07 translation interpreting and transfer

recharting territories

intradisciplinarity in translation studies

gisele dionísio da silva
and maura radicioni (eds)

Leuven University Press

Recharting Territories

Intradisciplinarity in Translation Studies

Translation, Interpreting and Transfer

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"Translation, Interpreting and Transfer" takes as its basis an inclusive view of translation and translation studies. It covers research and scholarly reflection, theoretical and methodological, on all aspects of the core activities of translation and interpreting, but also similar rewriting and recontextualization practices such as adaptation, localization, transcreation and transediting, keeping Roman Jakobson's inclusive view on interlingual, intralingual and intersemiotic translation in mind. The title of the series, which includes the more encompassing concept of transfer, reflects this broad conceptualization of translation matters.

Recharting Territories

Intradisciplinarity in Translation Studies

Edited by
Gisele Dionísio da Silva & Maura Radicioni

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Introduction

Gisele Dionísio da Silva & Maura Radicioni

1. Introduction

Since its inception as an academic discipline in the late 1970s, Translation Studies (TS) has been on a quest for space. Such space is as much institutional as it is epistemological and, in order to be acquired, involves a number of factors: selection of an object of study; establishment of theoretical, conceptual, and methodological frameworks; cohesion and collaboration among its scholars; legitimation of research practices and channels of knowledge dissemination; and a sense of disciplinary identity, among others. Fifty years on from the "scholarly" start to such a voyage, the institutional spatiality of TS continues to evolve and adapt, under the auspices of different generations of researchers and "practisearchers" (to use Gile's [2012, 76] term) that continually expand the discipline in various directions.

Efforts to outline the contours of TS as an academic discipline in its own right, as well as its internal and external dynamics, have frequently resorted to spatial metaphors: notable examples include "map" (Williams and Chesterman 2002), "shared ground" (Chesterman and Arrojo 2000), "common ground" (Grbić and Wolf 2012), "landscape" (Lambert 2012), "border" (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016), and "boundary" (Dam, Brøgger, and Zethsen 2019). The recurrence of such metaphors is, according to Gambier and van Doorslaer (2016, 2), etymologically motivated, deriving "from translation as *traducere* – transfer from one place to another". It seems more likely, however, that they evoke the passage from TS's early days as a *poly*discipline (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016, 1) – a domain comprising scholars from linguistics, literary studies, and other fields of knowledge, but lacking in self-identity – to its subsequent status as an *inter*discipline (Lambert 2012; Ožbot 2017), crisscrossed by borrowings from a number of adjacent disciplines, such as sociology, cultural studies, and cognitive psychology. The many external influences on current translation research, combined with the varying degrees of institutionalization in different academic cultures worldwide and with a gradual expansion of what is understood as translation in modern society, all contribute to TS's constantly shifting "territory" – to add another metaphor to the existing list.

Interdisciplinarity has long been acknowledged as the default type of relationship which underscores TS-based output, responsible for the continuous diversity and expansion of research developments as regards new theories, concepts, and methodologies. It has, by and large, assumed one of two scopes: a more restricted one, linking translation and interpreting research (Grbić and Wolf 2012; collection of essays in Schäffner 2004b), and a broader one, associating translation research with disciplines as diverse as those of computer science, communication studies, biosemiotics, and sociology (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016). This twofold outreach evokes Lambert's (2012, 83) contention that interdisciplinarity may be "internal" (i.e. within the discipline) and "external", a curious designation which disregards the boundaries imposed by the Latin prefix. Whatever the intended scope and in spite of the benefits fostered by collaboration with neighboring disciplines (Grbić and Wolf 2012, 7–8), there have been concerns about the pitfalls of interdisciplinary initiatives for the development of TS, most noteworthy of which is the strictly importing flow of input (Gile 2004; Zwischenberger 2019), often unaccompanied by a reflection on its adequacy for translation-related research. Such a unidirectional flow may have greater repercussions both within and outside TS: for the former, the risk of disciplinary (and epistemological) fragmentation (Brems, Meylaerts, and van Doorslaer 2012; Chesterman 2019; Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016); for the latter, the absence of TS in broader *trans*disciplinary dialogues involving the very conceptualization of translation[1] (Arduini and Nergaard 2011; Zwischenberger 2019). These paradoxical claims – one calling for an internal balance of models and concepts within TS, the other contending the need for TS to open itself up to the larger academic spectrum – do not supersede one another, but rather coexist, much like the well-known "turns" (cultural, power-, sociological, translational, outward) that have characterized successive theoretical shifts in the discipline. The "kind of eclectic theoretical landscape" of TS envisioned by Gambier and van Doorslaer (2016, 3) seems, then, not only capable of accommodating different turns simultaneously, but also divergent views on the directions its research practices should be taking.

A corollary of conceiving TS as an expanding discipline, both in terms of research affiliations (or interdisciplinary offshoots) and of professional (and nonprofessional) practices being addressed by its scholars, is that distances between its subdisciplines – and corresponding concepts, methodologies,

1 For an in-depth analysis of the ubiquity of the concept of translation and of other translational phenomena across the disciplinary spectrum, see Blumczynski (2017).

and modes of knowledge circulation – can also be viewed as increasing. This has prompted periodical and fruitful debates assessing the scope and outreach of research diversity within the discipline, in an effort to gauge the epistemological status of translation research at a given point in time (and, not less important, in space). The considerable number of publications that offer retrospective and prospective reflections on the development of TS may be a sign of both uncertainty and dynamism, as contended by Brems, Meylaerts, and van Doorslaer (2012, 1):

> There is no doubt that self-reflection and meta-reflection are characteristic of every dynamic and developing scholarly discipline. Nevertheless, it is arguable that meta-reflection is exceptionally clearly present in Translation Studies. (…) Some scholars may get the impression that the discipline, despite its perceived successful development over recent decades, is caught in a more or less permanent state of doubt and uncertainty. Or is this just a more negative perception of the very features that others consider signs of the dynamics of the discipline?

Such debates are, ultimately, *intra*disciplinary efforts to take stock of the various subfields – some of them already consolidated, others being formed anew, following recent professional (and nonprofessional) trends and technological advances for translation research and practice. By initiating a process of self-reflection on the part of scholars, such debates strive to rechart the territory of TS, to see what the extended limits have now brought in or left out. Our contention in this book is that TS's project for more effective institutionalization, epistemological autonomy, and even recognition of its importance as a research community focused on translational phenomena – especially when other disciplines have growing stakes on translation in its transdisciplinary nature (Arduini and Nergaard 2011; Blumczynski 2017; Zwischenberger 2019) – would benefit from a more widespread, critical, and systematic intradisciplinary approach. Such an approach can be applied at various analytical levels (epistemological, theoretical, conceptual, methodological, pragmatic), as evidenced by the various contributions brought together in this book.

2. From poly-, inter- and trans- to intradisciplinarity: a (not so) novel approach

The qualifier "intradisciplinary" is defined by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary as "being or occurring within the scope of a scholarly or academic discipline or between the people active in such a discipline".[2] Unlike interdisciplinarity, the more popular (and, some would say, contemporary) facet of disciplinary interactions, intradisciplinarity is rarely ever conceptualized, perhaps as the result of a resistance to notions of endogeny and self-containment often associated with the Latin prefix *intra-*. A Google search carried out in March 2021 illustrates the predominance of one over the other type of disciplinary relation: the search produced 1,940,000 and 62,900,000 results for the English words[3] "interdisciplinarity" and "interdisciplinary", respectively, and 85,300 and 270,000 results for the English words "intradisciplinarity" and "intradisciplinary". These numbers highlight not only the obvious imbalance between the two types of disciplinary relations, but also greater emphasis on qualifiers than on nouns, which signals the pragmatic (and possibly unreflective) endorsement of approaches, trends or even attitudes by scholars over actual concepts.

Intradisciplinary approaches can thus be associated with a wide range of fields of knowledge, including law (Dagan and Kreitner 2014), kinesiology (Schary and Cardinal 2015), and philosophy (Epting 2016). In spite of the apparent self-explanatory nature of both noun and qualifier (as attested by the dictionary's definition mentioned above), a formal definition of intradisciplinarity has been proposed by Warleigh (2004, 303) within the discipline of political science:

> I devised the term "intra-disciplinarity" to express the need for scholars of a given discipline to ensure they engage with work undertaken in all pertinent subfields of their subject. With the constant development of new fields of study, and ever more specialised literatures to accompany

2 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/intradisciplinary. Accessed: 10 March 2021.

3 A search carried out in Portuguese and Italian showed a similar trend: for the former, the noun *interdisciplinaridade* and the qualifier *interdisciplinar* came up respectively in 1,720,000 and 8,110,000 results, far more than the tally for *intradisciplinaridade* (3,260) and *intradisciplinar* (25,500); for the latter, *interdisciplinarità* (128,000) and *interdisciplinare* (2,320,000) much surpassed references for *intradisciplinarità* (137) and *intradisciplinare* (12,700). This finding signals a widespread precedence of interdisciplinary discourse among Western academic communities. For a bibliometric analysis of interdisciplinarity over the course of TS history, see Dimitroulia and Kourdis (2019).

> them, disciplines may break down into incoherence without a conscious effort by scholars to learn what they can from – and teach what they can to – other scholars in their own discipline.

Rather than subscribing to a positivist view that considers the objects of study themselves as being responsible for (and capable of) establishing intradisciplinary relations, Warleigh's definition focuses instead on the agency of the people who make up a research community – those whose expertise on a given object of study and related theories and methodologies, as well as their knowledge of how the discipline operates, empower them to learn from and teach other scholars. It must be pointed out, however, that intradisciplinarity – at least in the sense which Warleigh subscribes to – does not seek to foster "endogamy, i.e. withdrawal into itself [TS]" (Gambier 2004, 69) or to establish commonalities as a precondition for disciplinary affiliation; its aim is, rather, "to foster links between scholars engaged in cognate fields of study and ensure that the 'Balkanisation of scholarship' (…) is avoided" (Rosamund and Warleigh-Lack 2011, 20–21). While implementing such a conscious and systematic process of self-reflection within a given discipline has the potential to further disciplinary cohesion and institutional recognition (which may, in the long term, lead to practical benefits related to research grants and tenure track opportunities, among others), it may also contribute to promoting a more balanced form of interdisciplinarity, defined by Warleigh (2004, 303–304) as "the use of literatures and concepts from disciplines other than one's own to undertake a holistic study of one's independent variable". Our contention is that, in the specific case of TS, undertaking intradisciplinary assessments would in no way curtail the habitual pull towards interdisciplinarity, but actually reinforce it with a more critical perspective (as recommended by Pöchhacker 2004, 112), allowing scholars to collectively gauge the suitability of key concepts (rather than simple "buzzwords"), methods, and theories that are incorporated from other areas of research and strive towards adequate research training in order to apply them. Such a degree of self-awareness can more easily be achieved, according to Gile (2012, 74), by "an institutionalized TS", capable of "draw[ing] up one's own list of priorities as regards research foci and (…) develop[ing] one's own methods, if only by adapting techniques imported from other disciplines".

A survey of the literature in TS has yielded a number of metareflections about the discipline, that is, intradisciplinary endeavors of varying scopes and rationales. For practical purposes, two major trends can be outlined. In the first, contributions focus on "translation and interpreting" as two distinct but related modes of language mediation studied by specific research cultures

(Diriker 2008; Grbić and Wolf 2012; Schäffner 2004b), with their own methodologies, key concepts, and preferred interdisciplinary associations. Recognizing these as intradisciplinary efforts (notwithstanding their frequent label as interdisciplinary by authors themselves), however, is dependent on the very choice of designation for the discipline, which, as summarized by Schäffner (2004a, 5), is not unanimous among scholars:

> "Translation Studies" has become widely accepted as a label for the discipline as a whole, including the study of the written modality (translation) and the oral modality (interpreting). But (…) English-writing TS scholars do not always indicate whether they use "translation" in the wider sense or with reference to the written mode only, which may create ambiguity and confusion. Other languages may allow for a terminological differentiation. (…) Maybe a label such as Translation and Interpreting Studies (TIS) might be another possibility to avoid confusion.[4]

The double pull of terminology can also be verified in Diriker's (2008, 210) call for an "intra-disciplinary cooperation" between TS and IS (Interpreting Studies) as regards the study of conference interpreting as situated action. According to Diriker, cross-fertilization between TS (and its emphasis on product-oriented research) and IS (involved with cognitive and psycholinguistic research) will not only benefit them in their own domains, but "also strengthen *the discipline of Translation and Interpreting Studies as a whole*" (2008, 217, our emphasis). The instability surrounding the name of the discipline runs parallel with a differential perception across languages and cultures of what the term "translation" actually entails in contemporary society, in other words, whether it continues to stand solely for "translation proper" or now constitutes an umbrella term for "related text-modifying practices such as interpreting, adaptation, and localization" (van Doorslaer 2019, 145). Given the contentious and ongoing nature of the debate, it would appear that this is a major (if not central) conundrum facing TS scholars today: how to reconcile the pursuit of disciplinary identity and institutionalization with the "proliferation of labels" (Gambier 2016, 888) that are increasingly assigned to various – though interrelated – professional activities and, consequently,

4 This lack of terminological consensus can be seen across the contributions in this volume, with authors adopting TS and TIS alternatively, in line with their own personal views on disciplinary structure (their acronyms of choice are signaled by an asterisk in the next section). Rather than opt for one or the other for the sake of editorial standardization, we have preserved both labels out of respect for such diversity and to highlight the ongoing nature of this debate. Our own preference is, nonetheless, conveyed in the title of this book.

give rise to largely self-contained research (sub)communities. In short, an ontological discussion that calls for very pragmatic grounds.

As for the second major trend of metareflections in TS, contributions surpass the bidirectional influence between translation and interpreting research and propose a more comprehensive discussion into the very tenets of the discipline. A seminal example of such a discussion is Chesterman and Arrojo's (2000) "Shared Ground in Translation Studies" forum published in *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies*, which produced a considerable number of responses from scholars over the next three journal issues. With a view to addressing the "apparent conceptual or theoretical gap between those who approach translation studies from the perspective of postmodern cultural studies and textual theories and those who see it more as an empirical, descriptive field" (2000, 151) or, in short, the essentialism vs nonessentialism dichotomy, Chesterman and Arrojo sought to reconcile the two approaches by proposing a set of theses that summarize the discipline's "shared ground", that is, its basic premises and research goals. These theses were expressed as questions – "What is translation?", "Why is this (kind of) translation like this?", "What consequences do translations have?" – and answers from scholars were highly varied in (theoretical) perspective, (optimistic/pessimistic/skeptical) attitude, and overall assessment of the usefulness of the enterprise. The breadth of views expressed, which ranged from challenging the very need for shared ground (Mossop 2001, 159) to the acknowledgment that voices from the "periphery" of TS tend to be excluded from such efforts (Gentzler 2001, 161) and the need to integrate elements from both essentialist/empirical and nonessentialist/postmodern approaches in a way suitable for translation scholarship (Simeoni 2000, 340), led Arrojo to envision a "Babelic scenario" (2002, 141) within the discipline:

> (…) what the *Target* debate on common ground has shown us is exactly how impossible it is for scholars (associated with different theoretical "families", different "tongues" and different "countries") to come to universal conclusions and total understanding no matter how much we may desire or strive to reach just that. (Arrojo 2002, 139)

More than 20 years on, a similar intradisciplinary "conceptual exercise" (Chesterman 2002, 145) such as the one initiated by Chesterman and Arrojo would probably still reveal a lack of consensus among scholars on major issues of translation research, but it would also show that the discussion has largely moved on from the essentialism vs nonessentialism epistemological frame. The community of TS has grown and flourished and, through some of its latest turns (such as the "sociological" and the "technological" ones), signals greater awareness of how contemporary language mediation practices are performed in various geographical, social, and political contexts. In this regard, a recent and commendable effort to establish intradisciplinary connections across the subdisciplines in TS has been put forth by Jiménez-Crespo (2020, 323), who proposes a "transversal cross-disciplinary approach" to argue for the completion of the "technological turn" in TS. By supporting his claim with an extensive list of "intradisciplinary connections" (2020, 323) that attest to the ubiquitous role of technology and technology-dependent phenomena in theorizations and methodologies adopted across TS, Jiménez-Crespo (2020, 316) contends that technology not only "helps interconnect TS as a whole across sub-disciplinary borders", but also contributes to an actual redefinition of translation "as a technological process" in itself. Though we agree with the author that technology "can now be considered as the connective tissue of the discipline" (2020, 328), the various contributions in this book demonstrate that it is by no means the only one.

Performing more systematic intradisciplinary exercises in TS may, therefore, contribute to enhancing the similarities, along with the differences, between subdisciplines, while highlighting the importance of establishing a true network of theoretical, conceptual, and methodological frameworks that can be negotiated, exchanged, and adapted to various research aims. It is not about being "territorial", but about recognizing the "terrain" on which we stand and upon which we act.

3. Aim and structure of this book

This volume brings together a diverse set of contributions, all of which stem from a particular area of TS research and offer a reflection on how to foster an intradisciplinary dialogue with other subdisciplines. The very act of assembling authors who subscribe to different theoretical, conceptual, and methodological frameworks, with related terminological underpinnings, has been a challenging exercise, yet one worth undertaking, as our ultimate goal with this volume is to endorse intradisciplinarity as a source of disciplinary consolidation and a medium through which to further the institutionalization of TS.

The volume is divided into three main parts: "Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks", "Research Methodologies", and "Professional Practices". It is so structured as a means to show that intradisciplinarity may be performed in specific sectors of translation research and practice, as well as focus on particular phenomena. While chapters in Part 1 center around the notional and intellectual foundation of possible intradisciplinary exercises, contributions in Part 2 focus on the connections that can be established between subdisciplines of TS in terms of research methods, and those in Part 3 target examples of intradisciplinary connections from real-life translation practices. The various analytical levels observed in these three sections – which overlap in many of the chapters – aim at casting light on the extent to which intradisciplinary efforts are acknowledged and systematically applied within TS as well as on the extent to which its research community is aware of them.

In the opening chapter of Part 1, **Álvaro Marín García** acknowledges the fragmentation and complexity of Translation Studies (TS),* which has over the years evolved into a set of sometimes diverging subdisciplines, all drawing from multifarious theoretical and epistemological traditions. This diversity has been an obstacle to intradisciplinarity and cohesion and has often come alongside the need to take stance with regard to disciplinary epistemology. By addressing incommensurability and pointing to the opportunity offered by different paradigms or methodological traditions to achieve unity in diversity, Marín García contends that TS needs to move against coherence and embrace epistemic pluralism for its own growth and institutionalization. Rather than pursuing a theoretical "shared ground", TS scholars should strive for consensus over the tools used to understand competing or diverging theories within TS.

Karen Bennett's contribution on the material or medial turn in TS* draws on Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* and sheds light on materiality's profound repercussions, also with regards to intradisciplinarity, for all branches of the discipline. After analyzing the process of disembodiment and the dematerialization that nowadays underscore our relations with texts, with direct consequences for TS as well, Bennett targets the return to materiality and its implications for TS in terms of multimodality, intersemiotic translation, heterolingualism, and untranslatability, highlighting the impossibility of detaching the meaning of a text or an utterance from their medium and the role played by iconicity and performativity. Recognition of the semiotic implications brought about by the material turn is profoundly linked to intradisciplinarity, as it appears to transversally affect areas of study as diverse as theater translation, audiovisual translation, and dialogue interpreting, to name but a few.

Michaela Albl-Mikasa and **Maureen Ehrensberger-Dow** look at the intersection between TIS* in facing and addressing the challenges posed by the ubiquity of English as a lingua franca (ELF). With the subdiscipline of Interpreting, Translation and English as a lingua franca (ITELF) suggested as a possible research area, given the increasingly widespread diffusion of ELF in international communication, the authors target the analysis of elements of translational convergences and divergences between translated written texts and interpreted speeches produced in ELF. Fundamental translation and interpreting (T&I) concepts are addressed and reconsidered in light of ELF, including processing constraints, quality, cognitive aspects and capacity management, and professional image, with the authors using different labels and contrasting their relevance under conventional vs ELF conditions.

In the opening chapter of Part 2, **Fruzsina Kovács** addresses the social context surrounding the translation of Canadian literature into Hungarian between 1989 and 2014, as well as analyzes the agency of publishers in the aftermath of the 1989 political events in Hungary as seen in Canadian–Hungarian literary translation flows. The author targets the triangulation of data and methods, both qualitative and quantitative, as a methodological approach capable of adding rigor to TS* research, while being at the same time a valid example of intradisciplinary exercise. In the case analyzed, earlier research into the history of translation and public service interpreting have contributed to the research design. The latter, in turn, lends itself for intradisciplinary dialogue, as the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data has helped the author shed light on issues of change and temporality and, therefore, contributed as a methodology to better understand the phenomenon under study.

In her chapter on the digital translation project "Lives in Turkish", **Ceyda Elgül** presents a database of Turkish language biographies published since the 1800s and illustrates the methodological implications of bibliography-making with a dataset comprising diverse metadata. The author describes how the digital age has transformed knowledge creation and categorization within the frame of digital humanities, redefining the boundaries of collaborative historical scholarship and research and opening up new forms of collaboration and consultation. Elgül describes the making of the bibliography and highlights how the digital dataset was reconciled with historical publications. With a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the bibliography database, the project provides an online collaborative field that is not a final product, but rather a dynamic dataset in constant (intradisciplinary) dialogue with other TS* subdisciplines equally affected by digitization.

Methodological intradisciplinarity is equally the subject of **Maura Radicioni**'s chapter on ethnographic approaches in TS.* An ongoing case study research project on the cultural mediators working for an Italian NGO that provides humanitarian aid and medical assistance in complex migration settings lays the foundation for this contribution, which centers around ethnography and the way it is applied across various areas of study in TS. The author acknowledges that TS is indeed an interdiscipline, yet the process of interdisciplinarity has mainly been one-directional from the outside to the inside of the discipline, with ethnography being no exception. Nevertheless, a closer analysis of studies that have resorted to ethnographic methods reveals methodological undercurrents also within TS, which may ultimately contribute to the consolidation of the discipline in relation to neighboring disciplines.

In the opening chapter of Part 3, **Gisele Dionísio da Silva** aims to revisit the literary/nonliterary dichotomy, which still holds sway in translation research and practice, against the test of four translation awards in Brazil. An intradisciplinary overview of TS* highlights a lingering tendency to categorize translations as literary or nonliterary in various subdisciplines, which evokes economic, professional, institutional, and epistemological factors and has repercussions in the job market for translators. Based on the results of a survey on recipients of Brazilian translation awards, the author contends that the notion of literariness seems to be occasionally stretched by juries to reward translations of works that are not inherently literary or that tread a borderline path between literary and nonliterary. This would render the literary/nonliterary distinction, viewed simply from a genre-based perspective, of little practical value in the context of translation awards, signaling instead a more inclusive approach to contemporary translation practices.

The study on multimodality and subtitling revision by **Rita Menezes** focuses on the need to consider multimodality when it comes to subtitling translation revision. The multimodal nature of audiovisual texts, which incorporate various verbal and visual modes, gestures, and body movements, is equally of relevance for subtitling translation revisers, who, like translators, should be equipped with the tools to fully grasp all semiotic layers intrinsic to multimodality in their revision work. To this end, a framework grid for the descriptive multimodal analysis of subtitling revision is proposed, whose aim is to support revisers in their understanding of the multimodal aspects of texts and in consistently rendering these in their work. The contribution to intradisciplinarity stems from the very nature of multimodality, an approach already used in subtitling translation research and which can be extended to subtitling translation revision, resorting to concepts and methods that have been tried and tested within TIS.*

Roy Youdale's chapter addresses the use of technology in literary translation. Computer-assisted literary translation (CALT) has evolved in recent years to provide literary translators with a variety of computer applications as early as the actual translation process, and not just in the analysis of final products. A review of research already signals the dissolution of traditional barriers in TS* and the establishment of intradisciplinary connections, which are clearly visible with the introduction of new technologies from computer-assisted translation (CAT), machine translation, and CALT into the "old" field of literary translation. The author contends that TS should embrace both inter- and intradisciplinarity, which should be seen as complementary and not mutually exclusive, if the discipline is to maintain its cohesion and the ability to grow and develop towards neighboring domains.

Charting a territory is, invariably, a human enterprise, one that is performed under specific geographical conventions and contingent on the agents (persons or groups) in charge of overseeing it. It can, therefore, entail new demarcations as the needs of a community arise. With this book, we hope to have contributed to the spatial development of TS by raising awareness of the importance of periodically (re)mapping its inner routes and reassessing its epistemological, conceptual, methodological, and pragmatic dimensions, tasks which may ultimately help enhance the discipline's outer space. If the landscape of translation research and practice indeed has (shifting) boundaries or a common ground, those of us who inhabit it may as well strive to know where they are and where they lead.

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Part 1

Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

Against coherence

Dialogues across research traditions in Translation Studies

Álvaro Marín García

Abstract
The development of Translation Studies (TS) offers an interesting case of disciplinary atomization. Numerous subfields have proliferated with their own theoretical frameworks. Such diversity has led to diverging models, which has traditionally been considered, from a monist perspective, a sign of disciplinary immaturity and an obstacle to intradisciplinary dialogue and therefore to cohesion. I argue that the only way for TS to become a more cohesive discipline is by abandoning intermodel coherence as an aim, to do without any temptation towards disciplinary unification and embracing plurality to the extent of accepting model incoherence across subdisciplines, that is, endorsing epistemic pluralism as the most effective way towards disciplinary progress. To that end, I survey epistemological discussions within TS and draw on philosophy of science to discuss incommensurability and research traditions. We face two possibilities: the views subject to dialogue either share the same basic assumptions or they do not. I identify two corresponding procedures: 1) applying criteria for assessing models that accept the same basic epistemological commitments, and 2) discussing how epistemic pluralism enriches research tools across the board, allowing for theoretical development, exchange of ideas and the pragmatist use of results and insights from other traditions.

Keywords: intradisciplinary dialogue, exchange, incommensurability, pluralism, research tradition

1. From shared ground to epistemic pluralism[1]

Epistemological considerations derived from the theoretical development of Translation Studies (TS)[2] have attracted increasing attention in the last two decades. TS scholars have concerned themselves, among other issues, with the unity of their field (Bowker et al. 1998), theoretical integration (Martín Ruano 2006), and the need to "look outward" (Bassnett 2012, 23) to promote our own research challenges beyond our disciplinary borders (Hermans 2002) and to understand our own ways of producing knowledge and how they relate to each other. Besides these challenges, the opportunities posed by interdisciplinarity, such as the dialogues it can promote with scholars outside TS, have also drawn attention (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016). The focus has been on the rapport of TS with other disciplines and on intradisciplinary dialogues between TS branches.

The need for a discussion about the nature and extension of the knowledge the discipline creates has been central to TS from inception – what is Holmes' (1988) foundational map if not an initial attempt to take a position with regard to disciplinary epistemology and thus chart translation knowledge and the approaches needed to acquire it? Ongoing discussions about the theoretical scope of TS and how to tackle it have often identified a certain conceptual frailty (which can be identified in comparable disciplines such as cultural studies or literary studies) in comparison with long-established fields such as comparative literature, linguistics, psychology or sociology, to name some of the most common knowledge realms from which TS has traditionally borrowed (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2009; Hermans 2002; Olohan 2000; Pym, Shlesinger, and Simeoni 2008). Although I would like

1 This chapter partly draws from my PhD dissertation "Theoretical Hedging: The Scope of Knowledge in Translation Process Research".

2 Van Doorslaer (2020) has problematized the name of the discipline attending to the expansion of the object of study. TS exceeds translation proper, including interpreting, adaptation, localization and a myriad of other activities. As van Doorslaer (2020, 4) seems to indicate when commenting the work by Elin Sütiste, it is not so much the object, but the approach of study that makes a research project relevant. This resonates with Marais (2014). I will set out from that premise and in the remainder of this chapter will focus on the assumptions that underlie and inform investigations of crosslinguistic, cross-cultural communication as articulated in paradigms or research traditions. For the sake of brevity and not to exclude any form of practice that can be relevant for the discipline, I will refer to it as Translation Studies (TS), a widely accepted term after Holmes' map in English. The word "translation" is to be understood as an umbrella term including all practices. When referring to the specific subfield of cognitive translation and interpreting studies (CTIS) I will include interpreting as a matter of use: that is a widely accepted term, as shown by the name of conferences in the field (e.g. in https://eventi.unibo.it/ictic3).

to argue that the issues identified – for instance, ill-defined terminology, lack of consensus about basic concepts and their links to empirical enquiry, the coexistence of modern and postmodern perspectives – are not exclusive to TS at all, it is true that the object of study and the general aim of the discipline remain open to disagreement.

This is partly, I would add, because of the ill-advised tendency identified by Marais (2014) of considering TS in terms of the object of study and other fields of enquiry. He acknowledges the lack of a disciplinary philosophy and adequately identifies it with a lack of metatheoretical tools to approach TS as it is. The same way that there is a philosophy of science or a philosophy of history, any metatheoretical reflection on TS should be done from a philosophical stance and not from within the discipline. He further analyzes the divide between modern and postmodern views, highlighting the need to explicitly problematize them, and puts forward complexity theory as a framework to conceptualize translation and TS from the viewpoint of semiotics. Quite interestingly, Marais (2014, 76) contends that a discipline should not be described by its object of study, "but by the angle of its view, its perspective".

In tackling the complexity identified by Marais, TS scholars have looked inwards to problematize and analyze issues of internal cohesion and coherence derived from an epistemologically fragmented field, one that has grown unevenly, drawing from multifarious traditions and leading to incompatible conceptualizations of what translation is and how to investigate it. The divide between TS research agendas pertaining to different epistemic traditions has been subject to debates which have often dwelt on the notion of *shared ground* as a stepping stone to disciplinary unity (see, for example, Pöchhacker, Gile, and Chesterman's contributions in Schäffner 2004).

A good example of this is the debate in the pages of *Target* that followed the publication of a paper on shared ground in TS by Andrew Chesterman and Rosemary Arrojo (2000). Chesterman and Arrojo proposed 30 statements about translation that scholars from both empirical and postmodern, deconstructionist approaches to TS could agree upon. Most of the replies that followed focused on the epistemological assumptions underlying both camps, especially the empirical, and on whether or not such a shared, common ground or all-encompassing translation framework was needed. It is interesting to note the radical differences in epistemic goals across subfields in TS: while most scholars on the empiricist side accept the description and prediction of translational phenomena as an ultimate goal, Arrojo, in her coda to the 30 theses, accepts, with certain caveats, the descriptive nature of TS, to conclude that, instead of trying to make predictions, "a theory of translation should attempt to empower translators-to-be and raise their conscience as writers concerning the responsibility they will face in the seminal role they will play in the establishment of all sorts of relationships between cultures" (Chesterman and Arrojo 2000, 159).

Shared ground, understood as unification, can hardly be established when the ultimate goals, the standards and the epistemic commitments about the object of study – in sum, the research perspective – are so dramatically opposed to each other. This lack of solid shared ground can be explained as a matter of disciplinary maturity and as a consequence of interdisciplinary development. Mayoral (2001, 45, 68) has argued that the dearth of conceptual consensus among specialists in TS is due to the youth of the discipline and this has impeded the adoption of even an initial, shared metalanguage, thus thwarting scientific development. As indicated earlier, interdisciplinarity plays a marked role in this regard. If, in the initial stages of the development of a field, scholars embark on forays over disciplinary boundaries in search of models and methods from neighboring disciplines, it is to be expected that those expeditions create divergent directions, expanding rather than limiting the scope of thought in the field. These borrowings do not necessarily foster conceptual convergence, intradisciplinary engagement or the development of a single approach.

In addition, most TS scholars, especially earlier on in the history of the discipline, were educated as specialists in other fields; it is mainly the last two generations of specialists that have been formally trained in TS as a scholarly discipline. It is only natural, then, that TS scholars have imported conceptual instruments from those areas of expertise they were most familiar with or that promised them the greatest success. That may also be the reason why the discussion of "our underlying epistemology", the "philosophical underpinnings [that] will form the essential conceptual foundation" (Kiraly 2003, 4) have been described in terms of "passing fads" (Kiraly 2003) or dominant tendencies (Gambier 2006, 35). Be that as it may, a problem graver than transient popularity arises when borrowings are not critically discussed or when integration is attempted based on only skewed or partial understandings of the borrowed theory or concept. Malmkjær (2000, 166) stresses that "[t]o be able to make a properly informed selection, it is useful to understand the immediate, and perhaps even the wider theoretical context of candidates for selection: the axioms (assumptions) underlying them, and their implications". It can be problematic, for example, to adopt a construct to analyze translation behavior in terms of expertise whose definition and implications do not cohere with the expertise construct as described in expertise studies. At the same time, differences in approach, conceptualization and methodology make very different phenomena: for instance, the visibility of translators as a result of using audiovisual translation as a political, activist tool (Chaume 2019) is a different object of study than the visibility of women as literary translators and translation theorists in a context of political, gender and linguistic oppression approached from a historiographic and feminist angle (Bacardí and Godayol 2013). Interdisciplinary borrowings, or borrowings across TS research traditions, can render research fruitless or, what is more problematic, can inadvertently confound results or conclusions. Being clear-eyed and critical about inter- and intradisciplinary borrowings is not about excluding new ideas or favoring some existing theoretical perspective without being able to make a case for the choices made; it is rather a way of acknowledging disciplinary complexity while also preventing the proliferation of misconceptions.

Yves Gambier (2006, 34–35) argues for confronting transversal concepts, making a case for the metadiscourse of translation as the opposite of a totalizing knowledge – a self-inquiring "co-wandering" of different disciplines in which the researcher does not take translation practice and its observation apart, justifies her theoretical stance and methodological approach, and explicates her position as investigator. As Gambier (2006, 36) summarizes, any approach is legitimate provided a neat description of the research project can be produced: "La traduction abordée par les outils de la linguistique pragmatique par example est tout aussi légitime que celle abordée par la psychologie cognitive, à condition que les chercheurs disent leur visée, leur objet, leur unité et niveaux d'analyse".[3]

Faced with this plurality and the need to analyze which is the most adequate approach, Gambier (2012, 74) advises us not to hide or misrepresent how fractioned the field is, but to focus on the issues that define the discipline in its complexity. Gambier also makes reference to Chesterman's "consilience" (2007) as a way to provide shared ground and promote collaboration among TS scholars who may have quite diverging views. However, the kind of consilience, or concurrence of views on central topics, Chesterman advocates can hardly take place at the disciplinary level (as his use of the term, borrowed from Wilson [1999], seems to indicate), for the very reasons Pym (2001) suggests in his contribution to the abovementioned debate in *Target* about shared ground and the ones Chesterman (2019, 12) himself mentions in a later take on consilience. All of them being valid, it is difficult to reconcile the theoretical frameworks and epistemic views of TS subfields that are rooted in

3 "Translation tackled with the tools of pragmatic linguistics, for example, is as legitimate as translation tackled by cognitive psychology, provided researchers state their aim, their object, their unit and level of analysis" (my translation).

very distant traditions with diverging approaches (nomothetic and idiographic in Chesterman's terminology), such as postmodern humanism and scientific empiricism. This does not mean, of course, that an engaging dialogue cannot be established or that work cannot be done that by ambition and originality straddles traditions, but it will be at the expense of compromising either the scientific or the humanistic method and even reshaping the metaphysical and ontological commitments of the construct at hand (Halverson 2001). In other words, it will be a dialogue we need to problematize by revision and analysis of assumptions and epistemic commitments and, in so doing, by acknowledging plurality as a driver of scientific progress. This is of course not only a TS issue. For instance, the dramatic growth of cognitive science and experimental psychology over the last 50 years have made many of its developments reach across traditional boundaries. TS is not the only discipline originating in the humanities that has grown into the social sciences, where concepts and theories are not subject to competition by argument only, but by empirical adequacy as well; for instance, in literary studies, in which digital humanities techniques and quantitative approaches are increasingly applied to analyze literary works empirically (Barros García 2020; see also Seidenberg 2017 on science and education).

In the case of TS, postmodern, relativistic positions as a dominant tradition informing research on translation are a perfectly valid – and interesting – angle, but of very limited use for the Cognitive Translation and Interpreting Studies (CTIS) scholar, unless the comparison sacrifices integration and the scholar sees the opportunity for development according to the standards of her own field. There needs to be a certain degree of "axiomatic resemblance" or points of contact among methodological and ontological requirements in each framework (Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba 2011). We need a series of very basic agreements about the object, level, methodology and limits of research: what is translation or the practice we are investigating; which is the level or dimension (psychological, neurological, textual, social, political…) through which we are analyzing it; how far can we go in our claims about what we have discovered about translation; what is the extension and scope of the knowledge we generate. These agreements are conceptual commitments, precede actual research and set what is acceptable as research by the community of practice according to the axioms of the domain (see Mulkay 1975). These agreements and commitments constitute in aggregate a "research tradition" as defined by Larry Laudan (1977), a notion to which I will return in subsequent sections to provide an alternative to "paradigm" as posed by Thomas Kuhn (1962). These research traditions and their related commitments in TS are what a philosophy of TS concerns itself with. Even if we agree that any empirical observation is theory-laden (Hanson 1958) and that absolute objectivity is unattainable, any CTIS scholar or any scholar within Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), for example, commits to the idea that reality can be explored and that thoughts and mental processes are real; therefore, that mental processes can be explored, even if indirectly. Any research tradition that were to assume otherwise would be too far away from cognitive science or DTS tenets to allow for a fruitful dialogue "on each tradition's terms" that would not entail an earth-shattering rearrangement of the axioms of any of the relevant research traditions. We can safely accept that scientific empiricism assumptions would not go uncontested in post-structuralist quarters or that they would clash with the postmodern frameworks used in postcolonial TS, for instance. Shared ground would not be enough. Hence the caveats towards my concerns with consilience as a possible or even desirable aim for a "whole" field. Chesterman (2019, 10) takes the Merriam Webster definition of consilience, "the linking together of principles from different disciplines especially when forming a comprehensive theory", and explores points of contact, shared features across the field of TS and the possibility of using "bridge concepts". I would contend, however, that some of the shared features (the importance of technology in translation practice, for example) belong to the object of study and that it is the approach or research tradition, not the object of study, that marks the difference – the fact that cognitive and sociological research projects investigate ergonomics does not automatically make those projects comparable. It makes them useful to each other, maybe, but that is not in any way conducive to disciplinary unity. I would say that the comprehensive theory this consilience leads to would not necessarily be self-contained or self-coherent and that the lack of coherence is not detrimental. As Chesterman (2019, 15–16) quite rightly points out: "there is no agreement on what a coherent 'General Theory of All Translation' might look like, nor even that such theory would be desirable or useful, or indeed possible. Perhaps it does not matter, as long as heterogeneous views can be openly discussed".

Indeed it may not matter and indeed we need an open discussion that allows researchers to identify differences. That is why the use of bridge concepts in building an allegedly comprehensive theory of translation could prove problematic. There is a potential issue in the use of the same term, usually a common one in the field, to refer to quite different context-dependent constructs. Good examples of this are the term "competence" (Pym 2003) or the lucid page Barbara Folkart (2007, xv) devotes to terminological use in her book on translation poetics. There are also risks related to bridge concepts becoming "nomadic concepts". Greene (2020, 12) describes the latter in the following terms:

> A wide variety of social phenomena can be included within the scope of the concept. This results from these concepts having many possible meanings, unclear boundaries, and changing over time. These characteristics are not an all-or-nothing matter because these concepts can vary in the number of meanings they have, how unclear their boundaries are, and the extent to which they change over time.

Thus, we can find concepts that refer to a variety of cases. For instance, among the examples of bridge concepts provided by Chesterman we find "translation brief" as stated in Skopos theory. "Brief" is indeed a useful construct, particularly when structuring translation tasks; however, its relevance and instantiation in actual professional practice remains open to further investigation that could refine the concept: small-scale ethnographic studies of the translation workplace seem to indicate that briefs come in many shapes and forms, are sometimes negotiated between translators and project managers or even put forward by translators themselves, and sometimes do not come at all (Angelone and Marín García 2017).

We can also find concepts or constructs that refer to one social, cognitive or textual phenomenon in a given context and to a different one in yet another context; that is, "having many possible meanings, unclear boundaries, and changing over time", as indicated by Greene (2020, 12). "Translation strategy", also mentioned by Chesterman, does have many possible meanings, as he himself acknowledges in mentioning terminological and orientation variation. The problem is that the concept of "strategy" in text-oriented and cognitive-oriented approaches may simply not be comparable. We can identify and describe a translator's strategy by analyzing her literary translations, for instance, following Antoine Berman's (2009) methodology for translation criticism. In addition, we can interview our translator or have her explain her strategies explicitly in a preface, and yet none of these activities will clue us in on the translator cognitive process, but on the alleged outcome of those processes, for which we will have no certainty. Strategies as explicit problem-solving plans are expected to and may (or may not) drive or constrain cognitive processes, but we cannot use that concept to describe the processes themselves. At the same time, actual cognitive processes, such as multitasking, can be conceptualized as mental strategies that are not necessarily conscious plans and to which the translator herself may not have access to:

> These and other findings suggest that multitasking may be a strategy that the human mind simply perceives as worth applying in translation. When working in a sequential way proves not to be efficient enough or when

> a certain level of automaticity is reached for sequential translating, the mind might "invest" in a more complex behavior in order to improve its functioning in a long-term perspective. (Stachowiak 2014, 308)

So we may assume that "translation strategy" does not have clear boundaries and that, when using it as a bridge concept, we risk underestimating fragmentation. Bridge concepts are definitely useful tools as pointers of shared interest, but we need to problematize them to avoid skipping relevant differences.

To avoid that risk, I would like to propose a different definition of consilience: the number of objects of different kinds explained by a theory or construct (Thagard 1978; Whewell 1840), thus allowing us to focus on the scope of the construct in each context of application and not on its scope across contexts of application. Then, it would not be a matter of "consilience or fragmentation", as Chesterman titled his paper, but consilience "and" fragmentation.

Accepting this fragmentation, abandoning disciplinary unity and adopting epistemic pluralism (Marín García 2019) does not mean ignoring issues of inconsistency or validity. The fact that many perspectives coexist does not mean they are all equally valid or useful (Chang 2012; Feyerabend 1978; Mill 1812).

The considerable body of research currently being conducted by TS scholars may fail to support further development in the discipline if the conceptual tools used to interpret ever-increasing knowledge are ill-defined, ambiguous or simply invalid. In other words, the models and theories our discipline should depend on need to be robust and internally coherent theoretical entities that can be easily differentiated, operationalized, and related to other entities emerging from different frameworks in the field or from other disciplines (hence the need for "internal", but not "external" cohesion). The current dearth of discussion on the underlying assumptions of our concepts may distort the validity of results and of our understanding thereof. As Pym (2007, 38) remarks when discussing the relationship between philosophy and TS, in the absence of conceptual clarity and meta-analysis, "a rather quaint empiricism reigns, as in much of DTS, or in corpus linguistics, or think-aloud protocols, which rarely transcend positivist notions of science". A plurality of explanatory frameworks is a much-needed fuel for disciplinary progress; we do not need them all to cohere, but we need a methodology to navigate the issues of incommensurability, conceptual misrepresentation, inconsistency and empirical inapplicability that plurality brings along with it.

TS scholars need to ensure that the constructs they use are fit for purpose, but also that they account for the complexity of translation, for "empirical facts do not exist independently of the scholar's viewpoint; indeed, it is the scholar who creates the empirical facts of the analysis by making observable (raw) data relevant to his/her perspective" (Crisafulli 2002, 33). One single perspective, or a single perspective developed independently of other potentially valid work in the field, will not suffice.

The simultaneous existence of different sets of models and concepts purporting to explain the same phenomena is certainly a trait of disciplinary advancement and is not exclusive to TS. But disciplinary advancement is also dependent on acknowledging differences to support a dialogue aimed at determining which concepts will be most useful in the pursuit of our research and theoretical objectives. Plurality is at the core of disciplinary development, so the goal here is not necessarily one of theoretical agreement, but of achieving consensus on the tools used to understand the quality and scope of competing or simply diverging theories. As Martín Ruano (2006, 47) remarks on the disciplinary status of TS:

> (…) in the long run, the current effort at finding a common theoretical basis may result not in strengthening the discipline but in hampering its progress, to the extent that the marginalization of dissenting voices might prevent it from engaging in self-critical reflection and from being aware of its limitations.

Translation is too complex a phenomenon to approach it from one perspective (Gambier 2012; Marais 2014), which calls for a pluralist agenda: one that accepts the world is too complex and varied to be investigated from a single framework, that disciplinary unity (or monism) is detrimental to scientific progress and freedom, that theories and concepts thrive in competition, though they may be distant in their assumptions, and that scientific development does not happen in a vacuum, but is affected by social dimensions and sometimes led by irrational decisions (Chang, 2012; Kellert et al. 2006; Longino 2002; Mill 1859). These theses do not support a relativistic stance; on the contrary:

> The fact that the values of one culture may be incompatible with those of another, or that they are in conflict within one culture or group or in a single human being at different times – or, for that matter, at one and the same time – does not entail relativism of values, only the notion of a plurality of values not structured hierarchically; which, of course, entails the permanent possibility of inescapable conflict between values, as well as incompatibility between the outlooks of different civilisations or of

> stages of the same civilisation. Relativism is something different: I take it to mean a doctrine according to which the judgement of a man or group, since it is the expression or statement of a taste, or emotional attitude or outlook, is simply what it is, with no objective correlate which determines its truth or falsehood. (Berlin [1947] 2013, 83–84)

Epistemic pluralism is a more fruitful approach to establishing dialogues in TS by embracing difference and doing away with external coherence where necessary, thus allowing for mutual enrichment. But how shall we deal with the lack of coherence? How will we be able to ensure we can understand theories from other perspectives? Let us look at how that "lack of coherence" (incommensurability) has been modeled in the philosophy of science and how to overcome it.

2. Incommensurability: from paradigms to research traditions

In 1962, Thomas Kuhn coined the concept of incommensurability to identify the impossibility of comparison between traditions and scientific worldviews. According to Kuhn, paradigms (traditions that represent the accepted standards for conducting scientific research) are mutually exclusive. That is to be expected: no one would rationally guide a research agenda based both on a statement that one considers to be an inherent truth and the opposite statement at the same time. But Kuhnian paradigms not only exclude alternatives, they make it impossible to confront them. Paradigms change the perception of the world, as they are a "prerequisite to perception itself" (Kuhn 1962, 113). Scientists would perceive the world their disciplines describe as a different one according to the paradigm framing those disciplines (1962, 111). Therefore, paradigms are also incommensurable, as noted before, which means that a researcher in one paradigm cannot fully understand what researchers in other paradigms are doing. This bold statement, also maintained by Paul Feyerabend (1978), albeit with certain differences,[4] was later qualified by Kuhn (1970) himself and has been contested by many philosophers of science (Lakatos 1970; Laudan 1977), remaining a subject of ongoing practical concern in the social sciences (Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba 2011).

4 Feyerabend (1978) argues against paradigms as conservative drawbacks to creativity that hamper progress, and questions some of their main qualities as expressed by Kuhn; he does not consider incommensurability to take place at the paradigm level, but at the theory level.

Over the years after the publication of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in 1962, Kuhn engaged in discussions with his critics on incommensurability, refining some of his previous statements. Thus, the original shift in worldview that would make scientists "see" the world differently – a switch in perspective (the object of study as understood only in terms of the established paradigm explanations) with no return (Kuhn 1962, 85) – was softened into a linguistic issue in later iterations (Kuhn 1970, 1977). Kuhn draws on linguistic determinism, quoting the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, as Feyerabend (1978) did, to equate frameworks (paradigms) to languages, and the possible ways to try to overcome incommensurability with translation. However, translation does not solve the problem of theory comparison for Kuhn (1970, 268): "reference to translation only isolates but does not resolve the problems which have led Feyerabend and me to talk of incommensurability". Languages would shape the way we understand the world, and so any strategy other than immersing oneself in the language – namely, translation – would fail to fully grasp what is expressed in that language. Kuhn returns to Quine's (1960) example of radical translation to elaborate on the impossibility of establishing reliable equivalents between two paradigms. This indeterminacy-based example brings along a paradox that translation scholars are familiar with: the possibility that determinist theories of language lead to indeterminist theories of translation (see Pym 2014, 86–113 for a discussion of uncertainty and indeterminacy in TS).

Incommensurability creates terminological anomalies (which we could exemplify with nomadic concepts) that, when clustered, stymie understanding. In a Kuhnian pre-paradigmatic stage, such as the one identified in some TS subfields (Muñoz Martín 2010), new theories, models, or discoveries challenge the established paradigm and gain ground to the point of coexisting first and then succeeding (or not) after a "scientific revolution". During the period of coexistence, the qualities of the conceptualizations referred to by terms are altered while the term itself remains the same, thus resulting in incommensurability: "Though most of the same signs are used before and after the revolution (…) the ways in which some of them attach to nature has somehow changed. Successive theories are thus, we say, incommensurable" (Kuhn 1970, 267). I would like to argue that this pre-paradigmatic stage is the normal development of the social sciences and that, therefore, we may need another model of scientific progress that accounts for this coexistence.

While Kuhn was making a very consequential case about the indeterminacy of scientific communication and alerting about un-challenged assumptions on the cumulative nature of scientific growth, his strong version of incommensurability led him to a blind alley similar to Zeno's dichotomy paradox.

Communication and comparison do exist between paradigms. In TS, for instance, Chesterman and Arrojo (2000) put forward a lucid comparison of deconstructionist and descriptive/empirical paradigms, where they neatly outline the points of contact and divergence. Pym (2014, 4) structured a whole book on translation theory in terms of paradigms, their takes on translation and the possibilities of productive theorizing:

> When the paradigms clash, people are often using the word “translation” to refer to quite different things. Debate then becomes pointless, at least until someone attempts to go beyond their initial paradigm. Only then, when an attempt is made to understand a new view of translation, can there be productive public theorizing.

What Kuhn disregarded was that willingness to compromise, to understand each other, in the scientific community. Even without resource to translating, the history of science shows that “scientists are often adept at ‘scientific bilingualism’, switching from one framework to another” (Godfrey-Smith 2009, 92) for the sake of mutual understanding. In the specific case of TS, it can be further argued that the youth of the discipline, its interdisciplinary growth, and even the nature of the object of study, a multifaceted phenomenon that requires different explanatory tools, have made TS scholars more prone to compromise than scholars in other fields.

Although Kuhn characterized it in linguistic terms, the incommensurability of paradigms is far more ingrained in them than a change in language use might make apparent. For example, explaining what we refer to by “meaning” in a postmodern paradigm and in a medieval one can make the uses intelligible, but it does not change that the assumptions and criteria for validity remain hugely divergent. Paradigms are also incommensurable in the standards by which they assess science. A paradigm may impose certain standards for theories to be scientific that another paradigm may deem irrelevant. This would be the case if we accepted that scientists working within the parameters of a given paradigm cannot see beyond the limits of their framework or cannot comprehend other paradigmatic standards. It is the case that incommensurability does indeed exist, yet it is not insurmountable and, “insofar as the protagonists of two rival points of view are successful in understanding one another, it must be the case that they share standards of rational evaluation” (MacIntyre 1981, 370).

Furthermore, such a view on incommensurability as marking a winner-takes-all succession of paradigms would underestimate the role of methodology as a parameter for rational theory comparison and choice: “If a scientist has good grounds for accepting some methodology and if some scientific theory violates that methodology, then it is entirely rational for him to have grave reservations about the theory" (Laudan 1977, 61). I should say that, instead of a cause for incommensurability, the fact that different paradigms or traditions favor varying methodologies rather provides an opportunity precisely to collate those traditions, opportunities for comparison.

Despite the limitations here exposed and acknowledged by Kuhn, paradigms have been widely applied in TS (Boothman 2014; Brownlie 2003; Hu 2019; McElhanon 2007; Muñoz Martín 2010; Tymoczko 1999). I would like to argue that the notion of "research tradition" (Laudan 1977) can better equip us to describe scientific evolution in TS.

There are different types of theories: sets of concrete, empirically testable statements and wider, more complex theories which do not lend themselves to empirical testing and comprise assumptions and implicit tenets. These wider, more complex theories are what philosophers of science have looked at to describe scientific progress. They correspond to Kuhn's (1962) paradigms and Lakatos' (1970) research programs. Laudan shares Kuhn's and Lakatos' conviction about the relevance of these theories, yet models them differently under the name of research traditions.

Contrary to the implicit nature of paradigms, research traditions exhibit explicit assumptions and beliefs about a given domain; for instance, the critical realism assumption that objective knowledge is not attainable, but that it can be constructed and that that construction is observable. Therefore, the theories and models developed within that research tradition – often implicitly – bring these assumptions to bear; for example, any TS scholar engaging in DTS will accept that the "realities" of translation can be described. As such, every research tradition is committed to certain metaphysical, ontological and methodological positions; we could say that a research tradition is made up of a set of entities that can represent problems and the methodology to solve those problems, incorporating them to a tradition's system of knowledge. As opposed to paradigms, research traditions are changing, extend over time and allow competing theories to coexist within them. In fact, the model assumes that competition and coexistence are the rule, rather than the exception, in science. As Laudan (1977, 81, his emphasis) defines them:

> *A research tradition is a set of general assumptions about the entities and processes in a domain of study, and about the appropriate methods to be used for investigating the problems and constructing the theories in that domain.*

The research tradition offers its concrete theories a blueprint, a roadmap of what problems to solve and how; but it does not entail any specific concrete theories or dictate their formulation. That is why there may be a number of theories within the same research tradition that can contradict each other or simply that do not entail each other. What research traditions do is set which phenomena are problems and which are pseudo-problems, thus delimiting the scope of the domain and the techniques available to approach solutions to those problems.

How well a research tradition fares is intimately linked to the problem-solving effectiveness of its individual theories, as much as every single theory depends on the rest of the theoretical framework, since individual theories are intertwined with the rest of the tradition (see Duhem 1954). The effectiveness of a model or theory depends on its consilience, that is, on the number of objects of different kinds explained by the theory or model. Research traditions also impose constraints on the kinds of theories that can be developed, for example by delimiting which assumptions are allowed or which ones need further justification if they reach beyond the scope of the research tradition. The same goes for methodological choices. Research traditions are not immutable. Anomalies can trigger minor changes and the tweaking of perspectives (Mulkay's [1975] negotiation), but they can also change central ontological or methodological items without a necessary shift, unlike paradigms. The evolution and integration of social aspects of translation in TS theory, the role of the industry as a driver of translation-related cognitive changes or the application of cultural studies models to inform TS historiography are examples of this evolution.

3. Building intradisciplinary dialogue: guided and open exchanges

So, how do we establish fruitful dialogues between traditions within TS? How do we deal with axiomatic discrepancies and incommensurability as expressed in research traditions so that we can enrich each other's work across subdisciplines? In order to answer this question, I will resource to Feyerabend's notion of "exchange".

Feyerabend (1978) challenges the notion of science as a purely logic endeavor and contends that irrational motives can, and indeed often do in the history of science, lead to progress. He therefore advocates a pluralistic agenda: all forms of intellectual pursuit have the promise of bearing fruit in the form of knowledge; however, this does not mean that they are equally valid or adequate to all objects of study, methodologies or theoretical frameworks. Exchanges should not be pursued with the objective of attaining unity, but to strengthen plurality. This pluralism "is *civilized* for it does not assume that one's own village and the strange customs it contains are the navel of the world" (Feyerabend 1978, 236, his emphasis). In discussing how to navigate arising differences, Feyerabend (1978, 237, his emphasis) identifies two possible ways of dialogue or "*two different ways of collectively deciding an issue*": guided exchange and open exchange.

> In the first case some or all participants adopt a well-specified tradition and accept only those responses that correspond to its standards. (...) An open exchange, on the other hand, is guided by a pragmatic philosophy. (...) An open exchange establishes connections between different traditions and transcends the relativism (...). However, it transcends it in a way that cannot be made objective but depends in an unforeseeable manner on the (historical, psychological, material) conditions in which it occurs (...). (Feyerabend 1978, 237–238)

Establishing dialogues between traditions that share common axioms and epistemic commitments requires putting forward assumptions and bringing to light points of divergence in the constructs used, but it does not require a change in the terms these traditions model the world. Thus, scholars in a field such as CTIS, endorsing the view that there is a stable reality that lends itself to empirical exploration by means of conceptual modeling, take for granted that mental processes related to language mediation can be studied by analyzing certain behavioral indicators. They also accept that logic is the appropriate intellectual tool to meet their objectives. There are different traditions within CTIS that model those mental processes and indicators in various ways, but nonetheless they share the same basic epistemic stance and the same standards to measure failure and success. As a guided exchange, establishing a dialogue between fields with this level of axiomatic resemblance requires a set of explicitly accepted criteria for the evaluation of constructs measured against those standards (see Marín García 2019). Explicitation of standards and assumptions is of the essence, for, as Gile (2004, 126) points out: "Scholars in the same TIS field appear to be speaking the same language but they may be using different rules".

An example of successful guided exchange is the work of Halverson (2010) on the relevance of bilingual conceptual representation models from the cognitive sciences to understand corpus-based translational phenomena. Halverson (2010, 364) makes an explicit call on the need for cognitive approaches to translation to be grounded on theoretical advances from feeder disciplines, particularly cognitive theories of language and bilingualism compatible with the conceptual framework of cognitive translation theory.

But how do we conduct open exchanges across research traditions when common criteria cannot be developed in the absence of shared standards? How is that open exchange envisioned, how to clarify the negotiations Mulkay (1975) deems to be at the center of disciplinary development? More importantly, how to engage in a discussion not based on shared standards or assumptions, but on methods contingent on external (historical, psychological, material) conditions?

Borrowing constructs ingrained in a diverging tradition will compromise the validity of our research if not qualified, yet those very constructs can stimulate creativity and enhance the scope of our object of study. We do not need to commit to them, but we can consider those theories and concepts, evaluate them in their context and then assess them in light of our own historical, psychological and material circumstances. This is not very different from what Lawrence Venuti (1995) did with the hermeneutic tradition and Schleiermacher's ([1813] 2012) foundational dichotomy: revisiting concepts from the German romantic tradition of the 19th century in light of postmodern, Anglo-Saxon cultural studies.

More distant examples can be found in the concept of "literal translation", which we can date as far back as Jerome's time. Literal vs free, or word for word vs sense for sense dichotomies are as old as translation itself and oftentimes resonate as hackneyed positivist reincarnations of stable meaning ghosts. And yet, Schaeffer and Carl (2014) took up the notion to model cognitive processes of the translating mind. The way they use it, literal translation is devoid of some of the epistemological attachments of centuries of use and is integrated in a completely new tradition. The fit may not be perfect and some compromising assumptions may remain (see Halverson 2015), but the fact is that the old construct triggered a new model, which generated reactions in CTIS leading to yet another model within a different CTIS tradition, thus moving the discipline forward theoretically. Open exchanges are far from neat adjustments, but they are definitely fuel for scientific progress. They can ignite analogies and lateral thinking (Hofstadter and Sander 2013). The more general, open-ended constructs, or those more intuitively comprehensible, lend themselves better to open exchanges. Let us remember Thagard's (1978) sense of consilience – the number of objects of different kinds explained by a theory or construct. The less specific a construct is, the wider its extension.

This resonates with Blumczynski and Hassani's (2019) multidimensional metatheoretical model. The authors contend that dominant bivalent thinking, useful though it is, is not enough for theory development, and propose a multi-dimensional model as well as fuzzy logic to incorporate more dimensions, factors and considerations, without necessarily discarding existing frameworks:

> We do not want to abandon the existing set of concepts and invent new ones; our chief meta-theoretical tenet is that any useful concept is potentially multidimensional (that is, contrastable with numerous oppositions, rather than a single one, as is the case of polar thinking). (Blumczynski and Hassani 2019, 342–343)

Blumczynski and Hassani essentially propose a pluralistic approach that problematizes complexity, acknowledges the epistemic limits both of scholars and scholarly disciplines, and brings to the fore the origin and flexibility of our theories (Baker 2009). I would like to argue that this approach favors open exchanges.

While they operate at different levels, both guided and open exchanges promote pluralism and progress. They contribute to individual freedom and creativity within scientific communities of practice and open up the possibility for engaging in intradisciplinary dialogue without minimizing complexity. Acknowledging, embracing this complexity entails abandoning monism and unity and accepting that coherence at the disciplinary level is neither always attainable nor desirable.

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The unsustainable lightness of meaning

Reflections on the material turn in Translation Studies and its intradisciplinary implications

Karen Bennett

Abstract
This chapter argues that the material or medial turn in Translation Studies (first announced by Littau in 2011) is a revolution of the greatest magnitude, bringing profound implications for all branches of our field. For if the "meaning" of a text or utterance is expressly bound up with the form in which it presents itself, then it becomes impossible to extract it cleanly from that medium and transport it wholesale to another environment. The semiotic conditions upon which translation is ordinarily based – the arbitrariness of the sign (Saussure 1959) and separation of sign and referent (Frege 2011) – collapse and we move into the realm of iconicity and performativity, where language is being used for functions other than communication. The chapter begins by surveying the historical process of disembodiment set in motion over two thousand years ago with the onset of the "transcendental signified" (Derrida 1998) – and which culminated in the digital revolution that enabled artefacts to be stored on clouds or downloaded in files so light they can be transported on a phone – before focusing on the backlash represented by the "material turn" and its implications for Translation Studies (including developments such as multimodality, intersemiotic translation, heterolingualism, and untranslatability).

Keywords: materiality, translation, semiotics, multimodality, iconicity, (un) translatability

1. Introduction

Milan Kundera's (1987) novel *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* is, by its own description, a meditation on necessity and chance. Though the 1988 film adaptation by Phillip Kaufman minimized the philosophical dimension by billing it as "a lovers story [sic]" set against the sexy backdrop of the Prague Spring, the literary work is structured around this binary and frequently wanders away from the fictional narrative in order to reflect on it in sometimes Biblical terms.

The novel tells the story of Tomas, a Czech doctor (played by Daniel Day-Lewis in the film), who is an existentialist and takes life lightly. As everything for him is arbitrary, he refuses to get emotionally involved with any of the women that come and go in his life, feels no responsibility towards his son or other members of his family, and will not commit politically, even as the Russian tanks are rolling into Prague. His perspective is shared by Sabina (played by Lena Olin), a freewheeling painter and owner of an iconic bowler hat, who betrays everyone and everything that threatens to pin her down. But then comes Tereza (Juliette Binoche), who enters Tomas's life "like a baby in a bulrush basket". Tereza believes in fate and necessity and arrives weighed down with emotional baggage; with her, though he struggles against it, Tomas for the first time feels the force of necessity ("*Es Muss Sein*") and the profound fulfilment that accompanies it. As the narrator explains in the opening section:

> The heaviest of burdens is (…) simultaneously an image of life's most intense fulfillment. The heavier the burden, the closer our lives come to the earth, the more real and truthful they become. (…) Conversely, the absolute absence of a burden causes man to be lighter than air, to soar into the heights, take leave of the earth and his earthly being, and become only half real, his movements as free as they are insignificant. (Kundera 1984, 5)

The novel is essentially a dialogue between these two philosophical attitudes and rotates between them, presenting the key events of the narrative from the perspective of different characters in turn. The work is sprinkled throughout with motifs of lightness and weight, corporeality and incorporeality, framed within the Christian/Cartesian dichotomy of body and soul,[1] and underpinned by Nietzsche's notion of the eternal return.[2] In this chapter, I

1 Two of the seven sections of the book are actually entitled "Lightness and Weight" (Parts 1 and 5), while another two (Parts 2 and 4) bear the name "Body and Soul".

2 This "mad myth" (Kundera 1987, 3), which hypothesizes that time is cyclical and that everything that happens in the world does so not just once but returns again and again, is presented in the novel almost like a moral imperative, the only way to justify a posture of ethical responsibility, since "a life which disappears once and for all, which does not return, is like a shadow, without weight, dead in advance, and whether it was horrible, beautiful, or sublime, its horror, sublimity, and beauty mean nothing" (Kundera 1987, 5). Nietzsche was of course not the first, nor the only, proponent of the eternal return: it has been part of various philosophical and religious systems (including early Christianity in the form of *apokatastasis*).

propose to extend these philosophical metaphors to the domain of translation in order to explore the "medial turn" first announced by Littau in 2011 and discussed under the sign of "materiality" in a forum organized by the journal *Translation Studies* in 2016–2017.[3] The connection is not random. Materiality implies weight, embodiment, contingency, and stands in direct opposition to the kind of transcendentalism, or lightness of meaning, that has dominated translation theory and practice in the West for the last 2,000 years. It also implies necessity, not only in the sense that "materials shape our thoughts" (Nietzsche quoted in Littau 2016), or even the technodeterminism and political fatalism highlighted in Michael Cronin's (2017, 96) contribution, but also because "forms effect meaning" (Littau 2016, 98–99), anchoring the process of signification and impeding its proliferation into new contexts and media.

In fact, I will argue here that the material, or medial, turn in Translation Studies (TS) is a revolution of the greatest magnitude, bringing profound implications for all branches of our field. For if the "meaning" of a text or utterance is expressly bound up with the form in which it presents itself – whether the paper/papyrus/stone slab on which it is inscribed, the typefaces of the printed document, the prosody and facial expressions accompanying the spoken utterance, or (most importantly) the auditory or visual shape of the words as they appear to the ear or eye – then it becomes impossible to extract it cleanly from that medium and transport it wholesale to another environment. The semiotic conditions upon which translation is ordinarily based – the arbitrariness of the sign (Saussure 1959, 67–70) and separation of sign and referent (Frege [1892] 2011, 103–140) – collapse and we move into the realm of iconicity and performativity, where language is being used for functions other than communication. One of the secondary purposes of this article is to try to understand exactly what impulse is driving the return to materiality, and why it has again become so important at this moment of our collective history.

It is relevant that *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, which problematizes the very notion of the meaningful, is structured more like a symphony than a conventional novel. That is to say, instead of following a conventional sequence of events that unfold in linear time (the "grand march of history", as it is ironically termed), the main incidents are revisited again and again

3 Occupying three issues of the journal (9/1, 9/3, 10/1), this was launched by an article by Littau (2016) entitled "Translation and the Materialities of Communication", followed by responses by scholars from Translation Studies (e.g. Cronin 2017; Kosick 2016; O'Hagan 2016) and other disciplines (e.g. Armstrong 2016; Coldiron 2016).

from different perspectives and developed like musical motifs.[4] Enacting the eternal return, this spiral structure generates its own inevitability as certain details are swept into the vortex of repetition, acquiring weight and significance with each reappearance.

One of the themes that I will explore here is that language in its ritualistic and aesthetic functions, when the materiality of the sign is privileged over and above the referential content, begins to approximate the condition of music. This is not an original observation, of course; the aesthetes of the late 19th century (e.g. Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde) devoted much time to the notion and created literary works designed to make it apparent. But in the context of the material turn it gains new relevance. Not only does it help us understand how humans generate (nonreferential) meaning in texts and in life, it may also shed light on the importance of this practice for our emotional and social well-being and the potentially dangerous consequences of overlooking it.

Hence, materiality in TS is not just about emphasizing the physical carrier that transports the text, or even the different modes or channels (visual, auditory, kinesthetic) that participate in the transmission of the message. It is also about the sense in which verbal language itself has physical presence as audible sounds and/or visible markings, and as such, may be used for functions other than for communication.[5] Recognition of the semiotic implications of this kind of materiality will, I argue, drive TS into a whole new paradigm that will have profound implications for all branches of the field and far beyond.

2. Disembodiment

Over the course of the last few decades, our reading experience has become increasingly dematerialized. Where once we read books, magazines, newspapers (all tangible objects with a physical presence in the real world), nowadays we work with e-books, Kindle editions or PDFs so light they can be transported on a phone. The materiality that used to constitute the reading experience – the heavy weight of the tome that had to be lugged around; the physical sensation of turning the page, pencil in hand, ready to underline and annotate; the folded corner marking our place – all this has disappeared, leaving us with disembodied text on a screen. What is more, it has not just

4 For example, the death of Tomas and Tereza is foretold twice, first by Sabina at the end of Part II, then again by Tomas's son in Part VI, before it finally takes place in Part VII.

5 Curiously, this aspect of materiality was barely touched upon in the *Translation Studies* forum on materiality, except by Rebecca Kosick's (2016) contribution.

happened with books; the same process has occurred with recorded music, films, photographs – no longer objects that require physical storage space in the form of cabinets, drawers or albums but weightless byte sequences with no tangible presence. Indeed, we are no longer even carrying those digital files about on our hard disks anymore; instead, they are streamed or stored on clouds – the ultimate lightness of being.[6]

In extreme cases, not even the graphic formatting and layout remain. Technical translators using CAT tools work with plain-text segments so decontextualized that they are routinely transported from one document to another without any regard for coherence and cohesion.[7] Indeed, the fact that translation companies often refuse to pay for segments that have been translated before shows that local embedment conditions are now of minimal concern. The original string and its translation are stored in the memory as if they were perfect equivalents unaffected by context, manifestations of some transcendent meaning that is absolute, stable, and unchanging.

I will argue here that this immateriality represents the culmination of a long process that began over 2,000 years ago when the iconic or motivated sign began to give way to the conventionalized symbol.[8] This is not just about the transformations in the material carrier that Littau (2011) describes – though the shift from oral to written culture would certainly have brought a very literal kind of disembodiment, perpetuated by the successive loss of material weight in each of the technical advances that came after.[9] I am more concerned here with the cleaving apart of the iconic sign – in which form and meaning are fused – into what Saussure called the signifier and the signified, and the subsequent demise of the former in favor of the latter. In the Judeo-Christian

6 Coldiron (2016, 97) and Armstrong (2016, 103) point out that digital media also have some form of material presence as objects in the world, which of course is true. However, I would argue that the relationship of the computer screen, keyboard, or silicon chip to the transported text is much more tenuous and diffuse than the printed book or physical supports from previous eras, not least because they are not particular to it.

7 O'Hagan (2016, 323) makes this point in her contribution to the forum: "Lack of context is a constant problem for translators who regularly work with text fragments, called strings, extracted from the software. Once translated, they are compiled back into the software in the hope that any ill-fitting, out-of-context translations will be detected during subsequent linguistic testing, where these strings are finally seen in context".

8 Although iconic signs probably preceded conventional symbols in human language evolution (see Herlofsky 2000; Rappaport 1999; Sadowski 2000), I am concerned here not with the evolution of language generally so much as with a cultural shift as regards the value attributed to each kind of meaning. In Classical Studies, this is often expressed as the victory of *logos* over *mythos*, usually attributed to Plato.

9 In other words, the shift from the papyrus roll to handwritten codex to printed book to digital culture (see Littau 2011).

tradition, the process seems to have begun when Judaism came into contact with Greek philosophy in Hellenistic Alexandria from the 4th century BCE, an encounter that became an important turning point in Western translation history: for only when the sign is understood to be arbitrary or unmotivated can the sense be extracted from it and transported to a new environment.[10]

There is evidence to suggest that the energetic or magical function of language, in which speech sounds or written letters are not containers of abstract sense but opaque instruments that act upon the world, may have served primarily to demarcate a community's identity through shared rituals.[11] This is language as *energeia*,[12] and it is fundamentally untranslatable, as indicated in the opening chapters of Treatise XVI (Asclepius) of the 3rd century *Corpus Hermeticum*:[13]

> Expressed in the original language, the discourse conveys its meaning clearly, for *the very quality of the sounds and the [intonation] of the Egyptian words contains in itself the force of the things said*… Preserve this discourse untranslated, in order that such mysteries may be kept from the Greeks, and that their insolent, insipid and meretricious manner of speech may not reduce to impotence the dignity and strength [of our language], and the cogent force of the words. For all the Greeks have…is empty speech, good for showing off; and the philosophy of the Greeks is just noisy talk. For our part, we use not words, but *sounds full of energy.* (quoted in Fowden 1993, 37, emphasis added)

We can still see this today operating in the case of the Jewish tradition, which sets great store by its shared rites and practices[14] and reveres the materiality

10 The *longue durée* approach that I employ here can obviously not do justice to the complexities and contradictions of 2,000 years of history, and the process of change was by no means as linear and unidirectional as this chapter might make it appear. A more nuanced account can be found in my book *Translation and the Disenchantment of the Western World: From Performativity to Representation* (in preparation).

11 See Halliday's (1973, 63) ritual function of language. Some anthropologists, such as Rappaport (1999, Ch. 4) and Knight (1998), have argued that this ritual need might be so fundamental to the human experience that language as a whole might derive from it.

12 For more on language as *energeia* and the implications for translation, see Cassin (2016, 179, 202), Assmann (1996, 28–31), Robinson (2017, 83) and, in a different context, Cronin (2017, 32-34). Marais' discussion of translation as semiosis (2019, 123-135) might also be relevant here.

13 Attributed to the mythic figure of Hermes Trismegistus, a Hellenistic fusion of the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth, these texts were written in Egypt before the end of the 3rd century CE and reveal the influence of Platonic thought upon the older local tradition (Fowden 1993).

14 For example, the circumcision and hygiene rituals, dietary prohibitions and whole liturgical structure of the Jewish year (Holtz 2006, 18).

of the physical scrolls.[15] Meaning in the Hebrew Bible is generated in a very different way to what we have become used to through Christian translations. The Hebrew words do not point beyond themselves to some Platonic realm of disembodied sense, but instead play analogical games with sounds and etymologies, weaving circular, chiastic and symmetrical patterns that are musical[16] in their aesthetic. As a result, the textual surface is "sticky" (Rosenberg 2006, 32). That is to say, rather than serving as transparent containers of content, the words and even letters assert a physical presence that is visual as well as auditory, and therefore susceptible to exegesis using techniques such as acrostics (*notariqon*), numerology (*gematria*) and anagram (*temurah*) (Dan 1986, 128).

When the surface texture of the text is itself meaningful, translation in the sense we know it today is effectively impossible. For this reason, if it is attempted at all, it has to be done with a strong sense of ethical responsibility. Jewish bible translations have thus largely distinguished themselves from Christian ones by a laborious literality (Greenstein 1990; Seidman 2006). The Aramaic Targumim in use before the Christian era[17] were considered to be so inferior in status to the original that they were not even supposed to be written down, while the 2nd century Greek version by the proselyte Aquila of Sinope was famously lampooned by Jerome (2004, 29) for its unreadability.

By all accounts, change came to the Jewish worldview in the 3rd century BCE when the Torah was translated into *koine* Greek. For some authors (e.g. Doherty n.d.; Fredriksen 2000; Hillar n.d.), the very act of expressing Jewish sacred truths in terms that were intelligible in Greek produced a philosophical syncretism that ultimately gave rise to Christianity. However, rather more important than the translation itself was the myth that arose about it, particularly in the version put about by the 1st century BCE philosopher Philo Judaeus, according to which seventy translators working in isolation miraculously produced the same translation. As Seidman (2006, 52) points out, what this represents is the onset of what Derrida (1998) would later call the "transcendental signified" in the form of the divine Logos (understood as the "spiritual Mind of the transcendent God"): "The Septuagint is a perfect

15 Manifested by the habit of reading aloud from the Hebrew scrolls in study houses and synagogues and the care taken with the physical maintenance of those scrolls (Alpert 1998, 270; Holtz 2006, 18, 21).

16 "Motifs return", creating "a universe of echoes and resemblances", "a fugal counterpoint woven by repetition" (Rosenberg 2006, 32).

17 These consisted of oral explanations or paraphrases, made by the rabbi in the synagogue to complement the readings of the Hebrew Torah, and as such, are difficult to distinguish from exegesis – *targum* means "translation" or "interpretation" (Alpert 1998, 270).

translation", she writes, "not because the Hebrew and Greek match each other but because both the Greek and the Hebrew perfectly 'translate' the *Logos*". That is to say, a semiotic shift has occurred with which meaning is no longer understood to be bound up with the specific shape and sound of the Hebrew words but now exists in some Platonic realm as a disembodied presence, awaiting incarnation.[18]

Thus, with Philo a Platonic gap was opened up between the letter of the law and its spirit, or between form and content, signifier and signified; and although he himself saw the two parts of the sign as complementary, they came to be interpreted as antithetical by the early Christians, particularly Paul of Tarsus, for whom "the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life" (2 Corinthians 3:6). Indeed, Paul famously distinguished between "Israel according to the flesh" (*kata sarka*) and "Israel according to the Spirit" (*kata pneuma*),[19] inaugurating the body/spirit dichotomy that has proved so fundamental to Christian semiotics and caused so much anguish for Kundera's characters in *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*.

The shift did not occur overnight, however. For the next millennium and a half, we see a tussle between these two understandings of meaning, as I have argued elsewhere (Bennett 2018). The Church fathers, Augustine and Jerome, for example, are pulled in both directions. Although Augustine contributed actively to the antagonism towards the body or sign vehicle[20] and even produced a semiotic theory remarkably similar to Saussure's in its affirmation of the essential dichotomy of sign and meaning (*On Christian Doctrine* Bks 1–3), we can see vestiges of performativity in his attachment to the sacraments, which not only served as external marks of membership to the Church (Cary 2008, 156) but could also function as a kind of *signum eficiens*, a sign which creates what it signifies (Kelly 1979, 29). As for Jerome,

18 In this sense, the semiotic shift was fully realized in Christianity when the Word, which preceded all creation (John 1:1), became flesh (Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 1:13:12).

19 Paul makes this opposition many times in his letters, explicitly or implicitly, in order to contrast carnal earthly ways of being and acting with more spiritual heavenly ways, and in some cases (e.g. 1 Corinthians 10:18) uses the phrase to distinguish between the followers of the old covenant and the followers of the new. This has in part been responsible for the stereotype of the Jew that has permeated Western thought, as described by Derrida (2001, 184): "the traditional figure of the Jew is often and conventionally situated on the side of the body and the letter (from bodily circumcision or Pharisaism, from ritual compliance to literal exteriority), whereas St. Paul the Christian is on the side of the spirit or sense, of interiority, of spiritual circumcision. This relation of the letter to the spirit, of the body to literalness to the ideal interiority of sense is also the site of the passage of translation, of this conversion that is called translation".

20 *On Christian Doctrine*, 3.5.9: "it is a wretched slavery of the soul to take signs for things; one is not able to lift the eye of the mind above the bodily creature in order to drink in eternal light".

despite his sustained defense of the Ciceronian strategy of sense-for-sense translation in the *Letter to Pammachius* (2004, 23–29), he famously makes an exception for the Sacred Scripture on the grounds that "the very order of the words is a mystery" (2004, 23). Indeed, his own Bible translation uses a technique which Kelly (1979, 134, 70) categorizes as "almost completely formal lexical equivalence", leading him to be held up as a model of word-for-word translation by the 12th century literalist translator Burgundio of Pisa (2002, 43) and others.

With the Protestant Reformation of the 15th and 16th centuries, the sign was purged of any remaining vestiges of materiality. Most of the sacraments were abolished, and those that remained were reinterpreted (the Eucharist, for example, was no longer understood performatively as an actual transformation into the body and blood of Christ, but became instead a symbolic procedure);[21] churches were stripped of all icons, images and stained glass windows (anything in which the sign had material presence); and in some denominations, the ritualized ceremonies presided over by a priest gave way to simple meetings in bare rooms for the purpose of prayer, bible study and "naked unmediated thought" (Brett 1999, 39). This extreme form of Platonism, reintroduced by Wycliffe (1379), in the conviction that "the reality existing before our eyes is an imitation or simulacrum of the Real, which itself exists only as an archetypal Idea", also installed the discourse of transparency, producing a degree-zero kind of writing that denied its own semiotic status in its appeal to abstract reason.

Since then, the shedding of materiality has proceeded at an unprecedented pace. The Enlightenment (which was as much about lightening a burden as it was about illuminating darkness) freed Europeans from the fetters of superstition, mystery, and tradition, and allowed the now-sovereign individual to soar on the wings of his own rationality. Scientific or technical discourse, which emerged at this time, was the semiotic manifestation of this urge – language in its purely referential function, stripped of emotive, aesthetic or ethical components. In the 20th century, this triumph of the transcendental signified was formally consolidated by the general assumption of translatability that animated the discipline of linguistics[22] and the prevalence of the "conduit

21 As Wycliffe (1379) put it, "The consecrated Host we priests make and bless is not the body of the Lord but an effectual sign of it. It is not to be understood that the body of Christ comes down from heaven to the Host consecrated in every church". See Hermans (2007, 94–102) for a nuanced account of the various positions on this issue.

22 "[A)ll cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language", announced Roman Jakobson in 1959 (2000, 115–116), and on this assumption, linguists like Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), Catford (1965), Newmark (1988) and even Baker (1992) listed

metaphor" in communication studies.[23] By now, only theorists operating in the German tradition (e.g. Benjamin, Ortega y Gasset, Steiner, Berman) seriously pondered the indissociability of meaning from the heavy materiality of the linguistic sign.

Let us close this section by returning to Kundera's novel. At a certain point in the (cyclical) narrative, both Tomas and Sabina are beginning to feel that the lightness that they had worked so hard to achieve is starting to seem meaningless, empty.

> After four years in Geneva, Sabina settled in Paris, but she could not escape her melancholy. If someone had asked her what had come over her, she would have been hard pressed to find words for it.
> When we want to give expression to a dramatic situation in our lives, we tend to use metaphors of heaviness. We say that something has become a great burden to us. We either bear the burden or fail and go down with it, we struggle with it, win or lose. And Sabina – what had come over her? Nothing. She had left a man because she felt like leaving him. Had he persecuted her? Had he tried to take revenge on her? No. Her drama was a drama not of heaviness but of lightness. What fell to her lot was not the burden but the unbearable lightness of being.
> Until that time, her betrayals had filled her with excitement and joy, because they opened up new paths to new adventures of betrayal. But what if the paths came to an end? One could betray one's parents, husband, country, love, but when parents, husband, country, and love were gone – what was left to betray?
> Sabina felt emptiness all around her. What if that emptiness was the goal of all her betrayals? (Kundera, 1987, 121–122)

Our Western semiotic tradition has been through a series of successive betrayals of this kind: Jews felt that everything they had held sacred was betrayed when the Torah was translated into Greek; Catholics felt the same when the

strategies that could be employed to overcome the lack of formal equivalence between languages and ensure that the "meaning" of the text could be adequately conveyed in a target tongue.

23 First posited by Michael Reddy in 1979, this is an unquestioned assumption about the nature of meaning permeating English and other Western languages in metaphorical form. As formulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 10–11), it implies that linguistic expressions are mere containers for ideas, which can be extracted and repackaged in another language without essential loss ("words and sentences have meanings in themselves independent of any context or speaker"). Hence, communication involves the speaker putting ideas (objects) into words (containers) and sending them along a conduit to a hearer, who then extracts them.

Protestants stripped the altars and translated the Bible into the vernaculars. In each case, certain textual patterns which they held to be utterly necessary and motivated were treated as if they were arbitrary symbols and reformulated into something else. In doing so, a territory, which had previously been private, sacred, accessible only to an initiated community, was flung open to the rest of the world and trampled beyond recognition.

Now, I argue, Western culture may be experiencing the unbearable lightness of being. With digitalization and cloud computing, it has reached the limits of semiotic disembodiment. But there is more to it than this. The severing of human reason from the material conditions of human existence has also produced a moral and emotional detachment that is atomizing our societies and threatening to destroy our species and the planet upon which we live. It may be that the only way out is now a return to materiality, necessity, a sense of the sacred – the eternal return.

3. Reembodiment

The signs that the quest for lightness may now be going into reverse have perhaps been felt most noticeably in popular culture, beginning with the vinyl revival. Confounding music industry expectations, sales of old-fashioned gramophone records began to rise in 2006, and by 2018, had reached 16.8 million in the US (up 14.6 percent from the previous year) and 4.2 million in the UK (a rise of 26.8 percent). According to music journalist Stuart Nicholson (2019), who supplied these figures, the reasons for this resurgence have less to do with sound quality than with the physical relationship established with equipment and the "iconic status of cover art". In short, young people, for whom everything is available at the click of a mouse, now seem to be yearning for something tangible that they can buy and hold.

A similar trend has been seen in the book publishing industry, which had been predicted to collapse with digitalization. Instead of this, it has found a new lease of life as books are reissued in luxury editions that are veritable works of art. Flaunting their materiality, these gorgeous tomes are heavy, dense and ornamented, reveling in elaborate fonts, intricate illustrations, thick paper. Unsurprisingly it is poetry – that most material of verbal arts – which dominates this market (Hartnett 2013).

In the academic domain, the material turn first made itself felt in archaeology and anthropology, disciplines that already had long traditions of studying artefacts. Though Littau (2016), in her springboard article for the *Translation Studies* forum, highlights communication studies (particularly Gumbrecht and Pfeiffer's *Materialities of Communication*, 1994) and book history (e.g. Armstrong 2013; Coldiron 2015) as major influences in this development, the anthropological interest in material as opposed to symbolic culture dates back earlier. For Miller (2005), landmarks include Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things* (1988), which offered one of the first theories of objects as artefacts, and particularly Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), Latour's Actor-Network Theory and Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency* (1998), all of which make artefacts into active agents able to implicitly condition human actors. This dissolution of the traditional "commonsense" dualism of subject and object (Miller 2005, 14) is of the greatest significance ecologically, as we shall see later.

In linguistics, the notion that language does not merely refer to something beyond itself but also acts upon the world in real time was of course reintroduced with Speech Act Theory (Austin 1961), leading to a surge of interest in performativity in a range of different fields. Iconicity, for its part, has also been garnering much attention, marked by a major conference on the subject in 1998 and the launch in 1999 of a multidisciplinary book series, Iconicity in Language and Literature (John Benjamins), that now has seventeen titles.

With these developments, it becomes increasingly difficult to assert the clear separability of form and meaning in even the most banal and technical texts. So why has TS been so slow to acknowledge the changes?

I would suggest that the main reason why the material turn has taken so long to filter into TS has to do with the way that translation has been conceptualized until now. Despite the advances made with the advent of Descriptive Translation Studies and the Cultural Turn in the 1980s and 1990s, translator training programs, which dominate the field in Western universities, continue to emphasize "instrumental" (Kelly 1979; Venuti 2019) processes derived from an empiricist theory of knowledge. This is market-driven. Most of the graduates completing these courses hope to find employment in the language industries, where they will work predominantly with technical and specialized texts using translation technology. Philosophical considerations derived from literary and religious uses of language are viewed as somewhat marginal to this pragmatic imperative. Indeed, in such contexts, there is something rather self-annihilatory about the whole suggestion that translation in the form it is conventionally understood might not actually be possible.

Now, however, our field is slowly starting to come on board. One of the most significant implications of the new orientation is the appearance of multimodality as an area of research and practice. With precursors/antecedents in theater translation, dialogue interpreting and particularly audiovisual translation (AVT), which of course began to assume prominence in the field from the 1990s onwards (Pérez-Gonzalez 2014), it is becoming increasingly accepted that the purely verbal text is something of a chimera and that in even the most banal and everyday kind of text, multiple semiotic codes conspire in the generation of meaning. This requires sensitivity towards the material carriers of meaning. Translators working in AVT and digital textualities need to be able to understand how the visual and the auditory impact the overall sense of the text, while dialogue interpreters have to be aware of the bodily and situational dimensions of oral communication (prosodic features, facial expression, distance, eye contact, etc.).

A different, though related field, which has recently made a comeback in TS after years of exile is intersemiotic translation, defined by Roman Jakobson in 1959 (2000, 114) as "the interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs belonging to non-verbal systems". During the structuralist era, when meaning was at its most disembodied, there was skepticism about the capacity of nonverbal codes like music, painting or dance, to transmit a message with the accuracy and precision of verbal language. Now, however, the exceptionality of the verbal is no longer taken for granted. Not only has Jakobson's excessive focus on linguistic signs been reconstrued as a misreading of Pierce (Marais 2019, 14–16), new fields of interest have opened up that bring intersemiotic translation out of the rarefied aesthetic domains that dominated the first wave, endowing it with more pragmatic, ethical and politicized functions. These include not only sign language for the deaf and audiodescription for the blind, but also the potentially world-changing extension to animal- and even geosemiotics proposed by Michael Cronin (2017, 67–93) in his revolutionary work *Eco-Translation: Translation and Ecology in the Age of the Anthropocene*.

Literary translation, for its part, never really put aside materiality, since sound-patterning and other aesthetic devices are recognized as playing a part in every literary text to some extent or another. However, this has been exacerbated in recent decades with the phenomenon of heterolingualism, defined as "the use of foreign languages or social, regional, and historical language varieties *in* literary texts" (Meylaerts 2006, 4). Typical of postcolonial, diaspora and migrant fiction, the unmarked[24] presence of strange graphic sequences on the page (or of foreign cadences and rhythms on the stage) confronts translators with a text's materiality in an unprecedented way. Such "hide-and-seek games" (Sommer 2003, 2) not only raise problems for translation, but also threaten the very principles upon which translation theory has rested,

24 See Buzelin (2006, 96–97) and Grutman (2006, 29–31) on the gradual relinquishing of the inverted commas and italicizations as the "foreign" voice is gradually incorporated into the dominant narrative voice.

hinting that the dominant function of these literary exercises might not, after all, be to communicate information so much as to express deep emotion, forge bonds with other human beings or exclude them, contest dominant power structures or create beautiful artefacts (Bennett 2019b, 204). How to deal with these elements in an ethical way has become a principal concern for translators and translation scholars working with texts generated at the interface of cultures. Even more far-reaching are the implications that such hybridity entails concerning the separability of source and target language that has been so fundamental to translation theory up to now. Indeed, with the onset of the so-called "multilingual paradigm", the whole notion of the self-contained and internally coherent national language is now at stake.[25]

At its most extreme, the material turn heralds the return of the sacred and the (controversial) discourse of "the untranslatable" that accompanies it. Motivated by the understanding that some meanings are so fundamentally embedded in particular networks of signification that they resist facile re-construal in another tongue, this has not only spearheaded a reaction against the universalizing logic of World Literature in translation (Apter 2013), but also prompted an interest in the way certain key concepts have developed and transmuted over time as they transit through different languages and cultures (Cassin et al. 2014).

Arguably, it is these shifts in our understanding of what translation entails that have enabled the remarkable expansion of translational phenomena into other disciplines, heralding a new transdisciplinary research paradigm which Gentzler (2017), after Arduini and Nergaard (2011), calls "post-translation studies". Disciplines as different as medicine, genetics, biology, physics, philosophy, and anthropology now routinely speak of translational processes in ways that are not merely metaphorical,[26] and there are moves afoot to reconceptualize it as a predominantly temporal process implying change. For Robinson (2017, x), this is "translationality", defined as "transformationality: the constant emergingness of everything through embodied, situated, performative interactions", while for Bassnett and Johnston (2018) the "outward turn". Blumczynski (2016) also discusses such processes under

25 For a detailed review of the literature on this subject, see Bennett (2019a).

26 For example, Robinson (2017, ix) mentions translational medicine and psychiatry, which focuses on the gap between science and medical care; "translational termination" and "translational misincorporation" in biology; the "translational momentum of the molecule" in physics; "translational freedoms" and "translational motion" in computing; "translational lift" in aviation. Blumczynski (2016, ix), for his part, describes how translation in philosophy is "understanding, interpretation and hermeneutics"; in linguistics, "meaning, conceptualization, construal and metaphor", and in anthropology, "an encounter with others and oneself".

the title *Ubiquitous Translation*, while Marais (2019) talks of "biosemiotics". Most radical of all is Michael Cronin's (2017) proposal for a "post-humanist ecology of translation" that extends translational practice far beyond the anthropocentric concerns that have dominated up until now. With his concept of the "tradosphere", by which he means "the sum of all translation systems on the planet, all the ways in which information circulates between living and non-living organisms and is translated into a language or a code that can be processed or understood by the receiving entity" (Cronin 2017, 71), we seem to be on the verge of returning to the "magical" world of tribal cultures in which humans, according to anthropologist David Abrams (1997, 16), "experience their own consciousness as simply one form of awareness among many others". In such indigenous oral contexts, it is the traditional magician or shaman who "cultivates an ability to shift out of his or her common state of consciousness precisely in order to make contact with the other organic forms of sensitivity and awareness with which human existence is entwined" (Abrams 1997, 16). For Cronin (2017, 71), this task – of "trying to understand what it is an organism or non-sentient object is expressing (…) in the full knowledge of radical difference" – falls to the translator, not as the expression of some neo-Romantic yearning for prelapsarian bliss, but as a pragmatic solution to the ecological conundrum in which we humans now find ourselves. Expressed thus, communicating with animals, plants and even the geological structures making up our universe seems like a natural extension of what translators have always done whenever they have found themselves faced with the challenge of mediating between incommensurate worlds.

4. Conclusion: the eternal return

It is interesting that the adjective in the title of Kundera's novel has been translated in rather different ways in different languages. The French and Portuguese versions, for example, use a cognate of "unsustainable" (*insoutenable/insustentável*), which privileges the philosophical undertow of the novel and points towards the broader ecological implications suggested by Cronin (2017). English, on the other hand, uses "unbearable". As befits the interpretation given by Kaufmann's film, this relegates the tale to the level of human emotions and suggests it is about a more personal quest.

I would like to end this chapter by reflecting a little upon the reasons why lightness is not only "unsustainable" as a system but also "unbearable" from the individual human perspective. In the first case, there are clearly ecological concerns coming to the fore which, as we have seen, are now beginning to manifest themselves in the translational domain. The "culture of extractivism" that is devastating the planet has its source in an attitude of human exceptionalism, which is in turn the result of our disembedment from the rest of the natural world (Cronin 2017, 32, 68–73). Hence, only by realizing the irretrievably "*embodied*, *material* nature of our existence on a planet that we share with innumerable other species" (Braidotti quoted in Cronin 2017, 13, emphasis added) might we stand some chance of inverting the process before it is too late.

In the second case, it has something to do with our emotional well-being, a deep atavistic need for a kind of meaning that technological progress and economic success cannot provide. At first glance, it may seem strange to assert that materiality leads back towards meaningfulness: accustomed as we are to the matter/spirit divide, materialism, in both its banal and philosophical senses, is usually held to be the antithesis of everything that makes life worthwhile. What I am arguing here is that the alienation currently afflicting the developed world is indirectly the result of the cleaving apart of the fused iconic sign, the splitting-off of meaning from its material support, or – if you will – the separation of body and soul. The arbitrariness of the conventional symbol has made it possible for us to have abstract thoughts, transmit information beyond the here-and-now, create philosophical systems, do science, in short, all the remarkable technological and philosophical achievements of the modern world. It has, however, resulted in the loss of that primitive iconicity that gave meaning of a different sort to our lives: a communal identity, or sense of belonging to something bigger than ourselves, embedment in a sentient universe, and the feeling that things "make sense" in a deeper more emotional way.

Kundera's novel sheds light upon the mechanism through which an individual life may be made meaningful. At one point, the narrator suggests that the process is ultimately musical and based on the aesthetic generation of inevitability through the favoring of certain themes and motifs above others:

> [Human lives] are composed like music. Guided by his sense of beauty, an individual transforms a fortuitous occurrence … into a motif, which then assumes a permanent place in the composition of the individual's life… Without realizing it, the individual composes his life according to the laws of beauty even in times of greatest distress (Kundera 1987, 52).

We see this process in action in all the main characters, but in the case of Sabina, one particular material object acquires a special status as an icon.

> The bowler hat was a motif in the musical composition that was Sabina's life. It returned again and again, each time with a different meaning, and all the

> meanings flowed through the bowler hat like water through a riverbed. I might call it Heraclitus' ("You can't step twice into the same river") riverbed: the bowler hat was a bed through which each time Sabina saw another river flow, another semantic river: each time the same object would give rise to a new meaning, though all former meanings would resonate (like an echo, like a parade of echoes) together with the new one. Each new experience would resound, each time enriching the harmony (Kundera 1987, 88).

This kind of aesthetic meaning is very different from the referential meaning privileged by the rational (denotative) mode of being. It is "embedded", in the sense that it depends on resonances ("a parade of echoes") that have been accumulated over time from the different contexts in which it has been used. It is "embodied", evoking powerful emotions of the most varied kinds – in this case nostalgia, eroticism, humiliation, sentimentality (Kundera 1987, 86–88). And it is "material" in different ways – not only in the sense that the bowler hat is clearly an object to be used in the ritual performances that Sabina stages with Tomas (and later with Tereza) but also in its untranslatability. As a nexus of complex signification, the "meaning" of the bowler hat is not accessible to everyone. Franz (the rather staid university lecturer with whom Sabina briefly has an affair) operates within a different web of significances and is therefore excluded.

> (…) although they had a clear understanding of the logical meaning of the words they exchanged, they failed to hear the semantic susurrus of the river flowing through them. And so when she put on the bowler hat in his presence, Franz felt uncomfortable, as if someone had spoken to him in a language he did not know. It was neither obscene nor sentimental, merely an incomprehensible gesture. What made him feel uncomfortable was its very lack of meaning (Kundera 1987, 88).

There is evidence from anthropology that communities and cultures engage in a similar kind of semiosis, as they select certain places, events, and objects out of the mass of circumstantial detail to be sacralized through ritual. Mircea Eliade (1991), in a work appropriately entitled *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, suggests that, for "archaic" man, this is constitutive of reality itself:

> If we observe the general behaviour of archaic man, we are struck by the following fact: neither the objects of the external world nor human acts, properly speaking, have any autonomous intrinsic value. Objects or acts acquire a value, and in so doing *become real*, because they participate, after

> one fashion or another, in a *reality that transcends them*. Among countless stones, one stone becomes sacred – and hence instantly becomes saturated with being – because it constitutes a hierophany, or possesses mana, or again because it commemorates a mythical act, and so on (…). (Eliade 1991, 3–4, emphasis added).[27]

I have argued elsewhere (Bennett 2002) that this sense of "reality" is generated using language in a way that privileges its materiality. Words and phrases are largely opaque, sound strings given musical form through patterned repetition, and "made heavy" (Rappaport 1999, 141) through corporeal representation. Such embodied words, when uttered at specific places and times,[28] become performatives,[29] effectively conjuring the "hierophany" into being. We should point out that we are not just discussing primitive tribes here: analogous processes are used by modern secular nation states in acts of commemoration,[30] not to mention the hazing rituals of college fraternities, street gangs or football teams. It seems that the consolidation of communal identity narratives cannot be achieved by rational means alone. It requires materialization, embedment, embodiment and, above all, "weight" in order to become "real".

Today, there is evidence coming from the neurosciences to suggest that this performative understanding of meaning is far more important than we hitherto realized. Work on neurological disorders by scientists such as Oliver Sacks, Michael Gazzaniga and António Damásio has shown that what we understand as "reality" is nothing more than a construct of our limbic system, held in place by somatic markers which imbue certain understandings/interpretations with emotive force.[31] This emotive force is generated,

27 Eliade (1987, 12-13, emphasis added) develops this idea further in his earlier work *Sacred and Profane*: "for primitives as for the man of all premodern societies, the sacred is equivalent to a power, and, in the last analysis, to reality. The sacred is saturated with being. Sacred power means reality and at the same time enduringness and efficacity. The polarity sacred-profane is often expressed as an opposition between real and unreal, or pseudoreal".

28 Eliade (1991, 21; 1987, 20–100) emphasizes the need to cordon off a territory and delimit certain moments in time which are set apart from the humdrum of profane existence.

29 See Rappaport (1999, 151-155) on the language of ritual.

30 For Regis Debray (1977, 26–27, emphasis added), the process of nation-building begins with "a delimitation in time, or the assignment of origins (…) The zero point or starting point is what allows *ritual repetition, the ritualization of memory, celebration, commemoration – in short, all those forms of magical behaviour signifying defeat of the irreversibility of time*". See also Cronin (2017, 35–36).

31 Douglas Robinson discusses the implications of these neurological findings at length in his 2017 work *Translationality: Essays in the Translational-Medical Humanities*. He is particularly intrigued by the so-called "misidentification brain disorders", such as Capgras syndrome, Alice in

above all, by communal participation in joint rituals, which endorses the meanings generated through "group plausibilization". Robinson calls this "periperformativity", defined as "the communal interactivity that makes performativity possible" (Sedgwick quoted in Robinson 2017, x).

In short, the material turn in TS, and in popular culture generally, may reflect a much broader desire for a return to the kind of meaning that is not detachable and transcendent, but which is, once again, anchored, embodied, heavy. Whether stimulated by a post-Enlightenment fatigue with abstractions and universals, by the social atomization that has destroyed our communities, or by a craving for the "authenticity" that comes with emotional engagement,[32] there is a growing sense that language, in its rational, communicative mode, is failing to respond to some deeper human drive. George Steiner ([1975] 1998), in his monumental work *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, hints at this when he suggests that "the communication of information, of ostensive and verifiable 'facts', constitutes only one part, and perhaps a secondary part, of human discourse", and that one of the most fundamental impulses of language might be to realize the "needs of privacy and territoriality vital to our identity" ([1975] 1998, 497).

Of course, this need "to conceal, to leave unspoken" (Steiner [1975] 1998, 41) harbors dangers, namely of a withdrawal into forms of "ontological nationalism" in which language becomes a "shield of ethnic otherness, a weapon of exclusion with translation forever bound up in a teleology of loss and betrayal" (Cronin 2017, 135). The alarming rise of far-right politics and concomitant "respectabilization" of xenophobia in recent years suggest that this process is already well under way in many parts of the world. However, with Cronin (2017) and Cassin (2016), I would like to suggest that the solution is, paradoxically, more and more translation. By tirelessly attempting to reformulate the perceptions of others in terms that are minimally intelligible to beings from our own language worlds, we might stand some chance of halting the drift into jihad.[33] Curiously, in doing so, we might also be able to start re-energizing our overly conventionalized language by restoring to it some of the primitive iconicity that gave it such performative power. As

Wonderland syndrome, Mirror touch synaesthesia or aprosodia, which "have shown conclusively that normal people construct reality, and that a deficit or defect in the neural systems that manage that construction causes disruption to the sufferer's sense of reality" (Robinson 2017, xi).

32 See Robinson (2017, 1-46) on the neurological mechanisms underpinning the "reality hunger" that has become such a trope of our times.

33 See Barber (1992), in which "Jihad" is used as shorthand for the tribalism resulting from increasingly narrow community groupings with incompatible identity demands.

Olga Fischer and Max Nänny conclude (1999, xx) in their introduction to the 1999 volume *Form Miming Meaning*:

> Iconicity is not just characteristic of an earlier, more primitive stage of language, but it plays a role whenever a speaker's (or a writer's) expressivity is at issue: when, for whatever reason (poetic, practical, humorous, out of sheer necessity), he or she is trying to express himself or herself anew, in a more concrete or less worn-down form of language.

What better opportunity do we have for expressing ourselves anew than when we are trying to "to say in a language precisely what that language tends to silence" (Ortega y Gasset [1937] 2000, 57)! In this sense, then, translation is not just an ethical imperative in a divided world but also a way of revitalizing the language and restoring some of the *energeia* it has lost.[34]

Recognizing the fundamental heaviness of meaning, that is to say, the impossibility of extricating it cleanly from the material conditions under which it was generated, means not only respecting the Other's right to "linguistic privacy" (Steiner [1975] 1998) but also acknowledging the tremendous complexity of the translator's task. We only have to think of the gulf currently separating Democrats and Republicans in the United States, or Brexiteers and Anti-Brexiteers in the UK, to realize the immensity of the challenge in even monolingual contexts. How much more formidable, then, is the task of making intelligible the worldviews of indigenous peoples, or – heaven forbid! – the kind of radical otherness posed by inter-species or "geosemiotic" communication (Cronin 2017). And yet, as Ortega y Gasset recognized in 1937, it is the very impossibility of the translation endeavor that gives it its "marvellous aspect" or "splendor". For this philosopher, translation is nothing less than "the revelation of the mutual secrets that peoples and epochs keep to themselves and which contribute so much to their separation and hostility;

34 See Langacker's (1977 quoted in Fischer and Nänny 1991, ix) metaphor of language as a giant compacting-machine: "It would not be entirely inappropriate to regard languages as gigantic expression-compacting machines. They require as input a continuous flow of creatively produced expressions formed by lexical innovation by lexically and grammatically regular periphrasis, and by the figurative use of lexical and periphrastic locutions. The machine does whatever it can to wear down the expressions fed into it. It fades metaphor, by standardizing them, using them over and over again. It attacks expressions of all kinds by phonetic erosion. It bleaches lexical items of most of their semantic content and forces them into service as grammatical markers. It chips away at the boundaries between elements and crushes them together into smaller units. The machine has a voracious appetite. Only the assiduous efforts of speakers who salvage what they can from its output and recycle it by using their creative energies to fashion a steady flow of new expressions to feed back in – keep the whole thing going".

in short – an audacious integration of Humanity" (Ortega y Gasset [1937] 2000, 57).

In the context of the ecosemiotics proposed by Cronin (2017), it may now be time to consider the even more audacious integration of the natural world as falling within the remit of translation.

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Fundamental concepts in translation and interpreting reconsidered in light of ELF

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Abstract
In previous work, we have outlined the effects that English as a lingua franca (ELF) or, more specifically, the increasing number of nonstandard English source texts (in specialized and public service translation) and speeches (in conference and community interpreting) can have on translation and interpreting (T&I) processing, performance, and quality (Albl-Mikasa and Ehrensberger-Dow 2019). We have also suggested that the respective research fields can be merged into the subdiscipline of Interpreting, Translation and English as a lingua franca (ITELF). In this chapter, we take a closer look at how Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies converge in facing and addressing similar issues and questions raised by the ubiquity of ELF in most places in the modern world. We consider fundamental translation and interpreting (T&I) concepts with different labels (e.g. speaker fidelity–loyalty) and contrast their relevance under what have been considered standard vs ELF conditions.

Keywords: ELF, ITELF, processing constraints, quality, cognitive load, professional image

1. Introduction

Since Kade (1968) proposed it, the Latin-based term "translation" has been used as an umbrella term in German to cover both *Dolmetschen* (oral interpreting) and *Übersetzen* (written translation). This suggests major commonalities and convergences between the two subdisciplines, which can also be gleaned from the commonly used acronyms T&I (translation and interpreting) or TIS (Translation and Interpreting Studies) that combine the two (see Gile 2017). What specialized and public service translation certainly share with conference and community interpreting is that they all involve multilingual comprehension and production processes geared towards communicative purposes and addressed to target audiences. They are cognitively demanding situated activities that constitute social practices involving agents with certain roles embedded in particular contexts and cultures (see Grbić and Wolf 2012 for more discussion of the common ground between the two). And in both interpreting and translating, the interlingual mediator is a necessary recipient of the message but is not the target audience. At the same time, there are undeniably aspects in which they differ. As Shlesinger and Malkiel (2005, 175) put it, "[t]here is still no consensus as to whether translation and simultaneous interpreting are essentially two variations on the same task, two fundamentally different endeavors, or two related undertakings".

Divergences become obvious when processing conditions are considered. Interpreting is an online, linear speech analysis and production process, often marked by simultaneity and tight time pressure with little room for self-correction, while translation usually involves a cyclical, possibly collaborative process of text comprehension and analysis, research, text production, and revision processes. These differences influence the capacity of the individuals performing the activity to deal with the varying constraints and demands imposed by other actors and agents involved (e.g. client, source speech/text producer, target audience) while still producing the expected level of quality. The individuals performing both activities are functioning as more or less invisible interlingual mediators with possibly differing understandings of their roles and responsibilities, whose training may or may not have prepared them for the current reality of professional translation and interpreting.

Against this backdrop, this chapter sets out to tease apart the various aspects of convergence and divergence and to do so with reference to the phenomenon of English as a lingua franca (ELF). ELF has been defined as the use of English "by speakers in the real world from professionals to tourists and asylum seekers" (Mauranen 2018, 10) who do not share another common language. In ELF situations, "speakers of any kind of English, from EFL [English as a foreign language], ENL [English as a native language], and ESL [English as a second language] contexts" (Seidlhofer 2011, 81), come together. This has led to interpreters and translators trained to work with language produced by native speakers dealing in their professional reality with an increasing proportion of speeches and texts produced under ELF conditions. Spoken and written ELF is an ideal basis for the examination of translational convergences and divergences, because here translation and interpreting start from a common denominator, namely that of varying degrees of nonstandard source input as a consequence of non-native speakers from all over the world outnumbering native speakers of English. Moreover, it is important to note here that, while "ELF does not exclude NSs of English,

(…) they are not included in data collection, and when they take part in ELF interactions, they do not represent a linguistic reference point" (Jenkins 2007, 3). In other words, what we are considering in particular here, and what translators and interpreters are concerned with when it comes to ELF, is the non-native use of English in international ELF scenarios, be it by EFL or ESL users.

While norm deviations and deficiencies in source texts and speeches are not a novel feature in T&I, since not every writer or speaker is equally eloquent, they are magnified under ELF conditions "on account of the variety and unpredictability of language parameters: interlocutors' accents, transfer features, and proficiency levels" (Mauranen 2012, 7). Some of the questions that need to be considered in this context include the following: What happens when central reception processes are disturbed or disrupted by unconventional or unfamiliar source language use? How do T&I professionals cope when co-text turns out to be unreliable on syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels or when contextual determinants such as the text producer's language and culture can no longer be gauged and norms become inaccessible? How do interpreters do justice to the basic tenets of speaker fidelity, accuracy, and complete rendition, when propositional content and illocutionary intent are unclear? How do translators draft idiomatic and natural-sounding target texts when the source texts may be quite the opposite? Our objective is to challenge some of the basic tenets of T&I and to propose a common conceptual basis for specialized and public service translation and for conference and community interpreting in the new era of interpreting, translation, and English as a lingua franca (ITELF).[1]

2. Processing constraints

There are constraints inherent in any activity involving interlingual mediation, whereby processing conditions come into conflict with the comprehension and production strategies developed and rehearsed during monolingual first and foreign language acquisition. The four fundamental types of constraints are mode-based, temporal, task-specific, and situational constraints (list adapted from Kucharska 2009). While translation and interpreting diverge (to some extent) on mode-based (simultaneity and divided attention for interpreting) and temporal (externally-driven/imposed pace and time

1 The methodological basis is presented in Albl-Mikasa et al. (2020) and Ehrensberger-Dow et al. (2020).

pressure for interpreting) constraints, they converge on some of the "situational" (interpreter/translator as recipient, but not addressee of source text production; reliance on well-functioning technological support; knowledge deficit as compared to the expert producing the source text or speech) and, in particular, on the "task-specific" constraints. The latter include: "the [continuing] presence of source language structures [during production], translators' lack of thematic-semantic autonomy, and processing depth during source text comprehension" (Kohn 2004, 221, our translation). Under ELF conditions, these constraints are exacerbated by further complicating factors.[2]

1. *Prevailing presence of source language structures*: While interlocutors in an oral communication situation are tuned into shallow comprehension processes that stop when "good-enough" or sufficiently relevant meaning recovery is achieved, interpreters cannot discard bottom-up signals once they have fulfilled their comprehension-guiding function. For the purpose of continuously monitoring the translation process, they have to be kept in an activated state, while the interpreter searches for appropriate target language expressions, at the risk of a high potential for interference[3] (Kohn 1990, 2004). Such copresence of source speech structures goes far beyond co-activation of two or more languages in bilinguals (Grosjean 1997) and is at the basis of interpreters' need for extreme language control (Hervais-Adelman et al. 2015).
   Translators must also be wary of the influence of interference, which Hansen (2010, 385) explains as "projections of unwanted features from one language to the other and from ST to TT. They occur because of an assumption of symmetry between the languages and/or cultures which may appear in some cases, but not in the actual case". The contrary of interference is positive crosslinguistic influence or positive transfer (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008), which is thought to occur when the assumption of symmetry between languages is warranted and helps in the target language production. Negative transfer is more often discussed in the research literature than positive transfer because the latter is invisible (that is, indistinguishable from target language production being correct for a variety of reasons) and because strictly keeping source and target

2 The following points have been slightly adapted from Albl-Mikasa (2022) and expanded upon.

3 Interference is generally used in its negative sense in TIS, so can be considered equivalent to crosslinguistic influence that is detrimental to performance or "negative transfer", which is the more commonly used term in the fields of language learning and multilingualism (see Odlin 2003 for definitions).

languages apart and avoiding visible transfer are integral aspects of the translational task. Language selection and inhibition are, of course, among the cognitive processes that make T&I particularly demanding. When interpreters and translators deal with ELF input, both types of crosslinguistic influence are complicated by the presence of a third language in the mix (i.e. the dominant language of the ELF user[4] who is producing the source input). This can affect processing and performance in the target language in a number of ways. For one, reliance on positive transfer from certain standard English lexis, grammatical structures, etc. can be disrupted or misled if those are being used in unusual ways in the ELF input. The source speech items or text may markedly deviate from the standard stored as part of the interpreter's or translator's linguistic knowledge, which may result in additional cognitive effort being required to suppress misleading positive transfer in addition to the usual effort needed to inhibit negative transfer in the production phase. However, this may be partly compensated if the interpreter or translator happens to be proficient in the dominant language of the ELF user, since that might help them to recognize the intended meaning despite lack of adherence to standard English norms. This phenomenon has been identified elsewhere as the "shared languages benefit" or SLB (see Albl-Mikasa 2013, 105).

2. *Lack of semantic autonomy*: During ordinary, nonmediated speaking and writing, the propositional content and the actual forms of expression are assumed to evolve in close interaction, under the guidance of an overarching communicative goal. Linguistic expressions do not seem to be chosen to match preestablished and fixed messages in the mind but to represent more or less precisely developed ideas and intentions. These are progressively articulated in gradual meaning and form creation, influenced by target language items produced bottom-up. In interpreting and translation, with no thematic-semantic autonomy, the source language user's preformulated input gets in the way of free access to and intuitive and strategic activation of linguistic knowledge (Kohn 1990, 2004) and might give rise to the need for activating different possible readings of that input.

   Under ELF conditions, the assimilation of someone else's thematic-semantic specifications is further complicated if the input lacks conciseness

4 While in common ELF definitions an ELF user can also be a native speaker of English, in ITELF research the term is used to refer primarily to non-native, and therefore multilingual, speakers of English (see Albl-Mikasa and House 2020).

and clarity due to reduced express-ability on the part of the ELF user (see Albl-Mikasa 2013). It may become necessary to compensate by means of (more resource-intensive) higher-order inferences based on background knowledge and working memory operations. In addition to the usual need to activate different possible readings of input, the interpreter or translator might have to spend more effort on plausibility checks because of uncertainty concerning the intended meaning.

3. *In-depth comprehension*: Meaning recovery processes, as part and parcel of all communication, have to be carried out in an unusually diligent and exhaustive manner in contexts involving interlingual mediation (see Kohn 1990, 2004). Contrary to nonmediated language processing, the preferred approach in interpreting and translation is rarely to ignore, skip over, or omit parts of the message. If the source speech input does not allow for the unambiguous and precise determination of the intended meaning, target speech rendition by an interpreter cannot be spontaneous or complete. If a text is ambiguous and too little background information is available, a translator must expend additional time and energy in attempting to clarify the source text message.
   In processing input from some ELF users, such in-depth comprehension is rendered more difficult if the input is incoherent, imprecise, unconventional, incomplete, or simply incomprehensible. This requires a certain amount of "normalization" (see Hewson 2009, 119) or "pre-editing" of non-native speaker input. In the case of interpreting, this demands additional resources for attentive listening, enhanced meaning analysis, and the double-checking of source speech understanding. For translators, this might entail an additional step of actually pre-editing the source input during the orientation phase to clarify meaning before starting to draft the translation. Furthermore, additional time and effort might have to be expended in researching terms that are used in unconventional ways to determine whether that is acceptable in some specialized fields or simply a misuse.

The situatedness of interlingual mediation also imposes constraints on processing and performance that interact with the internal factors mentioned above and can be intensified or supplemented in the context of ELF. Interpreters are directly involved in the communicative event,[5] which provides

5 Even with remote interpreting, it is accepted as good professional practice for interpreters to have a view of the speakers and other participants (AIIC-CH 2020).

them with rich information about the situation, and often have additional contextual information in the form of visuals and conference materials. However, they usually have little access to external resources while actually interpreting, mostly because of the time pressure (although they might have a laptop with them or be able to check things during breaks). In the case of (mostly simultaneous) conference interpreters, the time pressure is intense because of the simultaneity of the task, but for all types of interpreting the rate of input delivery is under the control of the speaker, not the interpreter (see Kucharska 2009 for a discussion of interpreting-specific constraints).

In the case of ELF speakers, interpreters might be forced to deal with pauses at unexpected places that could disrupt their own pace of delivery. In addition, unusual disfluencies due to lexical searches, false starts, hesitations, and other processing phenomena typical of many non-native speakers (Mauranen 2012, 230), not to mention unfamiliar accents stemming, in globalized conference settings, from both native and non-native varieties, all aggravate the interpreter's externally controlled speech delivery pace and flow. Another aspect interpreters have to come to terms with is dealing with register shifts, which can be used in native speech for emphatic or rhetorical purposes. This, however, requires very advanced proficiency in English, but many ELF speakers might not have the same sensitivity to connotations. Entertaining doubts as to whether shifts in register, as observed in ELF speech (Albl-Mikasa 2017, 376), are placed deliberately and can be taken at face value may lead to further interruptions in the interpreter's processing.

Contrary to interpreters, translators are usually distant both in time and (virtual) space from source text producers. Even institutional translators and freelancers, who can expect to have more contact with their clients than translators working for language service providers, often have little or no direct contact with source text authors, who may be unknown, anonymous, or multiple individuals for a single text.[6] There is thus often little or no information available about the author and possibly no translation brief or background information. This does not mean that the source text is completely decontextualized, however. Client-related terminology and style guidelines constrain but also facilitate decision-making, as do translation memories (TM) and CAT (computer-aided translation) tools.[7] Translators have

6 This is very common in, although not unique to, institutional translation, in which the source texts (e.g. laws, guidelines, regulations) usually go through several iterations and hierarchical levels before being sent for translation (see van de Geuchte and van Vaerenbergh 2016).

7 See Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey (2017) for more discussion of various types of constraints in professional translation.

more time to check other external resources instead of relying as heavily on internal resources as interpreters must. This additional time and use of external resources are crucial aspects of translation since written texts are permanent and, as such, need to be more explicit, complete, and precise than the immediacy associated with interpreting might allow.

In English source texts produced by non-native speakers, nonadherence to client-related terminology and style guidelines might reflect a lack of awareness on the part of the text producer rather than intentional deviation for stylistic reasons. In the former case, the translator would be expected to nevertheless adhere to client requirements in the target text but, in the latter, stylistic variation should be reflected in the target text. Contacting the author (if known) or the client for clarification slows down the process and is resource-intensive. It also carries the risk of a non-native speaker being offended about their use of English when challenged by another non-native speaker of English (since much of professional translation, at least in Europe and North America, is done from the non-native into the native language). CAT tools might be of less use when translating texts produced by ELF users because of the lower probability of matches with standard formulations in the TM. In the extreme, this would force the translator to carry out the majority of a translation from scratch within a tool that is not designed for that and to overload the TM with idiosyncratic source text formulations that are unlikely to be useful for future translation work.

3. Capacity management and cognitive load

Since the cognitive load of processing ELF input can be "unusually heavy" (Mauranen 2012, 7), interlingual mediators have to accommodate this in their capacity management, which in turn contributes to effort or to detriments in performance. This can have implications for any and, in extreme cases, all phases of the interlingual process. For example, comprehension of ELF input can require higher concentration and more attentive listening or reading as well as more effort directed towards disambiguation and meaning derivation to compensate for incomplete, vague, unconventional structures, and/or incoherent argumentative logic. The consequence is that translators need more time and effort for comprehension and possibly pre-editing of the source text and interpreters have to concentrate harder, invest more resources in analysis and plausibility checks, and improvise. For both interpreters and translators, this extra effort can result in a division of attention that can come at the expense of target language formulation. The guesswork, introduction of doubt and distrust as well as lack of norms and control put language professionals in a constant state of vigilance or even alarm, requiring additional plausibility checks during comprehension that can strain their cognitive resources.

During the transfer phase, unconventional formulations in a source speech can cause interference and disruptions when accessing "long-established automatisms" (Albl-Mikasa 2010, 138) and established translation equivalents. Reliance on the mental (for interpreters) or mental and digital (for translators) translation memory built up over time is at the roots of automatization, without which time- and resource-saving expert behavior is not possible. By contrast, unexpected nonconventional ELF input acting as "brain stoppers", as observed by professional interpreters (Albl-Mikasa 2014, 23), may seriously disrupt processing flow. For translation, this adverse effect could be referred to as "flow blockers", because, unlike trainees, some professional translators have been shown to translate in a linear fashion from (text) beginning to end, with relatively few regressions for revisions (see Massey and Ehrensberger-Dow 2014).[8] Ideal-case immersion in the task, reported as a "trance-like state of flow" (Leppihalme 2011) for translators and a "detached, almost airborne position" (Gran 1989, 98) for interpreters is less likely under ELF conditions. What might be at stake is heightened cognitive load through a "drop" from top-down to bottom-up processing with increased monitoring on the part of the interpreter and "stop-and-go" research-writing alternation on that of the translator.

As discussed in the previous section, the cognitive effort associated with suppressing negative transfer and recognizing opportunities to exploit positive transfer is greater for the unconventional use that is typical of ELF input. If translators are not successful in extracting the meaning of the source text, they might resort to a default strategy of literal translation (see Tirkkonen-Condit, Mäkisalo, and Immonen 2008), staying close to source text formulations and lexis. Translators might later have the chance to compensate for nonoptimal formulations in the revision phase, assuming that the deadline allows this, but this option is definitely not open to interpreters, whose output is necessarily immediate. The only option left to interpreters is to use *décalage* modulation to their advantage. However, reducing the ear-voice span to stay closer to the source speech works only when the information is coherent enough for the interpreter to deduce content. When the input is insufficient, the default strategy of bottom-up word-for-word interpreting does not leave enough scope to produce an adequate or at least sensible interpretation.

8 For more consideration of flow in the translation process, see O'Brien et al. (2017).

Dealing with ELF input can, in fact, lead to a disruption of core interpreting strategies such as anticipation, since it is very difficult to predict unconventional use, and the interpreter cannot jump ahead in the text as a translator can. Interpreters are often left with more intensive use of other habitual strategies such as reliance on visual aids (e.g. slides presented by the speaker) or intensified preparation, corresponding to the translator's research effort mentioned above. Novel strategies for both interpreters and translators are open to empirical exploration. SLB-reliance (i.e. relying on the shared languages benefit) is clearly an ELF-specific strategy that has emerged from the new (ELF) conditions. The implication is that interpreters and translators are well advised to inquire with clients about the language profiles and cultural backgrounds of their source text/speech producers.

A common phenomenon in translation, which has even been called a translation universal or "law" (Toury 2012, 303–304) and is particularly relevant in the context of ELF source texts, is standardization or conventionalization. The claim is that, in the process of translation, the target text tends to exhibit more standard or conventional use of language than the source text. When the source text is already nonstandard and requires pre-editing and/or extra effort to comprehend it, then the risk is great that the tendency towards standardization in the target text might contribute to undesirable levels of vagueness. A competing phenomenon is explicitation, which both students and professionals have been found to engage in (see Englund Dimitrova 2005). The effort associated with adding explanations in a target text to compensate for lack of clarity in the source text would contribute to cognitive load. When dealing with ELF input, a translator is also forced into the position of constantly having to decide whether to try to produce a target text that reads as naturally as possible (i.e. to use an adaptation or domesticating strategy) or to transfer traces of the unconventional language use to the target text (i.e. a foreignizing strategy; see Paloposki 2011).

In effect, interpreters and translators dealing with ELF input have to decide whether their mandate is that of "creating the illusion of the non-hybrid text" (Pym 2001, 11) or of being loyal to the source text despite its idiosyncrasies. If they take compensation, normalization, and optimization measures (and perhaps even sell this as a USP) in the target audience's interest as a type of domestication, it is not clear whether clients will be prepared to cover the cost of the extra cognitive effort and temporal resources that this would require. The question of whether it would be disloyal to ELF text producers to engage in such domestication or adaptation, which might even verge on transcreation, is considered below.

4. Quality

Some basic concepts associated with notions of quality in T&I include fidelity, faithfulness, loyalty, user expectations, accuracy, errors, and norms. In most of the literature on quality, the focus is on considerations of the product (translation) or performance (interpreting). While source input quality has been identified as a major factor and determinant of difficulty in interpreting (Gile 2009, 200; Kalina 2006, 253), there is little such discussion of its influence in translation,[9] although Gouadec (2010, 271) does mention that among other things it is important to "certif[y] (if possible) [the] quality of the material to be translated – either intrinsically or as the result of upgrading" to assure the quality of the output. However, the ISO 17100 (2015) norm for translation service provision makes no mention of the quality of source language content or how it should be ensured or improved upon. This is in contrast to professional translators, who have voiced their frustration in forums[10] about having to deal with source texts written by untrained writers or non-native speakers or have explicitly identified poor-quality source texts as an issue in survey and workplace studies (e.g. Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey 2017; Lafeber 2012). Similar frustration on the part of professional interpreters when dealing with non-native speeches has been well documented in the work of the first author and colleagues (e.g. Albl-Mikasa 2017; Reithofer 2010).

Such expressions of disconcertedness are relevant in that they shed a problematizing light on one of the most fundamental interpreting principles, namely that of speaker fidelity as expressed by Déjean Le Feal (1990, 155):

> What our listeners receive through their earphones should produce the same effect on them as the original speech does on the speaker's audience. It should have the same cognitive content and be presented with equal clarity and precision in the same type of language if not better, given that we are professional communicators, while many speakers are not, and sometimes even have to express themselves in languages other than their own.

If an ELF speech is unclear and difficult to follow, this principle would imply delivery of the "same" effect and, as a consequence, poor output, while paradoxically obliging the interpreter to produce a speech of a similar or improved level of clarity.

9 For a rare exception, see Molnár (2013).

10 https://www.proz.com/forum/translation_theory_and_practice/329057-bad_source_text.html

Interpreters, as communication experts mediating between delegates of different cultures and having to bear the event's purpose in mind, have always had to engage in a balancing act between speaker fidelity and audience design. This has certainly intensified under ELF conditions, in that speaker fidelity is less straightforward to determine (i.e. whether to interpret what was said or what the non-native speaker seemed to be trying to say). At the same time, the strict temporal constraints of the interpreting situation may prevent the interpreter from wasting time agonizing about whether to try to improve clarity, while translators may be forced into the dilemma of choosing between being faithful to the source text or loyal to the purpose of the target text and to the target audience. The GIGO[11] principle, more common in discussions of machine translation quality, is difficult to justify in the context of professional translation in which translators are expected to shape the target text in accordance with the translation brief and the needs of the target users. In a special issue about the reality and characteristics of what have been termed "hybrid texts", Pym (2001, 202) suggests "that the people sharing the translator's intercultural space are increasingly the authors of source texts, and that the real hybrids, the out-and-out weirdos, are more likely to be precisely those source texts". The question then becomes whether interpreters and translators should try to "create and project the illusion of the non-hybrid text" (Pym 2001, 205) if ELF input is essentially hybrid in nature. Taviano (2018, 257) points out that "[t]ranslators working for international organizations, such as the EU and the UN, face the complex task of translating such hybrid texts while being asked to produce clear and accessible translations". Not only does this require extra effort on the part of the translators, the natural-sounding and coherent target output might be at the expense of violating the conventional quality principles of fidelity, faithfulness, and loyalty if the intended meaning of the source text is not actually conveyed.

The concepts of accuracy and errors must also be reconsidered in the context of ELF input. Interpreting renditions are meant to be complete, accurate, and enable smooth communication. The interpreter's task is not to deliver a perfect text, but perhaps to iron out structural irregularities. According to Kucharska (2009), interpreters have limited freedom of choice with respect to style and form when trying to optimize their performance in "deficit situations". Translations, by contrast, are generally meant to be better than defective source texts, since translators serve as critical first readers and

11 GIGO is short for "garbage in – garbage out" and refers to the risks associated with poor-quality input.

are expected to have the domain knowledge and/or do the research necessary to be able to understand unclear texts. However, some passages may require the translator to simply make a best guess that is congruent with the rest of the text but risks deviating from the intended meaning if there is no recourse to checking with the source text author. It can be extremely difficult in the context of such ELF conditions to define on what basis accuracy or errors, or indeed the quality of the product in general, can be judged.

The concept of translational norms, introduced by Toury (1980) and expanded upon by Chesterman ([1993] 2017, [2006] 2017), is also relevant in the context of ELF, since one could argue that norms are blurring as communication becomes globalized. As translators and interpreters are increasingly confronted with source language content produced by non-native speakers, they are being forced to develop ways of dealing with it and their own norms, which include accepting compromises in their conventional notions of target product and performance quality as well as their accountability. This can also affect their understanding of their own role in the communication process and their professional image, as discussed in the next section.

5. Professional image

The roles and responsibilities of professional interpreters and translators, which are based on and contribute to forming their professional image, have been discussed elsewhere in more detail (e.g. Albl-Mikasa 2020; Schäffner 2020), but it is worth reflecting on them here in the context of ELF settings. For example, Albl-Mikasa (2020, 92) points out that interpreting standards and codes of ethics provide guidance to interpreters (AIICC 2015, 2018) and that, "[by] observing these, conference interpreters were and still are assumed to know what to do and how to act and behave in order to promote successful multilingual communication". However, there is no mention in either of those AIIC documents as to the responsibilities of the interpreter when the input is difficult to understand for reasons of nonstandard input, let alone instructions as to how to deal with the abovementioned vagaries regarding speaker fidelity and T&I quality under ELF conditions.

The conventional understanding of professional interpreting has relied on the so-called conduit model: "under many circumstances which arise in conference settings, in press conferences, in technical and commercial seminars, in political speeches (…) the neutral conduit model is a useful ideal, still widely accepted within the profession as the default standard" (Gile 2017, 241). Since the social turn, which was especially noticeable in the area of community interpreting (see Grbić and Wolf 2012, 7), there has been more discussion on the role of interpreters and the notion of professionalism. Intervention, discussed with reference to the construct of "agency" or "spaces of freer ability to determine interactional moves" (Hlavac 2017, 198), no longer seems to be frowned upon and, in the case of ELF input, may be essential. In their roles as multilingual facilitators, interpreters need to grapple with the questions of whether to reproduce source speech weaknesses, to normalize as far as possible within the temporal and situational constraints, or to attempt to produce a smooth, coherent target text that belies the quality of the source input. Striving to do the last-mentioned without being recognized for it might help to explain the decreasing levels of motivation and job satisfaction as well as increasing levels of stress and frustration that professional interpreters have reported as the proportion of non-native producers of source texts has increased (see Albl-Mikasa 2010). If instead professional interpreters recognize that their skills have uniquely prepared them for making sense of fleeting, incomplete, and sometimes incoherent speeches produced by either native or non-native speakers, they may be in a better position to deal with the special challenges that ELF input can present. They could rebrand themselves as intercultural consultants and multilingual communication experts (see also Albl-Mikasa 2017) and, with the appropriate training and experience with non-native varieties, be more confident and have access to the strategies they need when interpreting English speeches produced by non-native speakers.

The situation is very similar to interpreting with respect to the ethics that professional translators are meant to abide by. Chesterman (2001, 139) points out that "[t]he ethical imperative is to represent the source text, or the source author's intention, accurately, without adding, omitting or changing anything". In her discussion of translators' roles and responsibilities, Schäffner (2020) cites a relevant section of the ITI Code (2016, 7): "ensuring fidelity of meaning and register, unless specifically instructed by their clients, preferably in writing, to recreate the text in the cultural context of the target language". The International Federation of Translators (FIT) is even more explicit in this respect about translators' obligations in point 4 of its charter: "Every translation shall be faithful and render exactly the idea and form of the original – this fidelity constituting both a moral and legal obligation for the translator".[12]

Notions of fidelity and faithfulness depend on the ability of the translator to make sense of the source text in order to convey the message intended by

12 https://www.fit-ift.org/translators-charter

the producer. If the source text is not coherent enough to allow for meaning making or there are errors in linguistic usage that block or distort the intended sense, then translators are faced with a moral and legal dilemma. According to McDonough Dolmaya (2011), ethical codes do not provide translators with much guidance. In her review of 17 codes of ethics from around the world, she found that "[i]n many cases, even when the codes do address the issue of accuracy, they do not specifically state what translators should do when faced with ST errors, untruths or ambiguities" (2011, 32).

Rather than slavish loyalty to the source text, most professional translators seem to have an appreciation of their role in terms of juggling responsibilities to the author(s), client(s), and readers (see Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey 2013 for further discussion). Katan (2011) bemoans his survey results that suggest most translators see themselves in a low-autonomy profession and speculates what translation as a high-autonomy profession might look like. Although he does not include it in his list of "Language providers, Localizers, or Cultural interpreters" (2011, 84), translators who are comfortable dealing with ELF input could carve out a market for themselves. This would be consistent with Massey and Wieder's (2019, 76) calls for a broadening of "professional opportunities and range, developing an extended self-concept as intercultural mediators, adaptive transcreators and language consultants". A new understanding of roles and responsibilities would empower translators to move away from the source text when necessary, intervene appropriately when input is insufficient, and expand their professional image to include a specialization in the growing market of translation from ELF texts. Having said that, it must be remembered that few practicing translators or interpreters have had the benefit of specific training that would prepare them for the new roles arising from the spread of ELF (see Taviano 2013 for suggestions).

6. Conclusion

In the 21st century, interpreters and translators are clearly facing the same key challenges, namely Internet-based technologies (especially in the form of remote interpreting and free machine translation) and coping with the rapid spread of ELF, manifested in source texts and speeches being increasingly produced by non-native English speakers. Despite differences in working conditions, interpreting and translation converge on a great number of factors impacting the profession and processes due to the same fundamental cognitive and communicative principles governing T&I. Not surprisingly, labels for concepts in each domain can be readily matched with their counterparts in the other, as the nonexhaustive list in Table 3.1 illustrates.

Interpreting	Translation
Speaker fidelity	Loyalty
Word-for-word interpreting	Literal translation
Meaning-based interpreting	Free translation
Detached airborne position	Trance-like state of flow
Brain stoppers	Flow blockers
Plausibility checks	Normalization
Monitoring	Revising
Mental translation memory	(Mental and) digital translation memory
Audience design	Adaptation for target readership
Accommodation	Localization

Table 3.2 Concepts in interpreting and translation especially relevant in the context of ELF input.

Convergences are particularly salient when considering language mediation under ELF conditions, which seems to produce very similar consequences and repercussions that confront interpreters and translators with related questions, issues, and challenges. Varying degrees of nonstandard (spoken and written) source input as a result of increasing globalization accentuate topics related to the mental (cognitive load) and material (i.e. time-remuneration ratio) cost for the profession. By implication, this means that research should be directed towards both market- and processing-related studies. As regards the latter, an extension of existing vs the development of new, ELF-specific strategies and competences should be on the agenda for research and teaching. Since recent findings point to habituation effects or, more precisely, to exposure to ELF being a better predictor of ELF input comprehension than either domain-specific background knowledge (preparation) or English proficiency levels (Reithofer 2020), introduction to the various types of ELF and World English in the form of ELF-produced source texts and speeches should be prioritized. A similar shift away from a focus on teaching only local or prestige native speaker varieties has already been documented in the literature on World Englishes (e.g. Nelson, Proshina, and Davis 2020). Other topics of interest to T&I against the backdrop of ELF include directionality, language pairs (English as an important or even necessary part of professionals' language profiles), and addressing mixed audiences.

Finally, and in view of the parallels and convergences discussed in this chapter, the interplay between ELF and T&I is yet to be explored. According to Gaspari and Bernardini (2010), ELF (or non-native English, as outlined above) communication and translation can be seen as forms of language mediation sharing similar features (such as explicitation, normalization, or simplification), which has since been supported by corpus research (e.g. Kruger and van Rooy 2016). More recently, Kajzer-Wietrzny (2022) found that oral and written texts produced in the context of language mediation (i.e. T&I) and those by non-native (Polish) speakers showed evidence of being constrained relative to native speaker productions, but in different ways. How much more complex does the equation get when we consider translations from ELF-based source texts and speeches? ELF-based translations could be considered hybrid texts in that they retain traces of text producers' dominant multilingual background as well as of the source text (Mauranen 2008, 2012). Will such "ELF translations" and "ELF interpretations" turn out to be doubly constrained, explicit or overly simplified and expressly dehybridified? A large interdisciplinary research project we are involved in, which encompasses the investigation of both spoken and written ELF and builds on T&I parallels and commonalities, sets out to address the question of what it is that interpreters and translators actually do on the (target) text level when they interpret and translate such source speeches and texts.[13] Interpreters and translators may be uniquely placed to compensate the negative effects of non-native speech for readers and listeners, but the compensation and accommodation measures they take are under-researched and deserve closer description.

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13 More information about the "Cognitive Load in Interpreting and Translation (CLINT)" project can be found at https://www.zhaw.ch/linguistik/iued/clint.

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Part 2

Research methodologies

Triangulating data and methods to map the social context of Canadian literature translated into Hungarian between 1989 and 2014

Fruzsina Kovács

Abstract
From the 1990s onwards, Translation Studies (TS) has become increasingly interested in translation as a practice embedded in social contexts. The methodological approach of triangulation, initially developed in the social sciences, has spread and been fruitfully applied within TS since the turn of the century. Researchers have called for methodological rigor as well as the triangulation of data, methods, and theory, which have been increasingly used in translation research, initially in cognitive and process studies but, more recently, in legal translation and interpreting studies. Despite the widespread use of the approach over the last 20 years, the sociological perspective on translation has yet to fully engage with the methodological issue of triangulation. In this chapter, I will explore existing research in TS where triangulation has been explicitly applied and will argue that temporality also needs to be considered in the research design for the study of social contexts. I will exemplify how the triangulation approach may be applied in an ongoing research project that focuses on changes in the agency of Hungarian publishers during the post-socialist era between 1989 and 2014, when Hungarian translations of Anglophone and Francophone Canadian literature were produced.

Keywords: sociology of translation, translation flow, post-socialist literary field, mixed-methods, triangulation

1. Introduction

It is not rare that fine-arts exhibitions present the public not only the finished works of art, but the tools, materials, and processes as well. Let me give two recent examples. At the exhibition of Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. at the

Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna between October 2018 and January 2019, the curators presented the practical tools of craftsmanship along with the artist's oeuvre. In a hall adjacent to these world-famous pieces of art, brushes, metalpoints, chisels, sources of pigments, and boards compiled of several parts were exhibited, moreover, the craft of binding, fitting, and integrating quality materials was explained. Similarly, the Adamson-Eric Museum of Kumu in Tallinn, Estonia dealt solely with paintings that were prepared to facilitate the staging process for theater at the exhibition opened in April 2019 entitled *On the Stage and on the Canvas*. The painted scenes exhibited were intermediary steps to stage multimedia performances. This chapter highlights an intradisciplinary survey carried out in order to construct the research design for a study that examines the social context of translation.

To that end, this chapter presents the methodological considerations of ongoing research that aim to trace the agency of the publisher in the aftermath of the political change of 1989 in Hungary as seen in the Canadian–Hungarian literary translation flow. The study pays special attention to the events of the publishing field as they unfold on changing social structures of the target market. It triangulates data and methods (quantitative and qualitative analysis) to explore the social contexts of producing translations and ultimately contribute to the understanding of what the "regime change" meant for the literary translation market in Hungary. Although the project is set within the framework of the sociology of translation, due to the still fragmented state of this subfield, the methodological considerations of this study draw upon explicit descriptions of empirical, mixed-methods research conducted in other fields of Translation Studies (TS) as well. Intradisciplinarity aids the researcher in building a research design that allows for the analysis of social contexts of translation from a historical perspective. Although the concept of triangulation is not new in TS, this chapter fills a gap in methodological thinking about translation as a social phenomenon that occurs in a specific period of time. The second section provides a brief historical context for my research question. The third section reflects on the formation of a sociological and historical perspective in TS. The fourth section discusses the concept of triangulation, how it has spread within TS, and what methodological considerations may guide my current research. Finally, I will offer an insight into the data sources and research design of my work in progress.

2. Research question and historical context

The political transformation in 1989 opened up an avenue of cultural transfer between Hungarian publishers and the transnational agents of the global book market in a rapid and dynamic way. The process of democratic restructuring facilitated a surge in the number of new publishing houses which had already started a few years prior to the political agreements: "In 1987, there were 25 registered publishing houses in the country, in 1989, the number was 300, in 1993, it was around 1,300" (Bárány 1998, 201). Moreover, about 5,000 companies included media and book publishing as some of their activities (Sohár 1999). Translations have not only been carriers of ideas and new literary genres, but after the regime change, publishing translations remained instrumental in transforming the practices of the industry in the target cultural field. This research project maps out the changing agency of Hungarian publishers that produced translations of Canadian literature from 1989 to 2014 over a 25-year period of dynamic political and social change. Furthermore, it traces the transfer practices of publishers that have radically changed due to contextual elements such as cultural diplomacy, government funding, the impact of transnational literary prizes, and the emergence of new actors in the global book market. Its main research question is: How did the transfer practices of publishers change in the Canadian–Hungarian literary translation flow between 1989 and 2014? The study pays attention to the situatedness of translation in time and space as well as focuses on the agency of publishers who act as "cultural brokers" in the transfer and negotiation processes. The enquiry starts in 1989, which is also the year of the political transformation in Hungary, a natural fault line (Chesterman and Williams 2002, 94) in a series of political events. The year when the period under examination ends, namely 2014, is also marked by a political milestone, that is, a general election. The study follows the diverging paths of Canadian books, both Anglophone and Francophone publications, in the changing post-socialist political, economic, cultural, and social contexts. From the point of view of a translator and cultural manager, the author refers to translation in a broad sense (van Doorslaer 2018), not only as a linguistic transfer but also as a practice that mediates between linguistic, cultural, and social structures.

3. An emerging sociological perspective in Translation Studies

The social context of translation was noted as an object of study as early as 1972, when Translation Studies (TS) was formed as an academic discipline (Holmes [1972] 1988, 95). At that time, these concerns were addressed in Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), that is, in product-oriented diachronic research, and an enquiry that describes the translation's "function in the socio-cultural situation: (…) contexts rather than texts" ([1972] 1988, 72). Toury (1980), while expanding the scope of research in DTS, called for the study of the context in relation to historically determined norms in the target culture. Cultural and social aspects of linguistic transfer received more weight in academic discussions and the history of translation was given special attention with the "cultural turn" of the 1980s (Bassnett 1980; Snell-Hornby 1988). Parallel to the cultural research on translation, the 1990s brought about a new "turn" which focused on the social embeddedness of the transfer (Gouanvic 1999; Hermans 1997, 1999; Lefevere 1992; Toury 1995). The 2006 publication entitled *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting* (edited by Pym, Shlesinger, and Jettmarová) was preceded by several international seminars and conferences on translation and interpreting as a social practice (Tarragona, Tel Aviv, and Graz in 2005; see Pym 2006, 1). In his introduction to the edited volume, Pym expresses the need to go beyond the mere multifactorial description of the social context or the confirmation of assumed causality and prior theoretical claims. The collected papers present a plethora of data sources and methodological tools, but the analytical methods remain in the background and – possibly due to a lack of space – are not explicit.

In the development of this academic subfield, 2007 marked a milestone with the publication of *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (edited by Wolf and Fukari). Wolf (2007, 31) points out that existing research can be aligned with three main areas, namely the sociology of agents, the translation process, and the translation product, noting that, in order to develop these overlapping fields, "we need, first and foremost, to refine our methodologies". This seminal publication drafts multiple directions for further research that may draw on methods of sociology, anthropology, history as well as literary and cultural studies. Simeoni (2007), in his contribution to the same volume, underlines the need for a historical perspective in the sociology of translation. He emphasizes the relevance of the microcontextual level and expresses a need for a method that does not aim to zoom in on a single interpretation but rather offers open-ended, simultaneously possible interpretations (Simeoni

2007, 195). He suggests that both survey- and agent-based approaches can be used, but does not elaborate on the methodological aspects of sociohistorical analysis. The methodological references are similarly brief in the edited volume entitled *The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies* (Angelelli 2014). The papers provide a rich set of cases from various geographical and institutional settings, but remain mostly silent (except for Caliendo, Dam, and Zethsen) with regard to the data sources and analytical methods applied.

The temporal aspects of translation in society have been a focus of translation history. The historical enquiry addresses issues concerning historical data, historiography, and metahistoriography (Bastin and Bandia 2006; D'hulst 2010). Pym's (1998, 15) seminal book entitled *Method in Translation History* suggests a threefold methodology of "archaeology, criticism and explanation" when studying the history of translation. He emphasizes the need to extract corpora out of catalogues as well as to cross-check data to confirm the validity of datasets and aid data categorization while using paratexts in order to decide which category a text might fall into: whether it is a translation proper, an indirect translation or a borderline case of predefined categories. He highlights the benefits of a quantitative analysis through cumulative frequency graphs and calls for an explanation in terms of probabilistic relations rather than searching for direct causality in the process of data analysis.

It is worth noting that besides recent sociological research done in TS (PhD dissertations by McMartin 2019; Pięta 2013; Špirk 2011), there has been an interest in translational phenomena in adjacent disciplines as well. Translation flows have been examined in sociology (Popa 2006; Sapiro 2015; van Es and Heilbron 2015) and anthropology (Pisac 2014). As Sapiro points out (2010), in a wider context, cultural globalization has been studied through several models, that is, through world-systems, network flows analysis, the reception approach, and cultural policy strategies (see Appadurai 1996; Crane 2002; Hannerz 1996; Regev 2007; Tomlinson 1991). This multidisciplinary spread of research shows that the same phenomenon has been found to be of interest within different research traditions and studied using different methods.

4. The triangulation approach

Although the concept of triangulation was used initially for navigation and in geodesy in the 19th century to calculate exact physical distances, the multitrait-multimethod matrix, which was developed by Campbell and Fiske (1959) to validate research results, was named "triangulation" by Webb et al. (1966) and further elaborated on in the social sciences (see Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner 2007). Denzin (1978) differentiates between four types of triangulation, namely data sources, investigators, theory and methodological triangulation, performed either between (across) methods or within methods. This approach, which looks at a specific issue from different points of view, may combine quantitative and qualitative methods but can also stay within one methodological and epistemological regime as well. Jick (1979) argues that the various forms of triangulation can be placed on a continuum starting from simple research designs, that is, from the basic scaling of qualitative data or verification with regard to the reliability of data (within-methods triangulation) to more complex research designs, namely convergent validation (between-methods triangulation) and holistic (contextual) description. While within-methods triangulation is used to ensure internal data consistency, between-methods triangulation also tests the validity of contextual elements.

One of the earliest examples of triangulation in TS is by Jakobsen (1999), who investigated the translation process by focusing on the connection between a time delay and the processing of information. Jakobsen (1999, 19) notes that "triangulation has been claimed not only to validate observational data but also to capture a more complete portrayal of the object or phenomenon under study". Process research has incorporated the triangulation approach in empirical studies with regard to the decision-making strategies of translators (see Alves 2003; Alves and Gonçalves 2003; Englund Dimitrova 2005; Hansen 1999, 2003; Jakobsen 2005; Trandem 2005). The majority of these studies, however, expect methods to converge as well as apply triangulation to support their arguments and confirm hypotheses. Few studies take note of the inherent, sometimes conflicting, epistemological regimes of quantitative and qualitative methods. One of the exceptions is Hansen (2003), who argues that the necessary approach to account for the interrelatedness between the translator's performance, the translated product, and the observer who interprets the collected data is through detailed categorization and triangulation of data.

The concept of triangulation has also been applied in other research fields of TS, such as translator training (Muñoz Martín 2009; Sánchez Ramos 2005), audiovisual translation (Caffrey 2012), legal translation (Biel and Engberg 2013; Biel et al. 2019), interpreting (Seeber et al. 2019), linguistics and corpus research (Malamatidou 2018), while there has been a continuous call for rigor in terms of the methodology that involves testing through triangulation (Gile 2005; Hild 2007). Several recent publications focusing on research methods underline the importance of triangulation in empirical research (Angelelli and Baer 2015; Saldanha and O'Brien 2013; Sutter, Lefer, and

Delaere 2017), but Saldanha and O'Brien (2013, 206) note that, "in terms of context-oriented research, the impact of sociology has been felt not so much in terms of research methodology but in the conceptual frameworks and explanatory procedures borrowed from that discipline".

Most recently, Aguilar-Solano (2020) addressed triangulation and the issue of trustworthiness in the context of public service interpreting performed in healthcare institutions in southern Spain. She draws attention to the lack of distinction in TS between triangulation and the combination of methods as well as points out the evolving nature of the concept. Within the social sciences, Campbell and Fiske (1959) and Denzin (1978) applied triangulation initially "by playing each method off against the other so as to maximize the validity of field efforts" (Denzin 1978, 304) with the goal of confirming an objective "truth". By the 1980s, the approach began to be used for completeness and trustworthiness in research as well as to obtain a more complete understanding of the social context. Aguilar-Solano (2020, 34), agreeing with Malamatidou, points out that "combining research methods is not, within itself, sufficient to justify the use of triangulation, a strategy that requires a coherent integration of methods and a careful process of reflection on the research goals". Through her case study, she shows that the integration of qualitative methods enables the researcher to have a more holistic view about the context of interpreting. Although Aguilar-Solano's work fills a gap in the scholarship on triangulation in TS, she does not address the issues of change and temporality.

The issue of change in a historical period has also been addressed in other interdisciplinary academic fields outside of translation research, such as in organization studies. In response to the nature of historical scholarship, where researchers often have to work with "second-hand" fragmented sources, "found" data that were produced in specific circumstances or an ingrained bias, Kipping, Wadhwani, and Bucheli (2015) propose a threefold methodology: source criticism, triangulation, and interpretation through an iterative process, a so-called "hermeneutic circle". These three elements also resonate with Pym's recommendation for investigating translation history. Source criticism addresses issues of external and internal validity such as the circumstances of production, purpose, and audience, but also whether the author is an eyewitness, competent, authoritative or has any reasons for bias. Source criticism also calls for a precise referencing system of archival locations for sources by paying attention to anonymity if the research calls for it. This investigation reveals the weaknesses of data sources that can be overcome by triangulation: "Historical triangulation actually values sources that are different/heterogeneous because of the interpretative procedure involved and the aim of avoiding the bias of any one authoritative source, however consistent it may be" (Kipping, Wadhwani, and Bucheli 2015, 317). Therefore, the conscious integrating approach aims to overcome the limits of data that source criticism has identified: "Triangulation of historical sources is not only used to corroborate evidence; it is often most useful in instances where sources contradict each other" (2015, 318). The third interpretative element of the approach establishes the relationship between the focal source and other broader contexts and is very much related to the second triangulation element. The three parts are not sequential but rather iterative processes.

5. The research design

Next, I turn to my data sources and account for the preliminary considerations that have shaped the research design of a study on the sociohistorical aspects of translation in Hungary between 1989 and 2014 from the perspective of the publisher. The study on the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow can be aligned with studies on the globalization of the book market, but it is a more nuanced case since Canadian cultural production in English and French can be considered to be on the semiperiphery of the respective cultural markets that are very much linked to publishing centers in the United States, United Kingdom, and France. Hungarian is considered to be a language of lesser diffusion with approximately 13 million speakers, and the exportation of Hungarian books falls on the periphery of global cultural production (Heilbron 1999). The Hungarian literary field has always relied upon the importation of literature and exported less to the "world republic of letters". This uneven literary exchange is contingent on inequalities in terms of power relations between languages as well as cultural markets (Casanova 2004). Equally strong influence was the political barrier that prevented literature produced in Western countries from entering Hungary without restrictions between 1948 and 1989. In order to trace the transfer practices of publishers who mediated translations in Hungary in a dynamically changing historical period, between 1989 and 2014, a triangulation approach concerning data and methods will be undertaken. As the number of translated titles in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow can be considered small compared to other central language flows, during the mixed-methods analytical procedure, a qualitative dominant approach will be applied.

6. Data sources

6.1 Quantitative data

The entry point into the research cycle is an initial statistical enquiry on published titles in the translation bibliography database of the Central European Association for Canadian Studies (CEACS).[1] This association incorporates scholars who teach Canadian Studies at universities in eight countries, namely Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia. CEACS is part of the International Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS), which was founded in 1981 by the Governor General of Canada as its patron.[2] In 2010, the CEACS initiated a project that aimed to deal with translations into the national languages "in the Central European region of literary works, literary criticism and scholarly works in the areas of the humanities and social sciences that were written by Canadians or, in the case of those written by non-Canadians, that deal with or are set in Canada".[3] Part of the project was an online database containing a dataset on all such translations published as books. In the first phase, bibliographical information on translations published from the earliest date that could be found up until 2010 was recorded. In the second phase, the same was done for translations published between 2011 and 2016. The database project is ongoing and updated annually. As the members of the research team come from the fields of literary studies, cultural studies, and TS, the categories used in the database reflect their input as well as scholarly interest.

The dataset aimed to be as inclusive as possible by encompassing collections of popular genres, nonfiction, children's literature, religious texts, literary criticism, and theater plays, apart from the canonized Canadian literary works included in the university curricula of classes taught by the participating scholars. Although most genre categories were decided by the research team prior to the data collection, new categories entered as borderline cases were found that did not fit any of the predefined categories. As a general guideline, publications were entered into the database that were published in the form of books and found in library catalogues. The bibliographical project regarded translation as "all utterances which are represented or regarded as such within

1 http://korel.savana-hosting.cz/cecanstud/www/sign/in?backlink=lmznb. Accessed 4 May 2020.

2 https://www.iccs-ciec.ca/member-associations-associate-members-details.php?id=29. Accessed 28 April 2020.

3 http://www.cecanstud.cz/index.php/en/other-activities. Accessed 28 April 2020.

the target culture" (Toury 1995, 32), based on paratextual information or details provided by publishers. However, questions related to source texts became just as relevant. What is Canadian literature that originates from a multicultural society? Is it literature written by Canadian citizens living in Canada or even outside of Canada? Should non-Canadian writers who write about Canada be included? What about immigrant writers who currently live and write in Canada but are not citizens of the country?[4] According to the agreement of the participating scholars, all Canadian writers living in and outside of Canada and even non-Canadian authors, such as Jack London and Annie Proulx who take Canada as their topoi, were included. A list of 700 authors listed in anthologies of Canadian literature were checked in the catalogues of national libraries in Central Europe. This list was updated with authors who were "found" while cross-checking the CEACS database with the subsidy report of the Canada Council for the Arts. Reprints and new editions were entered as separate entries but labeled as editions. The collected metadata include the names of the author(s), translator(s), publisher, and illustrator as well as the original title, title of the translation, date of publication, edition, genre, and language of translation.

The database project aimed to compile a catalogue of translations that is as comprehensive as possible. Pym (1998, 42) points out that "[a] catalogue's main function is to approach maximum completeness so as to enable any particular piece of information to be found". Despite the efforts of the research team, however, the question remains whether the CEACS catalogue is complete or not. Although it is impossible to arrive at a state of completeness, cross-checking of data for inner consistency in the last phase of the project among the eight countries brings the database to a level of completion that allows for a comparison of translated Canadian literature, as well as sheds light on the production volume and regional interest in Canadian writers. Its specifics advantages are that it contains translations from both Anglophone and Francophone literature and provides the possibility to test hypotheses as well as create new ones, as suggested by Pym (1998) and exemplified by Pięta (2013).

To answer my main research question, a problem-specific corpus (Pym 1998, 48) was extracted from the CEACS database that is relevant to Hungary during the examined time period. This dataset did not include foreign authors

4 Similar questions have been raised by José Lambert (1991), who argues that instead of national literatures, literature in a given country should be considered. In the current study, however, both categories, national and transnational, result in further data for the translation flow as the agents of the trajectory each act in terms of nations, regions, territories or global categories.

who wrote about Canada. Figure 4.1 shows that the number of new translated Canadian titles was low, in some years between 1944 and 1989 completely nonexistent, but rapidly increased after the political change of 1989, having peaked in 2007.

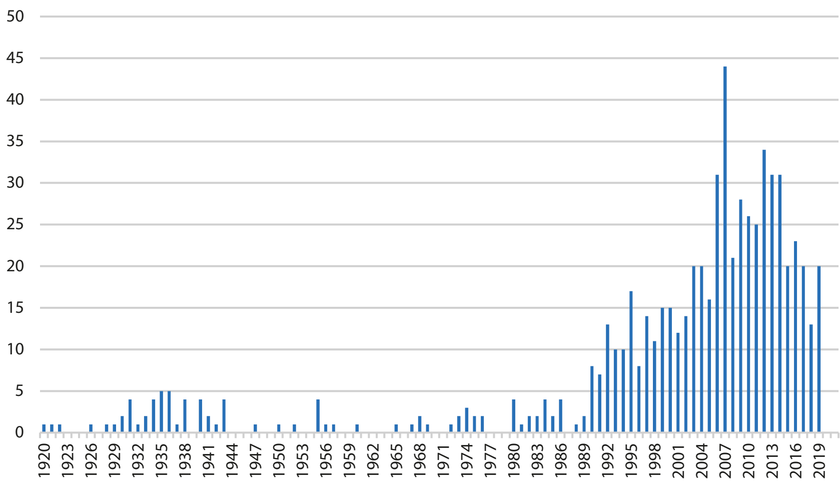

Figure 4.1 Number of translated Canadian titles by Hungarian publishers between 1920 and 2019. Source: CEACS database.

This initial cumulative frequency graph motivates sub-questions to the main research question that can be operationalized:

Q1: Did the translation initiative of Canadian cultural diplomacy influence the decision of publishers to transfer books from Anglophone or Francophone literature during the period?

Q2: Was there a change in the way international literary awards appear in terms of the promotion of translated Canadian literature by publishers between 1989 and 2014?

Q3: How was Canadian literature introduced at cultural events between 1989 and 2014, especially when Canada was a guest of honor at the International Book Festival in Budapest in 2007?

Q4: Did other cultural products that Canadian literature might have been linked to have an impact on the decision by publishers to translate books between 1989 and 2014?

These sub-questions can only be answered by integrating analytical methods and situating the triangulated data in a specific period of time. Through source criticism, as exemplified below, the weaknesses of the quantitative and qualitative datasets are revealed, and datasets are triangulated in a way that ensures these weaknesses do not overlap.

The second source of quantitative data to be compared with the CEACS database are the annual cultural statistics with regard to the publishing industry as a whole collected by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH).[5] The cultural statistical reports are based on a mandatory data reporting system for media bodies, theaters, museums, libraries, and publishers. The publicly available data include the number of published titles, print runs of books and printed leaflets as well as a detailed breakdown of genres (academic, nonfiction, technical, literary genres, young adult and children's fiction, in addition to school textbooks), translated languages and source countries. This dataset confirms the centrality of the American publishing market compared with that of Canada. The annual number of translated titles (including books and booklets) from the USA between 2005 and 2014 ranged from 1,552 and 2,098, while the number of translated titles from Canada fell within the range of 8 to 17. However, when the KSH official statistics and the CEACS dataset are compared, a considerable difference can be observed between the number of translated titles, that is, CEACS includes more than double the number of translated Canadian titles during the period. This divergence raises questions about the data reporting and categorization processes at hand. Although the KSH statistics can give an overall impression of the relationship between languages and cultural markets in Hungary, this appears to be unsuitable for investigating individual translation flows. Similarly, I am aware of UNESCO's Index Translationum database which was created in 1932 for the purpose of providing a complete bibliography of all translated books in the world. The database has been used to measure large-scale flows and recognize the centrality of the English language, but several scholars have raised concerns about the accuracy of the dataset (Heilbron 1999; Sapiro 2010) and pointed out that it is inadequate as a single source for a detailed study of translation flows between peripheries.

The third type of publicly available data is the report compiled by the Canada Council for the Arts on its subsidies for international translation grants within the Arts Abroad program, the most supported theme on the Council's cultural agenda. International literary publishers, theater companies, and multidisciplinary organizations may apply for funding for the

5 http://www.ksh.hu/?lang=en. Accessed 4 May 2020.

purpose of translation. In the case of literature projects, the Council covers 50% of the translator's fee, and in the case of theatrical performances, all translation and surtitling costs are covered. Additionally, publishers may apply for funding with regard to promotional and event costs in connection with translated books. The transparent funding lists of the source country are a reliable source and can be contrasted with the CEACS database, which also includes a comparison between publishers as well as the volume of supported titles in the portfolio of independent publishers and imprints of large publishing groups.

6.2 Triangulating with quantitative data

Q1 investigates the financial context of translations with regard to the publisher. International translation grants are part of Canada's cultural diplomacy, but the large-scale structural funding instruments may not be as effective on a local level. Triangulating the CEACS database with the public KSH and the Canada Council for the Arts data improves the reliability of datasets. Although there are weaknesses in the statistical data, namely, that they are incomplete and the data collection methods of public institutions are unknown, these can be overcome by implementing qualitative data. I hypothesize that, from the perspective of the target, funding will be seen as scarce and not within reach for all publishers in the target context. The cumulative frequency graphs and statistical reports on funding are further triangulated with interview data from publishers, which will provide an insight into the timing and relevance of these funding schemes, especially with regard to the acquisition of external funding linked to any cultural events or certain Canadian books, both bestsellers and slow sellers.

6.3 Qualitative data

The initial statistical enquiry of the CEACS translation bibliography (see Figure 4.1) points to years of higher and lower production that invite further investigation through qualitative methods, namely semistructured interviews with key agents in the translation flow as well as the analysis of discursive and nondiscursive paratexts.

Two types of semistructured interviews are conducted. With permission, I refer here to those I conducted as part of the Literary Agents' survey of the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in 2019. The interviewed literary agents mediate translation rights in Hungary and neighboring countries and represent large publishing "territories" in their portfolio, including Canadian authors. The other set of qualitative data are comprised of interviews with the publishers and key agents in the translation trajectory who are in contact with publishers, including the founder of the International Book Festival Budapest, a former representative of the Hungarian Publishers' and Booksellers' Association, editors, reviewers, translators, and expert readers, that is, critics. The publishers interviewed were chosen from the sampling frame of the extracted corpus of the CEACS database according to the number of translated titles (Európa) and those endowed with high symbolic capital (e.g. Lazi Publishing, the first independent Hungarian publisher of Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*, and Jelenkor Publishing, Atwood's current Hungarian publisher). The semistructured interviews focus on the selection strategies of publishers, promotion of books and events, constraints of literary transfer as well as any motivators of the flow during the given time period. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed for main themes in a grounded way. Ten main themes have been identified so far, including references to geographical regions, timing, the American market, bestsellers, literary prizes, film adaptations, and financial constraints. These topics are taken as a basis for examining paratextual data, while new themes may also be included if needed.

Concerning the importance of paratexts, Gérard Genette (1997, 1) points out that "the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public". It is something which "ensure[s] the text's presence in the world" (1997, 1). Paratexts can be peritexts such as book covers, forewords, and afterwords, that is, those which are closely linked to the book, or epitexts that are located outside the book. By taking Genette's proposition further and referencing Baker (2006, 106), Kathryn Batchelor (2018, 145, her emphasis) posits that "*paratexts* can be seen as sites in which *framing* takes place", but this is different from perceiving paratexts as frames. Therefore, the publisher's agency can be traced in the paratexts, which complement insights gained both from statistical and interview data. Book covers, which are almost always decided by the publisher, provide readers with a first impression of the cultural product prior to reading the text. Book covers have evolved with the change of the regime, as branded book series launched during the communist period continued but were reframed. The covers of translated Canadian books will be compared with their originals and analyzed according to the themes addressed in the interviews.

Epitextual data, which are relevant to the publisher's agency, are comprised of 15 archived in-house documents, reviews commissioned by Európa

Publishing on Canadian books considered for translation between 1989 and 2014. The documentation was anonymized and analyzed following permission from the publisher. It is worth noting that a multiple review process was an established practice during the communist era to informally censor literature that was not in line with communist ideologies. However, at Európa Publishing, this decision-making practice lasted for more than 20 years after the political change. After 1989, the 2-5-page-long review documents focused on the literary aspects and international trajectory of books rather than their ideological screening. These documents function as an initial framing of Canadian books in the target culture and reveal that the selection criteria for translation changed after 1989.

The second source of epitexts are the published responses of expert readers, journalists, and literary critics who often receive complimentary copies and are invited by the publisher to submit a review. These reviews are not part of the selection process but may affect the translation of further titles. Translated books are reframed in the target book market by the journalist or critic. In a pilot survey, nine media organizations, that is, general newspapers, were chosen, namely *HVG*, *Magyar Narancs*, *Magyar Nemzet*, and *Népszabadság* as well as specialized literary journals *Élet és Irodalom*, *Jelenkor*, *Műút*, and *Nagyvilág* and an online portal *litera.hu* to examine the reception to Alice Munro's published books (Kovács 2019). The pilot survey has shown that general newspapers often highlight the role(s) of mediating agents such as publishers and translators, as well as the international literary prestige of books and "cultural packages" such as audiovisual adaptations that they are linked to. However, these "bundles" do not necessarily guarantee the success of the literary piece in the target culture. Literary journals focus mostly on the literary innovations of the translation and rarely expand on the mediators of the translation flow.

6.4 Triangulating with qualitative data

To answer Q2, literary awards (such as the Governor General's Literary Award, Trillium Book Award, Giller Prize, International Booker Prize, Nobel Prize in Literature) recognized by readers in Canada are checked on the book covers of both the source and target texts. Influential literary awards are also mentioned in interviews with literary agents and publishers, in in-house documents of Európa Publishing as well as in media coverage. The weakness of the qualitative data is that it might contain ingrained personal bias and/or a marketing agenda. Changes in the recognition of international prestige are expected to occur in the in-house documents in a rather unintentional way, since they were authored by multiple people over several years in the absence of ideological pressure, which was characteristic of the pre-1989 era. During the socialist era, recipients of the Nobel Prize in the Eastern Bloc were discouraged to attach high value to the award of the Swedish Academy; after the political change, however, the international symbolic capital of the Nobel in literature became a significant marker of value for Hungarian publishers. While datasets were expected to diverge with regard to Q1, concerning the labeling of international literary recognition, datasets are expected to converge. It is hypothesized that the recognition of international literary prestige has been present since 1989, but the number of recognized prizes was initially very limited.

Q3 explores publishing events in Hungary between 1989 and 2014, especially the presence of Canadian literature at the International Book Festival in 2007. The cumulative frequency graphs of the CEACS data very clearly point to this question (Q3), which will be discussed by triangulating data from the interviews of agents with varying points of view, namely a representative from the Canadian Embassy, the founder of the International Book Festival Budapest, literary agents, and publishers, as well as the media coverage of the event. Although the qualitative datasets will presumably contain ingrained bias, the triangulation of data, that is, contrasting perspectives (government, organizer, participant), will result in a balanced inference. Datasets are expected to diverge and not be homogeneous (Timans, Wouters, and Heilbron 2019, 212–213), as parties have varying agendas at an international book festival.

Q4 enquires about the presence of other cultural products in the market and whether the publisher's decision to translate Canadian literature is motivated by audiovisual adaptations, performances, visual arts exhibitions, etc. during the time period examined. The publisher and literary agent interviews are triangulated with book covers and responses from the media. The datasets are expected to complement each other and converge.

7. The issue of time and scale

In order to account for change with regard to the transfer practices of Hungarian publishers through the inflow of Canadian literature, the temporal situatedness of the translation flow plays a central role. Casanova (2002) points out that national literary fields, after a period of oppression, aim to bridge the time gap between the publication of source and target texts in their struggle for an autonomous position:

> In these situations of specific "delay", translation is the only means of making up literary time. In other words, it is an instrument of "temporal acceleration": translation allows the whole of a national field which is temporally very distant from the literary centres, to enter into the world literary competition by revealing the state of (aesthetic) struggles at the literary meridian. (Casanova 2002, 9)

On the mesolevel, the qualitative data reveal that publishers work in cycles with national and international book festivals as central events of the book market. Consequently, books are usually ready for publication by the time a book festival starts. Furthermore, the timing of translations is in the hands of publishers and often connected to the release of foreign film adaptations. In the Canadian translation flow, this practice can be observed as early as 1989. On the microlevel, via the interviews, a personal processing of time is reflected upon. Some publishing agents fled from communism to the United States in the 1970s, returned to Hungary in 1989 and established a publishing house that only published fast sellers. Although the translation flow is most affected by the macrolevel structural changes that took place during the time period right after the political transformation, publishers' perception of cyclical time and personal histories might be stronger motivating factors in the second half of the examined period. Accordingly, the triangulation effected by the study not only involves systematic cross-checking of data, but invites an iterative process of hermeneutic interpretation, a continuous movement between quantitative and qualitative data (both interviews and paratexts), as well as explores the partnership between macrofunctions and microdynamics (Katznelson 2003, 271) in terms of the publication of translations of Canadian literature after 1989.

Based on the quantitative data, the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow can be considered a small-N (meaning small sample size) translational phenomenon. The question whether small-N studies can provide any theoretical gains might arise. In other words, what is the benefit of examining translation flows that carry a small volume of titles between peripheral cultural markets? In defense of small-scale studies, Rueschemeyer (2003) reminds us that single cases do not mean single observations. The historical analysis of single cases, even if they employ qualitative tools, will also incorporate many repeated empirical checks (Rueschemeyer 2003, 318). For unique translation trajectories and singularities, deterministic causal reasoning can hardly be used; moreover, cross-case checking will be methodologically important to increase the level of completeness and transferability of a given study.

While it is early to report the findings of this ongoing sociohistorical study, the preliminary investigation has shown that, although the political change has opened up the possibility of transferring books from Western countries, including multicultural Canada, it was the 2007 Budapest International Book Festival that had already motivated production in the lead up to the event. While in 2005, 16 new titles were introduced by Hungarian publishers from Canada, in 2006 and 2007 this number was 31 and 44, respectively. Figure 4.1 also clearly shows a decreasing tendency of newly published titles after the book festival, which may be a result of the global financial crisis in 2008 as well as of the fact that one of the largest Hungarian book publishing and distributing conglomerates, Alexandra, went bankrupt, hence creating a chain of debt among mediating agents in the book market, including publishers, translators, and retailers. The International Translation Grants database of the Canada Council for the Arts shows that the amount of subsidies for translation that Hungarian publishers acquired between 1998 and 2008 increased by more than fourfold over the following decade, between 2009 and 2019. The global financial crisis and a serious breakdown in the local industry also motivated Hungarian publishers to acquire funding for translation from other sources and benefit from the source country's government subsidy. The paratextual data and the interviews show that Európa, the publisher that has produced the highest number of translated titles from Canada since 1989, initially continued to focus on translating books from national literatures, the practice of which, however, slowly changed. Recently, publishers have started to work closely with literary agents who consider Canadian literature to be part of North American literary production, a territory of the global book market.

8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the data sources and methods applied in an ongoing research focusing on the changing transfer practices of publishers in the Canadian–Hungarian translation flow between 1989 and 2014. The research builds on the bibliographical database of CEACS in 2010, a catalogue which lists Canadian literature translated into eight languages in Central Europe. The chapter first provided an overview of the formation of sociological and historical perspectives in TS; moreover, the concept of triangulation was briefly discussed as developed in the social sciences and practiced in translation research. Intradisciplinarity, especially examples of earlier research into the history of translation and public service interpreting, has aided the formation of the research design. As discussed by translation scholars, triangulation for completeness in a study of social contexts cannot merely mean a cross-checking of datasets, but a coherent integration of methods is needed (e.g. Aguilar-Solano 2020; Jakobsen 1999; Pym 2006), which reflects on and counterbalances the strengths and weaknesses of available datasets. Therefore, through the example of the current project, it has been shown that a dominant qualitative research-specific mixed-methods design can facilitate a sociohistorical investigation via the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data and by taking the situatedness of a translation flow in a specific time period into consideration. As a result, this ongoing research, conducted at Pázmány Péter Catholic University, aims to shed light on the changing social context of translated literature in the hands of publishers.

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Tracing lives in Turkish

The making of a bibliography of biography

Ceyda Elgül

Abstract
This chapter expands on the methods of "Lives in Turkish", a digital translation history project that dwells on the journey of life-writing in Turkish. The project presents a database of Turkish language biographies published since the early 1800s. It aims to shed light on the use of the genre in the Turkish literary system. The dataset comprises meta-data about biographical volumes and information about biography subjects. The chapter first embarks on how the digital humanities frame can help illuminate macrocontexts in the making of translation history. Then it describes the making of the bibliography and explains the collection, categorization, and documentation of the data. It discusses how the systematic structures of macroscale bibliographies, which requires a particular organization of the dataset, can be reconciled with culture-specific peculiarities of the historical publications that tend to resist such modern reference categories as translation, original, and authorship. This requires the quantitative approach of the bibliography project to be complemented by qualitative analysis. The definitions of translation and original as manifest in the Ottoman–Turkish literary system, the notion of intralingual translation, and the recording of the data that predates the series of reforms brought by Turkish modernization are given as cases that necessitate this eclectic model in the making and analysis of diachronic bibliographies that concern the Turkish literary context.

Keywords: bibliography, biography in Turkish literature, translation history, digital humanities, database

1. Digital humanities and translation history

In his call for more quantitative research in the making and remaking of literary history, Franco Moretti (2005, 2) declares that much as the tools that are utilized in quantitative research – namely graphs, maps and trees – are abstract, their consequences are extremely concrete, because they "place the literary field literally in front of our eyes – and show us how little we still know about it". In his context, distant reading is not an obstacle, instead producing "a specific form of knowledge" (2005, 1) that can inspire a sharper sense of the overall interconnections of the elements. In one of his cases, Moretti offers a distant reading of the position of the novel in 19th century Britain, where the canon of 200 novels – "which sounds very large for nineteenth-century Britain" (2005, 4) – presents only less than one percent of the novels that were actually published. A field this large is not a sum of individual cases and cannot be studied with close reading; it is a collective system that should be grasped as a whole. As Fernand Braudel (1997 quoted in Moretti 2005, 4) also notes: "History is indeed a poor little conjectural science when it selects individuals as its objects… but much more rational in its procedures and results, when it examines groups and repetitions" (Braudel 1997 quoted in Moretti 2005, 4).

The infusion of big data and data analysis in every aspect of our lives has brought back macro approaches and grand narratives in the making of history. In his portrayal of the post-2000 setting of humanistic research termed "digital humanities", Matthew Jockers (2013) draws an analogy between macroeconomics (which Maynard Keynes coined in his "general theory of money" back in the first half of the 20th century) and what Moretti calls distant reading. Instead of investigating individual behavior, literary research can benefit from a "macroscopic investigation" that offers "contextualization on an unprecedented scale": by exploring a record on a large scale, "we will better understand the context in which individual texts exist and thereby better understand those individual texts" (Jockers 2013, 27). Macro focus enables a comprehension of how producers of literature "respond to or react against literary and cultural trends" (2013, 28). These discussions on the advantages of macro settings might evoke the systemic approach to translation initially introduced by the Israeli school of translation back in the 1970s and further developed towards the 2000s (i.e. Even-Zohar 2010). Perhaps in addition to the systemic approach to literature that contends that translation and literary repertoires should be examined in groups as systems of their own (as an alternative to the study of each translation on an individual basis), now humanities researchers are encouraged to use digital tools in the making and analysis of these comprehensive datasets:

> The humanities computing/digital humanities revolution has now begun, and big data have been a major catalyst. The questions we may now ask were previously inconceivable, and to answer these questions requires

> a new methodology, a new way of thinking about our object of study. (Jockers 2013, 4)

In their "born digital, open peer-review, open access" edited volume entitled *Writing History in the Digital Age*, Kristen Nawrotzki and Jack Dougherty (2013) describe how the digital age has transformed the ways researchers create knowledge in an evolutionary way. They set out from the question "Could technology help us to create a more intellectually collaborative volume, with a more transparent process, in a relatively shorter period of time?" (Nawrotzki and Dougherty 2013, 2). As a response, they used collaborative web tools to challenge the conventional ways of compiling edited volumes that produce results "no greater than the sum of its parts" (2013, 2); instead, they published the volume on the web in stages and allowed contributors to exchange ideas, drafts, and comments. In line with this process of creation, the book is open access, shared with readers on the public web.

As can be inferred from the aforementioned case, the digital frame has redefined the boundaries of collaborative historical scholarship, eventually reflecting on the outcomes of historical research. The results provided are plural, fluid, and multifaceted. Having said that, a setting comes along with its challenges, because, for historians, "writing is an individual and highly personal process, as well as one that is materially and culturally situated" (Nawrotzki and Dougherty 2013, 5). In addition, the digitization of the history-making process brings forth an issue of accessibility on the part of historians, as many still lack basic literacy in technologies and information architecture that can help them manifest their findings and ideas (2013, 6). Still, as Sherman Dorn (2013, 21) also acknowledges in his contribution to the same e-volume digital tools make the process and results of historical research more accessible: "Social history 'from the bottom up' becomes more intense and more public when members of a community can more easily contribute to and discover work about their shared history".

With reference to the digital history projects *Who Built America*, *The Valley of the Shadow*, *The American Memory*, *The Papers of George Washington*, *Hypercities*, *Europe Interrupted*, and *History Matters*, Dorn (2013, 27) explains how such works uncover history "as more than a polished argument about the past", thus differing from thesis-driven scholarly monographs. The argument in conventional historical scholarship presumes a finished product, whereas the public presentations of history in the digital age allow for "a public reworking of argument" (2013, 27).

However, do we have the tools – in other words, methods, concepts, criteria – to evaluate the products of such fluid and continuous processes of history-making in which arguments are open to collaboration and reworking? Conventional historiographies have obviously been implemented on more concrete grounds with their solid, finalized arguments. Or, as suggested by Marx in the 19th century, does all that solid melt into air? Within the specific context of online databases, for instance, much as they are accessible, collaborative, and comprehensive, do databases potentially displace, infect, deconstruct, and efface the narrative, as Lev Manovich (2001) once argued? They surely facilitate the task of modern researchers by bringing together and visualizing sporadic data in several possible ways, thus offering researchers new ways of exploring their subject matters. However, their comprehensiveness seems to challenge the predefined and relatively established structure of some literary categories, such as genres.

Biography would be an example that presents a puzzling relation between narrative and database. First of all, comprehensive data offered by a database will always deconstruct the unavoidable selectiveness of the biographical narrative. It is not uncommon that different biographies of the same individual present different sets of information on the same historical event. In addition, the variety of the data embraced by a database might raise questions about the nature of the genre – that is, which works it would/would not include. Of course, this might be the case in any genre-specific bibliography. In an effort to illuminate this dilemma, in his presentation of Walt Whitman Archive,[1] Ed Folsom (2007a) presents "database biography" and "narrative biography" as two separate genres:

> [I]n biography all is sacrificed to the story of one heroic, flawed, and finally deific individual, who dwarfs everyone else. But what happens to biography when presented in the new genre, database? How does database represent a writer's life? Database biography is a genre different from traditional narrative biography. (Folsom 2007a, 1576)

Expanding on Folsom's examination of database as the new genre, Nancy Hayles (2007) describes narrative and database not as rivals but as natural symbionts, that is, organisms of different species that have a mutually beneficial relation:

> Because database can construct relational juxtapositions but is helpless to interpret or explain them, it needs narrative to make its results meaningful.

1 Walt Whitman Archive is an online database project that presents a comprehensive record of works by and about Walt Whitman. Available at: https://whitmanarchive.org

> Narrative, for its part, needs database in the computationally intensive culture of the new millennium to enhance its cultural authority and test the generality of its insights. If narrative often dissolves into database, as Folsom suggests, database catalyzes and indeed demands narrative's reappearance as soon as meaning and interpretation are required. (Hayles 2007, 1603)

In a subsequent essay, Folsom (2007b, 1611) contributes to Hayles' argumentation and defines databases as "the innate desire to pile up and absorb experiences and ideas and material things that don't sort themselves immediately into narrative". We can access those items "if and when they fit the story, history, history, or syntax of meaning we are seeking to construct" (2007b, 1611).

Needless to say, the impact of technology in the collection, organization, and dissemination of information; the growing accessibility of online data; and the increasing number of open-access databases and tools of data analysis have all been visibly manifest in empirical translation and interpreting research. Aiming for better interfaces for human-computer interaction in translation and interpreting, translation process researchers have been using, developing, and improving tools for the collection, organization, and analysis of eye-tracking and key-logging data for decades (i.e. Carl and Hansen 2011). Research on audiovisual translation (AVT) has used electronic corpora and speech recognition tools to compare spontaneous speech and translated communication, as well as to examine naturalness in AVT outputs (Díaz Cintas 2009; Romero-Fresco 2009, 2011). In addition, the production and reception of audio-description have been examined by means of text-to-speech tools (Perego 2012). Empirical research on the cognitive aspects of simultaneous interpreting, as well as those on interpreter training, have been aided by computational tools, in addition to being situated within the theoretical discussions on translation in the digital age (Pöchhacker 2015).

Alongside using digital tools and methods in varying branches of translation research, Translation Studies (TS) scholars have also reflected on the effects of digitization on the practice and representation of translation. In *Translation in the Digital Age*, Michael Cronin (2013) investigates the human drive towards the automation of translation by exploring the history of human interaction with tools. Presenting translation within the macro frame of language and power, the scholar traces how translation is represented in the current digital age. In doing so, he also draws inferences on how humans can respond to these representations.

Digitization has also been integrated in translation research focused on collaborative translation (Cordingley and Manning 2017) and crowdsourcing

(Jiménez-Crespo 2017); digital ethnography, activism, and the Internet as a site for data collection (Boéri 2012); localization of websites and software (Pym 2011; Schäler 2010); the intersection of translation and social media platforms (Desjardins 2017); the impact of computational media on the practice and portrayal of translation (Doherty 2016; Littau 2016). With humanities scholars' increasing interest in data analysis and visualization, as well as in advances in the digitization of archives and quantitative history-making, the digital sphere has also become a promising research environment for translation history. Scholars have long worked on dynamic online translation bibliographies, such as the Online Translation Studies Bibliography[2] and BITRA.[3] In addition to increasing researchers' awareness of translation research undertaken around the world, these reference databases have helped them to explore new methods of analysis and sample cases. Studies that cover translation history with the digital humanities perspective have employed both such reference bibliographies and other online bibliographic records; data visualization tools; and text mining of existing databases to display the dissemination of literary works, formation of actor-networks, as well as the relation between translation products (Kim 2018; St. André 2018; Ye 2018). Still, what Judy Wakabayashi (2019) calls "digital translation history" is to be further explored and practiced:

> Digital translation history is defined here as a methodological approach that uses digital technologies to produce, enhance or disseminate research on translation history, including the study of digitized texts, born-digital texts, and other digital artefacts (e.g. images, audio) relevant to translation history. (Wakabayashi 2019, 132)

As Wakabayashi notes, this stream of translation research supports conventional research by enabling more thorough investigations while saving time and effort; revisits previous assumptions within the frame of recently explored patterns and interconnections; produces new research questions; and facilitates collaboration and teamwork (2019, 132). Examples include the Perso-Indica database that surveys Persian works on Indian learned traditions; the Renaissance Cultural Crossroads project; The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe (FBTEE); and the TETRA project that

2 https://www.benjamins.com/online/tsb

3 https://aplicacionesua.cpd.ua.es/tra_int/usu/buscar.asp?idioma=en

examines theater translation in Portugal (Wakabayashi 2019, 133).[4] The list also includes the online retranslation bibliography project that covers retranslations produced in the Ottoman and modern Turkish societies from the 14th century onwards;[5] and the MapModern[6] project that investigates the role of Hispanic cultural mediators in international modernity in the first half of the 20th century by means of several computational methods.

2. Building a quantitative frame for Turkish translation history: the case of a biography database

In 2019, setting out from the grounds of a macro approach to literature and digital translation history, the "Lives in Turkish" research project started to compile a bibliography of biographies published in Turkish. The collection includes biographical volumes translated into Turkish as well as original works produced by local life-writers since the early 19th century.[7] To elaborate, its scope covers: translations and originals; canonical works and popular works; narratives that pursue the traditional forms of life-writing and those that adopt the modern biography[8] structure which combines chronology and impartiality. Its scope is currently limited to works published in book form. Needless to say, the bibliography is dynamic and open to the collaboration of several other present and future bibliographies that delve into the subject of life-writing. The collection has been made available to researchers by means of a customized database software developed for this dataset. The database offers reference details of the publications and, if available, several types of metadata, including further editions, retranslations, book covers, table of contents, summary, blurb, preface, reviews, original title and original language of the translations.[9]

4 Links to these projects are as follows: Perso-Indica: http://perso-indica.net/index.faces/; Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: https://www.dhi.ac.uk/rcc/; FBTEE: http://fbtee.uws.edu.au/main/; TETRA: http://tetra.letras.ulisboa.pt/tetra/en/.

5 For further information on retranslation bibliography, see Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar (2018).

6 https://mapmodern.wordpress.com

7 The project only focuses on works that have been published in Turkish. However, it may inspire a complementary study that would list the translations of local Turkish biographies into other languages. Alternatively, the collection may also be used in relation to other lists of publications that present the translated biographies in their source literary contexts.

8 The term "modern biography" will be detailed in section 3.2.

9 The database is available at: www.livesinturkish.com.

The project aims to illuminate the genre of life-writing in Turkish in various macrocontexts with the use of distant reading. For example, the dataset can become a source for a diachronic survey of: biography production and popularity; the dynamics between the traditional products of Ottoman–Turkish life-writing vis-à-vis the biographies written in the modern Western form; the dynamics between translated biographies vis-à-vis indigenous ones, along with points of interaction between the two lists (i.e. publishers, translators, writers); the position of indirect translation, intralingual translation, and retranslation in the bibliography; a quantification of biography subjects introduced to the Turkish reader with a particular focus on their field of work, the regions they come from, and the epoch in which they lived. The bibliography is also eligible for more specific and microscale investigations. The list of topics includes, but is not limited to, an examination of selected biography subjects, biographers, translators, publishers; wordings of the book titles; visuals of book covers; and the meta-criticism on biography in Turkish as illuminated by collected reviews.

During the analysis of the collection, some of the aforementioned diachronic settings that concern Turkish life-writing on a macroscale were observed by means of several open-access data visualization tools. Graphical representations of data have mainly provided a more approachable setting for the analysis and presentation of the trends, patterns, and outliers that are manifest in our large and hybrid dataset. Visualizing the data has also made us realize some alternative ways of approaching our corpus; that is, they have encouraged us to try out different combinations of sub-datasets, to emphasize different aspects of the data, etc.

Furthermore, by portraying biography production in the Late Ottoman era and modern Turkey on this macroscale, “Lives in Turkish” aims to present the Late-Ottoman cultural setting and the early Turkish Republic literary context as part of a broader continuum. One of the project’s main aims is to shed light on the literary activities undertaken by writers, translators, and publishers that might have remained invisible as a result of the lack of a holistic approach. It can also provide a broad context for the observation of patterns and shifts in Turkish publishing history. As will be detailed in subsequent sections of this chapter, the effects of several sociopolitical reforms that follow the formation of the Turkish Republic are manifest in Turkish literary history. Three of these reforms that have been a major concern of the project are: a) 1928 Alphabet Reform (the official replacement of Arabic script with Latin script), b) 1926 Calendar Reform (the official replacement of Hijri and Rumi calendar with the Gregorian calendar), and c) 1934 Surname Law (the implementation of the law that requires all Turkish citizens to adopt the use of fixed surnames). As the collection lists biographical works that were produced and published before and after these paradigm shifts, it includes quite a rich and hybrid selection of titles that appeared in different publishing formats as regards authors (and any other proper name appearing in the list), publication dates, and scripts.[10] Consequently, the making of the bibliography has required a reformulation of some standards as to how book titles in Ottoman script, proper names that predate the Surname Law, and publication years recorded in Hijri/Rumi calendar format would be offered in the same system as modern records, so that the dataset could be examined on a diachronic basis without any intermittency.

For instance, we converted the publication years of titles that predate the Calendar Reform into the Gregorian format and provided the Hijri/Rumi year in the Researcher's Notes section. This has both helped us to accommodate these titles in the search filters of the database and produced more accessible data visualization. Secondly, without standardizing proper names, the same individuals would also appear on the list with their alternative names, which would bring about inconsistent statistical results. Therefore, if the author/translator acquired a last name after the Surname Law, we decided to record the name with the "Surname, Name" library format throughout the catalogue for consistent results: for instance, "Altınay, Ahmed Refik" (not "Refik, Ahmed" or "Ahmed Refik"). If the author/translator passed away before the Surname Law, the name was recorded without applying any library format: for instance, "Ebüzziya Mehmed Tevfik" (not "Mehmed Tevfik, Ebüzziya"), "Bursalı Mehmed Tahir" (not "Mehmed Tahir, Bursalı"). We noted the alternative names of individuals, such as aliases, pen names, and pre-Surname Law names, if remarkably different, in a separate section. In this way, both the database and the Data Viz software could trace and map the literary activities of these individuals without overlooking or overlapping any products or practices that would be of our concern.[11]

Besides serving the holistic approach of the bibliography and the functioning of the database, these standards may assist a group of modern researchers who do not have resources to access the data that predates the previously mentioned social reforms in their original format. This way, the project might

10 For instance, the bibliography offers data about Turkish-language works published in the Latin alphabet as well as in Ottoman, Greek, and Armenian scripts.

11 All these standardizations have been applied under the consideration of given resources. In a future project, related columns may be improved with further automation. The dynamic sphere provided by the digital setting opens the dataset to future methods of standardization and processing.

eventually add to the presentation and accessibility of the Late-Ottoman and modern Turkish literary setting as a continuum.

Last but not the least, a bibliography that covers a time span of 200 years would inevitably concern culture and context-specific definitions of authorship, translation, and book. In line with its aim of illuminating the richness of life-writing practices during the covered time span, the project's macro setting might help researchers to observe the changing contents of literary concepts such as authorship, translation, book, and biography on a diachronic scale. However, each of these variables have required us to explore and/or formulate further definitions and classifications, which has integrated a qualitative approach in our quantitative setting.

3. Integration of the qualitative perspective: presenting culture-specific and dynamic concepts in the macro frame

As discussed earlier, databases are built to facilitate the task of modern researchers by bringing together and enabling visualization of sporadic data in several possible ways; yet they also challenge taken-for-granted historical conceptualizations, tools, and categories, such as genres. For instance, as Folsom (2007a, 1576) notes, the comprehensive data offered by databases will always deconstruct and challenge the unavoidable selectiveness of the biographical narrative. In the case of a database of biographies, in which numerous biographies of the same individuals are presented, selectiveness may become a more visible concern. Currently the bibliography represents Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk (89 biographies), Muhammad (58 biographies), Said Nursi (41 biographies), Rumi (36 biographies), Nâmık Kemâl (29 biographies), Karl Marx (25 biographies), Albert Einstein (20 biographies), and Che Guevara (16 biographies). Surely these numbers might change in time, but the collection will continue demonstrating how bibliographies replace the selectiveness offered by individual sources, thus providing a wider and more complex research setting.

Still, it would not be completely safe to discuss databases as sources that lack boundaries or narrative. According to Folsom (2007b, 1611), databases present "the innate desire to pile up and absorb experiences and ideas and material things that don't sort themselves immediately into narrative". However, their open-ended and comprehensive nature comes along with a paradox; that is, much as databases inspire users' interpretation of data and pave the path for multiple narratives, their making also requires some choices and definitions to be made, which would eventually guide users towards a particular set of data interpretations. Therefore, although they are both criticized and celebrated for lacking a narrative, such macrocontexts and quantitative frames as bibliographies are also grounded by some pre-planned narrative, at least to some extent. This is where the qualitative approach manifests itself behind the making of macrobibliographies.

The "Lives" collection embraces numerous forms of Turkish-language biographical publications that were both imported and locally produced since the early 1800s. As explained earlier, the time span covers several sociopolitical shifts that impacted literary production and, thus, the way publications were to be recorded in archives. In addition, definitions of culture-specific terms that concern the project (such as translation, original, authorship, book, and biography) have inevitably changed within the period in question. Therefore, during the compilation and analysis of this comprehensive dataset that comes along with a hybrid historical baggage, we were required to examine and define our culture-specific and context-bound variables and, when necessary, to formulate some standards regarding the recording and organization of historical data. These efforts that integrated the qualitative perspective in our research scope may be safely acknowledged as the constructors of the narrative hidden behind the bibliography. The subsequent sections will detail the culture-specific and dynamic content of our variables in the diachronic bibliography.

3.1 Translation or original?

To begin with, publications in the biography bibliography have been categorized under three main collections: 1) Translation Collection includes publications with a statement of translation/translator/source text, as well as intralingual translations of Ottoman publications into modern Turkish (if existing and found along with retranslations, further editions, and supplementary works that they have been bound together or published with); 2) Original Collection includes publications originally written in Turkish (if existing and found along with further editions and supplementary works that they have been bound together or published with); 3) Unidentified Collection includes publications that do not offer any author or translator information.

However, this classification needs to be complemented by an explanation of the Ottoman–Turkish literary sphere that inhabits quite a rich and complex area of textual production. Perpetuated by numerous practices of creative transfer (i.e. *nakl*, *terceme*, *nazire*, *şerh*), the setting escapes the modern boundaries between original and non-original. In a series of articles, Saliha Paker (2002, 2011, 2015) examines translation-related activities that maintained literary production during the Ottoman era and describes how the modern Turkish understanding of translation proper (termed as *çeviri*) differs from *terceme* (an Ottoman concept that covers a wide range of translation practices from the 13th to the early 20th centuries). Being the main vehicle of literary production until after the Late Ottoman era, *terceme* was as inventive and competitive as other Ottoman forms of creative transposition, such as *nazire* (imitation in the form of parallel and response poetry), thus cannot be classified separately from acknowledged forms of local literary productions that paved the path for the formation and crystallization of Ottoman poetics (Paker 2002). This setting also allows Paker (2011) to problematize what *telif* (in modern Turkish the term stands for "original") meant during the Ottoman era, since it is also to be considered separately from the concept of original in the European Romantic sense. Before it gained its "non-translation" connotation in 20th-century modern Turkey as a result of a series of ideologies related to nation-building (aiming at a cultural break with the past), *telif* had involved some degree of translation and could be included in the list of activities addressed as creative mediation (Paker 2011, 2015).

In her article that illuminates the question of imitativeness vs originality in Ottoman poetics, Paker (2015) responds to historical scholarship on Ottoman literary criticism that focuses on a narrow definition of inventiveness and undermines the significance of *terceme* (translation) in the proliferation of Ottoman poetry. To briefly expand on the question of imitativeness vs originality in Ottoman poetics, as Paker (2015) elaborates, the founder of modern Turkish studies Mehmet Fuad Köprülü (1890–1966), who aimed for "an all-comprehensive (if not a pan-Turkist) history and theory of Turkish literature", established his "Turkish republican philology" as a reaction to two main grounds: 1) the "Orientalist Grand Narrative" that presented Ottoman writers as "uninventive people" following either the Persian classics (the old school) or modern Europe (the new school) in their literary production (here Paker refers to E. J. W. Gibb's 1911 article on Ottoman literature in *Encyclopedia Britannica*), and 2) his Ottoman predecessors that directed their entire interest to *Divan* (court) poetry, which was heavily influenced by Persian linguistics and aesthetics (Paker 2015, 28–29). In response to the Orientalist approach which is also manifest in Gibb's (1900–1909) six-volume *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Turkish philologist Köprülü first underlined that Ottoman court poetry is not the only constituent of Turkish literature; later he gradually formulated a method of literary criticism for an evaluation of *Divan* poetry that kept innovation separate from imitation and translation. This would eventually draw a hierarchy within the *Divan* corpus, grouping the works of innovative talent on one side and imitations and "mere" translations on the other. As Paker (2015, 30) notes, this new approach in Turkish literary criticism, which would be adopted by Köprülü's successors, served to "glean out innovative elements in the so-called area of influence perceived as imitation and translation". This whole historical survey also calls for a second thought on our modern understanding of the position of the translation vis-à-vis the original, in which the latter is granted a larger space in a discussion of innovation.

An exemplary study that emphasizes cultural continuity in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic is the "Turkish Retranslation Bibliography" project. Because the Ottoman poetics presents an idiosyncratic context for *telif*, anonymity, and authorship, the research surveys retranslations that were produced during the Ottoman and modern Turkish era by means of two different approaches: an author-based approach for works retranslated from Western languages after the 19th century, and a work-based approach when examining earlier periods during which translations from Arabic and Persian sources were undertaken (Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar 2018, 219). Such works as *Kalila and Dimma*, *Layla and Majnun*, and *Gulistan*, which would provide rich results when explored within a retranslation scope, are not known by their writers or rewriters, but by their titles (2015, 219). This brings a series of questions as to how translations/versions of these works can be found and how to record metadata related to them. These cases make us interrogate the central position of authorship and of the source text in historical translation research. In addition, they challenge the dominance of such sine qua non filters of conventional bibliographies such as author, translator, and edition.

Needless to say, translations come along with culture-specific connotations in all regions, and what the term translation entails requires a wider, critical, and ethnographic approach in the making of translation history. In her 2006 article that expands on the reconceptualization of translation theory by means of the integration of non-Western thoughts on translation, Maria Tymoczko provides a detailed list of non-Western words for translating that blurs the boundaries surrounding the Western understanding of translation. For instance, the term for translating in India *rupantar* literally means "change in form" and *anuvad* means "speaking after"; in Chinese, the common phrase for translating is a combination of the terms *fan* ("turning a leaf of a book", "somersault", "flip") and *yi* ("interpretation") – the term *fan yi* means "turning over" and can be linked to the image of embroidery (the source text being the front side and the translation being the back side); the term for translation in Arabic, *tarjama*, originally means "biography", which might be associated with the early Syriac Christian translators' engagement to the Bible and the lives of saints (Tymoczko 2006, 22).

The Ottoman–Turkish historical setting might welcome alternative analytical methods, and its pluralistic grounds would appeal to what Moretti (2005) terms "close reading". On the other hand, due to the large time span covered by the project, during which definitions of translation and original have gone through drastic changes, our focus on "distant reading" has brought some challenges to the table. As previously discussed with reference to Paker's arguments, in the Turkish literary system, up until the early 20th century, the notion of *telif* ("original") did not stand for what it means today. In line with this, during the course of the data collection, we encountered a group of hybrid works that are problematic when it comes to categorizing them as translation or original. These cases might be exceptional from today's perspective, but they are in fact closer to the standards of Ottoman norms of literary production, the repercussions of which were manifest in modern Turkey up until the first half of the 20th century. Examples include but are not limited to: concealed translations; pseudo-translations; translations of foreign sources combined with original literary criticism; single-volume translations of a selection of source texts; translations with original notes on the margins; original works with translations as notes on the margins. Needless to say, library catalogues and print bibliographies do not always provide this information, thus we have had to discover it with additional archival research. Once the text's hybrid content is discovered, the question emerges: should it be categorized as a translation or an original? This has been very tricky, because the decision could eventually serve a historical setting that either abounds in translations and lacks inventive local products or presupposes translation as an uncommon activity during the Ottoman era. Obviously both cases would be unrealistic and incorrect.

In that respect, opening a different category for each of these "versions" (apart from translation and original) would be an option. However, adopting two separate systems of data classification for the first and second half of the list would bring about a fragmented historical setting. Thus, we have decided to stick to three main categories of translation-original-unidentified.[12] This would help us position the translations vis-à-vis the originals in the 200-century journey of the genre on a more stable basis. Yet, as previously

12 That being said, in a future study, a database setting that would specifically refer to the first half of the covered period within the context of the Ottoman–Turkish poetics can be developed. Such a study would be complementary to the Lives database; however, it would also address different research questions that are not central to the current bibliography project.

mentioned, the historical dimension explained above complements bibliographical categorization.

During the categorization of the collected data, we first embarked on a definition for our two main variables, "translation" and "original". After doing fieldwork on how Turkish libraries cope with this situation in their recording and organization of historical data, we formulated a two-part plan and applied this to the categorization of all works in the bibliography. The plan involved 1) checking how the work is presented on the book cover or inside (for instance, whether there is a translator/translation statement, reference to a source text, or whether the name of a local writer is given as the author); 2) referring to a selection of secondary sources (the list includes an online metalibrary, as well as several online encyclopedias that university librarians use as a source).

To sum up, our categorization of the dataset relies on how publications are presented to the target audience. The categorization does not primarily consider book's actual content. This can be associated with the Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) framework proposed by Gideon Toury (1995), which introduces the idea that any work presented as a translation and functioning as a translation in the target field is translation. By means of the notion of "assumed translation", Toury (1995, 33–35) integrates pseudo-translations – namely, works written by a local writer but presented as a translation of a foreign source text – in the translation repertoire. With reference to this context, our translation collection also encompasses works that are "assumed" to have a translation function in the target literary repertoire, as presented by the works themselves and/or by the metatexts related to them. The same applies to the categorization of the original biographies.

Last but not the least, during our categorization, our main criterion was how they were presented; however, we have accommodated culture-specific aspects of hybrid products in the database using the Researcher's Notes section available on the content details page. This section has enabled us to share our findings and reasonings on culture-and-context-specific cases; therefore, the bibliography has been opened to metadiscussions on the presentation of archival data in a systematic database setting.

3.2 Intralingual translation

Another significant context-bound matter that concerns the project is intralingual translation. Still actively produced in our day, intralingual translations have their roots back in the series of reforms initiated by founder Mustafa

Kemâl Atatürk, mainly within the Turkish Language Reform. To briefly elaborate, in line with its essential aim to construct a modern secular Turkish society, the foundation of the Turkish Republic brought along a transition from a multilingual and multinational Islamic regime to a monolingual and secular nation state (Berk Albachten 2015, 167). During the Republican Era, language was attributed a significant role in the production and dissemination of ideologies and the construction of a new national identity based on Kemâlist principles; namely, the Turkish language was to guide society towards defining itself as modern, Westernized, and secular. The Turkish Language Reform includes the transition from Arabic script to the Latin alphabet, as well as the purification of the language of foreign loanwords and simplification of vocabulary, grammar, and phraseology. In order to implement the pure language in the daily lives of the citizens of modern Turkey, state-sponsored dictionaries, encyclopedias, and newspapers were published; moreover, the Turkish Language Society was formed to collect and create words from Turkish roots which would replace all foreign terms in the written language (Berk Albachten 2015, 168–169).

This purification movement had visible reflections on the Turkish literary field and paved the way for the production of intralingual translations of Ottoman–Turkish literary works into modern pure Turkish. The process does not necessarily include the transcription of Ottoman script publications into Latin script: works produced after the promulgation of the Language Reform, as well as those that were transcribed into the Latin alphabet during the 1920s and 1930s, have also been conveyed to modern Turkish by means of intralingual translations. Even though producers are not necessarily addressed as "translator" (*çevirmen*) at all times, being also introduced in other ways, for instance, as "editor" (*hazırlayan*), "simplifier" (*sadeleştiren*), and "adapted to modern Turkish version by" (*günümüz Türkçesine aktaran*), today these publications are considered translations. The reason is that, in the course of production, a set of changes are applied to the main text so that the source is accessible to the modern audience that cannot comprehend old Turkish. These works are included in our translation list.

The Turkish Language Reform and the effects of intralingual translations on both the reception of Ottoman–Turkish literature and the production of modern Turkish literary works are quite a multi-layered topic that needs further discussion, yet its repercussions are visibly manifest in the biography bibliography. The current list demonstrates that, in the early decades of the 20th century, the production of biographical volumes – be it translation and original – gradually relied on "modern biographies" that focused on the life story of a single individual, adopting a chronological and assumedly objective and realistic narrative (Maurois 1930). On the other hand, intralingual translations seem to have continued the legacy of traditional Ottoman forms of life-writing, such as *tezkire* (collected biographies of Ottoman poets), *menâkıbname* (biographies that compile stories and legends about important historical figures), and *siyer* (prophet biographies), by presenting them to the modern reader, thus proliferating the options of life-writing in the literary repertoire.

In addition, the bibliography reveals that intralingual translations have also allowed the modern Turkish reader access to the first examples of modern biography that appeared in the Late Ottoman period. The first influences of modern biography in the Turkish literary system can be traced back to the Tanzimat period (1839–1876). Recognized as an epoch of acculturation during which a series of reforms adopting European military and cultural practices were implemented, Tanzimat has been deeply connoted to such terms as modernization and Westernization. The discussion requires a detailed description of the sociopolitical structuring of an empire, which would exceed the scope of this chapter; however, perhaps we can humbly note that several Western genres, such as novel, drama, poetry, and philosophical dialogue were implemented in the Turkish literary system during Tanzimat (Paker 2009). A complementary note on this would be that these "first" examples – be they translations or local products – are commonly associated with the context of Westernization; however, a close reading of these texts reveals that they embrace traditional features as well, which is also the case of the first modern biography in Turkish.

Published in 1885, *Victor Hugo*, written by Ottoman critic Beşir Fuad, is acknowledged as the first example of modern Western biography in Turkish. Shortly after, several other publications of the same kind followed, namely Beşir Fuad's biography of Voltaire (*Voltaire*, 1887), Ahmet Midhat's biographies of Ottoman writers Beşir Fuad (*Beşir Fuad*, published in 1887 as a series of articles in the periodical *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*) and Fatma Aliye Hanım (*Fatma Aliye Hanim yahut Bir Muharrire-i Osmaniyenin Neşeti*, 1893–1894).[13] Some of these biographies were initially published as a series of articles in

13 Although these works are introduced as the first examples of modern Western biography in Turkish literature, it would not be safe to present them as completely detached from traditional Ottoman–Turkish forms of life-writing, nor should they be posited outside the prevalent norms of the Ottoman literary context. These narratives reveal the traces of the moralist subjectivities of the *tezkire* tradition. Additionally, they served the implementation of the novel genre in Turkish literature. Many early modern biographers, such as Ahmed Midhat and Namık Kemâl, were also novelists and contributed to the sociopolitical discussions of their period by means of their biographies and novels (Tanpınar 2002, 190).

literary reviews and later compiled as volumes per se. This was also the case of the publication of novels during the period. Today the intralingual translations of these biographies seem to facilitate access to these sources in this respect as well, since they propose a series of sporadic texts in a structured volume.

3.3 What is a book?

The issue with the periodical tradition is linked to the question as to which publications are considered "books" and which remain "non-books" in the canon-oriented making of literary histories. The biography bibliography presents the 19th century-setting of life-writing as a rich literary frame that embraces the production of both traditional and modern Western biographies. Instead of introducing this productivity as a consequence of a competition and tension between tradition and modernity, the collection portrays the period as a hybrid web that offers a variety of alternatives to the Ottoman–Turkish reader. One of the major constituents of the Turkish terminology of life-writing that repeatedly appears during the era is *tercüme-i hal* – which is interchangeably addressed as *teracim-i ahval* or *hal tercümesi*. It evokes the term *tercüme*, which means "translation" in Turkish and can be traced back to the same historical context with the integration of modern biography to the Turkish literary system. In his 1880 essay entitled "Tercüme-i Hal Yazmak" ["Writing Tercüme-i Hal"], pioneering cultural entrepreneur and publisher of the era Ebüzziyâ Mehmed Tevfik portrays a comprehensive definition of *tercüme-i hal* and presents it as a form of life-writing that cannot be merely defined as the literal translation of one's life story, since it also brings out the unknowns of the individual's *ahval* (the Ottoman cluster term that stands for one's condition, behavior, and circumstances). The essay seems to mirror and use the 19th-century hybrid web of life-writing, as it both gives reference to Ottoman biographical works that date back to earlier periods and addresses foreign Western examples of biography. *Tercüme-i hal* is introduced not as a foreign tool imported from the West, but as a type of writing that the local literary system had been engaged in for long, but neglected; thus, local life-writers are advised to pay more attention to it. The bridge that Ebüzziyâ Mehmed Tevfik builds between traditional and modern, as well as between foreign and local, paved the way for the production of a series of biographies published by Matbaa-i Ebüzziyâ. Between 1880 and 1890, the publisher introduced the Turkish reader to the 30-40-page biographies of a selection of figures from various regions of the world, including Benjamin

Franklin, Georges-Louis Buffon, Esope, Napoleon, Hasan Ibn Al-Sabbah, Harun al-Rashid, and Avicenna.[14]

Interestingly enough, even though some of these works were published before Beşir Fuad's *Victor Hugo*, they still seem to be awaiting a similar focus in Turkish literary history. Moreover, as previously mentioned, some of the works that are regarded as early examples of modern biography in Turkish were not initially published in book form but are still integrated to discussions on the Turkish literary canon, whereas the volumes by Matbaa-i Ebüzziyâ, which were in fact published as separate books, though shorter ones, seem to inhabit a complementary position in same literary setting. This calls for a discussion of the definition of "book" as well as the position of popular literature vis-à-vis the canon in the formation of literary histories. By highlighting such cases, the biography bibliography aims to pave the way for a comprehensive documentation and archeology of the genre.

4. Concluding remarks

All of the historical settings described in this chapter require much further discussion which would exceed its scope, including the methodological implications of bibliography making. The brief survey of Turkish modernization and its repercussions on the publishing field aims to demonstrate that the project has formulated some rules and standards to be able to portray the journey of life-writing on a macroscale. One of the main objectives of the study is to present history as a continuum that does not terminate or begin with certain shifts in the knowledge-scapes of societies. Large-scale bibliographies standardize and categorize the collected data, which might eventually bring about simple representations of complex frames; but paradoxically, as the biography bibliography reveals, it might also serve the portrayal of plurality, which would not otherwise be brought to the surface. By including publications that appeared between 1800 and 2020, the Turkish biography collection raises questions about the making and analysis of diachronic bibliographies. It interrogates the representativeness of categorizations, which are in fact employed to facilitate researchers' use of the dataset.

The digital turn has contributed to translation research by granting scholars new topics of discussion. The most relevant is the impact of digitization on the product and practice of translation. This frame embraces the use of a

14 For details of the publishing activities of Ebüzziyâ Mehmed Tevfik during the late 19th century, see Türegay (2008).

variety of digital tools and methods in the collection, organization, processing, and analysis of translation-related data. By interacting with digital media and computation, the field of digital translation history may add to these interdisciplinary discussions that address translation in a digital frame.

To conclude, by giving us the opportunity to introduce our research arguments and results in an online setting of collaborative reworking, the digital sphere might help us to overcome the challenges and deficits brought about by the processing of our datasets in rigid structures. In that respect, the biography database is presented to researchers not as a final product but as a dynamic framework and sphere of collaboration. "Lives in Turkish" implements its arguments on these organic grounds and aims to obtain and inspire new points of discussion, methods, and research frames across (sub)disciplines.

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Ethnographic approaches in Translation Studies as methodological intradisciplinarity

Maura Radicioni

Abstract
This chapter originates from an ongoing research study, which uses ethnography as a research method to investigate the cultural mediators at an Italian medical NGO that provides humanitarian aid and medical assistance in a complex migration setting in Southern Italy. It focuses specifically on the methodological dimension and primarily addresses the way ethnography is applied as a research methodology across various subfields in Translation Studies (TS) from an intradisciplinary perspective. As one of the most common research methodologies outside TS, ethnography, especially in recent years, has been increasingly "borrowed" from the social sciences and used in TS to investigate translation processes in the broadest sense and identify the social actors and communities of practice involved. However, at the interface with TS, methodological intradisciplinarity and the connections between various TS subdomains as regards the use of ethnographic approaches have been under-researched. This chapter sets out to cast light on the ethnographic approach adopted by the study concerned and to use it to highlight the (possible) links within TS, in an attempt to pursue methodological intradisciplinarity.

Keywords: ethnography, methodological intradisciplinarity, cultural mediators, Italy

1. Introduction

Ethnography is one of many methodological approaches that can be found within social research today (Hammersley and Atkinson 2019, 1). According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, ethnography is "the study and systematic recording of human culture”,[1] as well as the descriptive work produced from such research. It is, therefore, both qualitative field research based on participant observation and using a process of induction or iteration, and the result of said research, that is, a detailed description of the observation written in the first or third person (Clifford and Marcus 1986; van Maanen 1988). Hale and Napier (2013, 84) define it as the “study of a social group or individual or individuals representative of that group, based on the direct recording of the behaviors and ‘voices’ of the participants by the researcher over a period of time”. The goal of ethnography is to produce a narrative account of a particular culture and narrate how participants interact with one another and with their social and cultural environment. Originating in the field of anthropology, ethnography has been widely used in sociology and the social sciences (e.g. linguistics, education, communication) thanks to its flexibility as a research method that allows us to gain a deep understanding of a group’s shared culture, conventions, and social dynamics.

The core of any ethnographic research method is participant observation, which implies the researcher’s full involvement in the situation observed and communication with study participants. Participant observation is often referred to as fieldwork and indicated in association with other data collection methods, such as fieldnotes and/or qualitative interview methods, that is, informal and semistructured interviews with open questions, as well as focus groups. A broader interpretation of ethnography partially equates it with qualitative methods at large, with reference made to ethnographic methods or ethnographic interviews (Angelelli 2015; Koskinen 2008) or case studies (Hale 2007, 63). According to Risku (2017, 309–310), ethnographic approaches adopt a specific stance towards data collection, data analysis, the role of the researcher and his or her relation to the object of study, and are compatible with other strategies of inquiry or research, including case study methodology, grounded theory, participatory action research and network analysis, with the possibility of choosing various research methods ranging from situated cognition to phenomenology, from ethnomethodology to conversation and interaction analysis. In short, the meaning of ethnography can vary and the term itself often overlaps, being used interchangeably with terms such as “fieldwork”, “qualitative inquiry” and “case study”, among others, all of which also have their semantic boundaries.

Ethnography follows an emerging design in which the researcher typically adopts a “grounded theory” approach that has its foundations in the data

1 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethnography#other-words. Accessed 28 December 2020.

elicited (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Grounded theory is often mentioned as the basis of inductive research and implies that a local theory is generated from the data. The ensuing implication for researchers is that they have to "enter the field with no preconceptions about what they'll find" (Babbie 2001, 285) and engage in a constant iterative dialogue between data and existing theories, interpreting data and using them to inform subsequent research stages, in a constant attempt to make sense of a process that cannot be predicted in advance (Babbie 2001, 275).

At the intersection with Translation Studies (TS), ethnography has been associated with translation as a practice and as a metaphor. It has been associated with translation as a practice, since carrying out observations in a field different from the researcher's own implies the need for the investigator to "translate" the language, habits, and behaviors witnessed to achieve a truthful representation of the Other (Sturge 2007). Ethnography has been, furthermore, associated with translation as a metaphor, since the in-depth participant observation research carried out by ethnographers as first readers of others' cultures and their ensuing written reports are a type of "cultural translation" that ultimately enables the making of meaning (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus 1998). According to Risku (2017, 307), in the history of TS, ethnography as a field and method has been relevant in various ways, in particular with regard to the study of culture. As for the latter, and specifically the situated nature of culture in its environmental and historical contexts, Appiah ([1993] 2000) refers to the notion of "thick description" (Geertz [1973] 2000, 6), to then make an analogy with "thick translation", or the translation in ethnographic practices which accounts for rich and situated cultural contexts and the complex world of other people's meaning. In performing "thick translation", ethnography attempts to account for and write down such complexity in a way, and with a language, that is intelligible in the receiving language (Sturge 2009, 67).

2. Ethnography and Translation Studies

The "cultural translation" carried out with ethnographic methods to represent other cultures has been the subject of a long-standing debate and a series of epistemological worries. A first objection concerns Asad's (1986, 141) challenge of the "cultural translation" metaphor and his reference to "translation of cultures" instead. Based on this approach, the ethnographer/translator takes on authorship to select and extract the meanings expressed by the group investigated and conveys them from an asymmetrical position, thereby highlighting the permanent bias of the "inequality of languages" (1986, 156), which need to be explored to determine the extent to which researchers are able to define the limits of effective translation. The presence of unequal languages leads, in turn, to issues of power inequalities, representation, and ethics, whereby one might challenge the extent to which the various forms of Other, as represented by translation, are illusions or reflections, or even the very same identities, of those researchers investigating them from their own perspective (Wolf 2000).

Another objection pertains to the difficulty – if not the impossibility – facing the ethnographer/translator in conveying multiple layers of orally mediated meaning in written text. In Sturge's (2009, 67) words, "this is not simply a matter of interlingual, or even intersemiotic, translation, but also a translation between cultural contexts". The issue of cultural translation and of the related cultural representation provided with ethnography is paramount here. More generally, from the standpoint of ethnographers and scholars in the social sciences, the focus on translation as a metaphor for their activity has not proceeded alongside an acknowledgment of translation and of the validity of translation theory on the part of neighboring disciplines (Dizdar 2009). In this respect, the "translative turn" or "translational turn", long wished for by numerous TS scholars, has not yet been fully implemented. Bachmann-Medick (2009, 3) questions whether the expansion and differentiation of the horizon of translation alone implies a "translational turn" in the humanities. Despite the increasing number of areas of investigation within the humanities, which are currently referring to translation concepts or metaphors, blind spots in theoretical work are still present as regards interlingual translation, which tend to overlook the complexity of "translation proper" (Dizdar 2009, 90). These include, for instance, social scientists' preference for a denotative and referential notion of language, which is harmful for the same social sciences and for the theory and practice of translation (proper), their lack of recognition of the pragmatic effect of semantic meaning, thus reducing it, again, to its referential function, or their assumption that "translation theory cannot be expected to raise issues which are 'central' for human communication" (Dizdar 2009, 94). Based on such an assumption, we are witnessing a mutual exchange of methodological approaches between TS and its neighboring disciplines: academic practices and research methods are more "borrowed" from the social sciences and the humanities into TS than in the opposite direction. According to Bachmann-Medick (2012, 5), a "translational turn" in disciplines that often make use of translation as a metaphor should presuppose a cultural turn in TS, a process accompanied by the introduction of new categories of cultural translation, like "cultural representation", "cultural difference", and "power" besides the familiar categories of text-related translation (e.g. "original", "equivalence", etc.). Ethnography is one of said disciplines, and its need for cultural contextualization should tend towards a more concrete, rather than metaphorical, form of translation perspective. From this broader viewpoint, the role of language and, specifically, of "translation proper" cannot be ignored, as the latter enables difference and hybridity through a "third-party position" (Dizdar 2009, 96). The fear commonly expressed, for instance within postcolonial studies, is that the cultural translation that ethnography stands for implies that translation is not meant as an act of interlingual transfer, but, metaphorically, as the alteration of colonizing discourses by the discourses of the colonized and vice versa. Translation brings about hybridity of language and cultural identity. Cultural representation through translation can significantly benefit from ethnographic insights, though only if representation is viewed not in a dichotomous way, but as mutual forging and contamination that locate it in the so-called "third space" (Wolf 2002).

The "cultural translation" enabled by ethnographic methods is not the only aspect that appears to be at the intersection between social sciences, where the latter are largely used, and TS. Though referring to Community Interpreting (CI) and not to TS as a whole, Rudvin's (2006) study on the cultural turn clearly makes the point when it highlights the fruitful contamination between the humanities, in particular anthropology, and CI, hinting at a number of aspects, such as the interconnectedness of language and the surrounding sociocultural network, the subjectivity of the observer (the anthropological "gaze"), and the issue of textual authorship-ownership. This results in the application of findings and input from anthropology, sociology, medicine, or law to language studies and interactional communication and favors the introduction of research methodologies into CI (Rudvin 2006). Worth highlighting is that the entire discipline of TS, not only CI, has benefited from such a "vibrant cross-pollination of research methodologies and research angles" (Rudvin 2006, 33), with ethnographic approaches being among the most widely "borrowed" from the social sciences into TS as a research method to examine and understand translation processes and the social actors involved (Yu 2019, 170). In this respect, it can be claimed that the discipline of TS is interdisciplinary, since it has increasingly incorporated theories and concepts from neighboring disciplines to study all aspects of translation as product and process, and to support its study and understanding of the investigated phenomena through the integration of external research methods, with ethnographic approaches making no exception precisely thanks to their versatility and complexity in research design (Snell-Hornby, Pöchhacker, and Kaindl 1992). Snell-Hornby's ([1988] 1995) "integrated approach" can be considered one of the first moves towards interdisciplinarity. It was meant to bridge the gap between linguistic and literary methods, aiming at proposing a model which would embrace the whole spectrum of language and welcome insights from other disciplines, such as psychology, cultural anthropology, ethnology, philosophy, as well as cultural history, literary studies, sociocultural studies and, for specialized translation, the study of the specific domain involved (medical, legal, etc.).

Over the past 25 years or so, TS has seen its focus shift away from linguistics and increasingly to forms of cultural studies, as well as to studies that have incorporated models from functional linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), locating the text within its sociocultural context. More recently, new areas of research have emerged following technological advances and new forms of translation have been inaugurated; these new research subdisciplines within TS are related, *inter alia*, to the effects of globalization or forms of intersemiotic translation. The emergence of new areas of investigation has broadened the scope of research tools applied, with methods from the humanities and social sciences brought into TS and adapted to the specific needs of the new fields of investigation. It is, therefore, widely accepted nowadays that TS is an independent discipline (Chesterman and Arrojo 2000). In this respect, it can be claimed that TS was not established as an interdiscipline, but it has gradually become one: being a crossroads of processes, products, functions, and agents, its description and explanation has required a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach. The move has mainly been one-directional, though. Despite the fact that interdisciplinarity[2] implies a process whereby two or more academic, scientific or artistic disciplines are involved to investigate a problem overlapping traditional academic boundaries, this has often entailed only "borrowing from" rather than "lending" theoretical, conceptual, and methodological frameworks to other fields, with the ensuing lack of recognition of the validity of translation and translation theory on the part of other disciplines and the related considerations expressed above on the need to stress the role of translation (proper) in this exchange. Ethnographic research methods are no exception.

As evidence of this, there are few studies available on ethnography as a methodology within TS, with some exceptions (Flynn 2007, 2010; Koskinen 2008), and wider recognition as well as innovative and critical application of the method appear to be still lacking in the field (Yu 2019, 170–171). Overall,

2 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/interdisciplinary. Accessed 28 December 2020.

methodological intradisciplinarity as regards the use of ethnographic approaches has been under-researched (Yu 2019, 170).

To assess the extent to which methodological intradisciplinarity is present and established within the discipline of TS and what the possible connections might be between its various subfields, this chapter presents the findings of a case study that uses ethnography as a research method to explore the cultural mediators of an NGO that provides humanitarian and medical assistance in a complex migration setting in Italy. Before describing the project, the methodology used, and the empirical data, it might be useful to "turn inwards" into TS and adopt self-reflection to check whether methodological ties exist between the various subfields and acknowledge them, as well as verify what parameters can be identified to ascertain methodological intradisciplinarity, thereby questioning the existence of a TS-related "inside/outside" dichotomy with regard to the use of ethnographic methods.

3. Ethnographic methods in TS: from an *inter*- to an *intra*discipline?

As highlighted in the introduction to this chapter, at the intersection with TS, ethnography is a clear example of methodological interdisciplinarity. In the wake of the cultural turn and the incorporation of sociological theories and concepts into TS over the years, a profusion of ethnographic studies has been conducted within the discipline in extremely diverse fields, as many researchers "have recognised the versatility of ethnography as an approach to and research method for exploring translation practices in the broadest sense" (Flynn 2010, 116). A plethora of studies have focused on aspects as diverse as translation and interpreting products, processes, practices, actors, and communities of practice, to name but a few, with the minimum common denominator of exploring translation and interpreting as socially situated activities.

While a number of TS scholars have begun to focus on the exchange between ethnography and translation (Sturge 2007; Wolf 2002), scant literature exists on ethnography as a methodology. Yet there seems to be evident methodological links within the discipline when it comes to resorting to ethnographic methods and approaches. I contend that ethnography as a methodology can indeed be viewed as a *fil rouge* spanning various TS subfields, as several studies can provide useful methodological insights that lend themselves to be adapted and used in other, sometimes distant, research contexts. Not claiming to be exhaustive of all research so far produced in

TS that employs ethnographic methods, which appears to be a particularly arduous undertaking to engage in, the following selection attempts to outline said *fil rouge* to trace the methodological links between studies carried out in diverse translational and research contexts.

In Inghilleri (2003), ethnography was used to investigate the peculiar context of political asylum interviews. The aim of the study was to analyze interpreting as a norm-based translational activity based on a theoretical framework capable of describing the empirical relations of a specific context (interpreted asylum hearings) and investigate norms associated with interpreting. Ethnographic methods were similarly used in medical interpreting by Angelelli (2004) within the framework of a 22-month-long one-sited investigation, which included discourse analysis of over 300 medical encounters in a Californian hospital, observation, field notes, interviews with stakeholders, and relevant artifacts. These methods set the triangulated results of the data collected in their social context. The ethnographic methods helped shed light on the interpreting process in a medical setting and provided a socially situated account of all participants involved in the interactions. Ethnography was likewise deployed by Koskinen (2008) in her case study on the Finnish translation unit at European institutions, which set out to explore the organizational role and professional identity of nearly 2,000 translators and outlined an interesting framework for research on translation in institutional settings. The ethnographic approach included a number of different methods (institutional ethnography, observation, focus group discussions and shifts analysis), thus providing a clear methodological focus that constitutes a valuable contribution to the sociology of institutional translation and opens up new avenues for methodological research, both within and outside TS. Duflou's (2016) four-year study on the conference interpreters of the Dutch booths of the European Parliament and the European Commission is yet another example of ethnographic research carried out within institutions. It set out to highlight the link between a practice and its context and the notion of "community of practice" with reference to EU interpreters. The ethnographic model included the researcher's role as a participant observer, with data being collected from the fieldwork observation of simultaneous interpreters at work, informal and in-depth interviews, and a corpus of texts (documents, books, web pages). Data analysis consisted in transcription, subsequent thematic coding, and the ensuing creation of narratives. Tesseur's multi-sited ethnography (2015) explored translation practices and policies at Amnesty International and their impact on the organization's voice and stance. The linguistic ethnographic model focused on language in use. Mixed methods analysis was employed to investigate a diverse data set collected during fieldwork (policy documents, guidelines on writing and translation, recorded interviews, e-mails and fieldnotes), with frequent parallels drawn to the use of triangulation within TS (Koskinen 2008) and an extensive focus on the researcher's reflexivity.

With the rise of the Internet, translation and interpreting activities have increasingly shifted to the online world, with research into related phenomena and practices following suit. Drawing from Kozinets' (2010, 2015) netnography, that is, the adaptation of ethnography for the online world to investigate online cultures and communities, (n)ethnographic methods have been applied within TS by Dombek (2014), who studied translation crowdsourcing, and Li (2018), who investigated fansubbing. These studies show how audiovisual translation (AVT) researchers can resort to ethnographic methods to investigate the sites of AVT activity. While not fully equating to longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork in which researchers immerse themselves in the local community, netnographic fieldwork provides a continuous, self-reflexive experience that is constantly negotiated between the researcher, research participants and the context. Ethnographic methods were, furthermore, employed to investigate literary translation practice in the Netherlands and Belgium (Flynn 2004, 2007). Linguistic ethnography was adopted to highlight translatorial ethos in translation practice, whose forms are visible both at textual level and in practice, and turned out to be a methodologically useful means of investigation in TS in general.

The list of TS research drawing on ethnographic methods also includes sociologically oriented studies on publisher/translator networks (Buzelin 2006, 2007), freelance translation processes and networks (Risku, 2014), translation process research at the workplace (Angelone, Ehrensberger-Dow, and Massey 2016; Hubscher-Davidson 2011), and theater translation through autoethnography (Marinetti and Rose 2013), to name some more examples of possible applications.

The large variety of ethnographic studies in TS certainly stems from the all-embracing and loose definition of ethnography as the study and description of culture addressed in the introduction to this chapter, which accommodates several ethnographic methods characterized by direct contact with actors and descriptions of the encounters. Based on said definition, ethnographic methods are intended as multiple data acquisition methods, which include participant observation, observation of the context and subjects that are not study participants, fieldnotes, informal interviewing and listening, intensive interviewing, audio- and video recordings of interactions, historical and content analysis, surveys, and inspection of physical materials or artifacts. Thus, ethnography offers researchers a wide range of data elicitation modes, whereby the ethnographic model and/or the combination of various ethnographic models applied to each study depends on the research question(s) posed and enables researchers to extensively carry out their observation through direct access to data acquisition modes.

The influence exercised by neighboring disciplines on TS as regards the introduction and use of ethnographic approaches has, thus, been amply recognized. What appears to be less clear is whether a similar influence is indeed exercised by individual TS subfields on others from a methodological perspective, and whether one can identify a possible influence of ethnographic approaches coming from the inside, rather than from the outside, of TS. While it might be useful to identify and locate the sources and influences on the use of ethnographic research methods, whether inside or outside TS, distinguishing these sources to clarify this "inside/outside" dichotomy seems to be quite challenging, given the interconnectedness of knowledge flows in contemporary academic practices and the fact that TS researchers should avoid thinking only in dichotomous terms.

Efforts to provide guidelines on ethnographic research methods within TS abound, as attested by the numerous TS scholarly literature in the form of journals and books. An example of this consists in the parameters listed by Hale and Napier (2013) to frame an ethnographic study, which include the ethnographic model followed (e.g. participant or immersed observation, nonparticipant or distant observation with fieldwork, focus group discussions and/or interviews, audio- and/or video recordings, ethnographic interviews with semistructured or open questions, case study approach, desktop research to collect biographical or demographic documentation, keeping of diaries and/or fieldnotes, netnography, digital ethnography, autoethnography, one- or multisited ethnography, focus groups, etc., or a combination of these models); the duration of the study; the way participants are recruited; data analysis; and information regarding the researcher's reflexivity/self-reflexivity.

As already pointed out, however, these parameters are not established within TS. Rather, their formalization aims at acknowledging a broad outreach of methodological practices within the discipline that are presumed to be indicative of the existence of a common ground between TS subfields as regards ethnographic methods. All the blind spots identified above persist: lack of mutual exchange of methodological approaches between TS and its neighboring disciplines, social scientists and ethnographers' tendency to privilege a rational and referential notion of language, and their lack of recognition of the validity of translation (proper) as a means of effective communication. Assessing the level of cross-fertilization among the various research subfields across TS as regards the use of ethnographic methods is, thus, no easy task. Instead of focusing on the "inside/outside" dichotomy, a more productive avenue of research could consist in establishing how ethnographic studies within TS relate to and influence each other.

4. Cultural mediation in a migration setting: an ethnographic case study

This contribution originates from an ongoing research project, which uses ethnographic methods to investigate the cultural mediators of the Italian medical NGO Emergency ONG Onlus (hereinafter, Emergency), that provides humanitarian aid and medical assistance in a complex migration setting in the Southern Italian town of Castel Volturno (hereinafter, CV). The project has two research questions: first, what is the context in which interpreters and mediators working in humanitarian settings operate, specifically in the framework of the operations run by Emergency in a migration-intense area in Italy? And second, to what extent does this context impact the work carried out by the cultural mediators working for Emergency? This section will first provide some preliminary information on the organization, its mandate, its activities abroad and in Italy, and then describe the role played by cultural mediators within the NGO's organizational structure. It will describe the intended methodology and processes for data analysis. It will then move on to an overview of provisional results, to conclude with an illustration of the contribution of the study's results in terms of intradisciplinarity.

4.1 The context: Emergency and its outpatient clinic in CV

Emergency ONG Onlus is an independent humanitarian NGO, established in 1994 by war surgeon Gino Strada, with the aim to provide free medical and surgical treatment to civilian victims of war, land mines, and poverty in war-torn scenarios outside Italy and to give assistance to those in need in Italy. The organization has a humanitarian mandate: providing high-quality healthcare goes hand in hand with asserting the right of each human being to receive such treatment free of charge. This right is acknowledged as a fundamental and inalienable human right by both the Italian Constitution and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Emergency is currently running projects in seven countries (Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Iraq, Italy, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Uganda). In Italy, it has been operating within the framework of its Programma Italia since 2006. According to the management of the NGO's Italian operations (Bellardinelli 2017), Emergency's operations in Italy consist of a number of humanitarian projects whose goal is to give assistance to vulnerable populations and people in need in particular situations of emergency or natural disasters, to provide free healthcare, nursing, psychological support, and social and health-related guidance services. Patients are advised on how to gain access to the national healthcare system, to understand their rights and how to assert them. The latest official figures published on the NGO's website[3] show that, as of December 2020, Emergency has provided nearly 430,000 free-of-charge consultations to individuals who would otherwise have no access to medical care in Italy. Healthcare and sociocultural orientation are provided in both outpatient clinics and mobile clinics, which travel to areas where services are scarce and healthcare facilities absent, such as agricultural areas, marginalized urban districts, localities hit by natural disasters, and refugee reception centers. As of December 2020, outpatient clinics are run in Palermo, Marghera, Sassari, Polistena, CV, Naples, and Brescia within Programma Italia. The program's mobile clinics have offered medical assistance to individuals in deprived neighborhoods of Milan, provided sexual health information for sex workers in CV, helped migrants and refugees landing in Sicily, supported the large community of agricultural workers in Latina, and aided people affected by earthquakes in central Italy.

Emergency first came to the Southern Italian town of CV, north of Naples, with a mobile unit in 2013, and then set up an outpatient clinic in 2015. CV is one of the areas with the highest number of migrants in Italy, most of them of African origin (Nigeria and Ghana). According to a recent report by the Study and Research Center of the Italian Caritas (Caritas and Fondazione Migrantes 2017), foreigners represent a third of the resident population. Most of them disembarked in the country's southern ports and have gone to CV to work as farmworkers and prostitutes, mainly illegally, attracted by job and accommodation prospects offered by a locally widespread network of informal and illegal activities. The area is characterized by urban degradation, illegal housing and businesses, as well as by environmental pollution and the strong presence of both local and Nigerian organized crime.

The patients treated at the CV clinic are mostly men employed in construction and agriculture, often in conditions of heavy economic and physical exploitation, a direct consequence of the unhealthy circumstances that these people experience. Another category of patients treated in CV consists of commercial sex workers, primarily of Nigerian origin. In the Caserta

3 https://www.emergency.it/cosa-facciamo/italia. Accessed 30 December 2020.

area, information and disease prevention activities targeted at this group of migrants is carried out with the aim of facilitating the "access of sex workers to health services and to increase awareness of sexually-transmitted diseases and behaviors to prevent future risk" (Emergency website, my translation).

All the operations conducted by Emergency in Italy are carried out with the support of cultural mediators, who play a pivotal role within the NGO. Emergency's cultural mediators are employees who work side by side with doctors, nurses, and logistics experts. They carry out tasks of language and cultural mediation, social orientation and information provision to migrants and asylum-seekers in their dyadic and triadic encounters with the organization's medical staff and/or with authorities. The term *mediatori culturali*, or cultural mediators, clearly underlines the cultural component inherent in their role and testifies to the greater emphasis placed by Emergency and the mediators themselves on their role as cultural brokers in comparison to their language mediation tasks.

4.2 Methodology

To answer the research questions outlined in the introduction to this section, ethnography was chosen as the preferred research methodology. As Risku (2017, 309) points out, "[i]n ethnographic research, the factors being studied are not defined precisely *a priori*, but are instead identified throughout empirical research". The project aims precisely at identifying phenomena through empirical research and focuses on the cultural mediators working for the NGO in their natural setting. The research questions a project tries to answer are, according to Risku (2017), asked prior to the study, and initial hypotheses, though not experimental, are made. These hypotheses are then checked through participant observation, which is central to any ethnographic method. They are checked through full involvement in the situation observed, communication with study participants, fieldnotes, documentation, and/or qualitative interview methods, such as informal and semistructured interviews with open questions.

Specifically, the ethnographic approach of case study research was selected as the preferred method of investigation, since, according to Baxter and Jack (2008, 545), a qualitative case study should be considered when the researcher "want[s] to cover contextual conditions because [s/he] believe[s] they are relevant to the phenomenon under study". This is further confirmed by Hammersley and Atkinson (2019), who highlight that ethnography explores the nature of particular social phenomena and investigates small numbers of cases, maybe even a single case, in depth and detail. This is exactly the aim pursued with this study, which intends to carry out an in-depth descriptive investigation of and shed light on a single group of individuals (namely, the cultural mediators working for an NGO in one of its outpatient clinics in a complex migration context), and, ultimately, to gain an understanding of this group in its natural setting. Case study research also allows for a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon explored in its natural setting. This stance is supported by Risku and Windhager (2013, 34), who talk about a "situated, embodied cognition view of translation" and the possibility for the researcher to show that "translation processes also develop within specific cultures and are dependent on the place and time of this development". In this respect, the case study approach is considered the most appropriate research methodology, as it describes communicative encounters which are presumed to be shaped by each participant's specific culture, as well as by the context, place, and time of their occurrence. It is a form of participatory research, as analysis and meaning making occur throughout the process rather than being a separate activity carried out after the data collection (Gehart, Tarragona, and Bava 2007). The focus is, thus, on the co-construction of meaning between researcher and participants (Thomas 2017), and participants' perspectives emerge from the joint construction of findings with the researcher. In the process, the researcher listens to what is being said, compares it with her/his personal beliefs and experiences, and tries to determine how the stories make sense together.

Participants in the study were recruited with the support of Programma Italia's coordinator and secretariat. After receiving a positive reply to a preliminary enquiry, the ethnography site was selected. The outpatient clinic in CV was chosen due to the large numbers of migrants in the area and the higher likelihood that the cultural mediators working there perform a significant number of language and cultural mediation work in both dyadic and triadic encounters. Participants included both the mediators currently employed at the clinic and the ones who used to work there in the past and are currently involved in other of the NGO's projects, with no exclusion criteria applied.

Data was collected from participants in different ways and in various moments. At the beginning of the project (spring 2018), there was an exchange of e-mails and telephone conversations between the researcher, the outpatient clinic's coordinator, who is himself a cultural mediator, and the other cultural mediators. In October-November 2018 the study participants were given written semistructured interviews with the aim of exploring some preliminary issues that had emerged during the previous e-mail and telephone exchange. One issue concerned the role of cultural differences in interpreter-mediated encounters at the CV outpatient clinic. In August 2019 the researcher paid a preliminary visit to the facility, specifically to become familiar with the context, thereby preparing and paving the way for the subsequent ethnographic field observations. The original research design foresaw five observational periods at the CV outpatient clinic, each of them lasting about one week and scheduled between May 2020 and February 2021. In the observational periods the researcher would observe the dyadic and triadic encounters in which the cultural mediators are involved and take notes of all aspects observed. The investigator would, furthermore, conduct audio-recorded semistructured interviews with study participants.

The COVID-19 health emergency, which broke out at the end of February 2020 in Italy, imposed a thorough revision of the research design. During lockdown, access to the CV outpatient clinic was strongly limited to guarantee the safety of both staff and patients, and third parties were not allowed inside it. As of the time of this writing, and even during the easing of the COVID-19 health restrictions, access to the clinic is still significantly limited, and all of Emergency's outpatient clinics, including CV, have changed their operations, implementing coping mechanisms which are still in place. Consequently, a new and revised research design had to follow the preliminary visit. The observational periods foreseen for the spring and summer of 2020 have been postponed indefinitely and data collection occurs through unstructured recorded video interviews. This data will be integrated with participant observation and fieldnotes during observational periods, which will hopefully be scheduled at some later stage in agreement with the clinic's coordinator and the NGO's Milan-based management.

From a methodological viewpoint, the decision to carry out recorded video interviews was determined to enhance the level of detail of the verbal information provided by participants as well as to partly offset the lack of visual elements that would have been obtained from field observations. As Heinrichsmeier (2019, 179) points out, video recordings can increasingly help cast light on encounters characterized by a detailed analysis of interaction, as they "allow the fine detail of multimodal aspects of interaction to be explored. These details include the integration of non-verbal and verbal features and the coordination and use of non-bodily technologies and artefacts within the interaction".

Considering the nature of the qualitative study described and the ethical challenges it poses, prior to data collection the project was authorized by the Ethics Committee of the university the researcher is currently affiliated to. It was stipulated on the consent forms what data would be collected and how they would be stored and managed.

In terms of researcher reflexivity (Berger 2015), the researcher is an Italian civilian, more specifically an interpreter who has provided conference interpreting services to Emergency since 2008. In such a role, she is informed of the NGO's activities and the way they are implemented, although she is external to the organization and was not knowledgeable of the context investigated in the case study before the data collection. As a long-standing and trusted language provider of the NGO, the researcher was facilitated in her request to carry out the study and in having access to the CV outpatient clinic. This enabled the creation of an open and relaxed environment during the initial contacts with participants and the first preliminary visit, and contributed to creating an atmosphere of trust during the video interviews.

The provisional data collected has been analyzed through phenomenological reduction or bracketing, with the aim of identifying possible biases and "bracketing" subjective judgements. At the same time, the issues emerging from the analysis have been constantly cross-checked with participants to confirm the representativeness of the researcher's description of their point of view and to identify general themes exemplifying their own experience. Participants' statements were then analyzed, summarized into clusters of themes, and broken down into prevailing ones, which are presented in the next section.

4.3 Provisional findings

As of this writing, seven cultural mediators who are still working or worked at the CV outpatient clinic have been interviewed. Four of them are male and three are female. Before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, four were working at the clinic: two Italian males, one Nigerian female, and one Romanian female. The fifth cultural mediator interviewed used to work in CV from 2013 to 2017 and currently serves as Programma Italia's deputy coordinator. The sixth participant is an Italian female, who used to work in CV in 2015 and 2016 and is now active at the NGO's Milan headquarters. The seventh cultural mediator is originally from Senegal: before working in Polistena, Reggio Calabria, he was active as a cultural mediator in CV in 2016 and 2017. The seven cultural mediators interviewed are aged between 35 and 49. All have different backgrounds and qualifications in areas other than language mediation or translation/interpreting (political science, economics, cultural heritage) and have previously worked for other NGOs (MSF and Save the Children, local NGOs), the public sector (local health companies, prisons, etc.) or international organizations. They speak Italian, English, French, Romanian, and some Nigerian languages (Esan, Bini, and Pidgin English).

Their duties include welcoming patients and/or health and social services users, providing them with language and cultural mediation in compiling medical files, providing them with language and cultural mediation prior to and during medical examination, providing healthcare education where necessary, accompanying patients who need hospital treatment and assisting them with admission procedures in public hospitals, accompanying patients to public authorities to assist them with legal and administrative issues, carrying out health and social service orientation activities, supporting computerized data management, and, if necessary, contributing to the management of certain administrative or logistical aspects of the project. Different and/or additional tasks are always context-dependent, agreed upon with the Milan-based Programma Italia secretariat, and implemented accordingly.

The COVID-19 health emergency marked a watershed for Emergency and the way it is now running its operations. The NGO has reorganized its activities and the CV facility now employs two cultural mediators, an Italian male and a Nigerian female, since the others were sent to support other clinics that were most in need (e.g. in large urban areas mostly hit by the pandemic) or terminated their working contract with the NGO. The cultural mediators currently employed at the clinic continue to provide patients with healthcare and social orientation, but they have had to adapt these duties to the new circumstances in an attempt to safeguard themselves and their patients. Following the health emergency, the organization immediately collaborated with national and local health authorities to manage the virus outbreak, sharing with them its experience with the treatment of Ebola patients in Sierra Leone in 2014 and 2015. New activities and initiatives have been launched, while the NGO's traditional services have been provided in a different way. All initiatives and activities are normally decided centrally and implemented locally, sometimes after being prompted by local good practices. The initiatives and activities undertaken by Emergency in response to COVID-19 were no exception. They were tested at a given outpatient clinic, were deemed to be potentially effective for other Programma Italia projects, and were subsequently adopted by other facilities and mobile units.

A triage facility was set up in CV outside the premises to immediately identify patients with possible COVID symptoms. Furthermore, a massive information campaign has been implemented by cultural mediators with the creation of WhatsApp groups of patients and targeted messages sent to vulnerable groups informing them about health, safety, and social distancing rules and directing them to the public health services in charge. The CV clinic provided similar information by means of a video in Pidgin English, which was addressed to migrants who do not speak Italian to make sure they respect safety norms and rules on social distancing. This proved to be so effective that it was soon adopted by other Italian outpatient clinics in other languages. Those migrants who viewed the video were much more compliant with the new rules.

Preliminary results show that Emergency's cultural mediators mainly see themselves as humanitarian aid workers who attach significant importance to culture. They do not perform only medical or community interpreting; they take on various roles and carry out tasks that are at the intersection between health mediation, humanitarian aid provision, and social services. Tasks are tacitly divided between the mediators based on individual skills and propensity, and they are constantly adapted to new safety and health circumstances.

Training and culture are two main themes that emerged from the findings. As regards the former, despite mediators' pivotal role within the organization and their proven competences in the field, they have never received any training in interpreting, cultural issues or humanitarian aid. They are recruited only based on their command of the working languages and cultures; however, these are not tested when the mediator is hired. The mediators consider this to be a major shortcoming, as they believe that well-trained linguistic and interpreting/language transfer skills are decisive in their work. The organization does not provide any training on interpreting or cultural mediation for its cultural mediators, but only courses on legal and administrative issues. The latter are considered very important by the NGO in view of the social orientation and information activities provided by mediators, which should be grounded on the solid knowledge of national and local norms and regulations. Training activities on other topics, such as ethnopsychiatry or intercultural medicine, are undertaken by mediators at their own initiative.

As regards ethics, all the cultural mediators indicated that they did not have a code of ethics applicable to their category to guide their language and cultural mediation activities, but rather mentioned their own ethical values. The organization has, indeed, a code of ethics that applies to all its staff members, but it does not provide any training on ethical values. However, their actions and decisions at work are implicitly compliant with and inspired by the NGO's code of ethics, as if Emergency's ethical principles were tacitly transferred and embraced by the mediators, who then implement them in their daily work.

As regards culture, both the Nigerian and the Romanian mediators received formal qualification in cultural mediation (a 900-hour course in intercultural mediation). The Italian female cultural mediator holds a PhD in studies on the Middle East and Maghreb, with a research focus on cultural specificities and intercultural relations. All participants in the video interviews stressed that training to deal with cultural issues is highly desirable, and highlighted the importance of receiving it on a local and/or project basis. The CV clinic has recognized this need and implements it on a local and/or project basis, whenever possible. In addition, most migrants are of Nigerian and Ghanaian origin and patients coming from these communities often have an intimate, sometimes pantheistic, but certainly spiritual view of their body, medicine, and healthcare. In fact, all the mediators repeatedly stressed the close link between culture, healthcare, and corporeity. Furthermore, they often highlighted the role that cultural differences between migrant patients and health professionals might play in guaranteeing effective mediation, with related challenges in terms of establishing trust, compliance with treatment, and effective transfer of meaning. To overcome these challenges, cultural mediators reported the adoption and exchange of strategies with peers, such as language simplification or the addition of information and explanations to reassure migrant patients that the "Western" treatment can be accommodated within their spiritual beliefs. Another strategy aimed at a division of tasks, so that the Nigerian mediator was almost always assigned to triadic encounters involving African women. The other mediators provided information and social services in dyadic interactions to a larger extent and worked in triadic encounters only when needed, as cultural mediators sharing the same culture of the patients are reportedly more effective in their mediation activities. The aim of these strategies was to plan, conduct, and communicate treatment in such ways as to establish a common ground with patients' system of values and beliefs, with the ultimate goal of implementing what Quaranta and Ricca (2012) define as "intercultural medicine", or the set of linguistic and practical processes that aim to promote the adoption of clinical protocols and a positive approach to treatment for migrants.

Results also show that the emotional and psychological burden of mediating in challenging situations has an impact on cultural mediators. All the mediators at CV envisaged their own way to cope with it in various ways, depending on each individual's personality and past experience. There was also the awareness that they can always refer to the clinic or program coordinator when in need. Here, too, instruction on how to cope with emotionally and psychologically difficult situations was not provided by the organization.

Lastly, preliminary results have shown the presence of a community of practice of cultural mediators at Emergency's outpatient clinic in CV, which is established by learning by doing. An example of this lies in the habit of organizing internal meetings on a weekly basis or more frequently, if needed, to take stock of the situation, discuss the most challenging cases, find solutions, and exchange good practices. This is not required by Emergency's head office in Milan; rather, these local meetings are initiated as moments of exchange and learning that are shaped and fine-tuned by the clinic's mediators themselves. In this respect, these meetings represent yet another example of learning by doing within a community of practice, in which mediators identify the skills needed at work and then acquire them on their personal initiative. This was the case, for example, of the initiatives undertaken by the NGO's cultural mediators in response to the COVID-19 emergency. Within this community of practice, the NGO's cultural mediators collaborate to find solutions to the most urgent challenges posed in their daily work and appear to be guided by common sense.

4.4 Inter-/intradisciplinary nature of the study and its contribution to TS

This chapter is a first attempt to assess intradisciplinarity by checking the ties of this ongoing study with other subdomains within TS as regards the research method used. After selecting the topic and formulating the research questions, a case study research design was developed, since it allows for flexibility and complexity in research design (Hubscher-Davidson 2011, 5). The research design is, therefore, qualitative and ethnographically oriented. The model for case study research was sought outside TS, specifically in social theory, social psychology, and linguistic anthropology. However, a comprehensive review of literature that applies ethnographic methods was carried out and, more specifically, qualitative case studies within TS were also consulted for comparison, thereby acknowledging references internal to the discipline. Similarly, the conduction of the study and the analysis and illustration of the findings so far have drawn inspiration from theoretical, conceptual, and methodological frameworks of research both internal and external to TS, which have been adapted based on the peculiarities of the context investigated and changing circumstances.

So far, the study has contributed to the intradisciplinary debate by employing a method that has allowed to investigate a distinctive and unrepeatable translation phenomenon. The translation practices analyzed in the project namely occur in a setting characterized by numerous elements of uniqueness. According to Yin (2018, 15), "a case study is an empirical method that 1. Investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the 'case') in depth and within its real-world context, especially when 2. The boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be evident". The project offers numerous unique spots:

the unique setting of CV (a *unicum* in Italy with its migration context, a locally widespread network of informal and illegal activities, illegal housing, urban degradation, environmental pollution and organized crime), the unique role played by Emergency's cultural mediators performing medical and social interpreting and mediation activities in such a complex humanitarian setting, the unique role of a humanitarian medical NGO active in a challenging environment, the unique nature of the COVID-19 health emergency, and the unique combination of all these factors. Case study methodology can help highlight such uniqueness and, in turn, provide useful methodological insights to TS researchers wishing to investigate similar context-specific translation phenomena. In this respect, the study conducted can be said to add a piece to the mosaic of research on interpreting in complex humanitarian settings through the method chosen, which has made it possible to design and develop said research, situate it, and chart context-specific changes.

Preliminary findings have concerned aspects as diverse as interpreting and mediation practice and setting, training, ethics, community of practice, cultural differences, etc. Delving deeper into one or more of them has depended on the research questions, but equally on the changing circumstances of the setting and the constantly new and unexpected results emerging from the study (e.g. the importance attached by mediators to cultural issues or the language simplification and generalization strategies they adopt to cope with them). Constant adaptation of the work and focus on certain aspects rather than on others have been, in any case, made possible by the versatility, scope for reflection, flexibility, and inductive approach of the case study method. The findings obtained can be relevant for similar projects in other TS subdomains. They can be "borrowed" as a basis for the work of other TS researchers who are analyzing similar translation phenomena in equally distinctive contexts and might be searching for methodological inspiration on how the method has been adapted to suit specific circumstances and/or to face similar difficulties, for instance, in terms of access to fieldwork or data analysis.

As a reflective methodology, case studies are extremely beneficial for practitioner development, given how they deepen the researcher's understanding of systems and processes. The findings can, in this respect, add knowledge to the way and the extent to which case study research contributes to the understanding of systems and processes in a unique humanitarian interpreting setting.

Finally, case studies inform vibrant scholarly discussion and are a versatile method for communicating research evidence. In this respect, study findings provide a useful basis for discussion on practices and processes from the point of view of a distinctive situation, which might benefit research in other TS subdomains that, though not necessarily interpreting-related, show a similar degree of contextualization.

5. Conclusions

This study was an initial endeavor to acknowledge the interconnectedness of various TS subdomains as regards the use of ethnographic approaches, and specifically case study research, to pursue methodological intradisciplinarity.

Thanks to their versatility and flexibility in accommodating different data elicitation modalities, ethnographic approaches have been increasingly resorted to in recent years within TS. Most ethnographic studies in TS are interdisciplinary and refer to theoretical and methodological frameworks from outside the discipline. Methodological intradisciplinarity as regards the use of ethnographic approaches has been, overall, under-researched. Though I subscribe to the belief that the growth of TS into an interdisciplinary field over the years has enriched it with external conceptual, methodological, and theoretical frameworks, a turn inwards can contribute to legitimizing it towards neighboring disciplines.

Considerations on inter- and intradisciplinarity cannot overlook the difficulty in identifying parameters to assess the "inside/outside" binary, nor should TS researchers think only in terms of a dichotomous opposition. Though originally inspired by concepts and theories outside TS, the ethnographic methodology chosen for this case study has equally drawn on models within the discipline. Its findings can inform future research in the field, regarding, for instance, the combination of unique aspects of the research setting.

A more holistic understanding of the way ethnography, and specifically ethnographically-oriented case studies, are used within TS can contribute to enhancing their intradisciplinary relevance as a research method. In turn, this can ultimately help offset the fragmentation within TS and foster an intradisciplinary dialogue for the institutionalization of the discipline (Gile 2012).

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Part 3

Professional practices

Translation awards in Brazil

Revisiting the literary/nonliterary debate

Gisele Dionísio da Silva

Abstract
One of the longest-standing contentions among translation scholars and practitioners is that literary and nonliterary translation are distinct and often irreconcilable domains. The literary/nonliterary distinction has ties to both translation research and practice: in the first case, through the establishment of research niches and the compartmentalization of conceptual, theoretical, and even methodological debates; in the second case, through a tendency for differential standing of translators in the job market, affecting aspects such as professional status, remuneration, and working conditions. In the publishing industry, categorizing a given work as literary or nonliterary has repercussions on various fronts, from the writing of critical reviews to the structuring of book awards. To verify whether the literary/nonliterary distinction (still) holds sway in book awards as tokens of cultural legitimacy, this chapter presents the results of an online bibliographical survey concerning the recipients of four translation awards in Brazil over the past two decades. Results suggest that award juries tend to base their decisions on a notion of literariness that is both tacitly accepted and occasionally adjusted to encompass works that might otherwise be categorized as nonliterary or that tread a borderline path between literary and nonliterary genres. This finding indicates that juries' assessments of translations may not be entirely genre-based, which would render the literary/nonliterary distinction of little practical value in this domain.

Keywords: literary translation, nonliterary translation, literariness, publishing industry, translation awards, Brazil

1. Introduction

The Western rationale of constructing and categorizing knowledge based on a logic of oppositions, in which the first element is perceived as a standard in relation to the second, has found in translation a fruitful environment, in theory as well as in practice. Amid a string of dichotomies spearheaded by the prototypical relations original/translation and author/translator, which have already been the object of scrutiny and review by scholars working with deconstruction, postcolonial studies, and other cultural approaches, the literary/nonliterary[1] translation distinction remains a true force in translation research and practice. This feat is all the more impressive when one considers that the rapid changes in technological advances and endorsement of new, more fluid genres, coupled with growing awareness of multimodality as the basis of any textual production, have the potential to render such a distinction obsolete. Nevertheless, it lives on, undergoing occasional changes in order to adapt to a world of constantly shifting social practices.

In the wake of the linguistic and text-based paradigm that has dominated discussions on translation both before and after the emergence of Translation Studies (TS) in the 1970s (Marais 2019), classifying texts as either literary or nonliterary has given rise to two cultures of research and practice that act as proper entry points into the translation domain and, in many cases, aspire to be exclusive. The rationale for such a classification is, according to Rogers (2019, 456), "rarely if ever articulated; the dichotomy seems to render it redundant, implying an apparently clear differentiation between literary and non-literary genres". In broad terms, this differentiation is grounded on the function and content of source texts: whereas the translation of "literary" originals is expected "to preserve or to recreate somehow [their] *aesthetic intentions or effects*" (Delabastita 2010, 69, emphasis added), therefore performing an expressive function, the translation of "nonliterary" or "specialized" originals covers "any kind of text – from learned scientific papers to furniture assembly instructions – which presupposes *specialist knowledge and/or experience*" (Rogers 2019, 453–454, emphasis added), hence conveying an informative function. Orbiting around these differences are others pertaining to language and style, with literary translation being normally associated with "ambiguous and/or indeterminable" meanings (Jones 2020, 294), as opposed to the more pragmatic use of terminology in the translation of specialized texts (Rogers 2015, 35–37). However, as with all binaries, taking this distinction at face value not only prompts excessive simplification of the nature of texts – epitomized by Newmark's (2004, 11) contention that "[l]iterary texts are about persons

1 Nonliterary translation is now increasingly referred to as "specialized translation", since, as contended by Rogers (2019, 488), "a negative affix implies lower status and less complexity". Despite subscribing to this view, I have decided to maintain the traditional (and, hence, more questionable) designation in this chapter as a visual reminder of the centrality of the literary factor in this discussion.

[and] non-literary texts are about objects" – but also disregards crossovers between the two categories and, ultimately, the dynamism of textual genres and translational strategies in today's world. Notwithstanding its limitations, the literary/nonliterary distinction still serves as a yardstick for current translation research, training, and professional practices.

In the academic milieu, the literary/nonliterary binary fosters the establishment of relatively autonomous research niches in TS. This manifests itself in several ways, namely: 1) institutional organization, through postgraduate programs that focus on one or the other modality (e.g. PhD in Literary Translation Studies, University of Warwick; MA in Specialized Translation and Interpreting, Polytechnic Institute of Porto); 2) publication outlets, such as scholarly journals (e.g. *Translation and Literature*; *Norwich Papers: Studies in Literary Translation*; *JoSTrans – The Journal of Specialised Translation*; and *trans-kom – Journal of Translation and Technical Communication Research*) and special issues (e.g. "Topics and Concepts in Literary Translation", in *Perspectives* 26 (4), 2018; "New Insights into Specialised Translation", in *inTRAlinea – Online Translation Journal* 17, 2015), as well as books (e.g. *The Routledge Handbook of Literary Translation*, edited by Kelly Washbourne and Ben Van Wyke in 2018, and Margaret Rogers' 2015 book *Specialised Translation: Shedding the "Non-Literary" Tag*); and 3) conferences (e.g. events "Computer-Assisted Literary Translation Conference", held in Swansea, UK in 2021, and "Specialist Languages: Practice and Theory V", to be held in Rzeszów, Poland in 2023). Underlying this parallel development of academic practices is a growing compartmentalization of conceptual, theoretical, and methodological debates which, while promoting common research interests and concerns, may generate a narrower outlook on translational phenomena and, ultimately, restrict cross-fertilization among the various research subfields across TS. Efforts to deter or lessen such disciplinary "fragmentation" (a term also used by Chesterman 2019) abound, however, as attested by the scholarly weight of general TS journals such as *Target* and *The Translator* and by international conferences organized by scholarly associations like the International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies (IATIS) and the European Society for Translation Studies (EST).

As regards the professional translation market, the literary/nonliterary binary resonates not only in the strictly textual sense, with genres being assigned to either group by the various agents and gatekeepers involved (particularly publishers), but also in the social sense, by encouraging a differential standing of translators in the job market. The latter affects a number of aspects, including professional status (e.g. "full-time" or "academic" translators), remuneration,[2] and working conditions (from home or at a company office) and, as is the case with academia, generates smaller communities with converging interests, skills, and expectations – though the existence of such groups does not prevent a considerable number of translators from working with both literary and nonliterary genres. It must be pointed out, however, that the notion of "literary translator" may at times be dissociated from the translation of literary texts per se, depending on the language being used or on the editorial conventions in place. Kalinowski (2002, 48), writing on the French context, calls "'literary translators' (as opposed to 'technical translators') those who translate works, literary or not, that are published",[3] a use justified by the etymological roots of the qualifier *littéraire* from the Latin *litterarius*, or "letter". Endorsement of "literary translators" as an umbrella term for translators working with various text types in book form can also be traced back to the late 1960s, judging by Citroen's (1966, 181–182) contention that literary translations are "a heterogeneous assortment of types of texts, usually published in book form", rendered by translators who "have in most cases only one thing in common (…) namely that they all work for publishers". These examples show how the links between text types and professional profiles in the job market are often context-specific.

In the publishing industry, categorizing a given work as literary or nonliterary (based not only on conventional textual typology but also on the audience's perception of a work as possessing literary qualities; see Genette 1993 and Robinson 2017) has repercussions on various fronts, from books' actual display on booksellers' shelves to the writing of critical reviews and the structuring of book awards. The latter, which comprise a means of cultural consecration of authors and publishers in many parts of the world (Sapiro 2016), emerge as a useful but under-researched sociocultural practice through which to assess the current standing of the literary/nonliterary translation distinction. This has to do with the fact that, in more "peripheral" book markets (to borrow the term from Heilbron's [2010] core-periphery model of

2 A case in point is the list of reference word/page rates put out by the Brazilian Union of Translators (Sindicato Nacional dos Tradutores – Sintra), according to which "translation" services are assigned a per-word rate, whereas "literary translation" services are assigned a per-page rate based on the parameter of 30 lines and 70 characters (including spaces) per line. The Union does not, however, justify this distinction (a per-page rate tends to yield lower amounts than a per-word rate) or offer a definition of what counts as "literary translation", even though, as argued by Kalinowski (2002), it probably refers to all translations that are meant for publication, regardless of genre. "Valores de Referência de 2020." https://www.sintra.org.br/valores-de-referencia. Accessed 16 July 2020.

3 All translations of quotations in this chapter are my own.

international translation flows), which tend to be permeable to translations, book awards often include a translation category that may or may not restrict contenders' eligibility based on genres. This is the case of Brazil, where four of the major book awards have a category or subcategory devoted to translation; the fact that they operate under a strictly "importing" perspective, in the sense that contenders are translations produced into Portuguese only, seems to reinforce the marginality of the Brazilian publishing scene on the global stage. Therefore, this chapter sets out to verify whether the literary/nonliterary distinction, still a driving force in academic and publishing circles (as the following sections indicate), also has a bearing on juries' final decisions in Brazilian translation awards. Achieving this aim entails an analysis of the actual role of literariness (a central concept in this discussion, as shown in the following section) in such awards, made possible by establishing whether juries' assessments are purely genre-based or also take into account extratextual factors. To serve as a case in point, an online bibliographical survey was carried out concerning the recipients of four Brazilian awards, sponsored by public and private entities, over the past two decades. Mapping out awards' application and assessment criteria as well as features of recipients, such as genre classification, source text authors, translators, and publishers, may help shed light on the reigning status of translated texts in the awards circuit and, more broadly, on the role of literariness as a parameter of translation quality.

2. What makes a text "literary"?

To understand what makes a translation be perceived by an audience (including critics and the wider public) as literary or nonliterary, one must first understand what renders a particular text "literary" in any language. The notion of literature as being comprised of works whose intrinsic features distinguish them from all other forms of textual production is largely owed to the work of Russian formalism during the early decades of the 20th century. This group of literary theorists introduced, under the influence of structural linguistics then in vogue, a number of major contributions to the study of literature and language, among which the distinction between ordinary and poetic language; according to this distinction, poetic language (as well as art in general) operates under a process of "defamiliarization" that "makes familiar ideas or objects strange" (Miall 2016, 194) to the reader of literature. Defamiliarization is, then, at the heart of the notion of "literariness" later proposed by literary critic and theorist Roman Jakobson, also a major figure in early theoretical discussions on translation. According to Jakobson, literariness, or the intrinsic stylistic or narrative properties of literary texts, is what sets such material apart from any other and should constitute the object of study of poetics, rather than literature itself (Genette 1993, 2; Miall 2016, 191).

Jakobson's notion of literariness endured heavy criticism from later literary theorists, who dismissed as an illusion the existence of an aesthetic "essence" to literary texts (unaffected by historical or social factors) and of a "normal" everyday language (Duff 2014, 6–8; Miall 2016, 196–198). Nevertheless, it has been endorsed (and expanded) by a number of prominent scholars, among them Gérard Genette, who proposes a twofold interpretation of literariness: one which is "constitutive" or "essentialist", "based on the principle that certain texts are literary in their essence or by nature, and for all time, while others are not" (1993, 5), and another which is "conditional", a more intuitive domain that "relies on judgements of taste, which everyone knows to be subjective and unmotivated" (1993, 16). In Genette's categorization, constitutive literariness can be more closely associated with the epic-lyric-drama triad (1993, 11), for centuries wrongly attributed to Aristotle: it encompasses fiction (narrative and dramatic forms) and poetry (lyric, or nonfictional forms), since, for Genette, a given novel or a sonnet will always be considered literary not as a result of subjective aesthetic assessment, but of inherent features such as fictionality or versification. Conditional literariness, in turn, is crucial in complementing constitutive literariness by accounting for texts which do not fall under the essentialist reach, such as those of "nonfictional prose literature: history, oratory, the essay, and autobiography" (1993, 16), as well as others whose singularity prevents them from being assigned to more traditional and predictable literary categories.

Genette's contention that literariness relies both on the aesthetic quality of (some) texts and on the perception of readers of what constitutes an aesthetic object is quite useful for the purposes of this study, since juries' assessment of translations in book awards arguably involves considerations regarding both textual and extratextual factors. It must be pointed out, however, that notions of literariness are often tied to culturally specific views and expectations, which means that the selection of a particular conceptual framework over others plays a direct role on the way research data is analyzed and findings interpreted.

Given that the award scene naturally tends towards evaluative rather than descriptive reports, producing "judgements in which the diagnosis of literariness is equivalent to a seal of approval" (Genette 1993, 17), analyzing the profile of translation award recipients may help shed light not only on the type of literariness at play, but also on the current dynamics of literary and nonliterary genres. Prior to focusing on the empirical data, however, it is important to understand how the literary/nonliterary distinction currently functions across the many subfields of TS.

3. Literary/nonliterary translation: an intradisciplinary review

As highlighted in the introduction to this chapter, the discipline of TS accommodates two major research cultures (among others), one focused on literary translation and another on specialized translation, which tend to be self-contained and have their own channels of producing, systematizing, and circulating knowledge. The lack of more effective communication between these cultures may perpetuate – epistemologically, at least – the literary/nonliterary divide, but a brief intradisciplinary review of subfields in TS reveals that some of the binary's underlying principles can actually be associated with a wide range of research interests, hence producing fruitful crossovers (some of which are addressed by Rogers 2019). This section focuses on two particular issues: the proliferation (and hybridity) of genres in translation research and practice and the notion of creativity.

The literary/nonliterary binary relies heavily on the concept of genre in order to function as a marker of textual classification. In the wake of an anti-generic movement that can be traced back to the Romantics, particularly in Germany, recent decades have witnessed, according to Duff (2014), a revival of the concept of genre in scholarly discourse (from political science to film and cultural studies), largely inspired by a renewed acknowledgment of genres as "historically determined, dynamic entities" (2014, 4). In broad terms, a genre is a type of communicative act "whose typical shared features are roughly agreed by a community of users" (Jones 2020, 295) and, although its dynamism allows it to change over time and space, as well as to emerge anew, its core representation continues to be recognized by social members (Gambier 2013, 63). It is precisely this dynamism which enables genres (and subgenres) to adapt to sociocultural constraints while also resisting definitive conceptualizations.

In the case of TS, a fluid coexistence of genres – and of specific features and skills – now cuts across a number of research subfields, involving "forms of writing and speech that have little or no relation to literary genres" (Duff 2014, 2). Audiovisual translation (AVT), for instance, encompasses a broad range of genres, such as documentaries, news, feature films, series, animation, talk shows, and reality shows, with varying degrees of fictionality (i.e. "literariness") or factuality (i.e. "nonliterariness") or even hybrid forms

(Rogers 2019, 460). Operating with such diversity may affect not only the rendering of linguistic, stylistic, and cultural markers through translation, but also more technical factors including the need for synchrony between image and subtitles (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2014, 51). Localization, in turn, an area of translation widely viewed as technical due to the set of skills required by the job market (such as knowledge of computer-assisted translation tools), also treads a borderline between standardized, informative media such as software and websites and more narrativized and interactive media such as (video)games (Mangiron 2018, 124–125; Rogers 2019, 465–466). According to Mangiron (2018, 125), the hybrid character of game localization can be summed up by the fact that games may contain "language, messages, and instructions to the user similar to those found in a software programme [as well as] narrative and literary passages, which need to be translated while preserving the literary and poetic register". In addition to the coexistence of genres in a single translation practice (and research subfield), cases abound as to the sharing of specific features typical of either literary or nonliterary texts: examples include the translation of religious texts, which, though often characterized by figurative and poetic language, may also contain specialized terminology (Rogers 2015); the translation of modern philosophical prose, which often poses to the translator challenges related to voice and narrativity (Rée 2001); and the translation of advertisements which may draw on the use of poetic devices such as repetition (Cui and Zhao 2016).

Among literary translation scholars, there is a consensus surrounding creativity as a core component of literary texts in general and, in turn, as a skill required of the translator. The translator's creative force stems from the fact that he/she "may be a 'secondary author' vis-à-vis the original author of the translated work" (Gouadec 2007, 29), a status which may grant him/her considerable leeway in proposing and negotiating translation choices, as well as ownership of copyright over their work (although this is a contentious issue in day-to-day publishing practices). Focus on the agency and creative nature of translation work can, in fact, be found not only within subfields that address typically literary genres, such as poetry and drama translation, but also in more "technical" subfields such as those of advertising translation (Valdés 2013) and AVT, particularly subtitling (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2014, 145); professionals working in these domains normally deal with concise texts, whether printed or audiovisual, and are expected to provide adequate and flexible solutions to culture-bound references and varying language registers (oral or written), under a series of time and space constraints. News translation is yet another subfield that may touch on the creative skills required of a writer/translator, particularly as a result of the increasing absence of a source text in newsrooms and the more fluid concept of authorship (van Doorslaer 2010, 182–183). One may also find the need for creativity in translational decision-making in the translation of works from specific fields such as philosophy, categorized by Gouadec (2007, 30) as "[a] particular subcategory of literary translation (…) since it requires specialist knowledge of a particular kind". All of these examples attest to a broad outreach of translation practices that involve, to a greater or lesser degree, skills usually associated with the domain of literary translation, such as creativity, flexibility, and autonomous decision-making. They are indicative, hence, of the existence of common ground between the two sides of the divide as regards the working skills of translation practitioners.

In short, all these examples underscore the porousness of the literary/nonliterary distinction within current TS research, an effect of the ever-shifting dynamics of professional translation practices and the resulting expansion of the conceptual boundaries of translation itself. Nevertheless, the distinction remains fully operational in the discipline, which may be accounted for by the pedagogical and epistemological pull of classification in scholarly work (Rogers 2019, 455). Assessing the relevance of the literary/nonliterary distinction in translation awards, at once a prevalent and under-researched practice, may further clarify the interconnections now in place between academia and the publishing sector.

4. Book awards and translation

Book awards as a form of consecration of editorial production have become so widespread in recent decades that they are now a standard fixture of many publishing contexts worldwide. With the oldest contemporary awards dating back to the beginning of the 20th century – among them the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1901,[4] the Prix Goncourt in 1903 (Pickford 2011, 227), and the Prix Femina a year later (Sapiro 2016, 7) – and with varying periodicities and chosen genres, such accolades have been guided by two main criteria: first, generation of symbolic recognition to authors and publishers through the championing of books' literary value, and second, enhancement of books' commercial visibility through a boost in sales (Sapiro 2016, 7). These criteria naturally extended to awards devoted to translation that were later established, as a result of the growing internationalization of the literary field which brought together dominant and dominated – or central and peripheral – national literary traditions and languages (Casanova 2002, 10). If

4 https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/lists/all-nobel-prizes-in-literature. Accessed 24 July 2020.

one endorses Casanova's claim that translation is itself a form of consecration for authors, "at once one of the main weapons in the struggle for literary legitimacy and the great authority of specific consecration" (2002, 14), then the inclusion of a translation category in book awards represents a double legitimation for translators and their work. This rationale, combined with a growing awareness of book awards in general and translation awards in particular through media coverage, might give rise to a productive area of research for TS scholars, covering textual and extra- or intertextual aspects of translational activity. However, a review of TS literature – which does not aspire to be exhaustive – has shown that this topic remains under-researched (as also contended by Hoyte-West 2019, 2).

Research initiatives into translation awards are varied in aim and scope and tend to focus on issues of translator identity (Fernández 2014; Hoyte-West 2019; Silva 2019), status of national literatures on the global stage (Melo 2019; Spencer 2013), and the dynamic of translation flows in the establishment of cultural and economic hierarchies (Pickford 2011). These are structured as case studies of particular publishing contexts and channels of cultural legitimacy, possibly a reflection of the difficulty in producing broader, cross-cultural research on book awards and, ultimately, in striving for generalizations. In the Spanish context, Fernández (2014) examines the (under)representation of female literary translators in institutional (i.e. government-sponsored) and professional (i.e. organized by the national guild of writers) translation awards, with a view to associating the current job market with professional visibility for women. Hoyte-West (2019), in turn, carries out an exploratory survey of the winners of the Ramon Llull Prize for Literary Translation to verify whether it conveys a specific representation of Catalan identity abroad. Still in the European scene, Spencer (2013) focuses on German award Deutscher Buchpreis, a relatively recent addition to the group of literary accolades which strives to promote German-language literature both for German-speaking markets as well as for foreign readerships through translation. The Buchpreis, by drawing the attention of both market (including readers) and the media, emulates the Booker (formerly Man Booker) Prize, "[t]he leading literary award in the English-speaking world"[5] which Pickford (2011) compares with the Prix Goncourt as regards the outreach of their award-winning books via translation into English and French, respectively. By analyzing the temporal lapse between publication and translation of the winning books, as well as comparing their histories, structures, and forms of cultural prestige, Pickford

5 https://thebookerprizes.com/fiction/2020. Accessed 24 July 2020.

highlights the hegemony of English in the Goncourt's gradual shift towards an Anglophone model of cultural capital.

In the Latin American context, Melo (2019) investigates the internationalization of Brazilian literature by surveying the list of winning writers in six prizes (awarded by entities in Brazil, Cuba, and Portugal) to assess their presence in English-language catalogues through translation. The sociological profile produced by Melo shows a predominance of (white) male authors among those whose works have been translated into English, a finding which intersects with results from Silva's (2019) ethnographic study of winning "academic" translators of the Jabuti Award. As the analysis of the survey results will show, gender imbalance among translation award recipients reveals correlations at genre level and reflects the professional dynamic currently in place in the publishing industry, in Brazil and elsewhere.

Lastly, despite the wide array of book awards covered by the studies reviewed, there is a common element among the latter: explicit designation of such awards as "literary". While indicating conformity to popular usage, the endorsement of this qualifier may also suggest a lack of terminological reflection on the part of scholars and a tacit understanding of book awards as "awards of literature".

5. Translation awards in Brazil

Following what appears to be a global (or at least Western) trend, the Brazilian publishing scene also promotes annual and sporadic book awards, sponsored by both public and private entities. Translation is a recurring feature in them, but only as a specific award category (either titled "Translation" or named after a renowned translator or scholar), since there are currently no awards solely dedicated to translations or translators in the country. While this is by no means exclusive to Brazil, it contrasts with the awarding practices of other publishing markets which rely heavily on translations, such as that of Spain (Fernández 2014; for Catalonia, see Hoyte-West 2019).

To produce a general profile of the translations that have received awards in Brazil over the past two decades, as a means to assess the role of literariness in this particular field, this case study presents the results of an online survey on four awards that include a Translation category: the APCA Award (*Prêmio APCA*), sponsored by the Association of Art Critics of São Paulo state; the ABL Award (*Prêmio ABL*), sponsored by the Brazilian Academy of Letters; the Jabuti Award (*Prêmio Jabuti*), sponsored by the Brazilian Book Chamber; and the Paulo Rónai Award (*Prêmio Paulo Rónai*), sponsored by Brazil's

National Library Foundation. All of them are "importing" awards in the sense that translations are produced into Portuguese only, which signals a lack of export initiatives aimed at promoting Brazilian authors abroad.[6] The survey spanned each award's period of activity (from the first to the most recent year) and took into account 1) books' genre classification, 2) authors, languages, and original publication date of source texts, 3) translators' profiles (including gender and professional status), and 4) publishers. Compiling such a diverse and macrolevel dataset rather than simply focusing on genre classification proved useful in producing a broad picture of which types of translation output are consecrated by award juries and in establishing whether juries' assessment also take into account textual and extratextual factors (e.g. canonical status of source texts and authors and renown of translators and publishers).

Bibliographic data was obtained from the websites of the awarding entities and, when unavailable or incomplete, from online newspaper and magazine reports. Since the focus of this study is on individual books, awards granted to a translator's body of work (such as the 2007 and 2008 editions of the ABL Awards) were excluded from the dataset due to their lack of bibliographical specificity. The four awards included in the dataset produced a total of 61 recipients, thus distributed: APCA Award: 17 books (2001–2019), with no winners assigned to the 2004 and 2007 editions; ABL Award: 12 books (2004–2015), with two winners having been announced for the 2005 and 2008 editions (one of the latter being given to a translator's body of work, rather than to a specific translation); Jabuti Award: 17 books (2004–2019), with two tied winners in the 2018 edition; and Paulo Rónai Award: 15 books (2005–2019). Given that the Jabuti (up to 2017) and the Paulo Rónai awards have on occasion been given to first, second, and third places, the runners-up were excluded from the survey for the sake of standardization. Lastly, the total tally includes seven books that won more than one award – five books were awarded twice and two others were awarded three times.

A brief overview of the four awards selected for this study is provided below.

6 The Jabuti Award has a separate category for Best Brazilian Book Published Abroad, awarded to foreign publishers based on their "strategies of launching, promoting, selling, and marketing [the book]" (CBL 2020, 14). However, since its focus is clearly market-oriented rather than textual/translational, it was excluded from the survey.

5.1 APCA Award

The Association of Art Critics of São Paulo state (Associação Paulista de Críticos de Artes – APCA) is a non-profit entity that originates from the São Paulo-based section of the Brazilian Association of Theater Critics (no longer in operation). From the early 1970s onwards, the association broadened its scope to encompass other art forms in addition to theater and began an annual tradition of awarding artists from various categories. These have grown in number over the years and now total ten (architecture, visual arts, cinema, dance, literature, popular music, radio, theater, children's/young adult theater, and television). Translation ranks in the Literature category, alongside novel, poetry, short story, children's/young adult fiction, essay/literary criticism or theory/media report, and biography.[7] However, not all subcategories are selected for awards every year, a decision dependent on the APCA members; Translation, for instance, was left out of the 2004 and 2007 editions.

Given that the association's website remained unavailable throughout the period of data collection, bibliographical data related to award recipients were gathered from media reports in online newspapers and magazines. As explained by an unidentified association official,[8] the award does not have a proper applications process, with a general vote being cast by all associates to outstanding contributions by Brazilian artists and intellectuals over the course of a given year.

5.2 ABL Award

The Brazilian Academy of Letters (Academia Brasileira de Letras – ABL), defined as a cultural institution "whose aim is to promote the national language and literature",[9] has a long award tradition dating back to 1909. As far as translation is concerned, the Odorico Mendes Award, granted until 1994, was replaced in 2004 by the ABL Award for Translation; the latter was an annual fixture until 2015, having been canceled the next year. Other current annual awards include the Machado de Assis Award for a writer's oeuvre and specific prizes for poetry, fiction, essay, children's/young adult

7 https://www.publishnews.com.br/materias/2019/12/11/premio-apca-anuncia-vencedores-de-2019. Accessed 8 July 2020.

8 E-mail, 9 July 2020.

9 http://www.academia.org.br/academia/premios. Accessed 7 July 2020.

literature, and history and social sciences. The prize money for all categories (except for the Machado de Assis Award) amounted to 50,000 Brazilian *reais* (about 9,800 euros in today's currency) in 2015.[10]

Since voting for award recipients is restricted to Academy members (40 permanent members and 20 associates from other countries), the contest's specific rules and eligibility criteria are not available for public consultation. Nevertheless, the entity's explicit wish to reward "writers of various literary genres" may be indicative of a broad scope in books' categorization.

5.3 Jabuti Award

The Jabuti Award, created in 1958 by the Brazilian Book Chamber (Câmara Brasileira do Livro – CBL) and held every year, is Brazil's "most traditional and prestigious book award" (CBL 2020, 1). According to the 2020 call for applications, the Jabuti's Assessment Committee accepts only first-edition books – a book being defined as an "intellectual work published with ISBN [International Standard Book Number] and CIP [Cataloging-in-Publication] data" (2020, 1) – that were published in Portuguese by Brazilian publishers over the current year. The award has four major strands (Literature, Essays, Book, and Innovation), each with its own categories. Translation, which was first designated its own category in 1993, is now assigned to the Book strand, which "rewards stages of book production, from translation to printing/print finishing" (CBL 2020, 11), having occupied a place among the subareas of Literature until the 2018 edition (CBL 2018). Ten books are longlisted for each category and five are subsequently shortlisted. Since the 2018 edition, only one winner is awarded in each category (down from first, second, and third-place winners up to 2017), with the prize amounting to a trophy and the gross sum of 5,000 Brazilian *reais* (about 980 euros in today's currency).

Eligible contenders for the Translation award may be "fiction and/or nonfiction books translated for the first time from any language into Portuguese and published in a new edition in Brazil" (CBL 2020, 12), and applications must include PDF files of both source and target texts. The assessment criteria to be considered by the jury (composed of three experts in the field that are selected by book market professionals and readers through a public vote) are "1) preservation of the author's style and elocution; 2) inventiveness

10 https://entretenimento.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2015/07/16/rubem-fonseca-recebe-da-abl-premio-machado-de-assis-pelo-conjunto-de-obras.htm. Accessed 8 July 2020.

and originality in the use of Portuguese; 3) lexical and conceptual accuracy; proficient command of the target language" (2020, 12).

5.4 Paulo Rónai Award

The Paulo Rónai Award for Translation is one among eight other categories (those of poetry, novel, short story, social essay, literary essay, graphic design, children's literature, and young adult literature) that comprise the Literary Award of Brazil's National Library, the governmental body in charge of overseeing the "collection, storage, preservation, and dissemination of the country's intellectual output".[11] The Literary Award has been held annually since 1994, although the Translation category dates back to 2005. The latter pays homage to renowned Hungarian-born translator, scholar, and literary critic Paulo Rónai (1907–1992), widely regarded as a pioneering scholar on translation research in Brazil (Dias and Faleiros 2013, 191), and in 2019 offered a prize money of 30,000 Brazilian *reais* (close to 5,800 euros in today's currency).

According to the award's call for applications, as a general requirement for all nine categories, book translations that are eligible for the award have to be published in Portuguese by Brazilian publishers (through a first edition that was put in circulation over the course of a given year), require a valid ISBN and comply with the legal deposit rule (Law no. 10,994/2004), according to which a copy of every title published nationally has to be sent to the National Library (FBN 2019, 1). The jury is made up of three leading experts in the publishing field, including "literary critics with more than 3 (three) years' experience, academics with a solid background, [and] leading professionals in the country's literary, translation, and publishing milieus" (FBN 2019, 5), who are charged with selecting first, second, and third places. Jury members are expected to assess translations in terms of their "literary quality", "contribution to the national culture", and "level of language difficulty" (2019, 6); however, no further details are provided in the call for applications concerning, for instance, which sociocultural, historical or political perspectives may foreground a potential contribution to national culture or whether the level of language difficulty relates to the source text or to the translator's rendering of it.

11 https://www.bn.gov.br/sobre-bn/apresentacao. Accessed 7 July 2020.

6. How literary are translation awards in Brazil?

The analysis of the four awards shows that they are closely identified with literature. Such an identification is expressed not only through awards' actual designation (of the four, only the Jabuti does not use the qualifier "literary" in its name, opting instead for the more generic "book" [award]), but also through their categorization – two awards (Paulo Rónai and ABL) have independent categories for translation included among other categories of literary genres, while another (APCA) has translation as a subcategory of literature. Notwithstanding, there seems to be a tacit agreement of what "literary" actually entails, since none of the awarding entities offers even a tentative definition of it, whether theoretical or market-oriented. Survey results reinforce the contention that these awards essentially reward constitutive literary genres, as shown in Table 7.1.

Book genre	Total	% of total
Novel	21	34.4
Poetry (lyric/epic)	17	27.9
Short story	6	9.8
Drama	4	6.6
Novella	4	6.6
Essay	3	4.9
Others	6	9.8
Total	**61**	**100.0**

Table 7.1 Genres of award-winning translated books in Brazil (ABL, APCA, Jabuti, and Paulo Rónai awards).
Note: Multi-award-winning titles are tallied more than once.

Results show an overwhelming dominance of novels and poetry among translation award-winners, together accounting for 62.3% of the total tally. This finding indicates a tendency on the part of juries to acknowledge a genre that has a wider readership and often boosts book sales (the novel) and, from a strictly translational perspective, one that tends to pose greater challenges to the translator and may lead to critically acclaimed translations (poetry). In addition to the following two genres usually classified as literary, namely, the short story and the novella (viewed as an intermediary form between the novel and the short story), the survey has shown that genres not directly assigned a full literary status also rank among the award-winners. These include the essay, the autobiography, and the memoir, defined by Newmark (2004, 10) as intermediary genres between literary and nonliterary domains and by Wittman (2013, 445) as "forms of life writing" that are often grouped under the "literary nonfiction" label by the publishing market. Among award recipients are *Anatomy of Melancholy*, a 17th century-medical textbook awarded both the Jabuti and the APCA, which, though generally regarded as a scientific text, also has philosophical and satirical overtones (having been written at a time when the separation between science and philosophy was not fully complete); and a dictionary of false cognates and phrasal verbs in English, one of the recipients of ABL's niche and candidly "literary" award. Both cases, far from sufficiently challenging the literary status quo of these contests, suggest that judges may sometimes opt for valuing conditional over constitutive literariness (to use Genette's terminology) in rewarding "nonfictional texts that large numbers of readers have (conditionally) found to be literary" (Robinson 2017, 446).[12]

The broader category of literature appears to accommodate a further distinction, that between highbrow (or canonical) and popular literature; this distinction, according to Lefevere (1992, 2–3), dates back to the middle of the 19th century and gave rise to a corresponding rupture between high and low forms of rewriting, among them translation. Within the scope of the present survey, a focus on canonical literary works is discernible through the predominance of source texts that were first published in the 19th and 20th centuries (13 and 27, or 21.3% and 44.3%, respectively), accounting for nearly two-thirds of the total number of recipients; at the other end, only two awards (or 3.3%) were given to works originally written in the 21st century. This temporal imbalance produces what Pickford (2011, 230–231) views as "an elitist approach to literary value" and may stem from various factors, such as juries' personal preconceptions of what constitutes award-winning literature, a certain bias towards classical texts in the assessment criteria or the sheer cultural prestige of canonical authors who, like James Joyce or Fyodor Dostoevsky, are often associated with the writing of challenging texts in terms of language and style. Be that as it may, the findings help to

12 Such focus on the conditional literariness of translated works is touched upon by Reynolds (2008) and Bassnett (2011) in their personal accounts of judging translation prizes. For Reynolds (2008, 66), the quality of the translation as a core criterion "should be judged primarily not by measuring translation against source (…) but by gauging the strength of the English writing that has been done on behalf of the original", whereas Bassnett (2011, 29) believes in "the importance of creating a translation that reads so well that the reader is given some sense of why a writer may be successful in his or her own language".

map out the association between the top-ranking genres of award-winning translations and the century in which source texts were produced (Table 7.2).

Century of source texts	Novels	Poetry	Total
21st century	2	0	2
20th century[13]	10	9	19
19th century	8	0	8
17th century	0	1	1
14th-16th centuries	1	2	3
1st-8th centuries BCE	0	4	4
More than one period	0	1	1
Total	**21**	**17**	**38**

Table 7.2 Genres of award-winning translated books in Brazil (ABL, APCA, Jabuti, and Paulo Rónai awards), per century of source texts.
Note: Multi-award-winning titles are tallied more than once.

The tendency of juries to prioritize textual seniority (or "antiqueness", to use Fernández' [2014, 167] term) when voting for translation awards generates, according to the survey results, two implications. The first has to do with the sizeable presence of retranslations in the dataset, which amount to 34.4% (or 21) of the total number of recipients. Russian writers Leo Tolstoy and Fyodor Dostoevsky (two novels each) and Irish novelist James Joyce (one novel) top the retranslation list, figuring in all four awards. This finding illustrates how Brazilian publishers' decision to revisit such literary classics from time to time[14] (a contention previously made by Barbosa 2005), often motivated by the need to replace former indirect translations with direct ones, pays off on a regular basis, both in terms of media coverage and of the cultural and symbolic capital acquired through book awards. The second implication of rewarding translations of canonical literary works consists in

13 Of the source texts originally published in the 20th century (itself a macrocosm of literary output, especially thanks to the many avant-garde movements of the first decades), more than half (10, or 52.6%) are traced back to the 1920s and 1930s, whereas five (26.3%) are poetry anthologies that span more than one decade.

14 Such revisiting may also be boosted by formerly copyrighted works eventually entering the public domain (in line with the Bern Convention, Brazilian law establishes that the duration for copyright protection is the life of an author plus seventy years; see Brazil 1998). This practice, however, while justifiable from publishers' point of view, does not explain juries' consistent awarding of literary classics in the Brazilian scenario.

the overwhelming (pre)dominance of male translators among award-winners. Such gender-based imbalance comes through not only in the overall tally (of the 61 winning books, 51 were translated by men, or 83.6%, and one translated jointly by a man and a woman), but also if one considers the translations of the "nobler" genres, such as the novel and poetry (Table 7.3); within this particular subgroup, male translators account for 81.6% of the total number of recipients.

Century of source texts (novels and poetry)	**Male translators**	**Female translators**	**Total**
21st century	0	2	2
20th century	15	4	19
19th century	8	0	8
17th century	1	0	1
14th-16th centuries	2	1	3
1st-8th centuries BCE	4	0	4
More than one period	1	0	1
Total	**31**	**7**	**38**

Table 7.3 Gender of award-winning translators in Brazil (ABL, APCA, Jabuti, and Paulo Rónai awards), per century of source texts.
Note: Multi-award-winning titles are tallied more than once.

Results indicate that the greater the longevity and consecration of a novel or work of poetry, the more chances there are of it being translated by (and hence rewarded to) a man than a woman. This trend, summarized by Kalinowski (2002, 53) as the "masculinization of the translation of the 'classics'", has been outlined in different publishing contexts (for France, see Kalinowski 2002; for Spain, see Fernández 2014; for Brazil, see Silva 2019). While indicative of a division of labor that often assigns different publishing niches and levels of prestige to full-time and "academic" translators (two groups that tend to be predominantly female[15] and male, respectively), with the latter group com-

15 Gender undercurrents tying translation (and its alleged limitations) to women have long held sway in philosophical reflections on translation (as attested by the *belles infidèles* movement), and still resonate in current empirical research on the translation profession. Fernández (2014, 164), by referring to statistical data on the Spanish book market, contends that "women tend to favour [translation] over other professions". Such a trend is echoed by Katan (2009, 142), whose survey of the professional profiles of translators and interpreters reveals "the female, cottage-industry nature of the profession". Acknowledging the predominance of women among full-time translators

monly associated with "the translation of the great literary work, in prose or verse" (Barbosa 2005, 10), the trend ultimately illustrates how genres may have wider social and cultural implications for translation practice. The influential role of academics in Brazilian translation awards is indeed confirmed by the findings: of the 61 winning books, 37 (or 60.7%) were translated by active or retired scholars from universities in Brazil and the US. In this particular subgroup, male dominance is again the norm, given that 30 (or 81.1%) of these books were translated by men. The fact that scholars carrying out translations tend to have greater liberty in producing paratextual apparatus (such as prefaces, introductory essays, glossaries, and notes; see Silva 2019 for a case study of the Brazilian context), as a result of their expertise in a given field, may be a valuable asset for a book's award-winning chances.

Lastly, the languages of the source texts also help to shed light on the dynamic currently active in Brazilian translation awards. Surveying award recipients on publishers' websites and media outlets showed a considerable emphasis on the fact that the translations were rendered directly from the source texts, a sign of a collective effort on the part of publishers to disengage themselves from the heyday of indirect translation, as well as on the part of the media to legitimize award-winners based, above all, on this criterion. According to the data, English and Russian are the top-ranking source languages, jointly accounting for 26 awarded titles, or 42.6% of the total tally (Table 7.4). Even though English is distributed across a wider spectrum of genres, both languages are mostly represented by translated novels, the preferred genre of award juries in the Brazilian scenario. This output is probably linked to the canonical status of English-language writers like James Joyce, Herman Melville, and Virginia Woolf and of Russian literary heavyweights like Fyodor Dostoevsky and Leo Tolstoy, most of which (with the exception of Melville and Woolf) are linked to more than one award in the dataset.

Source languages	**Novels**	**Poetry**	**Short story**	**Medical treaty**	**Drama**	**Other genres**	**Total**
English	11	1	0	2	2	0	16
Russian	6	3	1	0	0	0	10
German	0	1	0	0	1	4	6
French	3	1	0	0	0	1	5

in various national contexts has, according to Kalinowski (2002, 53), less to do with "a statistical reality" than with a scenario in which women translators are "dominated among the dominated".

Source languages	Novels	Poetry	Short story	Medical treaty	Drama	Other genres	Total
Arabic	0	0	4	0	0	1	5
Italian	1	2	0	0	0	1	4
Latin	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Class. Greek	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total	**21**	**11**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**8**	**50**

Table 7.4 Genres of award-winning translated books in Brazil (ABL, APCA, Jabuti, and Paulo Rónai awards), per most translated source languages.
Note: Multi-award-winning titles are tallied more than once.

Even though the dataset is limited in scope and hence does not allow for generalizations, it reveals how certain genres are tied to culturally embedded practices of knowledge circulation and literary creation. Arabic and classical languages Greek and Latin are useful cases in point: the former is represented in the dataset by short stories (such as the *Thousand and One Nights*), which evokes the oral tradition of storytelling common in the Arab world; the latter languages are represented by works of lyric and epic poetry such as those of Homer and Sextus Propertius (one award-winning poetry anthology in the dataset even combines Latin and Greek), a genre which first peaked over the course of Classical Antiquity. Nevertheless, investigating the historical development of specific genres across languages and cultures through translation, though a promising line of research, falls outside the scope of this study.

7. Conclusion

This study does not propose the elimination of the literary/nonliterary distinction among translation scholars and practitioners, since facts speak for themselves: it is still very much alive in both communities and in everyday discourse on translation, conveyed by clients, critics, publishers, and the media alike. The need to critically revisit the binary stems precisely from its omnipresence in all matters translational, a taken-for-granted entity that goes largely unchallenged but often underlies economic, professional, institutional, and epistemological trends. As shown by the intradisciplinary overview of translation research, attempts to categorize translations as literary (i.e. aesthetic) or nonliterary (i.e. informative), even if unconsciously done and only for the sake of pragmatism, can be extensive to a wide range of textual domains, such as those of AVT, advertising, localization, and news translation. Raising awareness of this fact, particularly among researchers and translator trainers, may go some way towards shedding new light on the literary/nonliterary divide and highlighting its inevitable crossovers in daily translation practices.

In the particular case of the publishing industry, continuing endorsement of the literary/nonliterary distinction correlates with the way the job market for translators is shaped. Publishers may adopt different hiring strategies, based on the status of a literary or a specialized translator; this status, resulting from formal education or professional experience, may in turn impact on translators' pay and on future work assignments. Working conditions (such as location and degree of autonomy) and assignment deadlines may also vary depending on the text types a translator specializes in. Ultimately, the fact that the literary/nonliterary divide can be extended to the domain of translation awards, which constitute a major form of consecration for authors, publishers, and translators, means that all the undercurrents surrounding translation as a professional practice – including the frequent segmentation of the publishing field into male- or female-dominated niches and even into full-time or "academic" translators – may exert real influence on juries' decisions.

In the Brazilian context, awards dedicated to translated books are generally literary in name and nature, with a special focus on "essentialist" genres such as the novel, poetry, and drama. However, the notion of literariness seems to be stretched on occasion to reward translations of works that would not, at first sight, be accepted as literary (as in the cases of the dictionary of false cognates and the medical textbook) or, conversely, of works that tread a borderline path between literary and nonliterary genres (such as essays and biographies). With the exception of the Jabuti Award, which clearly segments its award strands as Literature, Essays, and Book (which in turn includes the Translation category, covering both fiction and nonfiction), the other three awards have Literature as a macro category that incorporates not only translation, but literary and nonliterary (or hybrid) genres for the nontranslated contenders. This overarching categorization strongly suggests that, while constitutive literariness acts as a default paradigm for translations to win awards, it occasionally gives way to conditional literariness. This means that juries' assessments of translations may not be entirely genre-based, being also guided by certain aesthetic textual qualities and external factors (such as source author, canonical status of source text, and renown of translator and publisher) that might render a translation "rhetorically" (rather than inherently) literary. Understanding the literary/nonliterary distinction from a strictly genre-based perspective seems, therefore, of little practical value in this particular domain of cultural consecration; much like the frequent intradisciplinary crossovers between the two major research cultures in TS, the expansion of the notion of literariness as a parameter of translation quality in book awards may signal a growing dissolution of epistemological and professional borders and, ultimately, a more inclusive and less segmented approach to current translation practices. Further research needs to be conducted in other award cultures worldwide, however, so as to show whether such a trend in understanding literariness is a global one or whether there are culture-specific factors at play within translation criticism in Brazil. This could be complemented by an analysis of concepts of literariness associated with book awards that do not involve translations – an avenue of research which, while promising, lies outside the scope of this study.

In a world of growing digital literacy and rapid development of technologies, new textual forms such as texting or blogging now coexist with regular genres in a scenario characterized much more by fluidity than by divisiveness. Moreover, contemporary trends like the growing use of computer-assisted tools by literary translators and the acknowledgment of agency and creative decision-making in the work of specialized translators reveal, albeit still tentatively, that the two sides of the literary/nonliterary border in translation may have more commonalities than is often accepted. Recognizing such a convergence could be a first step on the part of researchers and practitioners in assessing – periodically, at least – whether complete autonomy between the two translation cultures remains fully justified.

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Multimodality and subtitling revision

A tentative analytical framework of subtitling revision interventions

Rita Menezes

Abstract
As the audiovisual industry seeks to keep pace with technological advancements, the reorganization of processes and the retraining of professionals are on the agenda. In audiovisual translation (AVT), linguists deal with texts that are "more than words" and are expected to understand the web of interactions underlying the dynamic multimodal texts they work with. Despite the proven relevance of multimodality in AVT and the fact that subtitling quality benefits from a multimodal approach, it seems that the contribution of multimodality for the intervention of the subtitling reviser is insufficiently researched. As part of an ongoing research project, this chapter aims to raise awareness on best subtitling revision practices, identifying their main issues and relating them with methodological and conceptual choices. It thus seeks to contribute to a better understanding of subtitling revision strategies and of the relevance of the subtitling reviser's role. Ultimately, this chapter argues for the adoption of a multimodal approach in the study of subtitling revision. Following the initial justification for this approach, it presents an analytical framework: a descriptive multimodal analysis of subtitling revision.

Keywords: subtitling, revision, multimodality, descriptive multimodal analysis, analytical framework

1. Introduction

This investigation is part of an ongoing research which aims to describe professional norms of subtitling revision, focusing on strategies, research resources, metalanguage, source text influence and ethics. This chapter attempts to apply an analytical framework to subtitling revision interventions; it is expected to change, especially after I start working with actual data on subtitling revision interventions. The ultimate purpose of my research is to shed light on the product and process of subtitling revision and hopefully raise awareness of its relevance.

An audiovisual text is complex, audiovisual communication includes several text-types, genres and platforms, and audiovisual forms are creative (Assis Rosa 2016, 194–195). Audiovisual translation (AVT) is elaborate and diverse. Subtitling is one text type within AVT and consists of an added layer on the audiovisual text. An audiovisual text is a multimodal one. Approaching subtitling from a multimodal perspective has the potential for enhancing the quality of translation (Bączkowska 2011, 50), particularly when we realize meaning is expressed by resorting to the components of the audiovisual text: the combination of two types of communication channels – visual and nonvisual – with two different signs – audio and visual.[1]

Subtitling revision is an essential step in the subtitling workflow. It validates translation decisions and ensures the quality of the final translated product. As a form of translation alone, its practice depends on cooperation and seeks improvement, training and accreditation (Chesterman 2017, 353–354). Despite its relevance, little is known about subtitling revision, the reviser and, specifically, about how this professional works with multimodal texts.

Considering this, the concepts of multimodality and revision are instrumental in this proposal for analyzing revision interventions on multimodal texts, particularly subtitling. Multimodality is a core issue not only in Translation and Interpreting Studies (TIS) but in any form of communication, as people interact predominantly resorting to multimodality (Pastra 2008, 299). Viewers can process films[2] holistically, as they have a unified perception. However, just as translators are expected to process each mode both individually and simultaneously to understand the distribution of meaning on different modes (Pérez-González 2014, 121–122), revisers are expected to proceed similarly. Therefore, it can be assumed that multimodality may offer revisers the necessary tools to understand the multimodal text (Taylor 2016, 232) and, consequently, to substantiate their revision decisions.

The reviser's interpretation of semiotic modes is expected to have an impact on how the audience perceives a film. This is relevant, especially when taking into account that the reviser might be the last intervenient in the subtitling product. Revisers decide on revision strategies and techniques that assumedly enable the transmission of information contained in each mode as well as

1 This chapter follows the classification of the four components of the audiovisual text proposed by Zabalbeascoa (2008): audio, visual, verbal, nonverbal.

2 The term "film" is used throughout to ease readability, but subtitling revision and the analytical framework presented herein can be applied to any audiovisual genre.

the information resulting from the interaction of different modes (Chaume 2004, 23). For an effective intervention, just like translators, revisers are expected to possess "analytical and critical thinking skills to enable them to become informed, confident, responsible and active contributors to the consumption, creation and dissemination of knowledge and information" (O'Halloran, Tan, and E 2017, 148).

Understanding whether subtitling revisers are aware of the semiotic potential of their source text is essential. Díaz Cintas (2020, 149) states that texts involved in AVT "combine two complementary channels (audio and visual) and a series of meaning-making codes (language, gestures, paralinguistics, cinematic syntax, etc.), whose signs interact and build a semantic composite of a complex multimodal nature". However, it is still not known how the reviser processes different meaning-making codes, how they interpret them, whether they are focused only on subtitles (visual-verbal mode) or not, how they validate translators' decisions and how they bear in mind the audience experience. Bringing in the combination of subtitling revision and multimodality is important, given the relevance of the reviser to the subtitling workflow.

By adopting a multimodal perspective, this chapter presents itself as one step forward in subtitling revision research. Paying attention to audio-verbal, audio-nonverbal, visual-verbal and visual-nonverbal modes is of the highest importance for the subtitling process (Assis Rosa 2016, 201) and, consequently, for the subtitling revision process. Having this in mind, understanding how exactly revisers deal with the multimodal object (audiovisual text) and act upon the visual-verbal mode (subtitles) is crucial.

To date, multimodality and subtitling revision has not been researched. Even though studies by Adami and Ramos Pinto (2020), Chen (2019), Chuang (2006), Gambier (2006), O'Sullivan (2013), Ramos Pinto and Mubaraki (2020), Renna (2019), and Taylor (2003, 2004, 2020) examine the relationship between multimodality and AVT, particularly subtitling, no publications focusing on multimodality and subtitling revision are known.[3] The lack of publications in the field of subtitling revision and subtitling revisers[4] has led me to conclude that there exists a research gap in this regard.

3 On March 31, 2021, a query in Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB) with keywords "multimodality", "subtitl*" and "revision", both on abstracts and keywords, revealed 0 hits. On the same date, a query in Bibliografía de Interpretación y Traducción (BITRA) with keywords "multimodality", "subtitl*" and "revision" on All Fields revealed 0 hits.

4 So far, only a couple of papers partially address subtitling revision.

This chapter is organized as follows. The first section will consider intradisciplinarity in subtitling revision research. The second introduces multimodality, its definition, and scope. Then, subtitling revision, along with its main characteristics and influence, is presented. Two hypotheses regarding subtitling revision are then raised and posed as potential research questions. Finally, an analytical framework to study the understanding revisers have of multimodality and their intervention on subtitles is offered: a descriptive multimodal analysis of subtitling revision.

2. Intradisciplinarity in subtitling revision research

There is a growing body of literature that recognizes TIS as a many-sided discipline. This is an integrative and versatile field of study that has learned how to mutate, adapt, and grow when faced with a myriad of challenges and problems. Over the last 40 years, the field has brought in and incorporated methods and concepts from more or less related disciplines (van Doorslaer 2018, 225), given its undeniable natural propensity for interdisciplinarity or multidisciplinarity (Chesterman 2019, 9; Zanotti and Ranzato 2019, 174). Setting aside a sole focus on the verbal, TIS has turned into a field where concepts, methodologies, and frameworks were deemed adequate for the analysis of multimodal texts: multimodal studies (Adami and Ramos Pinto 2020, 71).

Interdisciplinarity is at the base of TIS. As Gambier and van Doorslaer (2016, 7) put it, TIS is today an autonomous discipline because it is founded on interdisciplinary relations and relies on cultural transfer to import elements that fuel these relations. AVT, as a subdiscipline of TIS, has seen a huge growth recently and this evolution is mostly due to interdisciplinarity, which gave rise "to new objects of investigation by offering a new way of looking, a new approach" (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2016, 11).

AVT research (and consequently, training and practice) can turn inwards and find invaluable conceptual and methodological resources in its core. Bogucki (2013, 123–124) claims that it can "make use of concepts and methods tried and tested in translation studies [but] the paradigms of translation studies are becoming insufficient to explore the full potential of audiovisual translation". Multimodality provides tools that AVT researchers need "to consider the intermodal relationships identified between the different modes" (Ramos Pinto and Mubaraki 2020, 6). Therefore, turning inwards might be seen as a step that precedes a turning outwards, particularly when considering that, as it is positioned "at the crossroads between language, cultural norms and medium-specific factors, audiovisual translation is quintessentially interdisciplinary" (Zanotti and Ranzato 2019, 173).

A dialogue with other disciplines can also be established. Specifically, in what concerns subtitling revision research, the advantages that arise from adapting research in other areas and contributing to them (namely multimodal studies, process studies, cognitive studies, ethical studies, and, at some length, literary and cultural studies) are reciprocal. While subtitling revision research resorts to an attested approach already used in subtitling translation research (multimodality), a deeper understanding of this quality control procedure will be hopefully established.

3. Multimodality under review

A multimodal text resorts to different modes. In a broad sense, multimodality can be considered "a way of characterising communicative situations which rely upon combinations of different 'forms' of communication to be effective" (Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 2017, 7). A mode is a resource for making meaning. Subject to change, a mode is not universal, as it is particular to a community with a shared understanding. Moving image, speech, and sound are examples of modes in an audiovisual text. The term "multimodality" is generally understood to refer to the coexistence of two or more semiotic modes in meaning-making activities. However, it is not just about coexistence. The combination of these different, yet complementary, modes creates meaning, conveys information, and helps establish communication. As Baldry and Thibault (2006, xv) clearly put it, multimodality assesses the way "semiotic resources of various kinds work in partnership to create the meanings that we attribute to texts [and it] covers a diversity of perspectives, ways of thinking and possible approaches". In order to establish communication, messages have to be maximally understandable in a certain context (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 13).

A multimodal text is an artefact composed in a multimodal, meaningful way. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, 17) state, multimodal texts "involve a complex interplay of written text, images and other graphic or sound elements, design as coherent entities". Multimodality allows for a text analysis where language, images, and sounds, traditionally and rightfully seen as independent semiotic systems (Dicerto 2018, 18), turn into interdependent and equally valid modes, collectively forming a coherent meaning and contributing to the perception of the object as a whole (Bączkowska 2011, 48).

Film is a challenging medium. Apart from being naturally multimodal, it presents a synchronized integration of modes which is highly sophisticated;

film editing patterns are also intricate (Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 2017, 327; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 265). This justifies all its complexity, even more so when another layer of meaning is added and simultaneously presented on screen together with all the other modes: subtitles. The way modes interact is relevant for the meaning-making process during subtitle translation (Chen 2019, 6) and, consequently, during subtitling revision.

Multimodality has recently deserved considerable attention in TIS and particularly in AVT. TIS has turned into a field whose methodologies and analytical frameworks seem adequate for research; this field is multimodal studies (Adami and Ramos Pinto 2020, 71).

The work of subtitling revisers can benefit from the multimodality frame of reference and from a multimodal way of looking at a text. Subtitling is a type of translation that is written, additive, synchronous, transient, polysemiotic, multimodal and that draws on specific strategies, namely condensing, rephrasing, and omitting (Gottlieb 1992, 162; Taylor 2004, 158). The synchronicity of subtitling dwells on the intersection of image and sound, but it also comes from the fact that it is a supplementary layer of information, a mode that adds to the final product and interacts with all the channels, thus becoming part of the film system (Assis Rosa 2016, 201; Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 65). This way, a new multimodal text is created.

Understanding how different semiotic modes intertwine to make meaning is vitally important to subtitling revision. This is because audio and visual patterns constitute basic material to construing the meaning relations in a text (Baldry and Thibault 2006, 175). A reviser is expected to identify the relationships between verbal and nonverbal signs (Gambier 2016, 895). A reviser shall also have in mind that "the role of other semiotic resources is not only to support the verbal content (or vice versa), but rather to merge with it to produce a multimodal message" (Dicerto 2018, 5).

Making sense and/or deducing meaning in AVT might be a challenge. Sense and meaning are heavily dependent on translation strategies (at macro and micro level) and are contingent on constrictions related to both sociocultural frames and accessibility, namely legibility and readability when it comes to subtitling (Gambier 2016, 899). Hence, subtitling revisers are expected to know how to shift from language analysis to a detailed multimodal analysis that would allow them to understand how meanings are conveyed (Dicerto 2018, 3).

Subtitling revisers might use multimodal analysis with quality and audience expectations in mind. They can assess which modes convey meaning and how, and then validate and curate translators' decisions. For example, revisers can strive for the economization of subtitles by avoiding the translation of what is clearly conveyed through the visual mode. In this case, a multimodal approach would favor strategies that avoid redundancy and reduce the audience's cognitive burden, allowing them to enjoy the film as it tells its story (Díaz Cintas 2020, 166; Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 74; Taylor 2016, 228). Revisers can also rely on the audio mode to avoid redundancy when the dialogue does not contain important diegetic information (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 84) or when it comes to utterances the audience might be familiar with, such as "OK!", "Ouch!".

4. Subtitling revision

The reviser is part of the translation workflow. As Di Giovanni (2016, 6) mentions, a translator almost never works alone in the process of subtitling because someone else is "called into play as interpreter of the main translator's work and as provider of a second interpretation", validating the translator's choices and, thus, authorizing the final version of the translated text. Revision, also known as "other-revision", "heterorevision" or "revision by another professional", is considered a standard procedure in translation practice, underscored by standard ISO 17100 (2015), and is now established as one of the steps of the translation process.

Providing a clear-cut definition of revision might not be an easy task. Revision can be seen as "the process of looking over a translation to decide whether it is of satisfactory quality and making any changes that are required" (Robert and Remael 2016, 580–581). A reviser shall always have in mind the "compliance with recognized linguistic and functional criteria" (Koponen et al. 2021, 1). Even though standards do not specify how to proceed with a revision task (Robert and Remael 2016, 580), revision is compulsory and is included in the translation workflow to ensure quality (Koponen et al. 2021, 1; Mellinger 2018, 310). Revisers can influence the shape of the translation, but often go unnoticed (Künzli 2007, 42), despite their major responsibility. With the power of manipulating events, namely translated text, and assuming the role of linking element in the process (between translator and audience), the reviser is paramount for the quality maintenance or improvement of the final product.

Notwithstanding being a "mandatory" procedure, revision scope is not always obvious. There is no exclusive way of performing a revision, especially when we consider revision as idiosyncratic, since individual working style and experience can influence revision practices. Therefore, "revising" depends on the text to be revised, the person who is revising, and when and how the text is revised (Robert, Remael, and Ureel 2017, 3). This elusiveness might put the reviser in a fragile position without knowing what is expected from them and to what extent they are supposed to intervene regarding text manipulation and agent behavior. This vagueness in revision expectations could be mitigated with a clear and thorough revision brief and, at a different level, with continuous professional development training courses on subtitling revision.

Revision should be properly contextualized in the translation workflow. Considering that in AVT, specifically in subtitling, "lack of attention to all sources of meaning is apparent in many translated texts" (Taylor 2016, 232), there is an urgent need for a proper revision system where reliable, competent, and trained professionals fully consider all the film modes and make sure the final product meets the expectations of different stakeholders. Thus, understanding the process of subtitling revision and revisers' *modus operandi* is relevant. In a broad sense, understanding the process and the actors could also lead to the promotion of work ethics and, consequently, to a stronger role of the subtitling reviser.

The reviser is expected to embrace the role of a true actor. As an agent in the course of events, a reviser is "positioned as the bastion of quality" (Mellinger 2018, 311). Since AVT studies "the powers mediating in the selection, translation and adaptation of an audiovisual text" (Chaume 2018, 42), more attention should be paid to the subtitling reviser as the focus of research because they are a professional that should be able and willing to act, that is, should have the power and disposition to act (Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010, 4). According to Abdallah (2011, 176), it is important to understand what the translator does (or does not), is able (or not able) to do. Similarly, I contend that it is relevant to understand what the reviser does and is able to do, along with their assessment competence, decision-making practices, technical and quality strategies, and techniques adopted. The reviser has the role of a mediation expert and is someone not "as close to the source text" as the translator is; someone whose point of view should tend to be impartial but fair. Therefore, the subtitling reviser occupies a privileged position along the workflow.

As Mellinger (2018, 317) puts it, changes in workflows and availability of new or improved translation tools have given prominence to the reviser's role. In view of this prominence, it is hoped that this specialist is now on the right path to receive due recognition in TIS in general and in AVT in particular.

5. Hypothesis pertaining to subtitling revision

Source text characteristics influence the way professionals work with texts. As Robert and Remael (2016, 600) put it, "audiovisual texts and AVT have their own features, the most important of which no doubt is the complexity of its multimodal source text, which has an impact on both translation and QA procedures". Revision, being a procedure that helps ensure quality, is a major step within the workflow. Since revision validates and, if necessary, enhances the visual-verbal mode of the target text (i.e. subtitles), "[it], as a central feature, plays an integral role in producing adequate or acceptable translations in the eyes of language service providers" (Mellinger 2018, 318).

Toury (2012, 70) proposes the paradigm of adequate vs acceptable translation, which is seen as two extremes of a continuum. When the translation embraces the values and referents of the source product, it is said to be adequate; when it follows the values and referents of the target system, it is said to be acceptable. However, according to Díaz Cintas (2004, 29), discussing if an audiovisual translation is more adequate or more acceptable might be pointless, since the image tends to take precedence over the word and we might end up with a translation that is both adequate and acceptable. This double condition is evidenced by Pedersen (2017) in his general model for quality assessment of subtitles: the tripartite model presents functional equivalence (related to Toury's notion of adequacy), acceptability (associated with how a translated text conforms to target language norms) and readability (concerning subtitling technical aspects) as paramount parameters for the assessment of subtitles.

A discussion of how revisers understand audio-nonverbal (image) and visual-nonverbal (sound) modes and how this might influence their decision-making process is needed. To describe how subtitling revisers deal with source text complexity and come up with technical and quality strategies and techniques to amend and improve subtitles, the research questions below should be pertinent to examine subtitling revisers' interventions:

– How do subtitling revisers grasp sound/image in their meaning-making process?
– How do subtitling revisers deal with cohesion in the context of the audiovisual text?

5.1 How do subtitling revisers understand sound/image?

Subtitling revision is a balancing act. In subtitling, different signifying modes make meaning together, which can be more or less different from the meaning expressed by each individual mode, and the audio-verbal code (words uttered) is the only one that can be manipulated when it is translated into a visual-verbal code (subtitles) (Chaume 2004, 22; Tortoriello 2011, 61). Should a subtitling reviser not take into account all the modes, their revision might be seen as incomplete, might introduce errors or fail to correct them, and make unnecessary amendments (Robert et al. 2018, 5). Therefore, it can be concluded that only a partial target text is delivered (Chaume 2004, 22).

It is hypothesized that a subtitling revision that does not take all the modes into account is incomplete. This would happen, for example, when the reviser is given only a .txt or Word export of the subtitles and has no access to the video. Not assuming a multimodal perspective might lead to translation errors that can be perpetuated by a less than adequate intervention on subtitles. One can only understand the meaning-making situation in any given scene by considering all the modes producing meaning. With that in mind, the following example illustrates the role of the visual mode to decode the message. In "Let's make a toast", is there someone celebrating or just hungry? In a specific working scenario, namely when pivot translation is used in the subtitling workflow (that is, when an intermediate language is used), even if the subtitling reviser does not understand the source language, they still need to hear the words uttered to understand voice pitches, pauses, intonation or prosody – elements pertaining to the illocutionary act – and then assess the lexical, punctuation, and segmentation solutions the translator chose.

5.2 How do subtitling revisers deal with cohesion?

Cohesion has to do with the binding relations between words and other modes to promote the coherence of a text. It is important to ascertain to what extent subtitling revisers take account of cohesion because they must assess the translated text and make sure it meets the expectations. When it comes to multimodal texts, more precisely audiovisual translation,

> [c]ohesion has been studied usually in terms of text-internal connections, as the linguistic technique used to reinforce coherence. But the text to be translated needs to be analysed in terms of all its cohesive ties, not only within the words themselves but between the words and the images and

> also other parts of the soundtrack. If that multimodal cohesion is upset in a translated text, then comprehension will be affected. (Taylor 2016, 225–226)

With audiovisual texts, cohesion also functions on a semiotic level. Cohesion moves away from the lexicogrammatical sense only, because it is the result of the interplay of audio and visual dimensions, with the different codes at stake (Tortoriello 2011, 62). In a film, cohesive ties are formed between objects, settings, characters, and their actions (Tseng 2013, 2), so the expectation that the semiotic cohesion is achieved between verbal and nonverbal modes does not come as a surprise (Tortoriello 2011, 62).

When it comes to subtitling, one must consider the modes from which information can be retrieved. How the compositional meaning is established in subtitling and how the modes influence the linguistic part of subtitles (Chen 2019, 61) has to be taken into consideration as well. Subtitles are connected to the soundtrack and to moving images, therefore intersemiotic cohesion is established (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 168). For example, when the deictic "they" is used and the referents are visible on-screen, this is recognized as an instance of semiotic cohesion – the synchrony between subtitles and image is implied. A replacement like this can be considered a cross-modal reduction (Bączkowska 2011, 52) and can lead to intersemiotic parallelism, when there is "a cohesive relation that interconnects both language and images" (Liu and O'Halloran 2009, 372). Another example: when a character is showing a "lovely yellow dress" (clearly seen on-screen) and there is not enough reading time to include the whole sentence, the subtitle might read only "lovely dress" – the visual-nonverbal mode would tell the audience the dress is yellow. And another one: a fast-paced dialogue and/or very quick shot changes can influence the in- and out-times of subtitles, and the subtitling reviser shall pay closer attention to technical aspects like high reading speed or shot change violation.

Semiotic cohesion sometimes helps the decision-making process, sometimes entangles it. Deciding on what to translate and synthesizing it are two of the most difficult aspects in subtitling. It is not easy to choose what to omit, when and why, what to replace and how, what to condense and how. Complete or partial omission, that is, deletion or condensation, are recurrent reduction strategies and a resource for dealing with subtitling constraints, namely time and space limitations, which are intrinsic to this type of translation (Bączkowska 2011, 52). Semiotic cohesive strategies allow subtitlers to "abbreviate text when necessary, leaving out redundant information and thereby allowing the film to tell its own story" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 74). However, excessive condensation can also lead to loss of cohesion and a disproportionate explanation can reveal itself redundant (Tortoriello 2011, 73). A full multimodal analysis would help in deciding on the most adequate options and solving translation problems.

Semiotic cohesion might also restrict intervention on the file and condition the decision-making process. Subtitles are supposed to be in synchrony with speech, gestures, movement, and editing (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 72–73). This is the reason why full attention must be paid to all the modes when creating and validating subtitles. For example, shot changes and dialogues determine the in- and out-times of a subtitle because subtitles should respect the pace of the film and, therefore, not hinder the viewing experience.

Revisers can mobilize devices of cohesive reference, along with other forms of cohesion. When someone or something is represented by a different subject/object (either between different subtitles or between text and sound/image), this constitutes a cohesive link that builds the cohesive chain. For example, the substitution of nouns for pronouns ("President" becomes "she") when someone is visible on-screen allows the reduction of reading speed and does not hamper comprehension since a cohesive link is established between subtitles and image. Should the multimodal cohesion be impaired in the subtitles, the audience's understanding could be affected. Consequently, the cohesive devices used in subtitles may indicate dominance of the available resources and a multimodal reading of the source text.

6. Researching subtitling revisers' understanding of the multimodal text

The complex nature of audiovisual texts, their typical constraints, and the volatility of workflow processes require a comprehensive research methodology. Along with that, an overarching theory to describe the understanding subtitling revisers have of the multimodal text is mandatory. Even though the audiovisual text and its complexity might be problematic in a descriptive empirical approach (Assis Rosa 2016, 200), a descriptive approach seems adequate for this analysis.

Resorting to Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) "opens a window onto more general statements, as observing and comparing numerous cases allows the hypothesising of generalizations concerning translation" (Renna 2019, 8). A descriptive approach, which is "by far the most successful methodological framework adopted in AVT" (Zanotti and Ranzato 2019, 174), along with multimodal theory, seems to be a comprehensive strategy to deal with the analysis of a subtitling revision product, particularly when the purpose is to research how subtitling revisers deal with all the modes and the cohesion between them. Despite its suitability, such an analysis would benefit from complementary data. For example, combining it with other research methods, namely think-aloud protocols (TAPs), would seem adequate, as a focus solely on the product could leave room for misinterpretation. According to Meister (2018, 73), DTS combines

> a target-oriented systems approach tied to norm theory (conceptual issues) with a helical discovery-justification procedure aimed at formulating translation norms and eventually probabilistic laws (inquiry logic) and a model for contrastive text analysis known as coupled pair analysis (research method).

In subtitling revision research, these "coupled pairs" are more than just written text. Corpus in subtitling revision research is a set of audiovisual texts: subtitling translated texts before the revision step and revised subtitling texts before final delivery (along with their respective audiovisual source text). This constitutes a multimodal corpus, as it incorporates nonwritten and nonverbal material along with the written presentation, that is, subtitles (Soffritti 2019, 335). It allows for a contrastive analysis of revisers' interventions (or lack of) on the subtitled file. This could be a starting point.

Multimodal corpora need to be transcribed. Multimodal transcription is a way of annotating temporal and sequential details of a diversity of phenomena. This transcription constitutes a specific way of observing, registering, and analyzing data. Resorting to a multimodal transcription analysis, which would necessarily have to be adapted and simplified with AVT in mind (Assis Rosa 2016, 201), would be the following step in this research. A descriptive multimodal analysis is proposed, following Taylor's (2003) multimodal analysis proposal complemented with Pastra's (2008) COSMOROE framework and Robert and Remael's (2016) technical and quality revision parameters.

In Taylor's proposal, relevant meaning-making elements in a fully integrated way can be easily seen, as a multimodal transcription "[constitutes] a basis for a reasoned approach to subtitling" (2003, 194). Taylor's methodology specifically involves a division of the visual text into individual frames arranged in sequence and their multimodal transcription that comprises visual frame, visual image, kinesic action, soundtrack, and subtitle (2003, 196). In this research study, this transcription would allow for the understanding of how dispensable or indispensable the verbal element is (Taylor 2004, 161) and also for the comprehension, assessment, and justification of revision interventions.

Pastra's (2008, 299) COSMOROE is a "corpus-based framework for describing semantic interrelations between images, language and body movements". It is believed to provide a more adequate framework for this study than Zabalbeascoa's (2008) or Chen's (2019) proposals. The COSMOROE framework resorts to three core relations – equivalence, complementarity, and independence – to "capture the interaction between pieces of information expressed through different media in multi-media discourse" (Pastra 2008, 320). With equivalence, information expressed in different modes is semantically equivalent; with complementarity, information expressed in one mode is complementary to the information expressed in another; with independence, each mode carries an independent, yet coherent message (Pastra 2008, 307–308). This model can account for different types of intermodal relations between any two or more resources of an audiovisual product.

Robert and Remael (2016, 583–585) propose a set of parameters the subtitling reviser should pay attention to. These are translation quality parameters, which include content, grammar, readability, and appropriateness; and technical parameters, comprising style guide, speed, spotting, and formatting. Paying attention to these parameters means the reviser should look into different modes combined, to how meaning is constructed in both source and target texts, to how new (and potentially different) combinations might emerge in the target text because of the presence of subtitles (the visual-verbal mode), and to how new multimodal relations are established.

Content is related to the synchronization of modes and to the correlation between film (audio- and visual-nonverbal modes meaning, audio-verbal mode meaning) and subtitles. Grammar also includes spelling and punctuation. Readability has to do with text coherence. Appropriateness relates to the audience's sociocultural features, such as cultural nuances and language register. Speed and spotting are connected to the rhythm of the dialogue, cuts, and sound bridges and imply a close correlation between all the modes. Formatting has to do with conventions and typographical features (e.g. italics, abbreviations, numbers or time) and text distribution; there is a close connection with how the audience perceives the written presentation and makes use of it.

A technical revision intervention would affect visual frame (for example, when extending a subtitle duration) and a quality revision intervention would affect written verbal content. This would happen, for example, when correcting a gender mistranslation in a subtitle – a "doctor" translated into a gender-marked language, such as Portuguese, as *médico* (male doctor) instead of *médica* (female doctor) when a woman is seen on-screen. These interventions will imply the maintenance or modification of the COSMOROE relation initially established by the translator.

Building on these proposals, a grid for the descriptive multimodal analysis of the revised subtitling product is hereby suggested. In it, the researcher will be provided an extra layer of easily comparable data, where the replaced and replacing segments can be easily identified (Figure 8.1). The proposed unit of analysis is the subtitle, as it is intuitive, easily defined, and syntactically self-contained (Pedersen 2017, 216–217).

Below is the analysis grid:

Visual frame	start-end times, duration, characters per second
Visual image + kinesic action	visual content
Soundtrack	audio content
Subtitle	verbal visual content (words read)
Intermodal relation	between verbal visual (subtitles) and (audio+visual) [Equivalence, Complementarity, Independence]
Revision intervention	
Technical	style guide, speed, spotting, formatting
Quality	content, grammar, readability, appropriateness
Revision strategy	
Revision technique	
Intermodal relation after intervention	between verbal visual (subtitles) and (audio+visual) after reviser's intervention: – Maintenance – Modification [Equivalence, Complementarity, Independence]

Figure 8.1 Multimodal transcription grid for a descriptive multimodal analysis of subtitling revision (derived from Taylor 2003, Pastra 2008, and Robert and Remael 2016).

The descriptive multimodal analysis of subtitling revision could be complemented with additional methods for gathering information both on the understanding of sound/image and on cohesion. Apart from an analysis of actual subtitling revision files, other forms of data collection instruments such as questionnaires, interviews, and other process research instruments, along with microtextual analysis, would enable the triangulation and comparison of subtitling revision practices, which would lead to the identification and description of recurring patterns and the formulation of norms, presenting them according to the types of subtitling revision strategies and techniques found.

This analysis would strengthen the perspective of both researchers and the community of subtitling revisers and allow for a better understanding of the object and the research problem (Meister 2018, 67–68); it also seems adequate for the revision process and product research because the researcher would be able to address complex topics with flexibility while promoting internal coherence (2018, 77). Finally, the results of this kind of descriptive research and analysis could be applied not only to improve the knowledge of subtitling revisers and promote good practices, but also to provide information regarding revisers' training needs, who could be trained as multimodal specialists.

7. Concluding remarks

Audiovisual files incorporate several verbal modes (speech, on-screen text, etc.), visual modes (sequences, graphics, etc.), gestures, and body movements (Pastra 2008, 307). All of these are to be considered when it comes to translation and revision. As audiovisual products communicate meaning beyond the semantic value of their subtitles, subtitling revisers are expected to have the necessary tools to consider the meaning-making situation in its entirety and be able to understand the potential meaning of these texts. There is a need to address the multimodal challenges posed by source texts and, ultimately, to learn how to deal with the different modes in the validation and amelioration of the translated text, that is, subtitles.

The analysis framework presented here represents a step forward on subtitling revision research. In due course, the expected result of such a research is twofold and applied: on the one hand, it could improve subtitling revision practices, assuming these would benefit from such a multimodal analysis; on the other, revisers' training could be planned to include a module on multimodality, particularly because AVT training calls for multimodal competencies, digital technology awareness, and audiovisual literacy (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2021, 62).

This multimodal focus on subtitling revision research would prove valuable to understand to what extent a subtitle would rely too much or too little on visual and audio modes. It would also help us perceive how the interpretation of all the modes takes audience profile/expectations into account, and to what extent subtitle spotting and segmentation respects file cuts, reading speed, and semantic and syntactic rules. Such an analysis would also be convenient to check whether the context of culture (i.e. the homophoric reference) is clear enough, to confirm the easiness of recognition of cohesive ties and referents on the text, to assess the pertinence of omissions, and to decide how different types of textual cohesion could be accomplished.

As regards the intra- and interdisciplinary dialogue, subtitling revision and its research have the potential to bring new practices to the language industry and consolidate both intra- and interdisciplinarity in TIS. While addressing revisers' awareness of multimodality, this multimodal analysis opens doors to a distinct way of researching subtitling revision. In an helicoidal movement, AVT research is expected to pollinize and be pollinized. This means it would benefit from and contribute to research in other subdisciplines in TIS, namely literary translation, localization, dubbing or audio description. Whereas interdisciplinarity relies on a shared ground, intradisciplinarity implies the convergence of objects, hypotheses, methodologies, and frameworks for the benefit of TIS.

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The use of technology in literary translation

Bringing together the new and the old in Translation Studies

Roy Youdale

Abstract
Literary translators have until recently been largely hostile to the use of computers beyond word processing and the Internet. In the past five years, however, the field of computer-assisted literary translation (CALT) has come into being. It encompasses the use – actual and potential – by literary translators of a variety of computer applications in the process of translation, and not just in the analysis of already completed translations. As such it overtly combines theory with practice. The creation of this field has involved starting to break down some traditional barriers within Translation Studies, and thus constitutes the locus for an interesting case study in intradisciplinarity: the introduction of new kinds of translation-related technologies – including computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools and machine translation – into the "old" field of literary translation. The first part of the chapter covers the development of CALT, a brief review of the research to date and a summary of some of the main research questions raised. The second part summarizes my research on combining close and "distant" reading – the use of corpus linguistics and text visualization – as practical tools for literary translation. The Conclusion links the intra- and interdisciplinarity of CALT and argues that these are complementary rather than competitive approaches.

Keywords: literary translation, CAT tools, machine translation, corpus linguistics, corpus stylistics, text visualization

1. Introduction

It is hard to argue against the simple observation made by Sin-wai Chan (2015, 44) in a chapter in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Technology*: "In terms of the means of production, all translation nowadays is computer-aided as virtually no one could translate without a computer". Yet in this 700-page volume there are only two in-text instances of the word "literary", and both are incidental rather than substantive. The practice of literary translation has until quite recently been widely held, by both translation scholars and literary translators themselves, to be an ancient and traditional field of translation which neither wants nor needs the application of computer technology beyond the now ubiquitous functionalities of word processing and the Internet.

But various changes in this scenario are afoot. In the past five years, the field of what has now come to be called computer-assisted literary translation (CALT) has come into being and is attracting interest amongst both scholars and practitioners. CALT encompasses the use – actual and potential – by literary translators of a variety of computer applications in the process of literary translation, not just in the analysis of already completed and published translations. As such it overtly combines theory with practice. The creation of this field within Translation Studies (TS) has involved starting to break down some traditional barriers within the discipline, and thus constitutes the locus for an interesting case study in intradisciplinarity: the slow but steady introduction of new kinds of translation-related technologies – including the use of computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools, machine translation (MT), corpus linguistics and corpus stylistics, and text visualization – into the "old" field of literary translation.

The first part of the chapter covers the development of CALT, a brief review of the research to date and a summary of some of the main research questions raised. The second part summarizes my research on close and "distant", or computer-assisted, reading (CDR) – the use of corpus linguistics, corpus stylistics and text visualization as practical tools for literary translation – and draws heavily on my book *Using Computers in the Translation of Literary Style: Challenges and Opportunities* (Youdale 2020). To my knowledge, this is the only book to date which explores the use of corpus-based tools as aids in the literary translation process. The Conclusion links the ideas of intra- and interdisciplinarity and argues that these are complementary rather than competitive approaches, both being necessary if TS is to retain its identity as a stand-alone discipline and avoid the twin dangers of fragmentation and dilution.

2. The birth of CALT

2.1 Writing technologies and literary translation

Translation Studies is a young discipline, only some 50 years old, the study of translation formerly being considered a subcategory of comparative literature (Bassnett 1991, xi) and also of applied linguistics (Snell-Hornby 2006, 40–41). In that time it has undergone a series of "turns" or changes of direction, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, which have been well documented (Snell-Hornby 2006; Venuti 2012). These turns have brought about intradisciplinary changes and created new fields, and possibly the latest turn to be identified is the "technological turn" (Cronin 2010). However, I want to argue that we can only fully contextualize the impact of 21st century computer technology on literary translation and TS generally by considering the relationship of technology – particularly writing technology – and translation over a much longer period: 3,000 years, in fact.

In his account of the history of writing technologies *The Written World: How Literature Shaped History*, Martin Puchner (2017) argues that a handful of revolutions in writing technology have had a profound influence on what kinds of literary texts were produced, distributed and read, and have in many ways actually shaped history:

> The alphabet revolution, begun in the Middle East and Greece, made writing easier to master and helped increase literacy rates. The paper revolution, begun in China and continued in the Middle East, lowered the cost of literature and thereby changed its nature. It also set the stage for the print revolution, which first occurred in East Asia and then, hundreds of years later, in northern Europe. (Puchner 2017, xix)

In other words, the technologies which shape the way written texts are produced and distributed have always influenced, and frequently determined, what is translated, when, where, by whom and, crucially, "for" whom. So it can be argued that the "technological turn" in translation did not start with the computer, but potentially with the cuneiform system of writing on clay invented in Sumeria around 3,000 BCE.[1]

That said, it is hard to overstate the impact on translation and TS of the arrival of the personal computer (and its mobile offshoots) and its marriage to the Internet. In *The Future of Translation Technology*, Chan (2017) suggests

1 https://www.britannica.com/topic/cuneiform

that the rise of corpus-based TS (CTS) took place between 1995 and 2003 and that the broader technological turn, “the wide and frequent application of computers to translation studies and practice” (Chan 2017, 262), emerged in 2004. He proposes the formalization of the field of computer-aided TS, which he divides into three subfields: theoretical, practical and applied (2017, 247–254).

It is frequently assumed that CAT tools and MT, the two most widely used translation technologies, are simply not appropriate for literary translation. The need for creativity in translation solutions and the assumed difficulty computers have in dealing with polysemy (Léon 2021, 82), idioms, cultural references and various forms of complexity common in literary language are all cited in support of this view. There is also the simple fact, noted by Carl, Bangalore and Schaeffer (2016, 226), that “understanding human language relies on information which is not present in the words which make up the message”. Yet there have been, in recent years, a few interesting experiments designed to see whether these technologies might in fact have a role to play in literary translation, and a range of these are reviewed in the following section.

2.2 CAT tools and literary translation

Very little academic research has been done on the use of CAT tools in literary translation, largely because the surveys of literary translators which have been conducted (Ruffo 2018; Slessor 2020) have shown that very few literary translators currently use them. The world of online blogs provides much of the evidence, albeit anecdotal, of the experience of literary translators who use CAT tools, most of it positive (Literary Translations 2019; Lombardino 2014; Schiaffino 2016). A recent thread on the Emerging Translators Network,[2] a broad-based online forum for literary translators, evidenced considerable support for the idea of a workshop on using CAT tools in literary translation. So, although the evidence is not conclusive, there does seem to be a shift away from the hitherto almost universal hostility towards CAT tools.

A translation memory (TM), the quintessential CAT tool, was primarily designed for texts which are repetitive (Slessor 2020, 239). The system draws on a parallel bilingual database of translated text(s) and automatically suggests a possible translation for each new segment of text, usually a sentence. As indicated above, literary works generally do not fit the profile of TM-friendly texts and are therefore widely considered not to be able to benefit from TM

2 https://emergingtranslatorsnetwork.wordpress.com

translation systems. Andrew Rothwell (2020) questions this sweeping assumption and shows how TM can be useful in the retranslation of a classic literary text, Émile Zola's 1884 novel *La joie de vivre*.

The original translation into English, *The Joy of Life*, is by Ernest Vizetelly and was published in 1901, at a time when much of the ST content was considered criminally pornographic in England, resulting in heavy self-censorship in the translation. In preparation for the recent retranslation, both ST and TT were digitized, divided into chapter files and aligned at segment level using the free LF Aligner 4.1.[3] Each aligned chapter was then exported in Translation Memory eXchange (TMX) format and imported into the memoQ CAT tool. Rothwell (2020, 170) argues that the use of a TM in the context of the retranslation of a classic text can benefit the translator "by making instantly and consistently available for scrutiny the solutions chosen by an earlier translator", rather than having to search the ST and original TT manually.

Reflecting on his experience of translating this way, Rothwell (2020, 177–178) observes:

> Correcting the initial automatic alignments, then working with the resultant TMs, became a fascinating process of dual reading, matching up segments of ST and TT and interpreting them in the light of one another. This served both to confirm and occasionally correct my own understanding, but also to create a more three-dimensional vision of the ST and near-contemporary TT in their shared historical era, as twin texts handling the same narrative and psychological material from different but convergent angles, and only accidentally, as it were, deployed in different languages and voices.

In another study, Rothwell and Youdale (2022) document a book-length CAT tool translation experiment. Youdale had translated a complete novel by Uruguayan author Mario Benedetti, *Gracias por el fuego* (published in 1965), into English using a two-column table in Word and wanted to compare this process with the use of a CAT tool (Smartcat) to translate a collection of microfiction, *Desencuentros* (2018), by contemporary Bolivian author Edmundo Paz Soldán, also into English. The provisional hypothesis was that the benefits of a CAT tool would be largely outweighed by the lack of availability of the wider context of the paragraph, the page and the story as a whole. This turned out not to be the case, and Rothwell and Youdale (forthcoming) found that

3 https://sourceforge.net/projects/aligner

> ease of location and difficulty in missing out sentences, concordance searches for previous translations, progress monitoring, version retention and ease of exporting to Word in different formats were felt to be real advantages when compared to translating in MS Word alone. The lack of wider context was compensated for to some extent by having a separate pdf window open containing the full text of the story being translated, and in Lilt,[4] for instance, the facility to view the whole TT is built in.

2.3 MT and literary translation

In recent years, a number of studies have explored how MT could be used in literary translation. These include fully automated and post-edited MT (PEMT) and evaluations of the acceptability of the resultant translations; the potential productivity gains of PEMT; and translator attitudes to the use of MT. An example of each kind of study is included in this subsection.

Toral and Way (2015, 123) challenge the view that MT is of no use in literary translation, using the fully-automated translation of a novel from Spanish to Catalan as a case study, aimed at measuring "the translatability of literary text". Their methodology is based on the view that

> the applicability of MT to a given type of text can be assessed by analysing parallel corpora of that particular type and measuring (i) the degree of freedom of the translations (how literal the translations are), and (ii) the narrowness of the domain (how specific or general that text is). (Toral and Way 2015, 123)

The researchers built an MT system, possibly the first specifically designed to translate a novel, to translate Carlos Ruiz Zafón's *The Prisoner of Heaven* (published in 2011) from Spanish into Catalan. The evaluation of the output involved the use of automated metrics[5] and two bilingual speakers in Spanish and Catalan, who were asked to judge the quality of two sets of 101 translation segments which they thought were both produced by MT, when in fact one set had been produced by a professional translator. It should be noted that the segments were evaluated in isolation.

Their results provide evidence that

4 A paid-for CAT tool available at https://lilt.com/academic.

5 BLEU, TER and METEOR. For details, see Agarwal and Lavie (2008).

> MT can be useful to assist with the translation of novels between closely-related languages, namely (i) the translations produced by our best system are equal to the ones produced by a professional human translator in almost 20% of cases with an additional 10% requiring at most 5 character edits, and (ii) a complementary human evaluation shows that over 60% of the translations are perceived to be of the same (or even higher) quality by native speakers. (Toral and Way 2015, 123)

They concluded that MT translated short sentences relatively well, but that human translation produced higher-quality translations of longer sentences. In subsequent studies they experimented with translations from two less closely related languages (English to Catalan) and produced two interesting findings. In terms of post-editing a literary text which had been translated using two MT variants – phrase-based statistical MT (SMT) and neural MT (NMT) – there were productivity gains (higher for NMT in both cases) in time taken and number of keystrokes used, as compared to translating from scratch (Toral, Wieling, and Way 2018). In a separate experiment with the same language pair, involving the translation of randomly selected passages from 12 well-known English novels spanning a period from the 1920s to today, they found that "between 17% and 34% of the translations, depending on the book, produced by NMT (...) are perceived by native speakers of the target language to be of equivalent quality to translations produced by a professional human translator" (Toral and Way 2018, 1).

In their study, Besacier and Schwartz (2015) set out to discover whether post-edited SMT would be feasible for the translation of a literary work. Specifically, they ask if this approach would be quicker than full human translation, and whether the results would be acceptable to readers (Besacier and Schwartz 2015, 114). They selected an essay by Richard Powers, "The Book of Me", originally published in *GQ* magazine in 2008, and used SMT to translate this into French. The methodology involved recursive MT and post-editing in a three-stage process:

- The first third of the document was translated from English to French using Moses (...), a state-of-the-art phrase-based machine translation system. This machine translation output was then post-edited by non-professional translators.
- The post-edited data from the third of the document was used to train an updated domain-adapted English-French MT system.
- The second third of the text was then translated with the adapted MT system, results were post-edited and a second adapted MT system was

> obtained starting from the new data. This second system was used to translate the third and last part of the text. (Besacier and Schwartz 2015, 115)

The key finding was that, in the judgement of eight of the nine French readers who evaluated the TT, it was considered to be "overall readable (5 Very Good and 3 Good), comprehensible (8 yes, 1 not) and containing few errors (8 seldom, 1 often)" (Besacier and Schwartz 2015, 119). The researchers also found that while the post-edited MT version took 25 human hours to complete (total post-editing and revising time), the professional translator estimated that he would need approximately 48 hours to do a full translation of the 10,731 words (2015, 119).

In their study of the MT post-editing of a literary text from English to Catalan by six experienced literary translators, Joss Moorkens et al. (2018) looked at translator attitudes to MT post-editing as compared to translating from scratch. They concluded that, "[w]hile all participants prefer to translate from scratch, mostly due to the freedom to be creative without the constraints of segment-level segmentation, those with less experience find the MT suggestions useful" (Moorkens et al. 2018, 240). Interestingly, the translators still preferred to translate from scratch even where using NMT measurably saved them time and cognitive effort.

Jones and Irvine (2013, 96, their emphasis) link the issue of MT in literary translation to translation theory and take as their starting point the idea that "one objective in literary translation is to preserve the *experience* of reading a text when moving to the target language". In this process a range of factors external to the text come into play, including translators' attitudes to their role as cultural mediators, something for which it would be extremely difficult to program an MT engine. The researchers analyze translations from two samples of French literature, one of which is an extract from Albert Camus' 1955 novel *L'étranger*, with its 1989 English translation *The Stranger* by Camus and Ward. The human translation is compared to two SMT versions, one trained on the Canadian Hansard data[6] and the other produced by Google Translate. They show how linguistic features such as tense usage are subtly different in English and French, arguing that the human translator has to decide "when to make exceptions to convention for the sake of the reader's experience of the translated text, and the question of the exception is difficult for the machine to account for" (Jones and Irvine 2013, 100), and that decisions about explicitation, for example, are defined by the translator rather than the

6 A database of 8,000,000 parallel lines of text, freely available at: http://www.parl.gc.ca.

text. It would be very hard to design a reliable computational model which could take factors like these into account.

To sum up, Youdale (2020, 23) suggests that the following represent the key limitations and potential benefits of MT for literary translation.

Limitations	Potential benefits
– To date, MT has only been shown to have potential benefits where it is used with linguistically simple texts, is trained on highly specific translations which stick closely to the ST language and style, and is used with fairly closely related languages – Powers of syntactic analysis and reproduction are still relatively crude – Typical features of literary language such as polysemy, ambiguity, humor, metaphor, idioms and long sentences are still poorly handled – MT systems are not currently programmed to take account of metatextual factors such as translator approach, author/publisher briefs and cultural references, all of which would represent significant challenges for system designers.	– When trained on highly genre- and domain-specific translation databases, and applied to related language pairs, MT may be capable of producing near-human quality translation in certain circumstances – If the initial MT error rate can be reduced to a minimal level, it would appear that there could be potential time-saving gains to be made by post-editing MT as opposed to using full human translation from scratch, also in certain circumstances – Comparisons of human and machine translations of the same text have the potential to highlight aspects of translator decision-making and the contrastive linguistics of language pairs – The idea of using MT interactively, whereby “the translator is provided with MT suggestions as he/she types the translation” (Toral and Way 2015, 264), may solve some of the problems associated with fully automated MT.

2.4 CALT: the state of the art

As a term describing a specific field of study and practice within TS, CALT is only three years old. It came into being as a result of collaborative initiatives between translation scholars at Swansea University[7] and the University of Bristol,[8] which were then extended to Dublin City University.[9] The existence

7 Tom Cheesman, Emeritus Professor of German, and Andrew Rothwell, Emeritus Professor of French and Translation.

8 The author.

9 Dorothy Kenny, Professor in the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies, and Andy Way, Professor in the School of Computing.

of a field of study is often evidenced by reference to events and publications. So far there have been three international workshops (January and May 2019 at Swansea and August 2019 in Dublin); the "Translation Technologies for Creative-Text Translation" panel at EST 2019 in South Africa; the rescheduled three-day online conference at Swansea in May 2021; and the "Creative Texts, Technology and Ecology" panel at the IATIS conference in Barcelona in September 2021. The topics which were discussed at the two Swansea workshops included the following:

- MT and literary translation: case studies and language pairs
- MT, corpora and literary translation
- MT, post-edited MT and literary translation
- MT and the translation of metaphor
- Using corpus linguistics and text visualization in literary translation
- Quantifying differences in various translations of the same text
- Literary translators' attitudes to new translation technologies

The Dublin workshop, co-located with the Machine Translation Summit XVII,[10] was exclusively concerned with MT and literary translation. The following represent the range of the papers presented:

- "Automatic and Human Evaluations of Neural Machine Translation on Novels", Antonio Toral, Antoni Oliver González and Pau Ribas
- "Machine versus Human: Comparing Human and Machine Translations of Metaphors in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*", Alicja Zajdel
- "The Challenges of Using Neural Machine Translation for Literature", Evgeny Matusov
- "Would MT Kill Creativity in Literary Retranslation?", Mehmet Sahin, Sabri Gürses
- "When a 'Sport' is a Person and other Issues for NMT of Novels", Arda Tezcan, Joke Daems, Lieve Macken

The EST 2019 panel focused on the use of, and attitudes towards, translation technologies on the part of literary translators; measuring reader engagement in literary texts and comparing full human with machine-assisted translation; and the sustainability of translation technologies for creative text translation.

10 http://toc.proceedings.com/50287webtoc.pdf

The 2021 Swansea online conference attracted over 420 registrations and, in addition to papers on MT, PEMT and translator attitudes to translation technologies, included the following:

– MT and stylometry
– Literary translation and Artificial Intelligence: the limits of creativity
– Computer-assisted poetry translation
– Computer-assisted translation of humorous wordplay
– Reader reception of literary texts translated in different modalities
– Use of PEMT by amateur fan translators to translate Chinese Xianxia fantasy novels
– Custom-built corpora as translation resources

As compared to the 2019 workshops, there was a greater emphasis at the conference on bespoke software for the literary translator and on questions of creativity.

In terms of publications, there is as yet no specific journal or online forum dedicated to CALT. In the past five or six years a number of studies, such as those reviewed earlier, have appeared in journals, and one full-length book has been published (Youdale 2020). CALT is a field in its infancy, yet to be formally acknowledged in mainstream TS. In the *Routledge Handbook of Translation and Technology* (O'Hagan 2020), the word "literary" still does not appear in the index or in the titles of any of the 31 chapters in the volume. The only substantive reference to literary translation consists of two pages in the chapter on post-editing of MT (Vieira 2020, 326–327). But from the range of workshop and conference papers, and the fact that participants come from across Europe and the US, it can be seen that interest in CALT is growing steadily and aspects of CALT are now being chosen by MA and PhD students as subjects for their dissertations (see Horenberg 2019, for example). Furthermore, interest from within the community of literary translators is now evident.

Any new field within a discipline must of necessity engage in what Kaisa Koskinen and Helle Dam (2016, 254) term "boundary work": "practitioners' own negotiations between those claimed to inhabit the inside and those assumed to remain outside". In terms of fields within TS, CALT brings together literary translation, Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), CTS and corpus linguistics, translation process research, the use of translation technology, and translator attitudes towards the use of technology. Its *intra*disciplinarity lies in its aim of drawing on and linking a range of other TS fields, rather than creating yet another narrow specialization. At the same time CALT is unashamedly *inter*disciplinary, building links with computer science, corpus linguistics, stylistics, narratology, reader reception, text visualization and the broad domain of the digital humanities.

Another way in which an academic field defines itself can be found in the kind of research questions which it pursues. Thus far, the specific translation-related technologies being researched are primarily CAT tools, fully automated and post-edited MT, corpus linguistics, corpus stylistics and text visualization. The research questions being asked in relation to these technologies include

- How do they work with different language pairs and directions?
- How far do different social, cultural and political contexts affect their adoption and use?
- How far can automated language processing replace human translation, and how can technological tools be used to enhance rather than deskill the work of literary translators?
- How can these technologies be used in the translation of different literary genres, poetry and prose, for example, and different linguistic features such as metaphor and wordplay?
- What are the implications for CALT for the training of literary translators and the key question of the evaluation of translations?

What perhaps fundamentally defines CALT, however, is the unbreakable link it establishes between translation theory and practice. CALT is concerned with how technology can be used in the "process" of literary translation. It does not only study practice to develop theory, but also uses theory to broaden the possibilities of practice, as the second part of this chapter will clearly illustrate.

3. The CDR approach: a marriage of the old and the new

3.1 Foundations of the CDR approach

Corpus-based TS emerged in the 1990s as a result of the convergence in the 1980s and 1990s of two developments. The first was the increased feasibility of compiling corpora of texts, a corpus being defined as "a large collection of machine-readable texts compiled with a specific purpose that can be retrieved with particular computer software for linguistic research" (Lan 2015, 465). The second was the ability to analyze such texts with the use of corpus linguistics, "a research approach that facilitates empirical descriptions of language use" (Biber 2011,15). Originally developed for monolingual text analysis, scholars such as Mona Baker (1993, 1995) and Jan-Mirko Maczewski (1996) showed how corpus linguistic literary analysis could be successfully applied to translation.

Early CTS research saw the linking of DTS to corpus linguistics with a view to deepening our understanding of what happens in the translation process (Laviosa 2004, 8). Shoshana Blum-Kulka's (1986) explicitation hypothesis and Gideon Toury's (2012) suggestion that there might be "universal" laws of translation are perhaps two of the best-known examples. In the second half of the 1990s, CTS focused on the investigation of whether there were identifiable features that could distinguish translated from nontranslated language. Since 2000, following Baker's (2000) seminal article "Towards a Methodology for Investigating the Style of a Literary Translator", another area of research has been that of translator style, as opposed to the style of a translated text (Saldanha 2014, 100). This has provided evidence that it is possible to identify features of an individual translator's style which recur across different translations and can distinguish her/him from other translators (Malmkjaer 2004; Saldanha 2011; Winters 2009). A defining feature of CTS, however, is the fact that it has only analyzed already completed and published translations. What makes the CDR approach new is that it uses many of the tools and techniques developed in corpus linguistics and CTS as part of the "process" of translation.

My central argument is that a combination of traditional close reading and computer-assisted or "distant" reading, to use a term coined by Franco Moretti (2013), is capable of producing a better informed literary translation than one which relies on close reading alone. While a better-informed translation will not automatically be a better one, it has the potential to be. This argument rests on four fundamental propositions:

1. There are several features of literary style that we either do not register accurately when we read or do not register at all.
2. Many of these features, such as sentence length and repetitions, are relevant to translation decisions.
3. Such features can be efficiently detected, measured and displayed through computer-aided analysis, in particular corpus linguistics (the quantitative analysis of the frequency and distribution of words and phrases in a text or texts).
4. This information enhances rather than reduces translator creativity and does not involve deskilling, a charge often leveled at translation technology by literary translators.

In practical terms, the CDR approach can be used in three specific ways as part of the literary translation process:

1. Analyzing the source text after – and possibly even during – initial reading, and in helping the translator to formulate specific translation goals.
2. Looking up words and phrases during translation.
3. Comparing the source text and draft translation, with a view to seeing if certain translation goals have been achieved, and what has actually happened in the translation process.

There is a fourth application, the autoanalysis of translator style, which is beyond the remit of this chapter, but which is covered in detail in Youdale (2020; see chapter 7).

The translation philosophy which underlies the CDR approach can be described as "creative reverse engineering", involving three steps: noticing the effects which the source text has on me as a reader, trying to work out how those effects were created by the text, and then attempting to reproduce similar effects in my translation. The following sections demonstrate how this can work in practice.

3.2 ST analysis

My starting point for this whole area of research was an interest in sentence length as a component of literary style. In 2015 I translated Mario Benedetti's *Gracias por el fuego* (1965), a mid-20th century modernist Latin American novel whose dominant narrative format is the interior monologue. As a reader I was drawn in to see the world through the narrator's eyes, and I realized that this effect was created by a combination of interior monologue narration, constant use of the present tense and the extended use of "a lot" of what I felt were unusually "short" sentences. Rather than rely on impressions, I wanted to quantify the number, length and location of these sentences and to analyze sentence length in the novel overall, to gauge its stylistic importance. Corpus linguistic software performs this sort of task very well, and Sketch Engine[11] allows you to quickly and easily extract information about sentence length in a text, as shown in Figure 9.1:

11 https://www.sketchengine.eu

	Attribute value	Structure frequency ?	
1	3	587	•••
2	4	579	•••
3	5	517	•••
4	6	492	•••
5	2	439	•••
6	7	405	•••
7	8	334	•••
8	9	299	•••
9	1	265	•••
10	10	249	•••

Figure 9.1 Sketch Engine analysis of sentence length in *Gracias por el fuego*: length of sentence on the left and frequency of occurrence on the right.

This allowed me to conduct an analysis of sentence length for each of the 15 chapters and for the novel as a whole. The overall results were very revealing, confirming my initial impressions, as shown in Table 9.1.

Sentence length	**Number/proportion**
1–6 words	2,879 (45%)
1–10 words	4,166 (65%)
Average sentence length: 11.8 words	6,387 (total number of sentences)

Table 9.1 Short sentences in *Gracias por el fuego*.

The results of this analysis, combined with my experience as a reader of the ST, led me to undertake a brief analysis of average sentence length in novels by a number of contemporary Spanish and Latin American writers (Youdale 2020, 125–126). This confirmed that average sentence length in Benedetti's novel was significantly shorter than the norm for the other writers. The figure for *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, by Gabriel García Márquez, for example, was 25. The combination of the two analyses led me to draw two conclusions. The first was that sentence length was indeed an important stylistic feature of the novel, which contributed directly to the creation of an immersive effect for the reader, and that this effect was often strongest in relation to sentences of 4-10 words. The second was that, given my creative reverse engineering translation strategy, I should endeavor to maintain the ST pattern of sentence length – particularly in this length band – as a translation goal. This was based on my feeling that the effects of a predominance of short sentences were broadly the same for Spanish and English readers, which is clearly a subjective impression but one based on extensive reading of literature in both languages. This shows how corpus linguistics can find patterns in a text which it would be impossible to measure through close reading alone, but whose importance close reading can assess. I describe this as "x-raying" a text to reveal some of its underlying structural features. The CDR approach can thus also be used to help establish certain translation goals against which the draft translation can be assessed.

3.3 Looking up words and phrases during translation

The second example relates to information gathering during initial translation, something which can occupy up to 25% of translator time (Hvelplund 2019, 510). As part of my analysis of characterization, I constructed a corpus of the direct speech of one of the two main characters, Edmundo Budiño, to get a more accurate feel for the register of his language. Sketch Engine was able to provide information not only about Edmundo's most frequently used words, but also about the words which he only used once, which can also give a clue as to character and register. Close reading is effectively incapable of identifying such words unless they are particularly abstruse or outlandish, but corpus linguistic software can quickly extract and list them.

The verb *arrebolarse* stood out for me in the list as being an uncommon word. It is used by Edmundo to embarrass and humiliate his son Ramón in the course of a pompous and sarcastic homily. The essential meaning of the verb is "to redden" with shame or embarrassment, and this would be an obvious translation. However, I wondered why Benedetti chose to use *arrebolarse*, when there are at least four other more common synonyms. In the Spanish Web 2011, a 10 billion-word general reference corpus of European and American Spanish built into Sketch Engine, these synonymous verbs have the following frequencies: *sonrojarse* (1,938); *ruborizarse* (1,165); *enrojecerse* (195); *abochornarse* (50); *arrebolarse* (2). This corpus search supports the idea that *arrebolarse* is a fairly uncommon verb.

Two possibilities occurred to me: either this is a verb more commonly used in the River Plate area than in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world; or, given Edmundo's pompous and scathing tone in this exchange with Ramón, it is possible that he wanted to use a rarefied word to emphasize his superiority.

Either way, it seemed reasonable to look for an unusual rendering in English to mirror the ST. A search for synonyms of "to redden" in print and online dictionaries yielded several common synonyms such as "to go red", "to blush", "to flush", "to color" and "to rubify", which is very uncommon. For the reasons given above I decided to use "rubify". This example shows how dictionaries offer one or more summary definitions, with a very limited number of examples of use, while corpora – both monolingual and bilingual – present multiple examples of actual linguistic usage in context. Both are useful, but each gives a different perspective on how a word or phrase can be translated.

3.4 Comparing ST and draft translation

While researching the occurrences of the word *fuego* in relation to the translation of the title, I came across two related instances of the verb *estallar* (to explode, erupt, burst) in chapter 8. I remembered that this verb had also been used in other chapters but could not recall exactly where or how often. So I decided to see whether its use across the novel formed a significant pattern, and if so, whether this pattern suggested the need for consistency of translation. In Sketch Engine I was able to quickly extract the ten occurrences of inflections of *estallar*, spread over seven chapters, as shown in Figure 9.2:

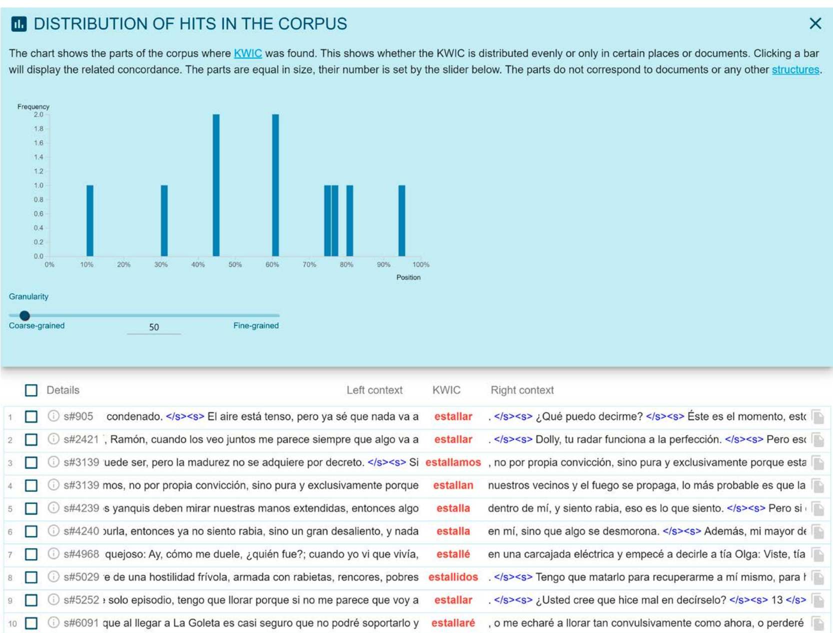
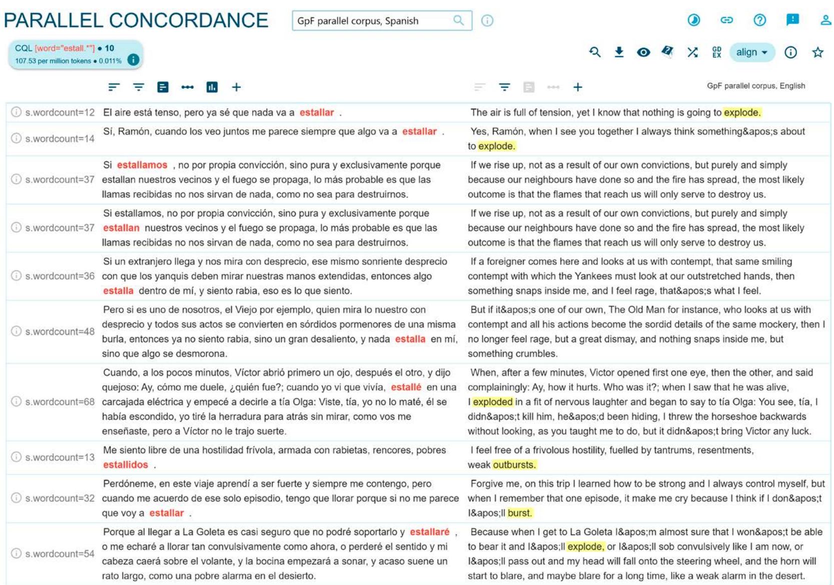


Figure 9.2 Results of a Sketch Engine search for instances of inflections of *estallar*.

Contextual analysis revealed that eight of the ten occurrences related to individuals and the likelihood of their pent-up emotions leading to an explosion or eruption. The other two occurrences related to an explosion or eruption on a societal scale, in other words, rebellion or revolution. This suggested that Benedetti used *estallar* to elaborate one of the central themes of the novel, that of the build-up of emotional and psychological pressure to the point where an explosion or eruption is inevitable. Therefore, I concluded that the use of this particular word formed a pattern and that consistency of translation was required to try to create a similar stylistic effect. It is important to acknowledge that this approach does not always mean that a word or phrase needs to be translated the same way.

Having constructed a parallel corpus of the ST and draft TT, I was able to extract my translations of these ten instances, as shown in Figure 9.3:



s.wordcount=12	El aire está tenso, pero ya sé que nada va a **estallar** .	The air is full of tension, yet I know that nothing is going to explode.
s.wordcount=14	Sí, Ramón, cuando los veo juntos me parece siempre que algo va a **estallar** .	Yes, Ramón, when I see you together I always think something's about to explode.
s.wordcount=37	Si **estallamos** , no por propia convicción, sino pura y exclusivamente porque estallan nuestros vecinos y el fuego se propaga, lo más probable es que las llamas recibidas no nos sirvan de nada, como no sea para destruirnos.	If we rise up, not as a result of our own convictions, but purely and simply because our neighbours have done so and the fire has spread, the most likely outcome is that the flames that reach us will only serve to destroy us.
s.wordcount=37	Si estallamos, no por propia convicción, sino pura y exclusivamente porque **estallan** nuestros vecinos y el fuego se propaga, lo más probable es que las llamas recibidas no nos sirvan de nada, como no sea para destruirnos.	If we rise up, not as a result of our own convictions, but purely and simply because our neighbours have done so and the fire has spread, the most likely outcome is that the flames that reach us will only serve to destroy us.
s.wordcount=36	Si un extranjero llega y nos mira con desprecio, ese mismo sonriente desprecio con que los yanquis deben mirar nuestras manos extendidas, entonces algo **estalla** dentro de mí, y siento rabia, eso es lo que siento.	If a foreigner comes here and looks at us with contempt, that same smiling contempt with which the Yankees must look at our outstretched hands, then something snaps inside me, and I feel rage, that's what I feel.
s.wordcount=48	Pero si es uno de nosotros, el Viejo por ejemplo, quien mira lo nuestro con desprecio y todos sus actos se convierten en sórdidos pormenores de una misma burla, entonces ya no siento rabia, sino un gran desaliento, y nada **estalla** en mí, sino que algo se desmorona.	But if it's one of our own, The Old Man for instance, who looks at us with contempt and all his actions become the sordid details of the same mockery, then I no longer feel rage, but a great dismay, and nothing snaps inside me, but something crumbles.
s.wordcount=68	Cuando, a los pocos minutos, Víctor abrió primero un ojo, después el otro, y dijo quejoso: Ay, cómo me duele, ¿quién fue?; cuando yo vi que vivía, **estallé** en una carcajada eléctrica y empecé a decirle a tía Olga: Viste, tía, yo no lo maté, él se había escondido, yo tiré la herradura para atrás sin mirar, como vos me enseñaste, pero a Víctor no le trajo suerte.	When, after a few minutes, Victor opened first one eye, then the other, and said complainingly: Ay, how it hurts. Who was it?; when I saw that he was alive, I exploded in a fit of nervous laughter and began to say to tía Olga: You see, tía, I didn't kill him, he'd been hiding, I threw the horseshoe backwards without looking, as you taught me to do, but it didn't bring Victor any luck.
s.wordcount=13	Me siento libre de una hostilidad frívola, armada con rabietas, rencores, pobres **estallidos** .	I feel free of a frivolous hostility, fuelled by tantrums, resentments, weak outbursts.
s.wordcount=32	Perdóneme, en este viaje aprendí a ser fuerte y siempre me contengo, pero cuando me acuerdo de ese solo episodio, tengo que llorar porque si no me parece que voy a **estallar** .	Forgive me, on this trip I learned how to be strong and I always control myself, but when I remember that one episode, it make me cry because I think if I don't I'll burst.
s.wordcount=54	Porque al llegar a La Goleta es casi seguro que no podré soportarlo y **estallaré** , o me echaré a llorar tan convulsivamente como ahora, o perderé el sentido y mi cabeza caerá sobre el volante, y la bocina empezará a sonar, y acaso suene un rato largo, como una pobre alarma en el desierto.	Because when I get to La Goleta I'm almost sure that I won't be able to bear it and I'll explode, or I'll sob convulsively like I am now, or I'll pass out and my head will fall onto the steering wheel, and the horn will start to blare, and maybe blare for a long time, like a weak alarm in the desert.

Figure 9.3 Results of a Sketch Engine search for the translations of inflections of *estallar*.

This showed that I had actually translated the word in six different ways, and the exercise demonstrates a tension between two principles. On the one hand, in my original version I felt free to choose the word which I initially thought best fitted the specific instance – such as "explode" or "burst" – without considering the wider context of the novel and its themes. On the other, my CDR analysis showed that the idea of eruption was central to the novel's narrative, and that there was a good case for consistency of translation. After considering the possibilities, I opted for the word "erupt", which fitted all ten instances. The temptation for a translator is to focus on the immediate context and to use that as the main criterion for translation choices. The CDR methodology enables a translator to make the unit of translation chosen for analysis anything from a word to the text as a whole. It also enables, and indeed encourages, movement of the analytical focus from the micro- to the macrolevel and vice versa, thus providing the translator with more information and perspectives on which to base translation decisions.

3.5 Limitations and risks of the CDR methodology

There are a number of limitations and risks associated with the methodology. First, several stylistically relevant linguistic features cannot at present be detected by a computer without prior manual tagging, such as humor, irony, word play, metaphor, etc. Secondly, when selecting stylistic features to analyze, it is important not to choose something just because it can be quantified, or to measure translational "success" in purely statistical terms. Literary style cannot be reduced to a collection of statistically measurable features, but when analyzed in conjunction with close reading, such features can be used in the construction of the stylistic profile of an author, a text or a translator.

It might also be thought that, for professional literary translators, the use of the methodology involves too much time, effort and expense to be practical. I genuinely do not believe this to be the case. Powerful corpus linguistic programs such as AntConc,[12] CATMA[13] and Sketch Engine are either free or inexpensive, have a shallow learning curve and can produce meaningful results from searches and queries within seconds. For example, by using free online software it is now possible to convert a standard PDF file containing the complete text of a novel (in any European language) to a Word document and upload it to Sketch Engine in under five minutes. From there it takes seconds to create an alphabetical or frequency-ordered list of all the words in the text, or to calculate average sentence length. None of these operations requires specialized IT expertise.

12 https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc
13 https://catma.de

4. Questions for further research

As I indicated at the beginning of the chapter, CALT is still in its infancy, as is my research on CDR. There are a number of questions which need to be investigated further. These include

– Are there “core” sets of analyses that could be routinely used in most translations, with others becoming optional, or will this vary significantly from translation to translation?
– Does the methodology need to be adapted for different language pairs and directions, and if so, how?
– What differences are there between the kinds and levels of analyses that it would be appropriate to introduce to students and to professional translators?

5. Conclusion

Over 30 years after James Holmes’ map and manifesto for a new discipline of TS (Holmes 1988), bibliographic evidence suggests that it “continues to produce a large number of publications dealing with the struggle of defining itself and its object, with the borderline of both the discipline and the object, with ways of interacting with related (sub)disciplines” (Brems, Meylaerts, and van Doorslaer 2012, 1). These subdisciplines have emerged as a result of the various “turns” in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, and TS has been described as a “polydiscipline” (Gambier 2012). Coupled with this trend has come interdisciplinarity, which Titika Dimitroulia and Evangelos Kourdis (2019, 3) note, “has become a ‘buzzword’ in TS academic discourse (…) a statement confirmed by quantitative data from Translation Studies Bibliography”. Yet even now there are clear gaps in communication between TS and neighboring disciplines. In my own field of CALT and literary style, for example, there has been very little dialogue between TS, stylistics and narratology, despite the clear benefits that could accrue to all three disciplines from this. There is also room for greater dialogue with the related fields of computational linguistics and natural language processing. A recent article, “Digital Humanities Approaches to Literary Translation” (Sun and Li 2020, 640), mentions the use of data visualization, text mining and digital mapping as being interdisciplinary in nature (2020, 640).

TS needs to look both outwards and inwards if it is to retain both a cohesive identity and the ability to grow and develop. Both inter- and intradisciplinarity are necessary and should be seen as complementary rather than in any way mutually exclusive. The birth and development of CALT illustrate this very well. The exponential growth in the use of translation technology in nonliterary translation, coupled with rapid improvements in the quality of MT output and the increased range and functionality of features offered by CAT tools, was almost bound to have an impact on the field of literary translation, despite widespread resistance. As a locus of intradisciplinary change, CALT is bringing about a marriage of the old and the new: close and distant reading, computer-assisted and traditional translation approaches. Perhaps most importantly of all, CALT's intradisciplinary contribution lies in its championing of a link between theory and practice. Rather than theory simply describing practice, with any form of prescription being considered practically taboo, CALT places the question of how theory can inform and change practice at the heart of its endeavor. Its answer to the question posed by Andrew Chesterman and Emma Wagner (2002) at the turn of the millennium in *Can Theory Help Translators?* is an emphatic Yes.

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