonini et al. (2017). Several examples of natural interpreting are reported in a recent study of simplification and explicitation in the oral production of bilingual children (Álvarez de la Fuente and Fernández Fuertes 2015). The examples include occurrences in which children were asked explicitly to translate (as in example 1 below) and those in which they translated spontaneously, as in example 2, where Louis, at the age of two years and six months, reports to Deda (a German-speaking housemaid) what his father said, without being asked to do so (Álvarez de la Fuente and Fernández Fuertes 2015: 62–3):

1. Mother: don't step on the camera, no.
   Leo: lo quiero, sí. [I want it yes]
   Mother: can you say that in English?
   Leo: I want hold it that.
2. Father: non, reste pas ici, il fait trop froid, va voir Deda.
   [no, do not stay here, it is too cold, go and see Deda]
   Louis (to Deda): Papa Zimmer istzukalt. [papa's room is very cold]

Teacher-directed classroom translanguaging is relevant to translator trainers, who regularly use bilingual activities in language teaching for translators. Alison Beeby's techniques are a case in point (2004: 57–8). Based on the first chapter of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* by J.K. Rowling, Beeby devised two sets of activities specifically aimed at learning about language for translation:

- a group activity that involves the contrastive analysis of the title in the four UK, US, Spanish, and Catalan versions (e.g. format, punctuation, vocabulary);
- a group activity that involves a reflection on the translation methods adopted in the four versions, their possible effects on the readers, and the extent to which they conform to the norms of translated children's literature in Spanish and Catalan.

In contrast, and to the best of my knowledge, student-directed translanguaging has not been the object of systematic empirical research in translation studies.

The ethnographic case study presented in this chapter focuses on both teacher-directed and student-directed translanguaging, of which more later.

A recent development in Welsh academic circles is the study of translanguaging at the neural level. Guillaume Thierry in the School of Psychology, Bangor University, has pioneered research using neuroscience methods such as event-related potentials. The aim is to test the effect of processing input in one language followed by content-relevant production in another language (cf. Beres 2015). Research into Neurolinguistic Translanguaging, as reported in Baker et al. (2012), has demonstrated that semantic relatedness is greater for objects learnt in the translanguaging sequence – where object definitions are presented in one language and related object names are retrieved and produced in another language – than in the monolingual sequence. This suggests that translanguaging allows more effective learning due to cross-language semantic remapping that occurs when the encoded information in one language is retrieved to enable production in the other language.

Beyond bilingual education in Wales

Beyond English/Welsh bilingual education, the educationalist Ofelia García at City University of New York defines translanguaging as "an approach to bilingualism that is centred not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable" (García 2009: 44). These "*multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual world*" (García 2009: 45, original emphasis) are seen as the norm, the normal mode of communication in bilingual families and communities worldwide (García 2009: 44; García and Li Wei 2014: 22–3). According to García (2009), translanguaging is a manifestation of dynamic bilingualism. Unlike additive bilingualism or parallel monolingualisms, dynamic bilingualism posits that there is one linguistic system, one semiotic repertoire that is always activated (cf. Baker et al. 2012 for neurolingustic evidence supporting such a claim). From this repertoire "[b]ilingual speakers select meaning-making features and freely combine them to potentialize meaning-making, cognitive engagement, creativity, and criticality" (García and Li Wei 2014: 42).

In its recent acceptation, translanguaging refers to the use of the entire language repertoire of bilinguals in order "to make meaning, successfully communicating across "languages" and "modes" by combining all the multimodal signs at their disposal", without privileging one over the other (García and Li Wei 2015: 231). Also, translanguaging pedagogy advocates translation as one of several teacher-initiated activities that scaffold learning and develop translanguaging abilities (García and Li Wei 2014: 119–25).

Empirical research in translanguaging pedagogy

Case study I

A case study is described by Ofelia García and Naomi Kano (2014). The authors examined the translanguaging strategies used by ten Japanese American students of

middle-school and high-school age attending a course on academic essay writing for the Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT), which is required for admission in American universities. The course was taught privately by Naomi Kano in one of the students' home over a six-month period. The syllabus design followed three steps (2014: 263):

- Students read bilingual texts on the topic about which they were assigned to write. These bilingual texts were presented side-by-side, or there was an English text coupled with a parallel translation in Japanese, or a set of English and Japanese texts about the same subject, but not parallel translations.
- Students discussed the bilingual readings mostly in Japanese.
- Students wrote an essay in English on the topic of the bilingual reading and the discussion in Japanese about the readings.

A 'stimulated recall technique' was used to elicit the students' perceptions of translanguaging as pedagogy and as a learning strategy. This technique involved videotaping portions of translanguaging-enriched instruction and then interviewing the students in Japanese about what they were thinking and doing during the task that was videotaped. The analyses of the interviews show that translanguaging enabled students to move back and forth through their entire linguistic and discursive repertoire, playing an important role in the development of metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness. The emergent bilinguals used translanguaging "as *support*, and sometimes to *expand* their understandings" (García and Kano 2014: 265, original emphasis).

An example of translanguaging for support is Nozomi's comment on a video clip where she is shown working with bilingual texts (the comments have been back-translated from Japanese by the authors) (García and Kano 2014: 268):

> I read the Japanese text first, and then decided the area that is relevant to my essay, and read the equivalent part in English. . . . If I translate directly from the Japanese I've written, the product [in English] may seem odd. Referring to the English text makes my English essay easier to understand for the readers.

An example of translanguaging for expansion is Emi's comment on a video clip where she is shown to be engaged in pre-writing the English essay (García and Kano 2014: 269): "While taking notes in English, when I come across things I don't get, I quickly jot it down in Japanese instead." The experienced bilinguals consciously used translanguaging "for their own *enhancement*" (ibid.: 265, original emphasis). More specifically, they translanguaged to bolster and enrich their bilingual abilities, demonstrating their greater autonomy and ability to self-regulate the development of either language (ibid.: 272). An example of translanguaging for strategic expediency and enhancement is Yuji's comment where he recalls how he used bilingual texts to prepare an essay (ibid.: 271):

> This year, when I was doing research on the pros and cons about cell phones, I used materials both in Japanese and English. . . . I searched for the articles

> in Japanese on whether cell phones were beneficial, and I took some of them. Then I did the same thing in English. I ended up using the materials in both languages. . . . I searched in both languages in order to get the best ones available.

On the basis of these findings, García and Kano suggest that classroom translanguaging would also be effective with monolingual students who are learning an additional language.

Case study II

In accord with classroom translanguaging, Canagarajah (2013: 133) proposes a "dialogic pedagogy", which develops learning through collaborative interactions with "classroom discussions and group activities complementing reflections, journaling, and writing on the Internet". A dialogical pedagogy means creating a favourable environment where students can practice the translingual strategies they are familiar with and negotiate them with their teacher and peers. Canagarajah (2013: 133–52) adopted this approach in a course on second language writing open to graduates and advanced undergraduates, half of whom were non-native English speakers, the others were native English speakers or Anglo-American. The task they engaged in was a serially drafted and peer-reviewed literacy autobiography. An undergraduate Saudi Arabian student, Buthainah, produced an essay characterised by a highly creative use of codemeshing in Arabic, English, and French. She also included visual motifs, emoticons, and other symbols such as a motif drawn from Islamic art that she used to divide her sections, thus stimulating a holistic and aesthetic reading of the text. Her narrative was structured in episodes described in developing situations. She prefaced the theme addressed in each section with Arabic verses that she either left in the original form or rendered in English later in the text through literal translation, paraphrasing, or allusion. As Buthainah explained,

> If I translated everything, then the readers would simply go through it. But, if I did not translate it or provide an immediate translation, then, I am encouraging the reader to question the relationship between the poem and the stories being told and promote critical thinking.
>
> *(Canagarajah 2013: 144)*

While the extensive use of Arabic as her mother tongue enabled Buthainah to represent her identity, the sparing use of French vocabulary, such as the word *moi,* signified the role that this third language had in her literacy development. Through the collaborative and process-oriented writing approach adopted in the course, Buthainah accommodated the feedback provided by her teacher and peers, she was sensitive to readers' abilities to negotiate the meanings of her autobiography, she challenged her audience to step out of their comfort zone and reconfigured the text in accord with these factors (Canagarajah 2013: 150). This example of codemeshing

in academic essay writing problematises positivist notions of meaning and demonstrates that meaning "is language specific, that it is context dependent, that it shifts depending on receptor and reader, and that it is constructivist in nature" (Tymoczko 2007: 296). It also shows that a dialogical pedagogy helps students practice the translingual strategies they bring with them to the language classroom and these in turn help and motivate learners to develop their English literacy.

More recently, a selection of case studies reported in the collected volume edited by Mazak and Carroll (2017) have provided further empirical evidence of the value of translanguaging as a multilingual pedagogy to enhance plurilingual and intercultural competences while achieving language and content learning goals. On the basis of the insights provided by research carried out in educational contexts around the world, Mazak expounds her vision of translanguaging as: "a *language ideology* that takes bilingualism as the norm"; "a *theory of bilingualism* based on lived bilingual experiences"; "a *set of practices* that are still being researched and described"; a "*transformational*" practice that "continually invents and reinvents languaging practices" and "transforms not only our traditional notions of 'languages', but also the lives of bilinguals themselves as they remake the world through language" (Mazak 2017: 5–6, original emphasis).

Translation and translanguaging as pedagogies

Translanguaging has been introduced recently to translation studies scholars through the dedicated peer-reviewed journal *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*. From the perspective of applied translation studies, the concept of translanguaging has been adopted to examine different types of pedagogies implemented in language and translation education, and in these educational settings the focus has been on teacher-directed translanguaging (Laviosa 2016). Translanguaging has also been used by Sidiropoulou (2015) to reframe contrastive analysis for learning and teaching TOLC. This acronym stands for Translation in Other Learning Contexts, i.e. "translation used to acquire linguistic, interlinguistic, and intercultural competence in fields other than translation studies" (González Davies 2014: 8–9). One of these fields is second language learning where, in the last two decades, we have seen a revival of pedagogical translation in undergraduate and graduate degree programmes (cf. Laviosa 2014, 2018). Framed within the multilingual paradigm, translation and translanguaging are advocated as valuable pedagogies that not only develop the ability to operate between languages, but also, and most importantly, nourish creativity and a multilingual sense of self.

An observational case study

To illustrate how translation and translanguaging (both teacher-directed and student-directed) can be used jointly to foster translingual and transcultural competence, I will report on a case study based on classroom observation of teacher–student and student–student interactions. The observation was performed by me from within

my own graduate class during the teaching of a unit on poetry translation during the 2015–2016 academic year. The data for the analysis were provided by my field notes and students' artefacts (translations and written analyses). The educational setting is a nine-credit course in English language and translation taught in the first year of a two-year Master's degree in Modern Languages and Literatures at the University of Bari Aldo Moro. At the end of this graduate degree programme of study students will acquire an advanced knowledge of two modern languages and their literatures. Graduates can enter careers in Italian cultural institutes as well as international bodies and institutions in Italy. Other job openings are offered in publishing, journalism, and education, as teachers of modern languages in Italian secondary schools.

Teaching method: design and procedure

The teaching method I adopt in this course includes translanguaging as a practice that fosters 'interlingualism', i.e. "the ability to establish similarities and differences *across* languages" (Toury 2012: 283, original emphasis). In turn, thanks to a kind of transfer mechanism, the unfolding of interlingualism "makes it possible to actually *activate* one's interlingual capacity and apply it to utterances in one or another of one's languages" (Toury 2012: 283, original emphasis). By integrating translanguaging and translation in language pedagogy, the method expands 'holistic pedagogic translation', which conceives of language learning and translating as intertwined and mutually enriching forms of translingual and transcultural practice (Laviosa 2014: 126–49). Although the objective of the graduate degree programme is not to train professional translators, translation into and out of L2 English is taught both as a means of honing translingual and transcultural abilities and a skill in its own right. As we read in the syllabus,

> This course aims to consolidate proficient user language competence in English (C1 level) and to enable you to analyse texts at different levels: graphological, phonological, lexical, semantic, grammatical, and textual. You will also become aware of the relevance of these levels of analysis for contrastive stylistics and holistic cultural translation. The learning goal is to hone translingual and transcultural abilities. The course is divided into 12 teaching units, each requiring five hours of seminar time.

During the teaching of this two-semester course, students become acquainted with the notions of translanguaging (García and Li Wei 2014) and holistic cultural translation (Tymoczko 2007), as well as translingual and transcultural competence (MLA 2007). As proposed by Tymoczko, a holistic approach pays attention to less tangible cultural elements in addition to historical and geographical references, food, clothing, and various kinds of behaviour. These cultural elements are as varied as the signature concepts of a culture (e.g. words pertaining to heroism in early medieval Irish texts), key words, conceptual metaphors, discourses, cultural practices, cultural

paradigms (e.g. humour, argumentation, or the use of tropes), overcodings (e.g. dialects, heteroglossia, intertextuality, quotation, or literary allusion), and symbols (e.g. flower symbolism) (Tymoczko 2007: 233, 238–44).

The teaching unit I selected for my classroom-based study is on poetry translation from Italian as L1 to English as L2. The learning objective is to develop cross-lingual and cross-cultural stylistic sensitivity. The prerequisites comprise linguistic proficiency in English at C1 level and knowledge of the concepts of translanguaging, holistic cultural translation, and translingual and transcultural competence. The unit length is eight 60-minute lessons.

Poetry unit: resources and materials

- *Stylistics* (Malmkjær 2010);
- *Translational Stylistics: Dulcken's Translations of Hans Christian Andersen* (Malmkjær 2004);
- *Stylistic Approaches to Translation* (Boase-Beier 2006);
- *Poetry* (Boase-Beier 2009);
- *Poetry: A Survivor's Guide* (Yakich 2016);
- *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators* (Chapters 6 and 7) (Tymoczko 2007);
- *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson 2003);
- *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond* (Chapter 5, Section 5 "Prospective vs. retrospective stances exemplified by metaphor") (Toury 2012);
- *British National Corpus* (*BNC*) and *Corpus di Italiano Scritto* (*CORIS/CODIS*).

The materials consist of a poem by Elena Malta *Tutti i colori* selected from the section *Stagioni* in the collection of poems *Un Abito Qualunque* (Malta 2011), winner of the Premio Hombres itinerante X Edizione 2014, awarded by the Hombres literary association in the region of Abruzzo (Central Italy). Elena Malta's verses absorb real life and transpose it into the poetic world. All human feelings, troubles, and aspirations are reflected in her poetry. Stylistically, her verses are characterised by a skilful use of line breaks, which confers multiple meanings on her poems.

Poetry unit: activities

The activities were modelled on the North American Workshop, which is also adopted by Maria Tymoczko (2007). They included a theoretical introduction on stylistics, poetic style, poetry translation, conceptual and linguistic metaphor, and translating metaphor. Next, I gave some biographical details about the poet. The presentation of the author was followed by a stylistically aware reading of the source text for translation. First, I recited the poem so that students could experience it aurally as a whole.

TUTTI I COLORI
Tutti i colori
del mondo

si danno
invito
sui rami e
nei prati

ma il vento
li frusta e
disperde

il freddo
li ghiaccia e
li nega

chiuso
li avvolge
di buio
il cielo
geloso e
incapace
di tanti colori.

From: *Un Abito Qualunque: Poesie*, a collection of poems authored by Elena Malta with a preface by Vito Moretti, Edizioni Tracce, Pescara © Copyright 2011. Used with permission.

I then put these questions to the whole class: What strikes you about the poem? Any word, phrase, line, or stanza? Any image or sound effect? Students immediately perceived an opposition between *tutti i colori* (all the colours), described in the first stanza, and *il vento* (the wind), *il freddo* (the cold), and *il cielo* (the sky), described respectively in each of the following three stanzas. They also noticed that the wind, the cold, and the sky co-occur with words that are negatively connoted, i.e. *frusta* (whips), *nega* (denies), *chiuso* (overcast), *geloso* (jealous), *incapace* (incapable). From this initial observation, they inferred a sort of alliance of these natural forces against all the colours. Among them, the sky was thought to be the strongest because it ultimately causes the annihilation of all the colours.

Next, the students read the poem silently to themselves and re-experienced it by examining the distinctive aspects of poetic style so as to infer the poem's theme and poetic aims. Working in pairs, they considered such questions as: Why this word here? Why this line here? Why this stanza here? Why this full stop here? While performing this task, they spontaneously used Italian and then reported back to the whole class in English. The students found confirmation of their initial perceptions in the poet's stylistic choices, particularly in the use of different rhetorical figures. In the first stanza *tutti i colori del mondo* (all the colours of the world) are described with a metonymy and a metaphor, i.e. colours stand for leaves and flowers, and *si danno*

invito sui rami e nei prati (give each other an invitation on branches and meadows) is a metaphor for sprouting, coming to life. Together these tropes create the image of leaves and flowers bursting into colour in the springtime.

In the following three stanzas the wind, the cold, and the sky are described through pathetic fallacy, i.e. *il vento frusta* (the wind whips) portrays the wind as a violent person; *il freddo nega* (the cold denies) describes the cold as an unfriendly, hostile person that rejects all the colours; the sky, being grey, is described as being jealous of the colours as well as being incapable, limited, incomplete. As regards the syntactic structure of the poem, each stanza contains a declarative sentence in the present simple indicative, which is used to talk about general truths. The first three stanzas have an unmarked word order. In contrast, the final stanza presents a left-marked structure. Students rewrote the sentence in prose with an unmarked word order, i.e. *il cielo chiuso, geloso e incapace di tanti colori li avvolge di buio*. They noticed that in the poem the sentence is characterised by the dislocation of both the adjective phrase *chiuso* in apposition, and of the verb phrase *li avvolge di buio*. This marked structure, which is an example of anastrophe, has the stylistic effect of foregrounding the preposed qualifying and negatively connoted adjective *chiuso* (overcast/grey) as well as the preposed destructive action performed by the sky, that envelops all the colours in darkness.

The symbolic meaning the students on the whole attributed to the colours is "all the possible life experiences, both earthly and spiritual", as suggested by the branches that are parts of a tree, the tree of life. The wind symbolises destiny. The cold represents time. The sky signifies the reality of life. The mood of the poem is reflective and meditative. The poem's theme is the contrast between the richness and variety of life events and the harsh reality of life. The poetic aim is to warn the reader about the truth of our existence. Other contrasts suggested by some students were: country life versus city life; good actions and good moments in life (the colours) versus negative actions (the wind and the cold) and bad times in life (the sky); different types of positive feelings, such as friendship, parental love, or brotherly love versus possessive, exclusive love. The languages used during these teacher–student and student–student interactions were English and Italian. Italian was used by some students as a scaffold device that enabled them not to interrupt the flow of classroom discourse that was conducted principally in English as the vehicular language. Whenever students switched to Italian to make their point clear to me or their peers, I rephrased their observations in English, aiming to expand their L2 vocabulary alongside the L1 and hone translingual competence.

The next activity consisted of a translation assignment that was carried out as homework. The translation brief reads:

> You have been commissioned by Arnold publishing house to translate "Tutti i colori" by Elena Malta. Your translation is to appear alongside the original text in a collection of poems written by contemporary British and Italian poets. The book is addressed to Italian-speaking learners of English and English-speaking learners of Italian. The task of the translator is to recreate in the

target text the most salient stylistic features of the original so as to relay the poem's theme and poetic aims. The publishers have asked you to submit the first draft of your translation.

For the next lesson students were asked to give a stylistically aware reading of their translation through an oral presentation in English. To this end they were guided by such questions as: What elements of the source text have you attempted to capture in your translation? When there were conflicts between translating specific stylistic features of the text, what elements did you privilege? Where in the text have you made choices? How have you handled cross-lingual and cross-cultural differences? (adapted from Tymoczko 2007: 269). During the lesson, they first recited the translated poem to the whole class. They then expounded orally, aided by their written notes, how and why, given the source text and the translation brief, the target text conveyed the meaning that it did, thus doing an exercise in translational stylistic analysis, which takes into consideration the relationship between the translated text and the original text (cf. Malmkjær 2004). Table 11.1 below shows two examples of students' renderings:

TABLE 11.1

TUTTI I COLORI	*ALL THE COLOURS*	*ALL THE COLOURS*
Tutti i colori del mondo si danno invito sui rami e sui prati	All the colours of the world invite each other on branches and in meadows	All the colours of the world invite each other on branches and in meadows
ma il vento li frusta e disperde	but the wind flogs and dispels them	but the wind whips and scatters them
il freddo li ghiaccia e li nega	the cold freezes and denies them	the cold freezes them and denies them
chiuso li avvolge di buio il cielo geloso e incapace di tanti colori.	grey encloses them in darkness the sky jealous and unable to be like all the colours.	overcast in the dark wraps them the sky jealous and unable of many colours.
From: *Un abito qualunque: Poesie*, a collection of poems authored by Elena Malta with a preface by Vito Moretti, Edizioni Tracce, Pescara © Copyright 2011. Used with permission.	(Translated by Marco)	(Translated by Francesca)

The translation of the last stanza, in particular, was the object of detailed analysis, as shown by the observations made by Marco, whose translation is reported in Table 11.1 above.

> The last stanza is the most problematic part of the poem because we can notice that I have used a color like grey to define the sky, in general the expression 'grey sky' is the equivalent of *cielo chiuso*. However, the propositional and expressive meanings of *chiuso* are recalled by the verb 'encloses' in the second line. The use of 'grey sky' forces me to change the last two lines in order to be consistent with the poet's theme and poetic aims. The sky, which is grey, is, in this case, unable to be like all the colours. The original expression *incapace di tanti colori* has an ambiguous meaning, because it can mean that the sky is 'incapable of creating many colors', considering the sky an element which covers everything in darkness, or it is 'incapable of being like all the colors'. In my translation I have tried to partially recreate this ambiguity leaving to the reader the task to explain why the sky, which is grey, is not like all the colors.
>
> *(Marco)*

The class discussion that ensued from the individual close readings of the target texts brought to light differences in the translation of the following collocations: *il vento frusta* (the wind flogs/whips); *il vento disperde* (the wind dispels/scatters); *il cielo chiuso* (grey/overcast sky); *avvolge di buio* (encloses/wraps in darkness/the dark); *il cielo incapace* (the sky unable/incapable).

Finally, peer-review of the student's renderings was aided by a corpus-based translanguaging activity that was undertaken with two comparable English and Italian reference corpora: *BNC* and *CORIS/CODIS*. Students carried out in pairs a contrastive stylistic analysis of the propositional, expressive, and evoked meanings of the original Italian collocations and the English translations, thus confirming, rethinking, or refining their initial choices. This activity unveiled other English equivalents and enabled students to reengage with their target texts and make new versions with a view to achieving congruence between thematic content, poetic aims, and linguistic features of the target text vis-à-vis the source text. They considered the possibility of using the verb 'disperse' as an alternative to 'dispel' or 'scatter'. They discovered the verb 'lash' as a synonym of 'flog' and 'whip'. The search unveiled other equivalents of the adjective *chiuso*, i.e. 'leaden', 'cloudy', 'dull', 'sullen', 'gloomy'. Beside the verbs 'enclose' and 'wrap' as collocates of 'darkness', they examined the different nuances of meaning expressed by such synonyms as 'cover in', 'envelop in', 'plunge into', 'fill with', 'condemn to'. They also explored the lexico-grammatical profiles of the adjectives 'unable' and 'incapable'. As a result, some students revised their initial translation and rendered *incapace di tanti colori* with 'incapable of so many colours' because this collocation was thought to effectively denote and negatively connote the limitedness and incompleteness of the sky. During this activity students spontaneously expressed themselves in English and Italian, and I responded by rephrasing and summarising their observations in English. Sometimes, instead of

responding directly, I invited other students to translanguage in English the thoughts expressed by their peers, thus encouraging learners to act as peer-interpreters.

Poetry unit: follow-up

As a follow-up, students wrote a short essay in which they reflected on the teaching unit as a whole. The text of the assignment reads:

> Now that we have come to the end of this unit reflect on your learning experience through translation and translanguaging. You may consider the following questions as a guide:
>
> - Have you become more aware of cross-cultural differences reflected in both the source and the target language?
> - Have you become more sensitive to nuances of vocabulary usage in English and Italian?
> - Did you feel a sense of achievement when you completed the translation task?

All students appreciated the value of translation in language learning. Some of them also explicitly mentioned translanguaging. Most of them shared the view that these bilingual practices raise awareness of cross-cultural differences and enhance learners sensitivity to nuances of vocabulary usage both in the source and the target language.

Here are some examples of students' reflections:

> Translation is not a mere act of linguistic decoding, but also a cultural act. By translating and translanguaging I have realized how culture is strictly interwoven with language and how they influence each other.
>
> *(Gemma)*

> Translating is the easiest way to face a new language and a new culture. Through the reading of texts we merge our mind in another reality, the reality of the language we are reading, and so, another culture. The processes of reading and merging give us the picture of the language and culture with which we are involved, changing the previous view that we had about them, very often coloured by stereotypes and prejudices.
>
> *(Marizza Anna)*

> The experience of translating and translanguaging has changed my view of what it means to know another language. I have started to look not only at languages as sets of words used in particular contexts, but also as systems in continuous transformation, which change with culture and the world as a whole. In my opinion, learning a new language is, in this sense, the first step to take if you want to understand a culture. Translation, aided by translanguaging,

> is a very necessary step, because it makes you reflect upon the differences and similarities of your target language with the source language. So, translation is not merely a mechanical process, but it involves the translator in his/her totality.
>
> *(Clara)*

> Translation from one language to another is the experience which forces us to get in touch with other people and their minds, their ideas of reality. Translation is that process which helps everybody to change his/her own perspective and perceive emotions, feelings, and facts with different mental images, through a different use of vocabulary. The practice of translation is something that enlarges the limits of our minds.
>
> *(Marco)*

Some suggestions

In light of the beneficial effects of a multilingual pedagogy such as the one illustrated here, I suggest that students engage also with multimodal activities, e.g. associating the translated poem with an artistic painting or a piece of music or animating the poem with a power point presentation with moving images, words, and music. Additional tasks could include comparing the translations of the same source text with those produced by other learners in different countries; interviewing the poet; translating the poem into the other languages shared in the classroom. Reflecting on the method used to collect my data, the questions guiding the students' essays may be criticised for leading students to give positive responses. It would have been preferable to use more open-ended questions or a more indirect elicitation technique such as a critical essay on the pros and cons of using translation and translanguaging in language learning. Also, the data I collected could have been enriched by audio recordings of classroom dialogues, in keeping with the ethnographic style of most case studies of translanguaging as pedagogy. On the whole, the novelty of the expanded model of holistic pedagogic translation adopted in this study lies in having adopted translanguaging in a conscious way, aiming to make learners aware of the interrelationship between translating and translanguaging as bilingual practices that nourish translingual and transcultural competence.

Conclusion

Moving the boundaries of pedagogic translation, which is the main goal pursued in the present chapter, is a two-way process. It is as much about bringing new concepts and practices into translation studies as it is about engaging with the adjacent field of educational linguistics. Hence, the long-term aim is the mutual exhange of research and teaching approaches and methods with a view to stimulating educational innovation. Having surveyed pedagogic translanguaging in a variety of learning contexts, the question that arises now is about what we can give to and take from the multilingual approach in educational linguistics, given our shared scholarly interests in

translation and second language learning and teaching. In order to address this issue, I propose, first of all, that the term 'translanguaging' be introduced in translation studies and become an object of study in its own right. Translation studies would thus be marked on the map drawn by the fields of enquiry that concern themselves with the conceptual development and empirical investigation of this communicative practice and pedagogy, which, as we discussed earlier, can throw light on such phenomena as natural translation, native translation, and language brokering, which in turn fall within the realm of non-professional translation and interpreting.

Moreover, translation and language educators can learn from each other in order to seize and rise to the opportunities offered by the current turn towards multilingualism. My view is that we can share the knowledge and expertise we have gained in the theory and practice of teacher-directed translanguaging as an integral part of translation pedagogy. And we can draw on the knowledge and expertise gained by language educators in the theory, research methods, and practice of student-directed translanguaging in bi/multilingual education. This mutual exchange would significantly enhance interdisciplinary cooperation, which, in turn, would foster the "creation of a culture of translation-education research" (Kiraly 2003: 26) and catapult language and translation pedagogy into the 21st century.

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12

PROFESSIONALS' VIEWS ON THE CONCEPTS OF THEIR TRADE

What is (not) translation?

Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen

Introduction

Within the scientific field of translation studies, the conceptual boundaries of translation, and by extension the field of translation studies itself, have been much discussed in recent years, as witnessed by the chapters in the present volume and numerous other publications concerned either with the general limits of translation (e.g. Hermans 2013) or with whether a particular kind of translation is indeed translation. Concepts such as adaptation, localisation, and transcreation are cases in point. Adaptation has been around for a long time, but the jury is still out: some scholars propose to subsume it under translation, whereas others "insist on the tenuous nature of the borderline which separates the two concepts" (Bastin 2009: 5–6). Localisation, for its part, has long been conceptualised as "[m]ore than just interlingual translation" (Schäler 2010: 210), with translation described as only one activity or step within a larger and more complex process (see Chan 2013; Declercq 2011; Jiménez-Crespo, this volume; Pym 2011), though somewhat paradoxically, it is included in most handbooks and encyclopedias of translation studies, suggesting subordination to translation. Transcreation is the new kid on the block and has not yet reached encyclopedic coverage, but it seems to be conceived of in much the same way as localisation: as 'more than translation', whether this is justified or not (Pedersen 2014; Rike 2013; Risku et al. 2017).

This chapter is not an attempt to settle the scholarly debate. Rather, it wants to turn the spotlight on the field of practice. The translation industry has been criticised by scholars for introducing concepts that devalue the notion of translation (e.g. Gambier and Munday 2014). Again, localisation and transcreation are cases in point, precisely because they are promoted by industry as 'more than translation'. The added value (and price) is supposed to reside in more creativity, more complex work processes and source material (often multimodal), heavy reliance on technology, etc., all of

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which are, however, recognisable components in most modern-day translation projects and can, in the view of many scholars, easily be accommodated within the concept of translation as understood and researched in contemporary translation studies (e.g. Gambier and Munday 2014; Risku et al. 2017).

Some research has been conducted on how the industry promotes for example the concept of transcreation with potentially detrimental effects for the notion of translation, which is seen to become reduced to purely linguistic transfer (e.g. Munday in Gambier and Munday 2014: 20; Pedersen 2014). This line of research has mainly drawn on available marketing material from the websites of translation and transcreation agencies (see, however, Pedersen 2016). By contrast, the research reported in this chapter draws on data elicited in face-to-face interaction with the actual players of the field, translators and translation project managers in particular. Such data allow us to focus not on how the various services of translation companies are marketed with a view to increasing sales, but on how flesh-and-blood translation professionals have internalised the concepts of their trade: how they understand and use them in practice. This will be the central question in this chapter.

In the following, the methodology and findings of the study are presented. Practitioners' conceptualisations are then discussed in relation to current conceptualisations in translation studies with a view to exploring the magnitude of the divide, or *boundary*, that is sometimes assumed to exist between academia and practice. The value of such an exploration lies in its potential to open a dialogue between academia and industry as is often called for (e.g. Koskinen 2010), to avoid a counterproductive division of the translation field into 'us' and 'them'. This, we suggest, is key to the survival of an academic field so deeply rooted in practice as translation studies.

Methodology

Data for the study were mainly collected through the focus group method. Focus groups bear some resemblance to qualitative interviews, group interviews in particular, but are a less obtrusive method that foregrounds the participants and relegates the researcher to the role of moderator or facilitator of a discussion that essentially belongs to the group members. Focus groups have thus been defined as a research technique that elicits data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher (Morgan 1996: 130), a definition that explicitly locates the interaction in a group discussion as the source of data but also acknowledges the researcher's role in creating the discussion. The method has also simply, and aptly, been characterised as a "conversation on a given topic" (Koskinen 2008: 84). As pointed out by Koskinen, "during a good conversation people laugh, tell stories, make funny remarks, agree and disagree, contradict themselves, and interrupt one another", all of which provides ample material for analysis (ibid.).

A major strength of the method is that it encourages participants "to query each other and explain themselves to each other" (Morgan 1996: 139) and hence invites group members to be "discursively explicit" (Halkier 2009: 10, as cited in

Nisbeth Jensen 2013: 162) and "to articulate normally unarticulated normative assumptions" (Bloor et al. 2001: 5). Because of their reliance on such explicit group interaction, focus groups are capable of producing rich, qualitative data on group views, understandings, and norms – on shared attitudes, beliefs, and practices, as well as on differences of opinions. As focus in the present study is on the views, understandings, and experiences of a particular (professional) group, namely translation professionals, the focus group method was considered particularly useful.

Participants

The composition of focus groups is a large topic in the literature. In particular, group homogeneity vs heterogeneity is a key methodological issue. On the one hand, groups should be sufficiently homogeneous to ensure a free-flowing discussion among peers with a common frame of reference and a shared understanding of the topic; on the other hand, a measure of heterogeneity is required too, in order to stimulate interesting interaction: participants' viewpoints and understandings risk remaining implicit and uncontested if the group is too homogeneous (Halkier 2010: 124). As explained below, the focus groups conducted in connection with the present study were highly homogeneous but with a measure of heterogeneity.

Two focus groups were conducted for the study: one group composed of eight translators, and a second group consisting of seven translation project managers. All participants were employed in the same translation company, namely Sandberg Translation Partners Limited (STP). STP is an ISO-certified, UK-based translation company that specialises in the Nordic languages. The company is large in terms of turnover and share of in-house staff: more than 100 people are employed in-house, including 70+ translators and 25+ project managers. The company and its staff is spread over four offices: Whiteley (UK, head office), Stockholm (Sweden), London (UK) and Varna (Bulgaria). STP was selected as the locus of data collection mainly because they offer a wide variety of translation(-related) services (translation, localisation, revision, editing, etc.), which is key to the present research.

The focus group participants were recruited through an open call issued by the managing director of STP through the company's internal communication platform. Participation was in principle open to all staff translators and project managers, but we specifically asked the managing director to select volunteers who fulfilled the following criteria:

- professionals with a minimum of one year's work experience with translation or project management in the company
- for each focus group, a mix of participants regarding gender, experience, working languages, etc.

The first criterion, concerning previous work experience, was set to ensure that all participants had reached a reasonable degree of socialisation into translation, so as to be able to articulate the norms, beliefs, and practices of that particular field of

practice. This criterion also helped us ensure group homogeneity, which was the motive for conducting two separate focus groups too: translators and project managers were deliberately not mixed to prevent conflicting stances and repression of views (Bloor et al. 2001: 20). The second set of criteria was intended to add a measure of group heterogeneity for maximum variation in perspectives and stimulation of interaction.

Much of the literature suggests that focus group participants should be strangers to each other. Recruitment of participants who are "homogeneous strangers" has thus been described as one of the rules of thumb in focus group research (Morgan 1997: 34). The rationale is that conversation among acquaintances often relies on the kind of taken-for-granted assumptions that the researcher is interested in unveiling (ibid.: 37). However, as also noted by Morgan, focus groups are routinely conducted in organisations and other naturally occurring groups in which acquaintanceship is inevitable (ibid.: 38). The focus group participants in our study knew each other from their workplace. They were colleagues, although not all of them worked in the same office, and some worked regularly from home. Thus, the participants were not strangers although they did not necessarily know each other well. Our clear impression from the focus group sessions was that their familiarity with each other facilitated rather than hampered discussions. All group members participated actively in the conversation and they were not afraid to disagree, interrupt, or contradict each other.

Group size is another issue that is debated vividly in the focus group literature. Some researchers report on well-functioning groups with down to three members, whereas others have conducted research based on as many as 20. One of Morgan's rules of thumb specifies a range of six to ten participants: with groups below six, it may be difficult to sustain a discussion, whereas groups of more than ten may be difficult to control (Morgan 1997: 43; cf. Bloor et al. 2001: 27–8). In our study, we opted for an intermediate group size: large enough to ensure a plurality of perspectives but still small enough to be manageable. Our ideal was two groups of five to seven participants. The literature advises to over-recruit to cover for no-shows (e.g. Morgan 1997: 42), so we asked the company to select six to eight participants for each group. However, seven project managers and eight translators were recruited for the respective focus groups – and they all showed up. This, we believe, testifies to their motivation and interest in the research topic.

Prior to data collection, a cooperation agreement was set up between us, the researchers, and the translation company and signed by both parties. It was agreed that data collected during the research project would belong to our host university (Aarhus University), that it would be kept confidential, and that all individual employees would remain anonymous to all but the researchers and their assistants. Because of the cooperation agreement, the focus group participants did not sign individual consent forms. However, they received an email from us a week before our visit explaining the purpose of the research as well as reiterating that their anonymity would be safeguarded. The purpose of the research was described in vague terms, as an interest in exploring "the concept of translation in its many forms – academically

as well as practically", to prevent participants from starting to discuss or reflect too consciously on the object of study in advance; rather, the idea was to let positions emerge and take shape during the group interactions.

In sum, participation in the focus groups was informed and voluntary. It was also paid: STP generously let all 15 translators and project managers take time off their salaried working hours to participate in the research.

Procedure, setting, and materials

The two focus groups were conducted on two consecutive days in June 2017 and took place in a conference-cum-lunch room at the main office of STP in Whiteley, i.e. within easy reach of the participants. Participants were seated around a large meeting table so that everybody could see each other. The researcher who acted as moderator sat at the table too but in an unmarked position among participants (not at the head of the table). The researcher who acted as observer, taking notes on group dynamics and non-verbal behaviour, was seated in the background.

With the aim of setting the scene and creating a good atmosphere, the moderator opened the discussion with some introductory remarks about the project and a brief explanation of the ground rules of focus groups, following Morgan (1997: 48–54) (e.g. that she was not there to interview them but to propose topics for them to discuss among themselves, that she was there to learn from them and not the other way around, that all experiences, stories, and viewpoints were equally valid, that there were no right or wrong answers, etc.). After that, for ice-breaking purposes, the participants introduced themselves and talked briefly about their professional backgrounds and the tasks and projects they were currently engaged in.

The ensuing discussion topics were organised in an interview guide that largely followed the funnel model proposed by Morgan (1997: 41–2), going from very open and expansive so-called discussion-starter questions that emphasise free discussion, to more specific follow-up questions (cf. Halkier 2009: 38–46). All discussion topics were introduced to participants in the form of single keywords, each captured on a poster and put on the table one at a time in order to facilitate interaction and focus the discussion (Halkier 2010: 132). The keywords given were the following: *Translation*; *Localisation*; *Transcreation*; *Subtitling/Dubbing*; *Interpreting*; *Intralingual translation; Intersemiotic translation; Content writing*; *Glossary creation*; *Revision*; *Editing; Proofreading*. The keywords were harvested among central terms and concepts from both the translation industry and translation studies. In particular, all products and services offered by STP themselves were included in order to link explicitly to participants' experiences, which explains the relatively long list of concepts.

The focus group participants were first asked to comment freely on each of the keywords, to describe what the terms meant to them. Each concept was then discussed in terms of daily work processes, translator competences and creativity, status and prestige, pricing, client perceptions and expectations, and usefulness – though not necessarily in that order. (The topics of pricing and client expectations were only discussed among project managers as translators at STP do not have

client-facing tasks.) Towards the end of the session, the participants were asked to compare the keywords and comment on differences and similarities between them; more specifically, they were asked to group them as either 'Translation' or 'Not Translation' (posters with these two keywords were also put on the table), an exercise that generated a lively debate.

On the whole, the focus group sessions were conducted with low moderator involvement (Morgan 1996: 145): the moderator maintained (some) control over discussion topics and thus guided the content of conversations, but used a non-directive moderator style throughout, abstaining from intervention in the way participants interacted. Some group members spoke more than others, some interrupted more, but on the whole the groups self-managed their interaction well. All group members participated actively, and if a participant fell silent for too long, the others made sure to pull him or her back into the conversation.

As it turned out, and as we had in fact foreseen given the large number of keywords, there was not enough time to discuss all topics from all angles. However, except from more marginal concepts (e.g. 'Proofreading' and 'Glossary creation'), the planned topics – as well as a few additional ones launched by the participants themselves – were in fact covered in great detail. Each focus group had been scheduled for two hours, and although discussions were intense and difficult to stop, we deliberately did not exceed the allotted two hours per group.

Complementary data for the research were collected through a semi-structured individual interview with the managing director of STP. These data mainly serve as one of several sources of information about the context of data collection: the company, its organisation, business models, strategies, and policies. However, the interview also enriched our database with a management perspective on how the various concepts of translation are used and understood in the translation industry, and extracts from this interview are included in the analyses reported in the following sections.

Analyses

For the purpose of the analyses, the audio-recordings of the two focus group sessions as well as the individual interview were transcribed in full by a research assistant. Thematic analysis was then used to identify and group all statements concerning the various concepts discussed. The analyses soon showed that the data did not lend themselves to categorisation in the classical, Aristotelian sense. Overlapping definitions and fuzzy conceptual borders are salient throughout the discussions, and hedging ('I think', 'I guess', 'perhaps') abounds. Typically, when a concept is first introduced, one of the focus group participants utters a rather finite definition, often by way of an example (e.g. 'transcreation is used for slogans'). This makes the other participants agree ('yeah, yeah'). But almost invariably this is followed by another example which deviates from the definition or contradicts a previous definition (e.g. 'slogans are localised'), which then falls apart. The lack of clear boundaries between concepts is explicitly acknowledged by the participants in the study.

As one respondent states when talking about marketing translation, transcreation, and copywriting: "but sometimes it's a bit difficult to define exactly what's what".

To analyse and make sense of data and results, we therefore draw on prototype theory as explained in the following section.

Analytical framework: prototype theory

Classical categorisation requires shared properties and strictly objective conditions for category membership as well as clear boundaries between categories. However, such strict categorisation is far from always possible, and in the early 1930s Wittgenstein introduced the concept of family resemblances as an alternative way of categorising and famously illustrated his point by means of the category 'game' (1953: sections 66–67):

> And the result of this examination [of the word 'game'] is: we see a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail. I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than 'family resemblances'; for the various resemblances between members of a family: build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc. overlap and criss-cross in the same way. – And I shall say: 'games' form a family.

It follows from the above that some categories have "blurred edges" (Wittgenstein 1953: section 71) by their very nature and, importantly for the present research, that there can be good and bad examples of a category. In the early 1970s, Rosch carried out a large number of experiments which supported this last point, and in 1973 she published the article 'On the internal structure of perceptual and semantic categories' (Rosch, 1973), in which she argues that human beings categorise by means of prototypes. She argues that categories are mentally represented by means of schemata of their most characteristic members – the prototypes; other members of a category may be more peripheral in nature, i.e. the borderline cases. As pointed out by Leech (1981: 84), people generally agree on what constitutes a prototypical member whereas disagreement and uncertainty are more common when it comes to establishing peripheral members of a category.

Prototype theory explains why it may be difficult to categorise in practice, and hence why the professionals in our study apparently struggled to define and delimit the concepts of their trade. Yet, as we shall show below, STP employees easily agree on what constitutes prototypical translation; disagreement and uncertainty only creep in when it comes to describing more peripheral members of the category 'translation'.

Results

In this section, we present the main findings of the analyses, showing how the participants in the study describe and define the different concepts of their professional field. In this short chapter, we are only able to cover a selection of concepts and

therefore cannot map the entire translation field. We have chosen to include those concepts that generated most discussion or recognition in the focus groups, namely the following: translation, interpreting, subtitling/dubbing, localisation, adaptation, transcreation, intralingual translation, and intersemiotic translation. The two latter concepts, which stem from academia rather than practice, were included in the interview guides out of scholarly curiosity but turned out to generate intense discussions among the practitioners, and our analysis of these concepts helped us identify prototypical features of the category 'translation'.

The data extracts shown below are preceded by the abbreviation PM for project managers, T for translators, and MD for managing director. The seven project managers are further identified by capital letters from A to G, and the eight translators are named by letters from A to H (examples: PM-A; T-B). Non-identifiable speakers (not discernible in the recordings) are indicated by means of question marks (e.g. PM-?).

Translation

The concept of translation was discussed at some length at the beginning of the focus groups and popped up repeatedly in the ensuing discussions. To the translation professionals in this study, 'translation' no doubt constitutes a category in its own right, one that encompasses all other concepts. Towards the end of the focus group with the project managers, one participant states:

PM-?: it [translation] is an umbrella term. It just, it covers everything we discussed I feel

For something to be categorised as translation in this wide sense, the professionals in the study set forth two requirements: the involvement of two languages (whether they have to be national is a moot point) and transfer. This is evident throughout both focus groups, and there is agreement across the board. The project managers thus offer the following definition of translation (note PM-B's definition):

PM-A: communication between people or like companies who want to transmit a message to other people who may not be able to . . .
Various: umhm
PM-B: transferring meaning from one language into another
Various: umhm, yeah
PM-C: I would say expressing someone's thoughts in a different language
Moderator: okay
PM-D: basically . . .
PM-C: or one's own, depending on, if you are translating yourself
Various: laughing

The term 'translation' is also used in a more narrow sense, to describe the most characteristic member of the translation category: the prototype. The prototype to these

professionals is without doubt relatively source-oriented, written translation between two national languages. Technical manuals, e.g. for tractors, lawnmowers and leaf blowers, contracts, terms and conditions, and annual reports, are mentioned as examples of texts that would lend themselves to prototypical translation. Accuracy and not style is described as more important for these prototypical, informative texts.

The participants often use the adjectives 'traditional' and 'pure' to characterise prototypical translation and distinguish it from both the overall translation category (the "umbrella term") and other types of translation, cf. the last statement in the following extract from the translators' discussion of transcreation (which also shows that a degree of source-orientation is conceptually linked to prototypical translation):

T-C: the industry has come up with a term because the clients want really really creative translations
Various: mmh, yeah
T-C: so, the industry notices that okay this takes so much more time
Various: yeah
T-C: than the more traditional translation that sticks closer to the source

The discussions of 'translation' ran exceptionally smoothly in both focus groups. There was consistently full agreement on definitions, examples, and naming for both meanings of the term.

Interpreting

Interpreting is without doubt a central member of the translation family too. Everyone agrees that it is translation as it fulfils the prototypical requirements of transfer and the involvement of two languages. It is mentioned that interpreting requires "a completely different skill set" (T-B) due to the orality of the task, but interestingly these differences do not affect the participants' understanding of the concept of interpreting as core to the category of translation. The discussion among project managers runs like this:

Moderator: is it [interpreting] translation?
PM-C: oh definitely
Various: oh yes
PM-C: oh god yes, absolutely, my favourite form of it as well

Subtitling and dubbing

Subtitling and dubbing are conceived of in much the same way as interpreting. Despite their peculiarities, these tasks are undoubtedly central members of the translation category in the eyes of the focus group participants. For subtitling, constraints such as space and reading speed are mentioned, as are the special software used and the skills required to operate it. Again, these peculiarities, as well as the

very fact that subtitling is intermodal, do not influence the participants' understanding of subtitling (and dubbing) as core translation tasks. STP does not offer subtitling or dubbing as stand-alone products, but the employees recount using these techniques for example in connection with the translation of (multimodal) websites, many of which include video clips.

Localisation

In the first instance, the participants in both focus groups describe localisation as software localisation and explain that it normally requires technical adjustments apart from linguistic transfer. As a second, distinct meaning they agree that within marketing and advertising the word localisation is also used. For both meanings of 'localisation', they agree that more consideration is paid to the target group as compared to prototypical translation and that it often involves considerable transformation of the source: the terms 'rewriting' and especially 'adaptation' are used to describe this. However, there is a tendency to give localisation examples where not much is changed, e.g. currencies, decimal commas, or quite basic cultural references.

Therefore, already with the term 'localisation' uncertainty starts to creep in. For one thing, there is considerable overlap between 'localisation' and 'transcreation', and drawing the line between these two concepts is not easy for the focus group participants, as shown by this extract:

PM-?: yeah, it [transcreation] must be slogans like you said
PM-D: yeah
Moderator: you said that slogans were localisation
PM-G: yeah, but to be honest . . .
PM-C: mmh

For another, there is a discrepancy between what they describe as distinctive features of the concept (target orientation, change) and the examples they give, as described above. In fact, the participants' discussion of target orientation in connection with localisation leads them to challenge their earlier descriptions of 'traditional translation' as source-oriented. As stated by one of the translators when the group discusses localisation as target-oriented:

T-B: you could say that translation should always be localisation, I mean otherwise it will be a bad translation

This is corroborated by the managing director, who has just explained that "traditional translation" is the core product of the company:

MD: again, I think it is difficult to draw the line, I mean technically [. . .] everything we do is localisation

When the focus group participants were asked to group the posters with key concepts as either 'Translation' or 'Not Translation', they did not hesitate to subsume 'localisation' under 'Translation'.

Adaptation

The discussion of adaptation was not initiated by us, the researchers, but was launched by the focus group participants themselves. Especially, the project managers used the term very frequently, often to describe and explain translation phenomena that are not prototypical but require a higher degree of target orientation or creativity from the translator. It thus often occurs in connection or even interchangeably with 'localisation' and 'transcreation'. However, negotiations in the project manager focus group resulted in participants agreeing that 'adaptation' deserved a category of its own. A keyword poster was generated on the spot, and when project managers were asked to arrange all keywords, their negotiation opened like this:

PM-C: mmh, maybe maybe this [adaptation] should be in the middle like . . . [places it between localisation and transcreation]

A joint decision was made to place 'adaptation' between 'localisation' and 'transcreation' on the grounds that it involves a higher degree of target orientation and creativity than localisation, but not quite as extreme as transcreation. The project managers also agreed that adaptation definitely belongs to the translation category.

The way the participants used the term 'adaptation' when they were not consciously focussing on it was more haphazard, though. As mentioned, they used it synonymously with other translation concepts (e.g. localisation) but also to denote a particular translation strategy (for a project) or tactic (for a segment), i.e. a particular way of translating, denoting both global and local procedures. They also used it simply as a last resort, when no other term came to mind, though always in connection with target orientation and a high degree of translator intervention. The following extract from the project managers' discussion of intersemiotic translation, for example, shows that they use the term 'adaptation' when they do not know what else to call something – and also that they are well aware of this:

PM-?: I was thinking I'd consider it [intersemiotic translation] dare I say . . . adaptation
Various: laughing

Adaptation came up much less frequently in the translator focus group, but the translators know the term – and are aware of its somewhat inconsistent usage. When the moderator asked them whether they use the term among themselves, they answered:

T-A: no
T-?: not really

T-C: I think maybe the PMs use it more than we do
T-G: but I think that project managers use it when they mean localisation or editing

The ensuing discussion among the translators shows that, to them, 'adaptation' denotes anything that involves a higher degree of transformation and target orientation than prototypical translation.

Transcreation

To the focus group participants, transcreation involves the most extreme form of creativity on the localisation-adaptation-transcreation continuum, and target orientation is far more important than with other kinds of translation. Localisation, for example, is described as more bound to the source text, whereas transcreation may only transfer the meaning or intended effect – and might in fact end up not transferring any of the words of the source text.

As described above, the concept of transcreation has significant overlaps with other translation concepts, particularly with localisation, but at the same time it is perhaps the most distinctive concept of all, at least in principle. The professionals in the present study readily listed a number of distinctive features that set transcreation apart. First, it is restricted to the field of marketing and advertising (this field is mentioned in connection with localisation too, but transcreation is *exclusively* linked to marketing). Secondly, the process is stated to be much more back-and-forth with the client than prototypical translation, and the translator constantly has to explain the rationale behind choices. Thirdly, as regards translator skills, the participants agree that it requires translators with a special creative talent and communicative skills (in order to deal directly with clients). Fourthly, with respect to billing, it may be charged by the hour and not by the word, which is stated to be a huge advantage.

Despite these presumably distinctive features, terminological confusion still exists in the practice field. Both the translators and the managing director mention how some clients use the term transcreation for tasks that translators would call localisation, and even among industry representatives there is not agreement:

MD: it [transcreation] is such an elusive concept in the industry I think, because different translation companies mean different things when they talk about it [. . .] and I'm sure they sell different things to their clients

In sum, transcreation is considered to be located rather far away from the translation prototype. Yet to all participants in the study, it is definitely translation:

T-A: yeah, it's all part of translation

Intralingual translation

This concept clearly confuses the groups as if they have not really thought about it before (though the translators mention examples of intralingual translation in the very

beginning of their focus group session – in the guise of expert-to-lay mediation – so it is something they do as translators). The discussions in the two focus groups follow surprisingly similar paths: first the participants deny that intralingual translation is translation, but the discussion develops and they end up disagreeing. They agree that there is a source text, and that fulfils one of the requirements for translation because transfer takes place, but the second requirement they want to see fulfilled is that two languages should be involved. This makes the discussion centre on how to define a language, and each group is divided in two. Some have a broad definition of language (including dialects, sociolects) and therefore accept that intralingual translation is translation; others require two national languages and therefore deny that it is translation:

PM-F: I'm not sure about this one [intralingual translation]
PM-A: yeah, if it's just English to English I don't think that's translation I think personally for something to be translated it has to be from a language to another language rather that from a locale to another locale
Various: yeah, true
PM-F: it's localisation though, but it's not translating which is weird
Various: yeah, laughing
PM-G: I would say translation because to me a locale still counts as like a sublanguage
PM-C: mmh, that's a good . . .
PM-?: I don't know that, it doesn't to me

This negotiation on whether intralingual translation should be classified as 'Translation' or 'Not Translation' leads to no conclusion: agreement among participants is not possible.

Intersemiotic translation

The expression 'intersemiotic translation' is at first very foreign to the groups, but gradually they remember something from university and after a little discussion, they all know what is being referred to. They are intrigued by the concept, which they do not accept as translation on the one hand, but on the other hand they are certainly not dismissive of its connection to translation. One project manager actually suggests that it is translation, but all others seem in varying degrees to disagree:

PM-B: yeah, I can see the argument for these things being translation, I just don't think they are
PM-A: here's a five-hundred-page manual, here's a picture

The translators agree that maybe it is just a very broad use of the concept of translation, but also agree that such a broad notion becomes meaningless:

T-?: but I think that's just using the definition of transferring something into something else
Various: yeah

The focus group participants clearly place intersemiotic translation further away from the prototype than intralingual translation – outside the translation category, in fact:

T-C: you couldn't order it as translation
Various: yeah

Translation as a prototype concept: synthesis and discussion

As described earlier, prototype theory explains why it may be anything but simple to categorise the various types of translation (or non-translation) in practice. As the analyses have shown, the translation professionals in this study easily agree on prototypical translation being a rather source-text oriented, written translation between two national languages. They also readily agree that interpreting, subtitling, and dubbing are central members of the translation category. However, when it comes to concepts like localisation, adaptation, and transcreation, it is more difficult to obtain consensus on definitions, though interestingly it seems that the respondents more or less agree on the distance to the prototype. For concepts like intralingual and intersemiotic translation, we see the uncertainty and disagreement described by Leech (1981) when it comes to establishing peripheral members, or even outliers. Based on our results, a model of the translation professionals' categorisation could look like this (see Figure 12.1 below):

Prototype theory has previously appealed to other translation scholars. Halverson (1999, 2000, 2002) uses prototype theory to describe translation as a cognitive phenomenon and uses this description to delimit the scientific field of translation studies. Tymoczko (2007a, 2007b) views translation as a cluster concept, i.e. as an open concept with blurred edges based on Wittgenstein's family resemblances, and agrees that "[v]iewing translation as a prototype concept normally gives a satisfactory approximation in a synchronic approach to translation at a given time and place, where the prototype will correspond roughly to the dominant notion of translation in that specific context" (Tymoczko 2007a: 40). However, she also warns that viewing translation as a prototype concept cannot work diachronically or cross-culturally and thus cannot provide a universal description of translation. She therefore finds the cluster concept to be better suited for a general definition of translation (see Tymoczko 2007b: 90–100 for an in-depth discussion on the limitations of viewing translation as a prototype category). However, as Halverson (2010: 383) points out, viewing translation as a cluster concept or alternatively as a prototype concept may not be that far removed from each other as "[t]he overarching objective of both of these two approaches is to provide a non-objectivist approach to the issue of conceptualization". Zethsen (2007, 2009) finds prototype an obvious theory to explain the many-faceted nature of the concept of translation. Hill-Madsen and Zethsen (2016) favour prototype as a likely theory to explain the cognitive phenomenon of translation, but agree with Tymoczko that it may not be well suited for delimiting the scientific field of translation studies.

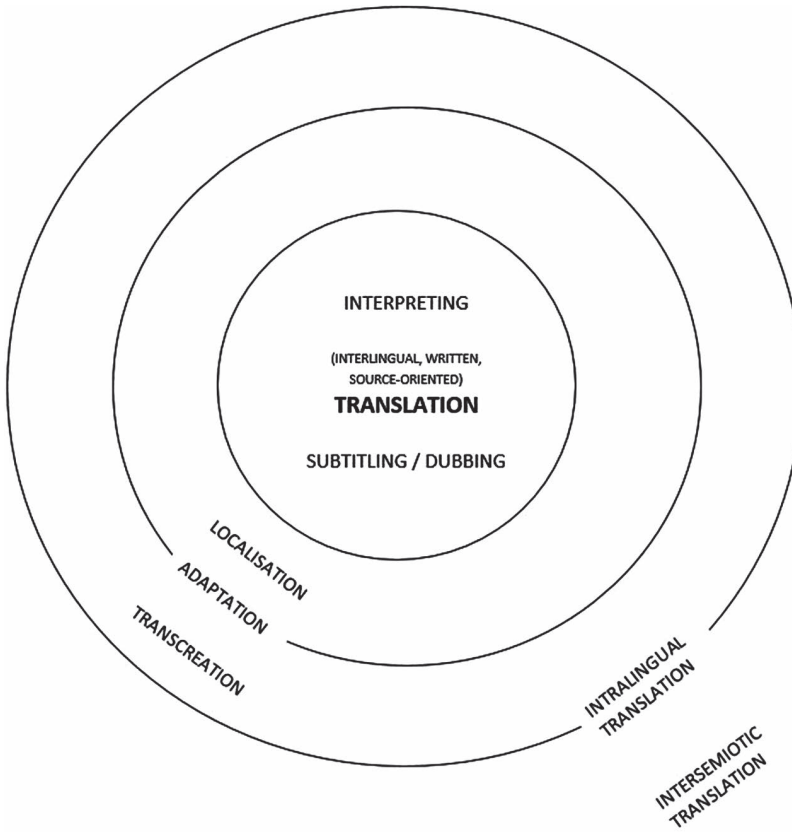

FIGURE 12.1 A prototype model of translation: STP professionals' views

For our present purposes, we have found that prototype theory "gives a satisfactory approximation in a synchronic approach to translation at a given time and place", to use Tymoczko's words again. The empirical results of the present research support the theory that prototype categorisation is used cognitively in practice to handle a fuzzy concept like translation. In Halverson (2000), 103 respondents were asked to look at seven text pairs and indicate what constituted translation and what did not. The respondents were also asked about the certainty of their responses. Halverson concludes that there was a clear demonstration of prototype. The category of translation was not defined by a set of necessary and sufficient conditions, i.e. there was not a clear boundary, and most importantly for the present context, some members were more central than others. The most central member, what we can call the prototype, was translation between two national languages (or at least two clearly delineated languages) and thus this result is completely consistent with our empirical findings. Halverson also concluded that two main dimensions determined a prototypical or more or less peripheral position, namely 'linguality' and 'transfer'. This observation is also consistent with our findings.

Practice vs academia?

In the following, the findings of the study will be discussed in relation to current conceptualisations and boundary discussions in translation studies (TS). A detailed analysis of scholarly definitions and stances is outside the scope of this chapter, but some similarities and differences between the conceptualisations of academia and practice are immediately discernible.

For one thing, in line with the practitioners' view, the concept of translation is without doubt seen as an umbrella concept by many translation scholars. It is a 'category' of its own, to use prototype terminology – a family of many members, including some of those discussed here. This is abundantly evidenced by the many TS handbooks and encyclopedias that have been proliferating over the last decade or so, most of which have entries on interpreting, subtitling, localisation, adaptation, etc. (e.g. Baker and Saldanha 2009; Gambier and van Doorslaer 2010; Malmkjær and Windle 2011; Millán and Bartrina 2013). Exactly where the boundaries go – which concepts lie within the translation category and which fall outside – and exactly where the individual concepts would be located in a prototype model is a moot point as there are probably as many conceptualisations of the translation field as there are scholars. But then this may also be true of practitioners: in this study, we have analysed the conceptualisations of the employees in one translation company; other understandings are likely to be out there.

To some scholars, interpreting studies is a separate field, distinct from translation studies, but the claim to disciplinary independence, salient in the discipline's infancy, largely seems to have been silenced. Interpreting studies is a field with its own distinct profile and its own literature, conferences, and networks (e.g. Pöchhacker 2015), but nowadays it seamlessly takes its place as a central sub-field – or co-field, cf. the commonly used collocation 'translation and interpreting studies' or 'TIS' – under the umbrella of translation studies as evidenced by its inclusion in the various TS handbooks and encyclopedias referred to above. There is thus agreement between academia and practice concerning interpreting (studies)' membership of the translation (studies) family, though not necessarily about its exact location in a prototype model of translation.

Both audiovisual translation and localisation have trajectories in academia resembling that of interpreting. As for audiovisual translation, Remael (2010: 12) describes it as a newcomer in translation studies but also as a type of translation that "has moved from the field's [TS's] periphery to its centre over the past two decades", a location that reflects the present study's snapshot of practitioners' views on subtitling and dubbing.

With respect to localisation, scholarly claims to independence have been substituted by seemingly frictionless membership of the large translation family in recent years (see Jiménez-Crespo, this volume). The peaceful coexistence of (prototypical) translation and localisation under one umbrella is clearly mirrored in the data from practice: STP provides both translation and localisation, and the two tasks are performed by the same people. Moreover, all the meanings attached to localisation by

the practitioners are reflected in the scholarly literature, according to which localisation is mainly concerned with digital content; technology and user-friendliness (target orientation) are of essence; it involves more than language operations; and, interestingly, linguistic operations are rather simple and standardised (Chan 2013; Declercq 2011; Pym 2011; Schäler 2009, 2010). The latter point is reflected in the localisation examples given by the focus group participants (decimal commas, currencies, etc.); the discrepancy between claims to extensive target orientation (and, hence, transformation), on the one hand, and a widespread practice or acceptance of essentially literal language transfer, on the other, is thus present in the discourses of both practitioners and scholars (for an interesting discussion of literalness in localisation, see Pym 2011: 414).

The fuzzy boundaries between localisation and adaptation we found in the data are also echoed in the scholarly literature. In any academic text on localisation there is a high frequency of the term 'adaptation' (see e.g. the texts referred to above), and the two terms are often used interchangeably or as each others' sub- or superordinates. To Milton (2010: 3), for one, localisation is simply a type of adaptation. The terminological and conceptual confusion surrounding localisation in TS is pointed out by Jiménez-Crespo (this volume), who adds, with some regret, that it seems to have become the term of choice for "all types of complex content modifications". In TS, 'localisation' is thus no longer used specifically in connection with digital material but also for the translation of e.g. comic books, news, or theatre plays, i.e. in rather the same way as adaptation as described below.

With respect to the concept of adaptation, there is similar disorder. TS handbook and encyclopedia entries on this topic thus reflect all the rather different meanings of 'adaptation' that the focus groups brought to the fore: it is used synonymously with and/or to describe or explain (other) types of translation that require extensive modifications in order to accommodate a specific target audience (drama, literature, localisation, advertising, etc.), but it is also used to denote a particular translation strategy or tactic (Bastin 2009; Milton 2010). The 'last resort' usage found in the data is evidently not mentioned in the handbook literature but seems widespread. As pointed out by Bastin (2009: 3), adaptation "continues to be part of a fuzzy metalanguage used by translation scholars", and the term embraces "numerous vague notions". This is echoed in Milton (2010: 3), who describes the terminology in the whole area of adaptation as "extremely confusing".

As we saw above, the scholarly field also uses 'adaptation' in connection with advertising translation. The link between 'adaptation' and 'transcreation' we found in the focus group data can thus be identified in scholarly conceptualisations too. Transcreation is a recent term but not a new practice or object of study: it has existed for many years precisely under the label 'advertising translation' or 'marketing translation' (e.g. Risku et al. 2017).

The overlap between 'localisation' and 'transcreation' found in the data has a counterpart in TS too. If, as we saw above, localisation amounts to or is a type of adaptation, and adaptation includes advertising translation, which is the same as transcreation, the triangle is complete. Moreover, the tendency of scholars to use

'localisation' for anything that involves "complex content modifications", to use Jiménez-Crespo's words again, also makes for an immediate connection between localisation and transcreation, and the focus groups' uncertainty about whether to ascribe the translation of slogans to localisation or transcreation is thus mirrored in the scholarly literature.

The practitioners' rejection of intralingual and intersemiotic translation as forming part of the large translation field – partial rejection in the case of the former and full rejection in the case of the latter – does not reflect many scholars' calls for the inclusion of these categories in TS (see, e.g. Albachten, this volume; Schmid 2012), but it does mirror the lack of scholarly agreement concerning this question (e.g. Mossop 2016).

As this discussion has shown, there are some differences between translation practitioners' and scholars' understandings of what constitutes the translation (studies) field; who the various members of the translation family are; and how central each of them is. The similarities in scholars' and professionals' understandings of the field are nevertheless striking. Virtually all practitioner statements have a counterpart in the scholarly literature. Rather than solid consensus, however, data point to a field of fuzzy concepts and boundaries where the main stakeholders, industry and academia, agree to disagree. It is, nevertheless, encouraging to note that so many of the discussions in TS seem to have found their way to industry and vice versa, a finding that suggests much cross-border exchange as well as a "soft border" (see Rogers, this volume) between industry and academia. From a scholarly perspective, it is also encouraging to conclude that we researchers were unable to unveil any attempts at devaluing the concept(s) of translation during the interesting conversations we had with STP professionals in June 2017.

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13

BOUND TO EXPAND

The paradigm of change in translation studies

Luc van Doorslaer

Introduction: from non-change and equivalence to change and dynamics

The discipline of translation studies (TS) has undergone many developments that have mostly served to broaden the scope and object of the field. The historiography of the discipline mostly emphasises the importance of "those scholars in translation studies who, for almost four decades, have been working on broadening the boundaries of both the concept and the discipline" (Dizdar 2009: 89). Nevertheless considerable research has maintained a focus on traditional translation proper, whereas phenomena such as intralingual translation or rewording have remained "de facto peripheral to translation studies" (Korning Zethsen 2007: 306). In general, the broadening tendencies illustrate a gradual development from a retrospective focus on non-change (the equivalence paradigm as "an instrument to measure how close target texts were to source texts, hence keeping source texts and contexts in the spotlight" – Leal 2012: 41) to an approach that privileges dynamics and variation via expanding types of change, such as modal, cultural, media-related, social, and technological. The greater interdisciplinarity of TS raises the question of whether TS is better off with a traditional concept that focuses on interlingual replacement, or whether it might be better served by a broader concept that encompasses new developments and extensions under the umbrella of TS. This is the central question explored in this chapter. Based on the recent publication *Border Crossings* (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016), this chapter will explore the way the concept of translation is used in several adjacent disciplines.

But let us start with a quote from real-life TS:

> What seems particularly alarming is the fact that Translation Studies, which has been an independent discipline since the end of the 1980s, has largely

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> removed professional translation in the form of *translation proper* from its sphere of activity and stigmatized it.

This quote is taken from the call for the *Translata* conference in Innsbruck, Austria (December 2017). In a straightforward way it presents as incontrovertible facts that TS has been an independent discipline since the end of the 1980s, that it has largely removed professional translation from its research, and that it has stigmatised professional translation – and all of this is seen as *alarming*. Many researchers in TS are likely to perceive such formulations as too absolute and dogmatic, since it is relatively easy to find research activities in the field of translation that indicate the opposite. Nevertheless, the aim of this chapter is not to provide counter-arguments to the above quotation. The quotation is interesting because it illustrates two well-known phenomena in the discipline: (1) some translation scholars believe that the world of practice and the world of research resemble two parallel lines that never meet; (2) some translation scholars try to oppose the expanding boundaries of the discipline and are convinced that TS should stick to its core, i.e. *translation proper*. Yves Gambier, for instance, notes that "[d]espite decades of academic and professional translation research, the traditional parameters configuring the equivalence paradigm persist" (2016: 889). The first phenomenon has been dealt with extensively on several occasions, for instance in Chesterman and Wagner (2002) or in Gile (2010), while arguments favouring the bi-directionality of influence between 'theory' and 'practice', the instrumentalisation of translation theory, and the impact of theory on translators' social and professional status, can be found in van Doorslaer (2013).

However, what lies at the heart of this chapter is the second assumption underlying the Innsbruck call. It is undeniable that, over the past few decades, several researchers have extended the concept of translation and, in turn, the object of translation research. More important than labelling this as 'alarming' is the simple fact that this has happened and is still happening. Many of the so-called turns, paradigm changes, and developments in TS seem to reflect this tendency. This has happened not so much because of a need to expand the discipline, but because of dissatisfaction with the traditional 'core' content of the translation concept. The 'turn' concept, for instance, allowed for a "more practical, open and flexible approach" (Snell-Hornby 2010: 366). As a direct result of the broader perspectives on translation phenomena over the past decades, the traditional borders of *translation proper* may seem too restrictive. Given this, translation scholars tend to widen not only the definition, but also the scope of the research object and the discipline's field of application.

The traditional view of translation is mainly, if not exclusively, based on interlingual translation – a concept that is rather vague because of unclear boundaries between languages and their socio-regional varieties (for instance, to what extent may a rewriting of a dialect text into a standard variety be considered intra- or interlingual?). Apart from the interlingual feature, one of the most widespread dogmas about translation in everyday life relates to *non-change*: the imperative not to alter the content, form, style, effect etc. It can be instructive to examine ways in which translation is conceptualised in the media for instance, where it "is associated

with submission to the author's enquiry and style" and perceived "as a synonym of servility" (Davier 2014: 62). Generally, this is the non-specialists' view of translation, based on the illusion that languages are equivalent, interchangeable tools and that it is possible to change *only* the language. However, it is also the expectation faced by many translation practitioners when negotiating with their commissioners. This widespread normative attitude is not only based on equivalence, but also based on intention. Many commissioners expect, and sometimes state explicitly, that the translator's intention should be to change the language, but leave all the rest unchanged. In that sense, equivalence and intention are the pillars supporting the prescriptive view of translation which is often used as the commissioners' point of departure in translation practice.

In reality, the decision process is obviously more complex. It takes into account the possibilities of graduality when considering invariance in the transfer. Invariance is a far less absolute category than it might seem, as forms of hierarchisation are also taken into consideration: "So unbestritten die Notwendigkeit einer Hierarchisierung der Invarianzforderungen ist, so umstritten ist die Frage, woher der Übersetzer die Kriterien nimmt, nach denen er diese Hierarchisierung durchführt"[1] (Schreiber 1993: 35).

The non-change paradigm has therefore been subverted by recognising the impossibility of total invariance or full equivalence not only in translation practice, but also and above all in the scholarly study of translation. Over the past few decades, TS has undergone several developments (called 'turns', paradigm switches, innovative perspectives, new subfields etc.) with one shared characteristic: the focus on *change* in and through translation. Observations and descriptions of the reality of translation showed many practices and circumstances that were based on anything but non-change. The inevitability of translators' choices, cultural context, ideological influences, role of agency and idiosyncrasy, multilingual processing in newsrooms, travel and migration as translational phenomena, transfer of national and cultural images through translation – these are all examples of situations where translation is fundamentally involved in a (much more than interlingual) process of change. As change inevitably puts more emphasis on contrasts and dissimilarities, elements of difference have complemented the traditional focus on sameness.

Awareness-raising in other disciplines

Entering new territories can lead to uncertainty and hesitation. Just as practitioners differ with regard to the amount of risk they are prepared to take when implementing translation strategies, TS scholars have divergent opinions about the limits of the concept of translation. Sticking to translation proper may be more comfortable than facing the unclear outcomes of a confrontation with fuzzy conceptual borders and intersections with other disciplines. However, if not everyone within TS accepts the broadening of the concept of translation to include other kinds of change beyond the interlingual (as illustrated by the Innsbruck call), then it is scarcely surprising that in other disciplines, even adjacent ones, those conceptual developments have largely gone unnoticed. Since the inception of TS, authors have referred to or

called for "input from linguistics, contrastive linguistics, applied linguistics, semiotic aesthetics, poetics, stylistics, philosophy, comparative literature, etc." (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016: 1). Indeed, TS has had good reasons for such an interdisciplinary orientation: not only does it have deep connections with several of the aforementioned disciplines, but it also is much less academically institutionalised than older ones, leading to very diverse, sometimes eclectic influences. Such differences in academic tradition and seniority explain why the interdisciplinary outreach has not always been mutual. If TS wants to continue working on that imbalance, engaging in dialogue with other disciplines about the developing views on the concept of translation is essential.

A recent example of such a dialogue is Gambier's article in the *International Journal of Communication* (Gambier 2016), where he mentions a number of developments of recent decades in the field of TS that revolve around two evolving paradigms: from equivalence to the cultural turn, and from the printed book to the digital paradigm. He illustrates these paradigm shifts with research examples of localisation, audiovisual translation, and news translation. All of these cases are not only related to the definition of translation, and therefore to the object of TS, but also to the ways in which translation is perceived by the outside world.

> The word *translation* seems to suffer from a bad reputation. It is often replaced by or competes with other terms, such as *localization, adaptation, versioning, transediting, language mediation,* and *transcreation*. Although this proliferation of labels does not take place in all languages and societies, the fact that they have surfaced and gained currency can hinder our comprehension and appreciation of the breadth and scope of the markets. It can also complicate the purview of the discipline: How are we to understand what the object of investigation really is in translation studies? How broadly can the definition of the term be extended to encompass the evolving communication situations and new hierarchies implied beyond the labels?
>
> *(Gambier 2016: 888)*

It is a fascinating paradox. On the one hand, many TS scholars regard the discussion about the extension of the object as a sign of the discipline's dynamism, considering translation to be more than a (complex, creative, and committed) linguistic activity. As such, the object and the discipline are bound to expand – at least if it is accepted that change, difference, and transformation in and through translation are inevitable. The alternative terms mentioned in the quote would then largely become field-specific translation practices (for use in film adaptations or journalistic transediting, for example). From this point of view, replacing the term 'translation' with one of the alternatives would then be "a step back" (Schäffner 2012: 880) for understanding the term in TS. Schäffner illustrates this with the relationship between 'translation' and 'transediting' in news translation: "if transediting is used as a substitute to and/or in opposition to the term translation, there is the danger that translation continues to be understood in a narrower sense of a purely word-for-word transfer process" (2012: 881).

On the other hand, the massive growth of easy technological translation tools such as Google Translate reduces translation to a by-product of equivalent languages. According to that view, translators are at best part of the tool, "passive agents, with no voice, no empathy, no subjectivity, no reflexivity, no interpreting skill, no intercultural awareness" (Gambier 2016: 889) and, in the near future, easily replaceable. This reductionist view of translation as a tool is an instrumentalisation of translation, and is increasingly dominant. Given its omnipresence in daily life, we might expect it to determine the mainstream view of translation. So while academic specialists emphasise the growing complexity of information transfer and transformation, some parts of the translation industries focus on the handiness and simplicity of fast language transfer, thereby adopting a narrow concept of translation. Indeed, Anthony Pym has problematised this in his book on the relationship between translation and localisation: "industry discourses on localization manipulate a very restrictive concept of translation, keeping aspects like cultural adaptation for themselves" (Pym 2004: 51).

Such tension between the views of academia and industry is not new and is not necessarily unproductive, as both have very different positions and functions in society. Although Pym sees "a problematic gap between what translation is to enlightened theorists and practitioners, and what it largely remains to many outside clients and users" (2004: 57), he also associates the static view on translation with the dwindling age of print and the central position of stable sources in that era. In the pre- and post-print age dominated by unstable sources, texts were and are constantly rewritten "and translation was frequently perceived as just another step in that chain of rewritings" (2004: 175). A historical perspective relativises the search for (non-existing) clear-cut boundaries between translation and localisation, and between translation and adaptation. This diachronic perspective combined with the enriching intellectual developments and new lines of research of the past decades mean that it is difficult for many TS scholars and practitioners to consider translation as reducible to the replacement of language strings. A pragmatic scholarly view was defended by Andrew Chesterman, based on the fact that definitions are themselves adjustable tools.

> All we need is a rough, approximate, working definition, one that we can feel free to adjust as we go along. All we need is to be able to agree more or less on what we are talking about, so that we can formulate interesting descriptive or explanatory claims. After all, we may later come across evidence or examples that make us want to expand or refine our initial definitions.
>
> What interesting or useful claims would require us to distinguish e.g. between translations and versions and adaptations and localizations? What added value would such a distinction confer? Until we have good claims to make which would rely on such distinctions, we could just as well agree to call them all bananas.
>
> *(Chesterman in Chesterman et al. 2003: 199)*

A test case: the concept of translation in disciplinary dialogues

Scholarly exchanges of ideas are usually beneficial when a common ground of understanding exists. For this reason, we will now take a closer look at the use and conceptualisation of translation in a number of adjacent disciplines. During the course of its evolution, TS imported and re-applied concepts and methods from other disciplines. Here, we will turn the focus around and examine the extent to which broader or narrower conceptualisations of translation can be useful in inter-disciplinary exchange. Is the dialogue with other disciplines mainly characterised by the use of the traditional concept of interlingual replacement, or could a broader and more encompassing concept add value and generate a different type of dialogue or interaction?

As a test case, I will refer here to some chapters in the recent publication *Border Crossings: Translation Studies and Other Disciplines* (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016). This book challenges the boundaries of TS and establishes dialogues with other disciplines where the concept of translation has acquired (central) importance. All chapters were co-authored by a TS scholar in collaboration with a specialist from another discipline. A number of the authors deal explicitly with the different ways in which translation is defined and perceived in the two disciplines, as well as with the consequences of this for interaction. As the editors point out in their back-ground chapter, such dialogues require some balance in the relationship between the disciplines and co-authors. However, in reality, such disciplinary interrelations are hardly ever balanced. Instead, such encounters are usually characterised by con-fusion, hesitation, and frustration: "Some authors were confronted with contrasting or varying ways of defining issues, other academic traditions, diverging writing norms etc." (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016: 16). It is exactly this point – the varying definitions and uses – that is explored in some of the chapters and is covered here. It should be pointed out that the selection of chapters was not made on the basis of representativity. Rather, the concern was to focus on those that explicitly mention definitional differences, and, in some cases, the (object-related) relationship between the disciplines.

This becomes obvious in the chapter on communication studies (House and Loenhoff 2016), where the German communication scholar, Jens Loenhoff, states that in theory-building in his discipline,

> [. . .] the concept of 'translation' is at present not particularly significant. The expression 'translation' seems to be above all a problematic formulation when it is used to explain symbolic utterances as an essential component of the process of communication. 'Translation' suggests in this case the more or less adequate or equivalent transfer of 'internal' mental states into 'external' language, as well as the understanding of an utterance as its (re-)translation back into an internal world of thought. [. . .] Language obtains its reliability rather through its institutionalization as a socially recognized means of

> communication that guarantees the stability of meaning. Thus conceived, the semantics of translation obscures a complex functional context of communication rather than sufficiently elucidating it.
>
> *(House and Loenhoff 2016: 102)*

Although communication studies investigates the complexity of its object mainly from a social and individual perspective, the possible common ground with recent developments in TS has hardly been noticed. Only occasionally, researchers such as the German sociology professor Joachim Renn use the notion of translation "as an innovative formulation" (Renn 2006, 2014 in House and Loenhoff 2016: 103) for analysing complex processes of differentiation within societies. Loenhoff is also aware of the current 'translational turn' in some trends in cultural studies, but similar signs "are not discernable at this time" (House and Loenhoff 2016: 103) in communication studies.

Another social science, sociology, shows similar lack of awareness about the importance of its contributions to TS over the past two decades. A few famous exceptions such as Bourdieu, Sapiro, and Heilbron have shown an interest in translation, but that interest has not become structural in the discipline of sociology.

> The boundaries of sociology as a discipline, as they are fixed by educational and research institutions, do not include translation. [. . .] Protection of disciplinary boundaries, and of the related mainstream theoretical, methodological and empirical interests, may explain the persisting lack of sociological research on translation.
>
> *(Buzelin and Baraldi 2016: 120)*

This lack of research is related to translation not being perceived as a complex social practice. It is interesting to note that the authors also mention the protection of disciplinary boundaries as a possible explanation for transdisciplinary ignorance. However, asymmetry in the mutual interest between sociology and TS may have been determined by the perception of TS "as a discipline that is essentially aimed at designing translation methods and defining what a good/bad translation is" (Buzelin and Baraldi 2016: 126).

The TS interdisciplinary dialogues with communication studies and sociology in *Border Crossings* can be a source of frustration for TS scholars who believe that the extended spheres of action of the discipline are noticed by other research fields. However, there are also more comforting examples. The chapter on history (Rundle and Rafael 2016) focuses more on the concrete research of the two authors than on the disciplines as such. The significance of translation for Rafael's historical research is explicitly linked to power issues; more particularly, to nation building. Linguistic standardisation processes are considered a means that supports national language and nation building through hierarchisation (national language vs. vernacular languages) and education (correct language knowledge being an aspect of the nation). Rafael considers them forms of intralingual translation that play an important role

in the building of the nation-state. In that sense, research into history and translation share an interest in the politics of language, where instances of translation are almost always involved. "Translation allows us to trace the workings of power" (Rundle and Rafael 2016: 45) when language and translation play an ideological role in the larger fight for influence and dominance. The so-called 'power turn' of TS is eminently connected to such an approach in historical research.

Another discipline where the view on TS is more nuanced is that of adaptation studies (AS) (van Doorslaer and Raw 2016). According to AS scholar Laurence Raw, knowledge of TS varies from complete ignorance of TS to an interchangeable use of the terms 'adaptation' and 'translation'. The protection of academic territory and degree of institutionalisation of the disciplines may determine mutual image building. In AS, there is "the belief that as TS has been established longer, and has a broader focus of interest, it might swallow up AS" (van Doorslaer and Raw 2016: 194). To counterbalance the self-restriction of AS to literature, film, theatre, and the media, the idea that TS is exclusively preoccupied with linguistic issues has been put forward, with Raw characterising this as a "lingering belief" (ibid.).

Of all chapters of *Border Crossings*, there is only one in which the authors (Marais and Kull 2016) explicitly ask for an expansion of the notion of translation. While TS scholars usually have to explain why and how translation is a more-than-linguistic concept, the discipline of biosemiotics uses the term 'translation' when referring to meaning-creating processes in living systems, including "translation in pre-linguistic life" (ibid.:172).

> In order to study meaning in living organisms, biologists had to borrow from semiotics. One of the concepts borrowed is 'translation'. Biosemiotics thus uses the term 'translation' to refer to the process of semiosic exchange taking place in and between all organisms, even at the cellular level. Furthermore, its use is much wider than the use in translation studies in that it does not only consider translation between linguistic systems but translation between many kinds of sign systems in and between organisms. In this sense, its use is derived from semiotics (or intersemiotic translation theory) rather than from translation studies.
>
> *(Marais and Kull 2016: 172)*

Although the authors acknowledge that Jakobson's notions of intralingual and intersemiotic translation are sometimes included in TS, they criticise the fact that these extensions are not generally accepted and that TS "mostly limits itself" (Marais and Kull 2016: 170) to translation proper. In their view, a common ground for interdisciplinary dialogue would be the field of semiotics, as the interdisciplinary work itself brings together two semiotic systems. Such a perspective on translation clearly connects with the use of translation as a category for analysis and comparison in other disciplines of the humanities. Particularly for exchanges at the disciplinary level (with disciplines interpreted as organisms and sign systems), such a translational approach seems promising, as it "investigates the management of differences, mediations between different contexts, third spaces between people, cultures and contexts,

connections and associations" (Bachmann-Medick 2013: 187). Here, translational thinking is no longer a bridge-building concept (only), but also includes the centrality of the border notion when analysing and conceptualising disciplines as such.

Conclusion: the name discussion revisited

The case of biosemiotics is the exception to the way in which the other disciplines that are analysed in this chapter perceive translation and TS. Despite some variety, the dominant view on translation in other disciplines is that of a language-based practice which designs methods for translation on a normative basis. This is understandable, as TS itself needed several decades and an intense confrontation with the multifaceted problematisation of translation before it started to question fundamentally the limits of its object. Expansionist factors for the discipline such as interactivity, situationality, social and ideological commitments, agency, or ethics have only been gradually integrated from the 1980s onwards.

An important new factor is that the popular use of translation as a tool or the instrumentalisation of translation is currently exploding due to the daily use of translation technology. Some distance between the discourse in academia and the outside world is acceptable, but can that distance be overstretched? If translation is a handy technological practice used by hundreds of millions every day, to what extent can an academic discourse that problematises the object of translation have an impact on society? A practice exclusively based on the replacement of language strings and dominated by a discourse of handiness and simplicity does not make translation as such less complex or fascinating, but it certainly has an impact on the use of the term 'translation'. This is the paradox the discipline is confronted with: academic reflection and research have tended to broaden the term and expand the object, while the outside world restricts it to an apparently simple practice.

Two reactions are possible. We can stress the division between the scholarly world and outside practices. Hence, nothing has to change; scholars may continue their interesting work of expanding the concept of translation as an umbrella term covering a growing number of text-modifying practices, both verbal and non-verbal, and as an analytical category. As scholars, we can simply accept that there is a broad gap between specialists (us) and the many users of the translation tools (them, but also us). The alternative reaction might be more far-reaching in several instances. We, the scholars, can ascertain that not only the outside world, but also other scholarly disciplines predominantly perceive translation much more narrowly than we study it. We decide that such a gap between us and them is not favourable for any of the parties involved, and accept that translation is only one of the many practices we study in our field of research. Consequently, we believe that a new and broader designation for the discipline may create some short-term confusion, but would open up new perspectives in the longer run. Of course, in theory, there is also a third option: exclusively dealing with translation proper. However, as this would throw the discipline back a couple of decades in time, it is not compatible with the progressive nature of research and hence not realistic.

In English, the term 'translation studies' has always been defective, because it was used both as a specific term (for research on written translation) and as an umbrella term (covering translation, but also practices such as interpreting, adaptation, and localisation). A language like German, for instance, has the advantage of using a third term, 'Translation' (pronounced the German way), to cover both 'Übersetzen' and 'Dolmetschen'. The double use of TS in English has also led to the growing popularity of the term 'T&I studies' in the Anglophone world. At first sight, this was an improvement as it made interpreting studies visible as well. However, a separate mentioning of T&I might trivialise the important fact that "[p]henomenologically [. . .] the two activities and their pertinent research domains share an enduring common basis" (Grbić and Wolf 2012: 7). Moreover, it gives the impression that the discipline limits its object to practices, and leaves other aspects to other research domains. An example would be Federico Italiano, who makes a distinction between "the praxis-oriented cosmos of translation and interpreting studies, on the one hand, and culture-oriented, literary studies, on the other" (Italiano 2016: 4). Stressing separate practices in the umbrella name of the discipline is a risky business, as many scholars would also like to include practices such as localisation and adaptation in their research. And T&I&L&A studies is not exactly a credible name that most researchers would be happy with – also given the omission of transcreation, transediting, tradaptation etc. There is no doubt a reason why a discipline like media studies prefers an umbrella term and does not call itself newspaper&radio&TV studies.

Of course, the most difficult question would be whether a generally acceptable umbrella term that would cover TS's current activities exists. What is the common ground of all these subfields and practices – the transfer of information? the transformation of information? It is no coincidence that many of the derived and newly coined terms include trans-. If it were not for the fact that popular discourses might associate it with transgender or transport, trans-studies could have covered many of the alternative terms for translation. At a more general level, the fact that we are discussing name change for TS reflects the discipline's gradual development towards a paradigm of change.

Note

1 "Just as the necessity to hierarchize the invariance requirements is undisputed, it is unclear on what grounds the translator decides about the criteria for the hierarchisation." (transl. LvD)

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MOVING BOUNDARIES IN TRANSLATION STUDIES

Insights and prospects

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In the introduction to this volume, we promised the reader analyses and reflections on the boundaries within the discipline of translation studies, i.e. the internal boundaries, as well as on those surrounding our field, the external boundaries. The 13 chapters bear witness to two major trends: the external boundaries are gradually expanding, while the internal boundaries are blurring. When the discipline of translation studies was establishing itself in the 1970s and 1980s, it was only natural to try to delimit a fairly narrow field. The ability to construct borders, the very limitation of the field, was in all likelihood seen as part of the *raison d'être* of the new scholarly endeavour. Translation as an activity, a phenomenon, a concept is of course as old as mankind, and has been and will continue to be part of human life regardless of the existence or not of a scholarly field. But establishing an academic field with journals, conferences, positions, and degrees is quite another matter and requires borders to neighbouring fields. During the past few decades, confidence has grown and the relevance of translation studies is seldom questioned. Against this background, we have become bolder and ventured into areas which may not at first glance be regarded as relevant for translation studies. As the field has developed, an increasingly broad notion of what constitutes a translational activity combined with insights from Wittgenstein's cluster concept and from prototype theory have for many translation scholars provided an understanding of translation as a prototype concept where some examples of the category translation are prototypical and some are more peripheral in nature. This does not necessarily mean that the peripheral concepts are not just as worthy of investigation as the prototype, but merely that to many scholars the prototypes are more obvious candidates for investigation. Whether research is needed or not does not by definition depend on the frequency of the phenomenon under scrutiny.

Translation is a concept which in its very (complex) nature crosses borders. It is used by people in general, by practitioners and by scholars alike, and especially those

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who are not professionally involved with translation often use the concept in a very prototypical sense. But they also use it in the metaphorical sense of explaining, and thus they quite naturally include phenomena such as intralingual translation (for instance when asking someone to translate difficult expert language), unaware of the debates going on within the scholarly field. The metaphorical use of translation has also entered scientific fields other than translation studies where new technology and globalisation have resulted in a revolution in the access to information and led to increased interdisciplinarity. In his 2016 book "Translation as metaphor", Guldin shows how translation in its metaphorical meaning is used within fields as diverse as psychoanalysis, anthropology, sociology, media and communication theory, medicine, and genetics, and he argues that translation as metaphor has obtained a central role:

> In this all-encompassing climate of disintegration and recombination, translation has become a general metaphor for connection, exchange, transfer and transformation. One might say that translation has become one of the essential metaphors, if not *the metaphor*, of our globalized world.
>
> *(Guldin 2016: 1)*

Translation studies, however, has to define and delimit its field in some way to be meaningful. There may be disagreements about the interpretation of the various defining concepts, but, there seems to be consensus that for an activity to be called translation, and thus belong to the field of translation studies, some kind of source text has to exist and some kind of transfer has to take place involving two different languages. The expanding trends of translation studies show that many translation scholars subscribe to a broad interpretation of these central concepts. For instance, 'transfer' is not necessarily understood as producing a close linguistic copy of the source text; 'language' not necessarily as two national languages, but perhaps the language of two subcultures, two dialects, two levels of formality. As convincingly argued and shown by many authors in this book, the field of translation studies benefits from insights coming from scientific inquiries into prototypical as well as more peripheral translational activities.

However, it is not only the external boundaries which are on the move. Within translation studies, we see how boundaries are erased or blurred. The internet and new technologies provide a whole new context for translation and we can no longer limit ourselves to just a handful of names for translational activities, nor necessarily distinguish sharply between for instance translation and interpreting or literary and non-literary translation. In the ever-changing landscape of translation, new kinds of translational activities keep emerging and need new names, and sometimes old activities are rebranded for instance for commercial reasons. If we just ensure that all names are useful, as Chesterman (this volume) advocates, and ensure that it is possible to understand all names correctly in their context, it does not matter whether concepts overlap or gradually change their meaning over time or differ between the translation industry and academia.

Translation is a complex phenomenon with a seemingly unlimited potential for investigation. Moving and breaking boundaries, erasing or blurring lines – these are the signs of a dynamic, curious, and thriving field.

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