Translation in an Age of Austerity

Special Issue

Guest Editors

Vilelmini Sosoni
Ionian University, Greece

Margaret Rogers
University of Surrey, UK

mTm

minor Translating major - major Translating minor - minor Translating minor

Contents

Translation in an Age of Austerity: From Riches to Pauper, or Not?

Vilelmini Sosoni
Ionian University

Margaret Rogers
University of Surrey

> *It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair [...]*
>
> Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Cities*

Introduction

The success story of Translation Studies (TS) as a growing and increasingly recognised academic discipline[1] has been much discussed during the past sixty years. The study of translation grew enormously, establishing itself as an independent discipline while shedding its post-war label as a branch of applied linguistics on the one hand and a branch of comparative literature on the other. Notably, Bassnett and Lefevere (1990: ix) observe in their anthology *Translation, History and Culture* that "[t]he growth of Translation Studies as a separate discipline is a success story of the 1980s". Gentzler (2001: x) attributes the rapid development and success of the discipline mainly to political and social change: the end of the Cold War, the re-awakening of China, the emergence of the developing world, and the growing self-awareness among ethnic communities. Kuhiwczak and Littau (2007: 1) add to these factors globalisation and the growing and fluctuating self-awareness of not only ethnic but also religious communities. In the same spirit, Schäffner and Dimitriu (2012: 262) underline the inter-relationship between globalisation and translation and interpreting (T&I). Globalisation, they observe, has led to an increase in Community Interpreting (CI) for immigrants and an enormous increase in the need to have information translated—for example, corporate documents of multinational companies, instruction manuals of products to be exported to various countries and official texts produced within supranational bodies such as the European Union institutions, as well as the dubbing or subtitling of films. Moreover, they continue, the end of colonialism and of communism has made it possible for people in the respective countries to get access to literature in translation, which they were not allowed to read before for ideological reasons (Schäffner and Dimitriu 2012:

---

[1] We acknowledge the multifaceted nature of Translation Studies but do not propose to enter here into a discussion of the terms 'discipline' vs 'interdiscipline' (see Snell-Hornby, Pöchhacker & Kaindl 2004 for an interdisciplinary perspective).

262). Finally, it is worth noting that the rapidity by which the discipline established itself can be explained by the fact that TS as a new discipline had to define itself against older disciplines, and therefore absorbed new ideas more readily.

This uncontested success of TS went hand-in-hand with a proliferation of specialised translation and interpreting courses at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels and an exponential increase in conferences, research projects, books and journals in many languages around the world, as well as the founding of professional and academic associations and societies (cf. Snell-Hornby 2012). What is more, the upholding of the EU's policy of multilingualism—which guarantees that the official languages of all the member states are both official and working languages of the EU institutions and are considered to be equal (Šarčević 2001: 314; Sosoni 2012)—further enhanced the role of translation, increased its visibility and raised the profile of translation professionals who are a *sine qua non* for the functioning of the EU as a democratic union of equal nations.

TS is, of course, a discipline which has emerged out of millennia of practice. It is therefore not only timely but also desirable that a TS journal concern itself with issues of practice arising from the social, economic and political contexts within which professionals practise their craft—both literary and non-literary—and in which trainers/educators operate. The present context is one of economic austerity and its contingent effects.

1. Along Came the Crisis

> *"Crisis means that certain postulates are exhausted and that certain ways of coping*
> *with life are no longer relevant to emerging issues."*
> (Polo 1991: 25)

Whilst academic interest in translation and interpreting grew alongside the demand for translation and interpreting services, an economic turmoil shook the Western world, altering political and economic structures especially in the worst affected countries, shattering their social fabric and shifting the governments' priorities and the dynamics of business. In particular, in the summer of 2007, financial markets were shaken by the first episodes of what would become a serious financial crisis. Two US hedge funds collapsed exposing what came to be known as the subprime mortgage crisis, reintroducing the world to an era of bank failures, a credit crunch, private defaults and massive layoffs[2]. In the new, globalized world of closely interdependent economies, the crisis affected almost every part of the world through contagion, while no industry was left untouched.

---

[2] *YaleGlobal Online* (http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/global-economic-crisis) (accessed 16 February 2014).

To address the banking system's problems and emerge from the crisis, governments introduced generous fiscal stimulus programmes. These led to large amounts of public deficit which, combined with the high level of debt that some countries had already accumulated, generated a sovereign debt crisis led by Greece but followed closely by other countries (Argandoña 2012: 1-2). Although all crises in the twentieth century have had world-wide consequences, the crisis of 2007 may well be the first full-blown global crisis. In that climate, T&I—which is by its nature highly dependent on external factors and hence on historical, political and economic developments around the world—did not remain unscathed. In fact, a need emerged for modernisation and reprioritization of activities, as well as a shift in the 'social imaginary' of the discipline, to borrow Castoriades' (1987) term. In other words, in today's vastly different world, the position and the role of TS is different as well.

2. Money, Money, Money!

2.1. Who Needs T&I?

First and foremost, in the economic climate described above, T&I was and still remains an easy target for cutbacks in the commercial and public worlds, often being regarded as 'non-core' business. Yet for those with an interest in translation—whether scholarly or professional—arguments concerning the cultural, economic and social benefits, even the necessity of translation and interpreting are familiar and legion (cf. Robinson 1991; Gile, Hansen & Pokorn 2010; Bernacka 2012). Often, it is also public figures and key stakeholders who admit its necessity. UK Labour's Rt Hon Margaret Hodge MP, for instance, who chairs the influential Public Accounts Committee, recently told the BBC that court interpreting is "a vital service for ensuring that people who do not speak English as a first language have fair access to justice"[3].

Yet, for most T&I is often an easy financial and even ideological target when pressures mount. In the UK, for example, one of the most affluent countries in the world[4], ideologically motivated debates about immigration and migration frequently penetrate the translation bubble. A recent sensationalising headline in a

---

[3] *BBC News UK*, 19 January 2014 (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-25824907?goback=.gde_ 4523053_ member_5832550446425739267#!) (accessed 2 February 2014).

[4] The UK economy is for instance ranked 23rd in the world based on per capita GDP 2009-2013 (http://www.gfmag.com/component/content/article/119-economic-data/12538-the-richest-countries-in-the-world.html#axzz2sLqFW37f) (accessed 27 January 2014).

popular middle-market tabloid[5] illustrates this trend: "Speak English or lose benefits: Cameron to stop payouts to immigrants who use taxpayer-funded translators"; this heralds a political move by the British Prime Minister designed not only to actively obstruct access to welfare benefits for non-English speakers but also to appeal to an economically challenged electorate following years of post-2007 austerity. In practical terms, if successful, the change would mean that telephone interpreting services are no longer available through Jobcentres and leaflets would no longer be provided by local councils in a range of languages. Such a move occurs precisely at a time when there is an increased need for T&I, fuelled primarily by an increase in the numbers of economic migrants i.e. people wishing to pursue a better future away from their poverty-stricken and austerity-ravaged birth countries. Notably, according to figures released by the Office for National Statistics (ONS)[6] in November 2013, the population of Britain is expected to soar by nearly 10 million over the next 25 years, with 4.2 million being attributed to net migration into the country. And yet, translation and interpreting services, which are clearly crucial for migrants[7] and their smooth integration into the host country, are being contested as financially burdensome and thus redundant. Alternatively, even if services are not cut—as is the case, for example, where legal requirements intervene[8]—costs are cut, resulting in reduced remuneration for the front-line providers of those services.

2.2. Lowering the Quality, Lowering the Cost?

When faced with the decision to deploy translation or interpreting services, governments and private companies increasingly turn to cost-saving solutions employing unqualified translators and interpreters or contracting the work to the lowest bidder ignoring quality and downplaying the consequent costs that poor quality may entail. Recent examples include the increased use of crowdsourcing, also called 'amateur' or 'non-professional' translation. Whilst engaging unpaid

---

[5] *The Mail on Sunday*, 19 January 2014 (http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2541892/Speak-English-lose-benefits-Cameron-stop-payouts-immigrants-use-taxpayer-funded-translators.html) (accessed 16 February 2014).

[6] *The Independent*, 6 November 2013 (http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/uk-population-will-soar-by-nearly-10-million-by-2037-with-immigration-attributed-to-projected-increase -8924418.html) (accessed 16 February 2014).

[7] We are aware of the definitional minefield surrounding the terms 'immigrant' and 'migrant'. We have chosen to use 'migrant' as a relatively loose term, following Anderson & Blinder 2013.

[8] See, for instance, *DIRECTIVE 2010/64/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 20 October 2010 on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings*. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2010:280:0001:0007:en: PDF (accessed 16 February 2014).

translators in a collaborative effort is financially attractive and, like other technology-facilitated trends, may seem to present a significant risk to the income of professional translators, a recent report from the European Commission/DGT argues rather optimistically that crowdsourcing cannot replace professionals where there is a need for accountability. But at the same time it warns against possible disruptions to the labour market as crowdsourcers do not rely on translation for their income. Generally speaking, the idea behind crowdsourcing— a term coined, according to the EC/DGT report, in 2006 by Jeff Howe as a portmanteau of 'crowd' and 'outsourcing'—is that "'the many' are smarter and make better choices than 'the few', and that the 'crowd' has a huge potential for which they often find no outlet" (European Union 2012). So it can be considered to constitute a 'win-win' situation for all, crowdsourcers, end-users and initiators. However there are many risks involved, notably that businesses may exploit free labour to increase their profits, that qualified professionals are deprived of their source of revenue because they cannot stand the competition of the crowd and that quality standards decline when tasks are carried out by unqualified amateurs.

Similarly, with the advent of Machine Translation (MT), which in the past few years has made notable progress, companies are looking to minimize human intervention and thus minimize costs. As Eisele (2013: 12) observes: "After a long and interesting history, where phases of enthusiasm and exaggerated hopes alternated with deep disappointment and bitter frustration, the old dream of machine translation […] has finally become a reality". Indeed, although the idea can be traced back to the 17th century and patents and prototypes of mechanical translation devices were invented as far back as the early 1930s, the big leap forward came as a result of powerful computers and recent statistical techniques, which are able to extract what Eisele (2013: 12) calls 'the relevant knowledge' from existing translations without any need for human experts to build and maintain complex systems of rules. Yet, MT quality varies enormously from one language pair to another, no 'one-size-fits-all' approach is possible, and post-editing by professional translators is necessary if the end product is to be of high-quality.

It is certainly the case that the cost of low quality standards has been hard to measure. Despite the considerable media attention that the economic cost of T&I services has attracted, no systematic study exists where quantitative and qualitative methods are employed to model communicative practices and hidden costs. Indeed, traditional cost-accounting methods fail to reveal the so-called 'soft' costs of failed communications as well as the positive counterpart of 'hidden performance' (Savall & Zardet 2008). Notably, however, a recent study by the DGT—the European Commission's Translation Service—entitled *Quantifying Quality Costs and the Cost of Poor Quality in Translation* seems to defy the aprioristic conviction that quality is a 'luxury' not worth the cost or the

effort. In particular, it showcases how in the European Commission alone the yearly costs for handling corrigenda requests, i.e. corrections of translation errors, amount to €547.000, not to mention the indirect costs and more far-reaching legal repercussions of the initial errors for ordinary citizens and society at large as well as the potential reputation loss for the DGT. Another example of the cost of low quality—in provision as well as delivery—is illustrated by the recent controversy in the UK involving the Court Interpreting firm *Capita*[9]. In 2011, in a bid to cut costs and apparently to rationalise provision, the Ministry of Justice outsourced the work of interpreting in courts to the private firm *ALS*, which was then quickly sold to *Capita*. *Capita* reduced mileage rates paid to interpreters, resulting in a shortfall in provision, which in turn meant that courtroom trials were disrupted causing chaos. As a result, *Capita* had £46,319 of payments withheld by the Ministry of Justice between May 2012 and November 2013, according to a report by the National Audit Office (NAO)[10]. To improve the situation, the company later renegotiated an improved package for interpreters with the Ministry of Justice. It seems, therefore, that low cost may actually lead to an increased cost as well as to complex logistics and reputation loss: a far cry from the ideal stakeholders seek to achieve.

3. Shaking up the Academic World

Universities are the main providers of training/education for the translation and interpreting professions, leading to qualifications at undergraduate and postgraduate level, a training of some five years, equivalent to that of many other professions. As part of the economic infrastructure, universities are subject to changes in the economic situation, whether through government regulation or market forces, or both. But some disciplines are more vulnerable than others, especially in an age of austerity which focuses attention on issues such as accountability, value to society and vocational relevance, not only in the political sphere, but also amongst the general public. As one set of correspondents to the UK publication *THE* (Times Higher Education) put it: "In [UK] higher education, we have seen the trebling of tuition fees, the scrapping of public funds for the teaching of the arts, humanities and social sciences, and a general emphasis on reorienting universities to be places where 'customers' learn only how to be

---

[9] *BBC News UK*, 22 January 2014 (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-25824907?goback=.gde_4523053_member_5832550446425739267#!) (accessed 16 February 2014).
[10] NewsUK24, 22 January 2014 (http://www.newsuk24.com/term/Capita%20Interpreters) (accessed 16 February 2014).

'employable'" (*THE* Letters, 25 April 2013). One leading UK academic[11] has "highlighted the risk of 'unequal distribution of cultural capital' as a result of the government's changes, with the humanities 'struggling to reach out beyond the circles of the well-heeled and those with the mobility to choose their university' (*THE*, 21 April 2011)[12].

Budgetary ring-fencing is generally restricted to STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) subjects, leaving arts and humanities and the social sciences—all subject areas which are linked with TS—vulnerable despite their strategic value: modern languages and T&I, for example, are crucial to the transfer of information, knowledge and culture but are vulnerable for many reasons, including their relatively high delivery costs relating to equipment and class size at a time when universities are increasingly attempting to apply standard measures of pedagogical 'efficiency' across all subject areas.

Whilst the capacity to undertake research in any university department is often dependent on crucial factors such as external grant income (also squeezed), viability in terms of student numbers and staff-student ratios—as judged by increasingly stringent metrics—is equally important in many university systems. Hence, without viable teaching programmes, research is likely to suffer. Somewhat paradoxically, the human resources required to deliver attractive, relevant and academically sound degree programmes which comply with international standards such as the European Commission's European Master's in Translation[13] is in itself a potential drain on the capacity to deliver research: academics in T&I, although certainly not unique in the higher-education landscape, are being asked to deliver more with less in an increasingly competitive HE market. Country-specific conditions, such as the threat to recruitment in the UK resulting from the pressure of mounting debt on language students, also play a role in heightening vulnerability.

Not only does economic austerity threaten T&I research, both directly through reduced research funding and indirectly through teaching-related issues, it also endangers the supply of qualified T&I specialists. It is likely that in the coming years we will witness a paradox: on the one hand, we will have an increasing regulation of the profession in an effort to enhance translator and interpreter status and on the other, an increasing 'deregulation' with amateurs playing a more prominent role, especially if austerity measures continue.

---

[11] Professor Ben Knights, the former director of the Higher Education Academy's English Subject Centre.

[12] "Vocation, vocation: fears over post-92 cuts to humanities", John Morgan, *THE* 21 April 2011.

[13] European Master's in Translation network: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/programmes/emt/index_en.htm (accessed 16 February 2014).

4. Austerity in T& I: Tacking Stock

The present Special Issue of *mTm* addresses a range of related but very different issues on austerity and translation. The intention is to track recent developments triggered by the new state of affairs in politics and society, providing food for thought for further research and action that may be taken by academia, translation and interpreting scholars as well as practitioners in order to keep up with developments and at the same time safeguard the discipline. The issues covered range from the effect of economic constraints on urgently needed interpreting training in multilingual Slovenia to the social practices of literary translators in German. Also considered are the timely topics of 'inverse' translation, i.e. translation into the B language, in the context of a language of lesser diffusion (Polish) and the economic pressures on professional translators, and lastly, the translation of English-language headlines into Greek related to the Greek economic bailout. This issue therefore addresses not only the effects of austerity on translation and interpreting-related practices but also its very articulation in translation.

In particular, in the first article, Nike Pokorn and Vojko Gorjanc focus on the consequences of the austerity measures imposed on public education regarding the training of public-service translators and interpreters for the languages of recent immigration in the Republic of Slovenia. They start with an analysis of the linguistic situation, the translation market and T&I training, before moving on to describe the changing and increasing need for public-service interpreting and translation (PSIT). To the background to these developments is the strict austerity Slovenia is experiencing and the radical limitations imposed on all public universities when preparing new university courses. In that light and following a market analysis, they propose a training programme which responds to the needs of candidates and the harsh socioeconomic reality. In particular, they outline a programme for PSIT training which is blended (online and face-to-face)—in the hope that the virtual environment could help reduce the costs—and general enough, i.e. involving different public-health settings, to be attractive to a wide range of candidates and flexible enough to address the needs of employed interpreters as well. The message they convey is one of hope and optimism: austerity will not put a halt to T&I education, it will just push it to reinvent itself.

In the second article, Gisella Vorderobermeier traces societal developments preceding or overlapping with the age of austerity with a view to identifying changes in literary translators' working lives induced in these contexts. The central question she seeks to answer concerns the ways in which general social processes affect the social practice of translators and the extent to which specific refractory effects resulting from such processes are perceptible. More specifically, she investigates this question with regard to the model of mutations undergone by

capitalism marked out by Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) in their work *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. The fundamental 'reality' and descriptive model on which the analysis is based is the authors' 'project-based polity'—the contrastive model offering itself for analytical purposes being their notion of an 'inspired polity'. Vorderobermeier questions the extent to which the characteristics of such a 'project-based polity' are identifiable in translators' experience of the frameworks within which they work, i.e. the extent to which what has variously been described as an existence 'in-between' can be said to have changed in this direction. She reaches the conclusion that literary translators seem to be reluctant to embrace a 'project-based' logic and posits that further research is necessary to explore whether they will continue to skip this phase in the development of cognitive capitalism when their working lives continue to be severely affected by the effects of austerity.

Bogusława Whyatt and Tomasz Kościuczuk also investigate the way austerity affects translators and put to the test the deep-rooted axiom that professional translating should be done into the translator's native language. They refer to the theories and institutions, associations and Internet forums which support the tenet that translation into one's native language is superior to translation done into one's foreign language. They investigate empirical research devoted to inverse or NNS ('non-native speaker') translation and look at translation competence models to see if the axiom is reflected in a way which supports the widespread consensus of native-language translation superiority. They also test the theoretical assumptions and recommendations against the translators' job market and everyday professional practice in the minor-major language combination. Focusing on the Polish<>English translation pair, they report on a survey conducted among professional translators in Poland; they reach the very interesting conclusion of a discrepancy between the reality of actual professional practice and the prescriptive assumption that translation into the translator's non-native language should not be practised. This is in line with Pokorn's (2005) seminal work on inverse translation which has challenged the traditional axiom and highlighted how the conviction about the superiority of texts translated by native speakers of the target language is largely unsupported by empirical research. Whyatt and Kościuczuk's study, therefore, corroborates Pokorn's findings and points to the need for extensive empirical research to reassess the axiom in the context of the growing demand for translation services in global communication and the impact of austerity on how these services are provided.

The articulation of austerity in translation is the theme explored by Themis Kaniklidou and Juliane House. In particular, they examine the prevailing frames related to austerity and the Greek crisis that have circulated in translated headlines

of news articles from English into Greek published in the Greek newspaper *I Kathimerini*. Based on the analysis of 50 translated headlines published since February 2010 following discussions of a bailout plan and the announcement of strict austerity measures by the Greek Government, Kaniklidou and House suggest that translation rewrites the theme of austerity and the Greek crisis by giving rise to new frames of understanding. More specifically, the analysis shows the Greek crisis to be narrated as *contamination* or to be *game-framed*, while Greece is also relayed in the target version either as a *victim* or as a *key stakeholder* for the future of the Eurozone. Interestingly, these two last frames oscillate between opposing representations as they tell the story of the Greek crisis through conflicting frames: one representing Greece as victim/patient, the other awarding Greece the more crucial role of a key player in the future of the Eurozone that could cause substantial problems to the core of the European economy. More interestingly, Greece has been offered a discourse of significant *Other*, of a polar distant from what the core of Europe has been representing. So by constructing an identity of Greece, the print media data studied here also create an identifiable *Other* to Europe. It thus appears that austerity fosters dichotomies, which are further extended by language use and translation.

5. Conclusion

The contributions in the present Special Issue, varied as they are, all highlight the conclusion that traditional axioms are constantly being put to the test and that the 'social imaginary' of T&I is undergoing radical changes. MT is gaining commercial ground, NNS translating as well as crowdsourcing 'solutions' are also gaining ground in some language pairs and areas of activity and T&I departments face a scarcity of resources, a constant demand for reinvention in the context of constant questioning by governments and education stakeholders. And yet new areas are being born, new opportunities do not cease to appear, with T&I programmes continuing to emerge around Europe and the world. It is no doubt an age of extremes; but whether it is a 'spring of hope' or a 'winter of despair' remains to be seen. What matters the most, though, is that translation professionals and translation scholars as well as decision-makers across the socio-political spectrum do not forget that what lies at the core of the profession is people, their languages and their cultures. Or to borrow the words of Snell-Hornby:

> If Translation Studies is to continue to develop as the success story it once was, it must be clear that its future, and indeed its main raison d'être, will not lie in technological progress or in globalized transcoding, but in fostering and exploring languages and cultures hitherto ignored and in

rediscovering the role of translators and translation scholars as intercultural communicators and mediators between them. (Snell-Hornby 2012: 372)

Dr Vilelmini Sosoni
Ionian University, Greece
sosoni@ionio.gr

Professor Margaret Rogers
University of Surrey, UK
m.rogers@surrey.ac.uk

Bibliography

Anderson, Bridget & Blinder, Scott (2013). *BRIEFING. Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and their Consequences.* The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford. http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/sites/ files/migobs/Briefing%20-%20Who%20Counts%20as%20a%20Migrant.pdf (accessed 16 February 2014)

Argandoña, Antonio (2012). *Three Ethical Dimensions of the Financial Crisis*. Working Paper 944. University of Navarra. http://www.iese.edu/research/pdfs/ di-0944-e.pdf (accessed 19 January 2013).

Bassnett, Susan, & Lefevere, André (eds) (1990). *Translation, History and Culture*. London: Pinter.

Bernacka, Anna (2012). "The Importance of Translation Studies for Development Education". *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, 14, 113-118.

Boltanski, Luc & Chiapello, Ève (2005). *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Gregory Elliott. London/New York: Verso.

Castoriadis, Cornelius (1987). *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity.

Dickens, Charles (2003). *A Tale of Two Cities. Edited and with an introduction and notes by Richard Maxwell*. London: Penguin Classics.

Eisele, Andreas (2013) "Technical Challenges for Machine Translation in the European Institutions". *Languages and Translation*, 6, 12-13. http://ec.europa. eu/dgs/translation/publications/magazines/languagestranslation/documents/issu e_06_en.pdf (accessed 20 January 2013).

European Commission / Directorate-General for Translation (2012). *Quantifying quality costs and the cost of poor quality in translation*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/publications/studies/index_en.htm (accessed 16 February 2014).

European Commission / Directorate-General for Translation (2012). *Crowdsourcing Translation*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/publications/studies/index_en.htm (accessed 16 February 2014).

Gentzler, Edwin (1993/2001). *Contemporary Translation Theories*. London: Routledge.

Gile, Daniel, Hansen, Gyde & Pokorn, Nike (eds) (2010). *Why Translation Studies Matter*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kuhiwczak, Piotr & Littau, Karin (eds) (2007). *A Companion to Translation Studies*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Pokorn, Nike K. (2005). *Challenging the Traditional Axioms: Translation into a non-mother tongue*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Polo, Leonardo (1991). *Quién Es el Hombre. Un Espíritu en el Mundo.* Madrid, Rialp.

Robinson, Douglas (1991). *The Translator's Turn*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Savall, Henri & Zardet, Véronique (2008). *Mastering Hidden Costs and Socio-Economic Performance*. Lyon: ISEOR. Translated from the French *Maîtriser les coûts cachés: Le contrat d'activité périodiquement négociable*. Collection Gestion. Série Politique générale, finance et marketing, 1987.

Schäffner, Christina & Dimitriu, Rodica (2012). "Translational encounters in a globalized world". *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, 20(3), 261-268.

Snell-Hornby, Mary, Pöchhacker, Franz & Kaindl, Klaus (eds) (1994). *Translation Studies: An Interdiscipline*. Selected Papers From the Translation Studies Congress, Vienna, 1992. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Snell-Hornby, Mary (2012). "From the Fall of the Wall to Facebook. Translation Studies in Europe twenty years later". *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, 20(3), 365-373.

Sosoni, Vilelmini (2012). "A Hybrid Translation Theory for EU Texts". *Vertimo Studijos*, 5, 76-89.

Šarčević, Susan (2001). 'Multilingualism – The Challenge of Enlargement'. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*, 9(4), 313-324.

Vilelmini Sosoni is Lecturer in Translation at the Ionian University in Greece and a freelance translator and subtitler. Her research interests lie in the areas of the translation of EU texts, text hybridity, text linguistics and translation, Machine Translation (MT), translation quality, language ideologies, translation and political discourse and intercultural communication. She has been involved with translator training for over 15 years in the UK and Greece and has published papers in international journals and in edited volumes.

Margaret Rogers is Professor Emerita of Translation and Terminology Studies at the University of Surrey, UK, having served as Director of the Centre for Translation Studies in the School of English and Languages from 2003 to 2013, during which time she led the development of postgraduate programmes in particular. During the 1990s, she co-managed a number of EU-supported projects developing software tools for terminology and translation applications. More recently she has been co-investigator on a number of EU-supported projects on remote interpreting. Her publications deal with text-linguistic aspects of terms in specialist translation and creativity in translation. Editor of two monograph series on translation with Multilingual Matters and Palgrave Macmillan, she is also the founder of the Terminology Network in the Institute for Translation and Interpreting and a founder member of the Association for Terminology and Lexicography. She recently edited a Special Issue of *JosTrans* on *Terminology, Phraseology and Translation*, and is a regular reviewer for a number of publishers and academic journals.

We are not giving up.
Training public-service translators and interpreters in the economic crisis

Vojko Gorjanc
Nike K. Pokorn
University of Ljubljana

Abstract

This article focuses on the consequences of the austerity measures imposed on public education regarding the training of public-service translators and interpreters for the languages of recent immigration in the Republic of Slovenia. First, the linguistic situation, the translation market and translator and interpreter training in Slovenia are described. The article then provides a survey of the changing needs for public-service interpreting and translation (PSIT) in the Republic of Slovenia, and describes the subsequent plans for the introduction of the training for PSIT. Finally, a tentative solution and a response to the needs are proposed, taking into account the reduced or non-existent financial support of such endeavours.

Introduction

A number of studies describe the benefits of using trained, professional public-service translators and interpreters, advocating a professionalised approach in dealing with foreign-language public-service users (Cambridge 1999; Roy 2006). In many European countries, Slovenia being among them, there are no learning or training opportunities tailored specifically to public-sector interpreters or translators. Due to the changing nature of European society, the development and implementation of comprehensive training for public-service interpreters and translators has become a most urgent issue, also in Slovenia. This article will show how the Slovene academy, despite the economic crisis, is trying to respond to this need.

The article is organized into six sections. The first is an overview of the Slovene language history with an emphasis on the status of the language. The second presents the Slovene situation regarding the translation market and the status of translators and interpreters. In the third, we show how translator and interpreter training follows (and also predicts) the changes of the translation market. Section four focuses on the changes in Slovene society regarding migration trends, followed by a presentation on the plan of how to react to the emerging need for public-sector interpreter training in Slovenia, in the fifth section. It first discusses ideal solutions and then proposes, due to the limitations

at universities in this time of austerity, a more realistic one. The final section briefly comments on the limited possibilities for university education to follow market trends at a time of economic crisis and suggests directions for future cooperation between academia and other stakeholders engaged in the translation and interpreting market.

1. The Changing Status of the Slovene Language

The earliest written record of the Slovene language is found in the *Freising Manuscripts*, a collection of confessions and sermons dating back to around 1000 AD. Slovene was relatively widely used in the written form in the period of the Reformation when the *Bible* was also translated into Slovene (1584), and the first Slovene grammar and dictionary appeared (see e.g. Ahačič 2007). The language first gained the status of an official language at lower levels of administration and in state schools during the period of occupation of Slovene lands by Napoleon, from 1809 to 1813. The language regained this status in 1849 when it effectively became one of the official languages of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Grdina & Stabej 2002). Slovene then continued to be used officially also in the newly formed State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (1918, later renamed as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [1918-1929] and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia [1929-1945]), and it retained its official status also in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY).

Thus, before joining the EU, the Republic of Slovenia was between 1945 and 1991 one of the six republics forming the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, where the Slovene language was one of the three official languages of the state, together with Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian. The linguistic situation in Yugoslavia was, in fact, particularly complex, since the SFRY formally and legally aimed to reflect the multilingual and multicultural reality of its constituent parts (Požgaj Hadži *et al*. 2009: 27), which meant that several other languages of linguistic minorities were also recognised in specific areas of the SFRY (e.g. Italian, Hungarian, Albanian, Slovak etc.). But despite this officially recognised multilingualism, Serbo-Croatian served as an unofficial lingua franca in Yugoslavia. This meant that Serbo-Croatian was not only the language of the majority in the SFRY, but also the language of the political and military power: it was used in all federal bodies and institutions; it was the language of Yugoslav diplomacy, of the Yugoslav army, the language used in Yugoslav parliamentary discussions, and, for a while, also the predominant language of the mass media across the Yugoslav territory. This status made Serbo-Croatian the prestige language, pushing the other languages of the different nations and nationalities of

Yugoslavia into a subordinate position (Toporišič 1991: 138; Pogorelec 1996: 51-52; Gorjanc 2013a: 14-15).

Despite its lower prestige in the federal framework, after the Second World War, the Slovene language nevertheless had the status of a co-official language in the Republic of Slovenia and it retained this status throughout the Socialist period, which meant that, for example, in Slovenia, the language of administration, courts and schools was uniquely Slovene. The position of Slovene was defended to such a degree that Serbo-Croatian was less present in the Slovene education system than English, German or Italian; in fact, it was only one of the subjects taught for a year to ten-year olds in Slovene schools, while, for example, English was obligatory for at least four years in primary schools.

Throughout the Socialist period, within the Yugoslav framework, the Slovene language, however, was in a diglossic position, which was reflected in the linguistic competence of its speakers. The speakers of Slovene were predominantly bilingual: besides Slovene, they also (at least) understood Serbo-Croatian. This bilingualism was particularly true for male citizens of Yugoslavia, since Serbo-Croatian was used for commands in the Yugoslav military, in which every adult male citizen of Yugoslavia was supposed to serve for a year. Serbo-Croatian was therefore known, in more or less elementary form, to the vast majority of male speakers of Slovene, Macedonian, as well as to those speakers that belonged to linguistic minorities in Yugoslavia (for example, to Albanians, Hungarians, Roma etc.).

Although native speakers of Slovene predominantly understood Serbo-Croatian, the reverse was not true. Slovene and the languages that were called Serbo-Croatian are related, but not so closely that this relatedness would enable 'inter-comprehension' (Grin 2008) or 'semi-communication' (Haugen 1987) between the speakers of these languages. On the other hand, Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin (i.e. the languages that were at that time defined as Serbo-Croatian) allowed 'receptive multilingualism' (Braunmüller 2007; ten Thije and Zeevaert 2007; see also Casad 2005 who talks about 'intelligibility of closely related languages', and Rehbein [Rehbein *et al*. 2012] who uses the term 'lingua receptiva'). Although the speakers of Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin used their own variant of the Serbo-Croatian language, this did not thwart communication between them. This was not true with the speakers of Slovene: the Slovene language was not transparent to the speakers of the languages covered by the term Serbo-Croatian. The result was that the vast majority of the native speakers of Serbo-Croatian did not speak or understand Slovene.

The linguistic situation changed immediately after 1991, when Slovenia became independent. In the Republic of Slovenia the Slovene language became the only official language, with Italian and Hungarian retaining their status of co-official languages in the areas inhabited by Italian and Hungarian minorities. The change in status of the Slovene language also led to a new distribution of languages in Slovene society. In particular, younger speakers of Slovene had less contact with Serbo-Croatian, so that nowadays Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin are foreign and incomprehensible to them. As a consequence, communication between peers from the former Yugoslav republics is now predominately conducted in English. Furthermore, the attitude towards Serbo-Croatian and the speakers of Serbo-Croatian has changed dramatically: after 1991 Serbo-Croatian suddenly became the language of the unitary politics of the aggressor military forces and therefore gained a negative connotation. The majority of Slovene speakers therefore distanced themselves from their knowledge of this language. Now, more than two decades from the dissolution of Serbo-Croatian, the languages that have emerged from that standard (Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian) have slowly freed themselves from the negative connotations in the minds of Slovene speakers, and therefore also Slovene speakers tend to be more tolerant towards the speakers of these languages (Požgaj Hadži, Balažic Bulc & Miheljak 2009: 28, 30).

Unfortunately, this greater tolerance is not yet felt in all spheres of public life. Some recent research regarding the need for interpreting services for Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian for public services in Slovenia showed that interpreting should be provided not only because of the declining linguistic competence of Slovene officials in these languages, but also because of the pertaining negative attitude towards these languages in official settings. Surveys conducted among users of Slovene public services reveal that Slovene officials working in the public sector are often not motivated to enable successful communication, in particular, when encountering speakers of these languages. Speakers coming from the former Yugoslav republics thus complain that they have been treated unfairly in public procedures: they feel that Slovene officials in the public sector treat them differently if they use their own language, classifying them as migrants from the former Yugoslav republics (Balažic Bulc & Požgaj Hadži 2013: 196-198).

2. The Changing Status of Translators and Interpreters in Slovenia

The official status of the Slovene language has also entailed the need for translation and interpretation. The status of translators and interpreters in

Slovenia, however, has also not remained stable and has changed radically in the last few years.

When Slovenia was part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, Slovene translators—who were all graduates of traditional philological departments—found relatively well-paid jobs in large companies with strong export activities and also enjoyed a relatively high status within the company hierarchy. They were either members of the Association of Scientific and Technical Translators of Slovenia (which was founded in 1960) or the Association of Slovene Literary Translators (founded in 1953) or, in the case of interpreters, the Slovene Association of Conference Interpreters (founded in 1973).

In the late eighties, the first freelance translators emerged, responding to the growing need for high-quality translations from Slovene into English and German in the market. At first, they were able to make a considerable profit; they could choose their clients and texts, negotiate their own fees, and some were even able to expand after a few years employing an additional two or three translators.

When in 1991 Slovenia became independent and five years later, in June 1996, signed an agreement of associate membership with the European Union, the workload of Slovene translators doubled: the entire *Acquis Communautaire* had to be translated and the need for high-quality interpreters was pressing. The decade thus saw the establishment of the first translation companies, and this unprecedented growth of the translation industry in Slovenia continued into the 21st century. In particular after 2003, the number of translation companies dramatically increased when changes in legislation made the establishment of small businesses easier and when the need for the translation of EU-related documents exceeded the capacities of governmental translation services, which started to outsource the work to freelance translators and translation companies. In 2006, Slovenia's translation industry with its 3% annual growth closely followed the European average which stood at that time at 4%, as Boucau (2005) reports. At the same time, the nature of the work demanded also changes. Clients needed translations in more than one language and also almost immediately, which meant that larger and more complex translation jobs could be carried out only by teams of translators. Translation memories, terminological management and project management software thus became a technical characteristic of the sector, and consequently translation fees fell. As a result, the first decade of the 21st century saw the eclipse of self-employed freelancers, which again was, according to Boucau, in line with European trends (Boucau 2005).

The translation industry in Slovenia was also affected by the globalisation of the trade: in 2008, for example, 10 companies that represented 2% of the total

number of translation businesses in Slovenia catered to more than 50% of the Slovene translation market, whilst two of these top-10 companies were ranked among the top-20 translation companies in the world at the time. These companies tended to use external and not in-house translators for their jobs; they acted more as intermediaries in the translation cycle, employing only project managers and administrative staff who took care of the financial and organizational aspects of projects; the rest of the work was contracted out to freelancers (Fišer 2008). Translators were thus no longer considered experts in the field of trans-cultural communication, able to negotiate a skopos-oriented solution with the commissioner (Vermeer 1998: 50-51), but became instead hired wage workers with a limited insight into the whole translation process.

Literary translators also underwent the same transition: during Socialist times the fee for literary translations was defined by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia and was relatively high. In fact, literary translations were sometimes regarded as a means to financially support important artists, e.g. novelist, poets and dramatists. After 1992, things dramatically changed in this area as well. The government no longer supported financially selected publishing houses; many of them went bankrupt, and new, more profit-driven ones were established. The publishing houses consequently started to lower their fees, and it is now impossible to survive in Slovenia translating only literary works. Literary translation has thus become a part-time activity for academics, editors or translators who are forced to undertake non-literary translations as well, in order to survive and pay the bills. In that context as well, Slovene literary translators started to share the fate of their Western colleagues (cf. Bajt 2004; Terbovc 2005).

As far as interpreting in Slovenia is concerned, the status of conference interpreters is undoubtedly the highest compared to the status of other experts in multilingual and multimedia communication, not least because the majority of professional conference interpreters for the Slovene language work for European institutions abroad or for important Language Service Providers (LSPs) in Slovenia, consequently gaining their status from the reflected status of their clients. In the past few decades, the profession has gained in public recognition also because various translation and interpreting agencies helped the interpreting business become more visible. On the other hand, the very agencies that contributed to the visibility of interpreters at the same time also devalued the business partly by not taking into account professional standards, but also by lowering interpreters' fees (Vidmar 2013: 92-93).

While the great majority of formally trained interpreters in Slovenia work exclusively as conference interpreters, in the public sector court interpreters or

sworn translators tend to work in only one part of the broad spectrum of social service environments (Morel, Gorjanc & Pokorn 2012: 107-108). Public-sector interpreting thus includes only a limited circle of trained or professional interpreters, while the rest are non-professionals with language competences but without any interpreting training. Due to the fact that the market for public-sector interpreting services in Slovenia is relatively small, it is reasonable to expect that already existing agencies will expand their service portfolio and will rely on both staff interpreters and freelancers to cover the increasing needs of interpretation. Considering that technical equipment is steadily evolving and that remote interpreting nowadays seems to be considered by some as a panacea for many problems linked to costs and availability of services, some companies are already contemplating specialising and investing in remote-interpreting facilities (e.g. video conferencing) in order to offer interpreting services in urgent cases or if clients are located far away from the interpreter (Gorjanc & Morel 2012: 106-107).

3. Translator and Interpreter Training in Slovenia

The first training of translators in the Republic of Slovenia started in the academic year 1987/88 when the Department of English at the University of Ljubljana offered third and fourth year students of English the possibility of choosing a translation track, besides the traditional track which focussed mainly on literature and didactics. In 1989/90 the German Department of the University of Ljubljana also offered a translation track in the last two years of study. Soon, however, it was established that two years of specialisation were not enough. Thus, in 1994 the University signed a TEMPUS contract with ten partners, mainly translation departments from Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Germany and Austria, with the aim of developing a curriculum for translation and interpreter education. After three years, in 1997, the first 80 students enrolled on the course in the new Department of Translation and Interpreting. The Department thus became the first translation and interpreting school with Slovene as language A. With its focus on EU-related texts it proved to be interesting for those students who hoped to get a job in the EU institutions (cf. Sosoni 2011). Despite its popularity, however, almost immediately after opening in 2001, the department was accused of being too vocationally oriented, not academic enough for the University. It was, consequently, decided to close it down and no new intake of students was allowed in the academic year 2001/2002. The protests and support given to the Department by the EU translation and interpreting officials changed the minds of the stakeholders, so that in 2002 the Department was allowed to

continue educating students in the fields of translation and interpreting. Today, there are two universities offering translator and interpreter training in Slovenia: the University of Ljubljana and the University of Maribor. Both institutions first offered a 4-year programme which was then split into two cycles. At Ljubljana University, a three-year BA programme in Interlingual Communication is followed by two 2-year MA programmes, one in translation and one in interpreting. While in the BA cycle the focus is primarily on language acquisition and cultural competences and less on translation competences, at the MA level students focus on the acquisition of translation competences, which means that the great majority of the programme consists of elective translation or interpreting seminars.

Since the Department of Translation Studies attempts to follow (and also predict) the changes in the translation market, it has been recently established that there is a need for a new kind of translation and interpretation, notably in the field of public services. This new need was triggered, on the one hand, by the intensive scholarly interest in this field. Not only has interpreting for public-service institutions been extensively studied in pronouncedly multiethnic societies such as Australia (Ozolins 1998) and the USA (Angelelli 2004), it has also been investigated in European countries with a very high percentage of immigrants such as the UK (Cambridge 2008) and Germany (Meyer 2004). In recent years, Slovenia's neighbouring country, Austria, has also played a very dominant role in research on public-service interpreting and has responded to the need for public-service interpreter training (Grbić & Pöllabauer 2006; Pöllabauer & Prunč 2003). On the other hand, this new need for training in PSIT was triggered also by some new developments in immigration trends in Slovenia.

4. New Trends in Migration and the Need for PSIT

At the beginning of the 21st century, Slovene society and its social system started facing linguistic problems for which they were not prepared. In 2006, just a year after joining the EU, Slovenia left one third of the EU member states behind (surpassing also the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Poland and Romania) with regard to the percentage of migrants and immigrants in its population. Between 2006 and 2007, Slovenia's 127% immigration increase was second only to the rates for the Czech Republic (141.8%), and Denmark (131.7%) (Vertot 2009: 64-72).

Although Slovenia had some experience with immigration even before joining the EU, this social phenomenon was different: before, from as early as the late

1970s, economic immigrants were employed in the construction industry, or as seasonal workers, and arrived from other Yugoslav republics (see Figure 1).
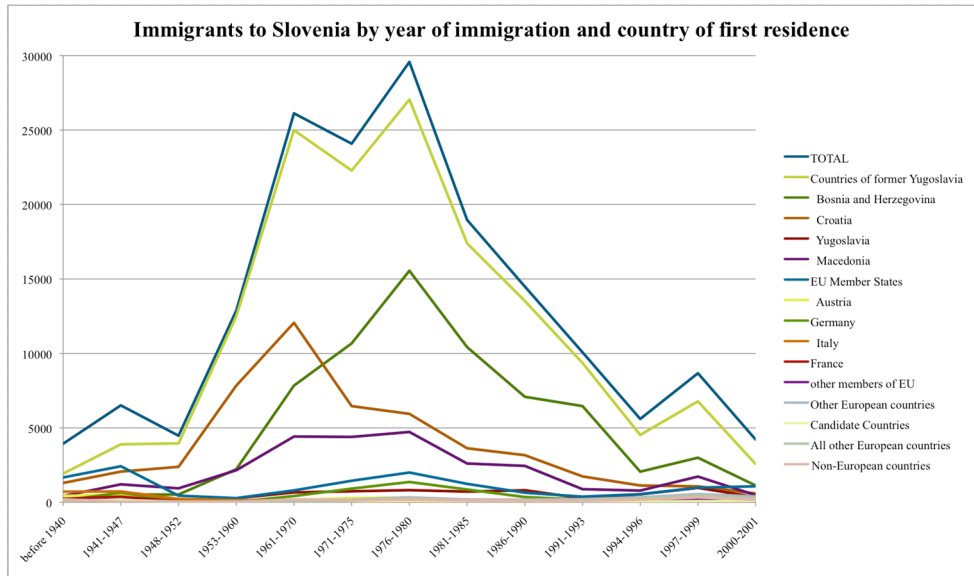
Figure 1: Immigration in Slovenia by country of first residence.
Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

However, the migrants and immigrants that moved to Slovenia after 2005 were also from other linguistic backgrounds. For example, in 2007, the year which marks the peak of the immigration increase, the majority still came from former Yugoslav republics, mostly from Bosnia and Herzegovina (45.4%), Serbia (including Kosovo) and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Vertot 2009: 64-72), and did not represent a major linguistic problem, since Serbo-Croatian was used as a regional lingua franca. However, the Albanians from Kosovo, whose knowledge of Serbian was rapidly diminishing, and immigrants from other EU member states, faced an increasing communication problem. In 2007 every third immigrant from other EU member states originated from Bulgaria and every fifth immigrant from Slovakia (2009: 71)—that is, from linguistic groups that were traditionally not represented in Slovenia and presented a problem for Slovene speakers. In addition to that, the number of asylum seekers increased.

Although the economic crisis seriously reduced migration to Slovenia after 2008, the number of people who continue to move to Slovenia still remains higher than the number of people who leave Slovenia (see Figure 2).
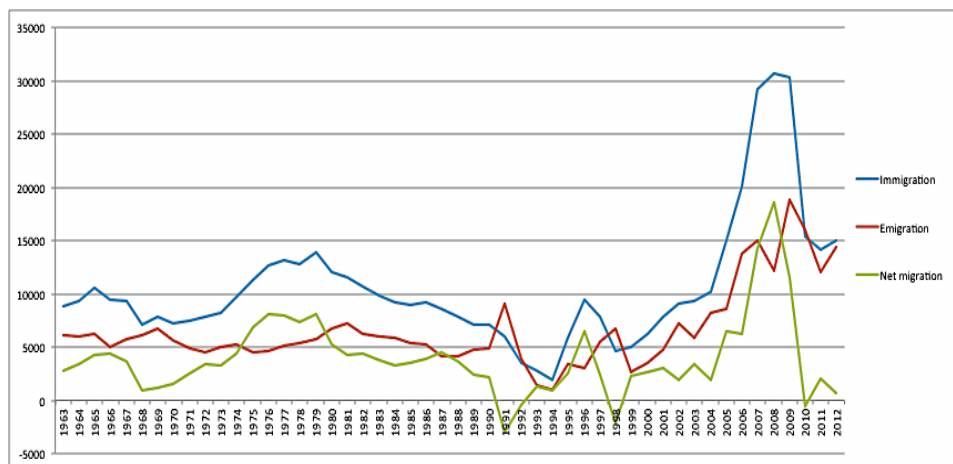
Figure 2: Migration trends in Slovenia.

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Recent research shows that the Slovene social system, in particular in the medical environment, was not prepared for this changed linguistic situation (Pokorn *et al*. 2009). Slovene medical personnel are left to fend for themselves in situations where they treat patients who do not speak any of the central languages (see Linn 2006 for the distinction between central and peripheral languages). In addition, it has become clear that there is an increasing need to ensure interpreting services for southern Slavic languages, especially in the public sector, where the attitude of public-service officers towards foreigners often reflects the stereotypical xenophobia of contemporary Slovene society. In such situations, immigrants from southern Slavic-speaking areas are in a worse position, as the majority of the population do not respond favourably to differing historical and recent social circumstances (Balažic Bulc & Požgaj Hadži 2013: 198).

5. PSIT training in an Environment Governed by Economic Crisis

A number of studies describe the benefits of using trained interpreters in the public sector, and promote their use when dealing with foreign-language public-sector service users (Cambridge 1999; Roy 2006). But in many European countries learning and training opportunities tailored specifically to public-sector interpreters are still not that common. The development and implementation of comprehensive curricula is one of the most urgent issues in this respect, also in Slovenia.

5.1 Pro-active Approach

The Slovene academic community therefore first acknowledged the problem of the lack of PSIT in Slovenia and then attempted to proactively respond by adopting the idea that the professionalization of public-service interpreting and translation should be a joint effort of academia and professional associations (Prunč 2012: 8). In particular, it was established that the Slovene academic environment should respond to the current situation by starting to educate and train interpreters and translators for PSIT[1]. In addition to that, the University of Ljubljana also attempted to facilitate a connection between different stakeholders in the field of translation and interpreting in the public sector. At the University of Ljubljana, we are convinced that translation and interpreting for public services are the responsibility of us all, since both services are needed in linguistic situations where successful communication cannot be achieved without the use of interpreting or translation between different languages and cultures. These linguistic encounters usually also involve asymmetric linguistic and cultural competences of the primary speakers and an asymmetrical social power structure; PSIT is therefore also socially important since it upholds linguistic human rights (cf. Prunč 2011: 29; Gorjanc & Morel 2012; Gorjanc 2013b). The social role of PSIT involves the enabling of successful communication and the upholding of linguistic rights, but only if such an interlinguistic and intercultural service is adequately organised and available to those in need (Gorjanc 2013b: 124). However, we are aware that this goal can only be reached gradually, particularly in these times of austerity measures and overall economic crisis, which results in public funding cuts. In Slovenia, we therefore plan to focus on the following tasks that are nevertheless feasible, even with severely reduced funds:

- Academic research: international and national projects.
- Solidarity and cooperation: awareness-raising and cooperation between academia and stakeholders in different areas of public service.
- Enabling and upgrading PSIT training

The Department of Translation Studies at the University of Ljubljana adopted this strategy and first started to actively participate in two European projects

---

[1] We do not consider education and training as opposites, but consider training as a sub-component of a wider conception of education.

focussed on the issue of public-service interpreting: MedInt[2] and EULITA[3]. The goal of the first project was to provide an outline for the education of interpreters for health-care services in the European framework, while the second attempted to promote the quality of legal interpreting and translation in the EU. The Department was also actively involved in the TRAFUT[4] project, a follow-up to the EULITA project, where an attempt was made to create a network for all stakeholders involved in criminal procedures in the EU which involve the use of interpreter. All these projects involved close collaboration with stakeholders in different areas of public service: MedInt established cooperation with medical personnel working at the central tertiary medical institution, a large research and teaching hospital, in Slovenia (cf. Pokorn et al. 2009), EULITA and TRAFUT established contacts and enabled cooperation between academia and professional court translators and interpreters on the one hand and the legal profession on the other. As a follow up to the Lifelong Learning Programme project MedInt, a national project (2010-2013) *Interpreting for the Healthcare Services in Slovenia*[5] was launched, aiming to analyse the linguistic situation in healthcare services in Slovenia, strengthen cooperation with healthcare providers (cf. Gorjanc 2013b) and formulate a proposal for public-service interpreter and translator training entitled *Towards an Integrated One-Year Community Interpreting Training*.

5.2 Examples of Good Practice Abroad

Before a training programme could be designed, an analysis of similar training programmes was carried out; this revealed a plethora of possibilities. For example, a survey of medical interpreter training options available for spoken-language interpreters in California (USA) in 2002 found that programmes ranged from 30 to over 360 hours, with most being 40 hours long. Two-thirds of these programmes required no practical experience as part of the training. Typical courses included the role of the interpreter and associated ethics, basic interpreting techniques, controlling the flow of the session, medical terminology, professional development and the impact of culture in medical interpreting. Longer programmes included more interpreting practice and more analysis of the conversation process (for further reference see Dower 2003).

---

[2] http://www.uni-graz.at/en/life1www/life1www_projektbeschreibung.htm (accessed on October 20, 2013).

[3] http://www.eulita.eu/ (accessed on October 20, 2013).

[4] http://www.eulita.eu/training-future (accessed on October 20, 2013).

[5] http://www.prevajalstvo.net/tolmacenje-za-potrebe-zdravstva-v-sloveniji (accessed on July 15, 2013).

In Slovenia the most challenging issue was to develop training that would be financially sustainable. In order to find the most financially viable solution, we studied the examples of successful and cost-effective training abroad. Bearing in mind the financial limitations, two examples of good practice seemed particularly interesting: the case of PSIT training in Norway and that in Spain.

Oslo University College in Norway educates interpreters for the public sector through the use of a virtual environment. Due to large geographical distances that students would otherwise need to cross to attend on-site training, the virtual environment proved to be essential for a successful coordination of the programme (Skaaden & Wattne 2009: 76). The combination of work in the virtual classroom and training on-site has shown itself to be very efficient, as has the idea of experimental learning (Kolbs 1984) and collaborative learning (Kiraly 1997), which are based on reciprocal learning, whereby participants in the study process are themselves an important source of learning (Skaaden & Wattne 2009: 77). If the main motive in Norway for the move of education to the virtual classroom was the large distances the students would need to cover in order to come to a taught class, the motive for adopting a similar approach in Slovenia was above all to reduce costs. In Slovenia we therefore embraced the idea of blended learning, on the one hand, to attempt to address new generations of students in an environment that is familiar to them, and, on the other hand, to reduce costs. It needs to be added, however, that blended learning is not completely without its costs; it is therefore of utmost importance that the stakeholders in the public sector and the source of funding, i.e. the state, are made aware that it is necessary to invest in the preparation and implementation of this new form of education.

The other example that seemed to respond to some Slovene needs was found at the University of Alcalá in Spain. There, interpreters are educated for the public sector within the framework of an ambitious Master's study programme, *Intercultural communication, interpreting and translation in public services*, which also delivers a number of activities with the help of a virtual environment. The idea of a one-year study programme, comprised of modules for different interpreting settings (Valero-Garcés 2011: 125, 127), proved particularly interesting for PSIT education in Slovenia, as in these current circumstances it would allow us to prepare modules as independent units. For example, the module "Health-care interpreting and translation", consisting of 10 ECTS points, could, on the one hand, be offered to participants who want to improve their knowledge and skills in this particular field of PSIT and who would like to receive a certificate stating that they were engaging in continuous professional development; on the other hand, the module would at the same time function as a part of the accredited programme, consisting of 60 ECTS points, and could

therefore be attended by those students who would like to attain a formal post-graduate degree in the field of PSIT.

5.3 Target groups

The target groups of the envisaged programme have also been defined. The survey of the existing situation in Slovenia showed that the short-term target training group would be non-professional interpreters who are often used as interpreters but have no official training in interpreting. Many of these non-professional interpreters are migrants or immigrants who have already integrated and settled down in Slovenia. Since they form a vulnerable social group whose qualifications from their country of origin are often not accepted in host countries, the envisaged PSIT training course will aim at validating their informal knowledge, such as their native-language proficiency and their cultural competences. We are convinced that by providing additional professional qualifications for persons with a background of migration and thus opening up an alternative path to enter Slovenia's labour market, the proposed training programme will also help to better integrate these people into Slovene society.

Traditionally trained interpreters (with training in conference interpreting) would be another short-term target group that could benefit from specific training in public-service interpreting.

5.4 Basic Course Structure

Since the training programme we would like to implement in Slovenia needs to take into account different public-service settings in which interpreters and translators work, our analysis of the market showed that narrowly specialised programmes would not provide their graduates with a stable income, and that a more general programme should be created. The survey also showed that the majority of the candidates who would be interested in PSIT training are already employed, and this led us to the conclusion that the envisaged training programme should not be too long. We therefore decided to create a programme which would consist of 60 ECTS and comprise different modules. These units, which could be completed individually, would focus on a particular PSIT setting (e.g. health care, legal, administrative services) and would allow a student to gradually combine all modules into a complete study programme. Each module would also be acknowledged by a certificate. The basic structure of the programme is the following:

- Modules "Different Interpreting Settings" (10 ECTS each)
  - Module: Health Care Interpreting and Translation (taught courses + internship)
  - Module: Legal Interpreting and Translation (taught courses + internship)
  - Module: Interpreting and Translation for Administrative Needs (taught courses + internship)
- Module: Language resources and terminology management + Technology and cross-cultural communication (10 ETCS)
- Module: Basic interpreting skills, cross-cultural communication and interpreting as a profession (10 ETCS)
- Research project according to the selected interpreting setting (10 ECTS)

While the proposed programme still envisages that a considerable part of the programme will consist of the traditional face-to-face teacher-led courses, we also plan to deliver some of the content online with the help of an e-learning platform and the use of various online resources. We have decided to use Modular Object-Oriented Dynamic Learning Environment (Moodle[6]), which has already been used as an e-learning platform for other activities in the Department of Translation Studies at the University of Ljubljana. Moodle seems to be particularly appropriate since it not only allows students to access and download various documents posted on the platform, it also provides them with a possibility to submit assignments or to lead a discussion in a forum or through a blog. Teachers, on the other hand, can grade assignments, also via online quizzes, and provide support in creating glossaries or some other wiki resources.

The proposed programme for PSIT training at the University of Ljubljana will use the virtual environment for guided self-study (and self-assessment), in particular for the acquisition of factual knowledge about different areas of study (e.g. law, medicine etc.): the students will be guided by a teacher via a forum that will also be used for discussions and commentaries of their practical experience gained during their obligatory work placement. The learning platform will enable students to access different language resources (in particular those created for learning specialised vocabulary) and to create their own specialised glossaries. Support for interpreter training will be provided by means of a video repository of different potential PSI situations, both real and acted out. Examples, equipped with subtitles and/or dubbing/voice-over, will allow either observation or practice

---

[6] http://e-ucenje.ff.uni-lj.si/ (accessed on December 17, 2013).

through role-play in the cases presented. Face-to-face trainer-led sessions will be used for the evaluation of the work done on the e-learning platform and for practical exercises focused on learning interpreting techniques, since we believe that immediate feedback and also personal contact are essential for successful training.

Some materials for different settings in which public-service interpreters and translators work have been prepared, taking into account the existing findings regarding competences for public-service interpreters and translators, and the new emphasis on 'problem-based learning' (cf. Angelelli 2006).

Since interpreter training in Slovenia has to date consisted of only conference interpreter training (Maček 2013), we are particularly aware that the new models of interpreter education need to account for the special duties and responsibilities of the public-service interpreters and translators and should not uncritically reflect curricula designed for the training of conference interpreters (cf. Angelelli 2006). Being aware that PSIT demands redefinition of the traditional interpreting roles, which emphasized neutrality and invisibility (Cambridge 1999, Davidson 2000, Metzger 1999, Roy 2000, Wadensjö 1998), the proposed curriculum thus aims to educate interpreters who would act as essential partners in and co-constructors of the interaction, in a three-party conversation.

6. Conclusion

In the past few years, Slovenia has experienced a strong influx of migrants and immigrants. Although due to the economic downturn, this influx will probably not continue to be as strong as in the first decade of the 21st century; nevertheless, it is reasonable to expect that this trend will most probably continue in the next decade. In view of the increased migration of representatives of different linguistic groups to Slovenia, in particular of those that do not belong to the Southern Slavic-speaking areas, the issues around establishing communication in the social services are becoming increasingly urgent for Slovene society. Due to language barriers, many are now facing inadequate access to practically all public services. The training of public-service interpreters and translators and raising the awareness of public-service staff can therefore help guarantee higher quality communication and understanding in different public-service settings, and thus contribute to a better service provision.

Since Slovenia is at the moment in a period of strict austerity, all public universities have to face extreme limitations when preparing new university courses. The Department of Translation Studies at the University of Ljubljana therefore decided to create a blended programme for PSIT training, hoping that

the virtual environment could help reduce the costs for the running of the programme.

In addition to that, we decided to implement the programme gradually: our first step in public-sector interpreter training will therefore be a short training programme for medical staff at the University Medical Centre in Ljubljana. Due to increased migration, health care providers are already faced with the need for interpreting services, and additional language services will be required, also in line with EU Directive 2011/24 on the free movement of patients. In preparation, we collected data on the language competence of the medical staff at the University Medical Centre in Ljubljana and their willingness to acquire some basic interpreting skills (Gorjanc & Veberič 2013). Consequently, in January 2014, the module "Basic interpreting skills, cross-cultural communication and interpreting as a profession" designed for the PSIT training programme is being offered as an individual course to the medical staff of the University Medical Centre in Ljubljana.

In this time of austerity and the bleakness of economic forecasts, even this small success, which reflects close cooperation between academia and other stakeholders engaged in translation and interpreting, provides us with hope and encouragement.

Professor Vojko Gorjanc
Department of Translation Studies
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
vojko.gorjanc@ff.uni-lj.si

Professor Nike K. Pokorn
Department of Translation Studies
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
nike.pokorn@ff.uni-lj.si

Bibliography

Ahačič, Kozma (2007). *Zgodovina misli o jeziku in književnosti na Slovenskem: protestantizem*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU.

Angelelli, Claudia V. (2004). *Medical Interpreting and Cross-cultural Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Angelelli, Claudia V. (2006). "Designing Curriculum for Healthcare Interpreting Education: A Principles Approach." Cynthia B. Roy (ed.). *New Approaches to Interpreter Education*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 23-45.

Braunmüller, Kurt (2007). "Receptive multilingualism in Northern Europe in the Middle Ages: A description of a scenario." Jan ten Thije & Ludger Zeevaert (eds) *Receptive multilingualism*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 25-47.

Bajt, Andreja (2004). *Družbena podoba prevajalca leposlovja v Sloveniji. BA thesis.* Ljubljana: [Andreja Bajt] Department of Translation Studies, University of Ljubljana.

Balažic Bulc, Tatjana & Požgaj Hadži, Vesna (2013). "Potrebe po tolmačenju za skupnost pri južnoslovanskih jezikih v Sloveniji." Vojko Gorjanc (ed.). *Slovensko tolma eslovje*. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 184-199.

Boucau, Fernand (2005). *The European Translation Industry: Facing the Future*. Brussels 2005. www.guilde.net/fr/news/euatc.pps (accessed September 20, 2013).

Cambridge, Jan (1999). "Information Loss in Bilingual Medical Interviews through an Untrained Interpreter." *The Translator* 5(2). Special issue: Dialogue Interpreting, 201-219.

Cambridge, Jan (2008). "Towards a Nationally Coherent Policy on Interpreting and Translation in Health and Social Care in the UK." Carmen Valero-Garcés, Carmen Pena Diaz & Raquel Lazaro Gutierrez (eds). *Investigación y práctica en traducción e interpretación en los servicios públicos: desafíos y alianzas*. Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 314-327.

Casad, E. (2005). "Analyses of intelligibility / Verständlichkeitsanalyse." Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar, Klaus J. Mattheier & Peter Trudgill (eds). *An international handbook of the science of language and society*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1261-1272.

Davidson, Brad (2000). "The Interpreter as Institutional Gatekeeper: The Social-linguistic Role of Interpreters in Spanish-English Medical Discourse." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4(3), 379-405.

Dower, Catherine (2003). *Health Care Interpreters in California*. San Francisco: UCSF Center for the Health Professions.

Fišer, Darja (2008). "Recent trends in the translation industry in Slovenia." *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, issue 10. http://www.jostrans.org/issue10/ art_fiser.pdf (accessed November 19, 2013).

Gorjanc, Vojko (2013a). "Slovenačka jezička politika i odnosi društvene moći." Vesna Požgaj Hadži (ed.). *Jezik izme u lingvistike i politike*. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 13-36.

Gorjanc, Vojko (2013b). "Tolmačenje za skupnost in vprašanje nadnacionalne odgovornosti." Vojko Gorjanc (ed.). *Slovensko tolma eslovje*. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 120-132.

Gorjanc, Vojko & Morel, Alenka (2012). "Linguistic human rights and the role of interpreting: the Slovenian situation." *Vertimo studijos* 5, 101-112.

Gorjanc, Vojko & Veberič, Bojan (2013). "Migration flows and health care interpreting in Slovenia." *Migration and diaspora: from the industrial era to nowadays*. 5th International Adriatic-Ionian Conference, 3rd to 5th October 2013, Igoumenitsa. Book of Abstracts, 28.

Grbić, Nadja & Pöllabauer, Sonja (eds) (2006) *»Ich habe mich ganz peinlich gefühlt.« Forschung zum Kommunaldolmetschen in Österreich: Problemstellungen, Perspektiven und Potenziale*. Graz: Institut für Translationswissenschaft.

Grdina, Igor & Stabej, Marko (2002). "Slowenisch." *Enzyklopädie des Europäischen Ostens*. http://wwwg.uni-klu.ac.at/eeo/Slowenisch.pdf (accessed November 19, 2013).

Grin, Francois (2008). "L'intercompréhension, efficience et équité." Virginie Conti & François Grin (eds) *S'entendre entre langues voisines: Vers l'intercompréhension*. Chêne-Bourg: Georg, 79-109.

Haugen Einar (1987). "Interlanguage." Einar Haugen (1987) *Blessings of Babel. Bilingualism and Language Planning*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 77-81.

Kaufert, Joseph M. & Putsch, Robert W. (1997). "Communication through Interpreters in Healthcare: Ethical Dilemmas Arising from Difference in Class, Culture, Language, and Power." *The Journal of Clinical Ethics* 8(1), 71-87.

Kiraly, Donald C. (1997). "Collaborative Learning in the Translation Practice Classroom." Eberhard Fleischmann, Wladimir Kutz & Peter A. Schmitt (eds). *Translationsdidaktik: Grundfragen der Übersetzungswissenschaft*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 152-158.

Linn, Stella (2006). "Trends in translation of a minority language: The case of Dutch." Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger & Zuzana Jettmarová (eds). *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 27-40.

Maček, Amalija (2013). "Vloga mednarodnega sodelovanja pri zagotavljanju kakovosti izobraževanja tolmačev v Sloveniji." Vojko Gorjanc (ed.).

Slovensko tolma eslovje. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 22-34.

Metzger, Melanie (1999). *Sign Language Interpreting: Deconstructing the Myth of Neutrality*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Meyer, Bernd (2004). *Dolmetschen im medizinischen Aufklärungsgespräch. Eine diskursanalytische Untersuchung zur Wissensvermittlung im mehrsprachigen Krankenhaus*. Münster: Waxmann Verlag.

Morel, Alenka, Gorjanc, Vojko & Kocijančič Pokorn, Nike (2012). "Healthcare interpreting in Slovenia." *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 17, 103-116.

Ozolins, Uldis (1998). *Interpreting and Translating in Australia: Current Issues and International Comparisons*. Melbourne: Language Australia.

Pogorelec, Breda (1996). "Jezikovno načrtovanje in jezikovna politika pri Slovencih med 1945 in 1995." Ada Vidovič Muha (ed.). *Jezik in as*. Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, 41-61.

Pokorn, Nike K. (2008). "Translation and TS research in a culture using a language of limited diffusion: the case of Slovenia." *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, July 2008, issue 10. http://www.jostrans.org/issue10/art_pokorn.pdf (accessed November 19, 2013).

Pokorn, Nike K., Matičič, Mojca & Pokorn, Marko (2009). "Medical interpreting in a new member state: a plea for a proactive approach." Dörte Andres & Sonja Pöllabauer (eds). *Spürst Du, wie der Bauch rauf-runter?: Fachdolmetschen im Gesundheitsbereich: health care interpreting*, (Interpartes, 5). München: M. Meidenbauer, 171-180.

Požgaj Hadži, Vesna, Balažic Bulc, Tatjana & Miheljak, Vlado (2009). "Srbohrvaščina v Sloveniji: nekoč in danes." Vesna Požgaj Hadži, Tatjana Balažic Bulc & Vojko Gorjanc (eds). *Med politiko in stvarnostjo: jezikovna situacija v novonastalih državah bivše Jugoslavije*. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 27-40.

Pöllabauer, Sonja, & Prunč, Erich (eds) (2003). *Brücken bauen statt Barrieren: Sprach- und Kulturmittlung im sozialen, medizinischen und therapeutischen Bereich*. Graz: Institut für Translationswissenschaft.

Prunč, Erich (2011). "Differenzierungs- und Leistungsparameter im Konferenz- und Kommunaldolmetschen." Claudia Kainz, Erich Prunč & Rafael Schögler (eds). *Modelling the field of community interpreting: Questions of methodology in research and training*. Dunaj, Berlin: LIT, 21-44.

Prunč, Erich (2012). "Rights, realities and responsibilities in community interpreting." *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 17. 1-12.

Rehbein, Jochen, ten Thije, Jan, & Verschik, Anna (2012). "Lingua receptiva (LaRa) – remarks on the quintessence of receptive multilingualism." *International Journal of Bilingualism*. 16(3), 265-286.

Roy, Cynthia B. (2006). *New Approaches to Interpreter Education*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Skaaden, Hanne & Wattne, Maria (2009). "Teaching Interpreting in Cyberspace." Raquel de Pedro Ricoy, Isabelle Perez & Christine Wilson (eds). *Interpreting and Translating in Public Service Settings: Policy, Practice, Pedagogy*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 74-88.

Sosoni, Vilelmini (2011). "Training translators to work for the EU institutions: luxury or necessity?" *The Journal of Specialised Translation,* Issue 16 - July 2011. http://www.jostrans.org/issue16/art_sosoni.pdf (accessed September 19, 2013).

Terbovc, Špela (2005). *Položaj književnega prevoda na Slovenskem med letoma 1997 in 2004. BA thesis*. Ljubljana: [Š. Terbovc] Department of Translation Studies, University of Ljubljana.

ten Thije, Jan & Zeevaert, Ludger. (eds) (2007). *Receptive multilingualism*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Toporišič, Jože (1991). "Jezik malega naroda v večjezični državi." *Družbenost slovenskega jezika*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 137-141.

Valero-Garcés, Carmen (2011). "Design, Implementation and Evaluation of a Programme on Intercultural Communication and Public Service Interpreting and Translation." Claudia Kainz, Erich Prunč & Rafael Schögler (eds). *Modelling the Field of Community Interpreting: Questions of methodology in research and training*. Dunaj/Berlin: LIT Verlag, 21-44.

Vermeer, Hans J. (1998). "Starting to Unask What Translatology Is About." *Target* 10(1), 41-68.

Vertot, Nelka (2009). *Medkulturni dialog v Sloveniji*. Ljubljana: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije.

Vidmar, Lara (2012). "Status konferenčnega Tolmača v Sloveniji." Vojko Gorjanc (ed.). *Slovensko tolma eslovje*. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, 80-94.

Wadensjö, Cecilia (1998). *Interpreting as Interaction.* New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

Professor Vojko Gorjanc is the author of the first monograph from the field of corpus linguistics in Slovenia (*Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*, 2005), and has participated in a number of corpus projects in Slovenia. In his studies of

translations and the translation process, he researches within the social-linguistic framework. In this context, his discussions about translating and interpreting relate to a human right, above all when interpreting in the public sector. From this field, he also edited the monograph, *Slovene Interpreting Studies* (Ljubljana, 2013).

Professor Nike K. Pokorn's research interests include translation and censorship, directionality in translation, translation history and health-care interpreting. She is the author of *Challenging the Traditional Axioms: Translation into a non-mother tongue*, (Amsterdam and Philadelphia 2005) and *Post-socialist translation practices: ideological struggle in children's literature* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia 2012). She is also the editor of *Why Translation Studies Matters* with Daniel Gile and Gyde Hansen (Amsterdam and Philadelphia 2010).

Altered 'in-between states'? Literary translators and their social practice in the context of a 'new' capitalism[1]

Gisella M. Vorderobermeier
University of Graz

Abstract

The central question in this contribution concerns the ways in which general social processes affect the social practice of translators and whether and to what extent specific refractory effects ensuing from such processes are perceptible. More specifically, this question is posed with regard to the mutations undergone by capitalism marked out by Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) in their much-discussed work *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. The fundamental 'reality' and descriptive model on which the analysis is based is the authors' 'project-based polity'—the contrastive model offering itself for analytical purposes being their notion of an 'inspired polity'. The present investigation thus questions the extent to which the characteristics of such a 'project-based polity' are identifiable in translators' experience of the frameworks within which they work, i.e. the extent to which what has variously been described as an existence 'in-between' can said to have (been) altered in this direction. It is based on the interpretation of three interviews with literary translators, building upon an earlier discussion of the results of a large-scale empirical survey. Following on from the resulting analysis, the article considers the fruitfulness of applying these theoretical constructs to translation studies in general and focuses particularly on a comparison with Bourdieu's *Praxeology,* which they might be able to complement.

Introduction

This article traces societal developments preceding or overlapping with what has been labelled an 'age of austerity' with a view to identifying changes in literary translators' working lives thus induced (or the latter's resistance or irresponsiveness to such changes). The analysis relies on an approach in contemporary French sociology, which is far from uncontroversial (cf. Lazzarato 2007; Negri 2003; Wuggenig 2010) yet anchored in a long-standing research programme. This means not only adopting a pre-existing critical vocabulary and putting its explanatory power to the test, but also modifying it from a translation studies (TS) perspective or lending it another accent. Further, in a move back from the empirical to the theoretical level the implications for the sociology of translation are to be gauged.

First, a tripartite outline of the theoretical background is provided, starting with a general characterisation of the research thrust represented by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, followed by a brief sketch of the core arguments of *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005), and concluding with

one specific application to the literary field, namely that by the sociologist of art, Nathalie Heinich. I then proceed to examine repercussions of those all-pervasive societal changes which might be felt in the working lives of literary translators, first based on a survey among that professional group, the results of which are then supplemented by interviews with three long-practising translators of literature. Finally, a series of theoretical conclusions for TS are drawn, not least in relation to Bourdieu's *Praxeology*, which is at the basis of the majority of research conducted within the realms of the sociology of translation to date.

1. The 'sociology of critical judgement' as a distinct model of social 'reality'

1.1 General theoretical orientations

Luc Boltanski and the economist Laurent Thévenot are credited with a movement within contemporary French sociology that operates as a 'sociology of critical judgement' and has also come to be known as 'pragmatic sociology'. In an approach comparable to that of Callon and Latour, it is characterized by its decisive 'paucity of prerequisites' (cf. Wagner 2004: 418-419; transl. Z. M.). The authors' primary concern is to bring political philosophy and sociology closer together again, which is expounded thematically in the establishment of correspondences and agreement within concrete situations, made possible by means of reference to what the theorists describe as various 'orders of justification', whose enactment involves both interpretive work and social effort. While this paper cannot go into the details of the somewhat convoluted path of the development of Boltanski's theoretical and (research-) political positions over the course of a number of years,[2] the central positioning of cognitive and social acts of classification, which are simultaneously acts of judgement, points quite clearly to a critical development of Bourdieu's legacy.

It is in their collaborative work *De la Justification* (1991) that Boltanski and Thévenot differentiate between six different polities which are definable according to the characteristic frameworks that justify their existence. These are: the 'inspired', the 'domestic', the 'civic', the 'market' and the 'industrial' polities and the 'polity of fame'. The justification frameworks postulated by the authors were derived from two different types of sources: an analysis of empirical material describing situations marked by conflict, and classical texts from the realms of political philosophy (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 23). The following paragraph is dedicated to what distinguishes the polities.

The defining feature of the 'inspired polity' (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991:

---

[2] Cf. in this regard and with reference to the reception in France and German-speaking countries Wuggenig's critical overview (2010).

200-206), one of the two models of greatest interest to us here, is a pronounced readiness to receive inspiration. This extends so far as to encompass the possibility of surrendering oneself entirely. Within this polity greatness is demonstrated in precisely this readiness to accept inspiration, which is self-sufficient and requires no external confirmation. The 'domestic polity' is arranged according to personal (dependency) relationships although, despite the implications of the name, these are not limited to familial ties; the relationships inherent to the model are based on immediate social proximity (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 206-222.). The justifying principles for the 'polity of fame' come from publicity, and are therefore structured according to a fundamental multiplicity (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 222-230). The 'civic polity' rests on the principle of representation or recourse to a collective body (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 231-241), whereas the central feature of the 'market polity' is an orientation towards anonymous, autonomous and unbound individuals who compete with one another (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 241-252). The 'industrial polity', finally, is centred on rational processes and the competence required for such processes, i.e. also modelled around a capacity to reach into and shape the future based on planning and predictability (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 252-262).

Justification frameworks need not necessarily be applied to a given situation in their pure forms. On a higher level, various polities can also coexist, as the authors state with reference to shifting formations of capitalism. Possibly marking a watershed in this development, the conditions connected with regimes of 'austerity' (which seem to amount to something like a 'hyper-trial' in the sense the authors attach to the term 'trial') might necessitate still other—more or less uneasy—compromises between different justification frameworks than those sketched already by Boltanski and Chiapello (2005).

1.2 More recent applications: The New Spirit of Capitalism

In *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005), reference is made to this earlier theoretical framework in order to postulate a shift over a longer period of time based on a comprehensive analysis of management literature. This shift occurs in a movement away from a 'first capitalism', which the authors characterise as a compromise between the logic pertaining to 'domestic' and 'market' polities, towards a different compromise i.e. that between 'industrial' and 'civic' polities (with certain features pertaining to the 'domestic polity' too), which in turn defines the 'second spirit of capitalism'. The next step is described as a 'project-based polity'. The latter (not yet mentioned in Boltanski and Thévenot's 1991 publication *De la Justification*) is defined according to its orientation towards a kind of 'general good' in a networked world where progress is

measured in terms of precisely this interconnectedness. Evaluations of individuals and of behavioural patterns that promote such values or detract from them are then defined according to this perspective (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 111-113). The name-giving 'project' phenomenon reveals itself to be "a highly activated section of network" (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 104) or "a temporary pocket of accumulation which [is] creating value" (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 105).

Boltanski and Chiapello proceed from the assumption that each polity is put to the test by specific challenges. These trials are of central importance insofar as they provide the context in which the defining logical structure is actually required to function, thus forcing the polity to emerge and become identifiable under duress. Let us focus on the challenges and trials pertaining to the two polities which are of specific interest to this contribution: for the 'inspired polity', which demonstrates a fairly low level of stability, such trials might well be confined to personal, internal struggles such as in the case of a literary translator, his or her striving for the highest personal accomplishment in terms of 'the literary' and might thus be hard to reconstruct or comprehend from an objective viewpoint (cf. Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 200). For the 'project-based polity', in contrast, the challenge would seem to lie in keeping contacts alive for the length of a given project—such as in translation that of a particular literary work—whilst avoiding spending too much time on a single project. Such trials and challenges are particularly pertinent in transitional phases between projects (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 125). The ability to cover great temporal and spatial distances and above all to tackle social and institutional situations whilst making improbable (and for that very reason particularly fruitful) contacts are of the greatest value to this polity. The role of a mediating agent, although it existed previously, takes on in the last third of the 20th century for the first time a clearly recognisable significance and value in its own right, in the sense of one whose task it is to create and also to maintain new connections (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 107-108).

1.3 The descriptive model in its application to the 'literary field'

So far, we have been dealing with the theoretical model on the most general level. We now proceed to an area more closely connected to our focus of interest, narrowing down the theoretical background to phenomena within the 'literary field'. With reference to an author's existence, Heinich (2000) was able to demonstrate, on the basis of extensive interviews with several authors, how the combination of various social constructs such as 'market' or 'inspired polity'[3] can

---

[3] The 'project-based polity' was not yet taken into account by Heinich.

lead, to differing extents, to mostly compromised but nonetheless coherent manifestations of self-perception and life management. She stylizes these compromises on the basis of her interview material as specific 'sacrifices', i.e. trade-offs, which might be connected with pushing either one's own artistic standards and/or absolute and undivided dedication to the author's life into the background or one's personal needs or which might imply giving up an element of independence in one's time management. Thus she makes use of the 'critiques croisées', whereby one polity criticizes another (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 23, 291-192). It should not remain unmentioned, however, that Heinich cannot be seen to be working within the authors' theoretical framework in a strict sense, insofar as they constantly emphasize that polities cannot be ascribed to individual persons or groups of people on a long-term basis (cf. Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 29).[4] It is Heinich's achievement to have transferred a general explanatory model to the peculiarities of the 'literary field' and the concomitant proof of the model's relevance for this area of investigation on which the present article builds.

2. Changes in society as a whole and translation as a social practice as reflected in literary translators' personal statements

If we take the shift towards a 'new spirit of capitalism' as described above as a fitting description of social 'reality', at least insofar as it is surrounded and pervaded by the working world, we are then led to the question of whether and how this affects literary translators' (perception of their) working lives.

2.1 What a survey tells us on literary translators' fortunes in 'new' capitalism

Using a broad (both in the sense of methodology and of scope) empirical survey[5] amongst literary translators, a first attempt to throw some light on a number of the aspects expounded here was made (cf. Vorderobermeier 2010). To this end, the first thematic step was an investigation into the participants' activity profiles, i.e. the interaction between various professional activities such as copy-editing, being employed in a book-store (to name but those having a common denominator with translating) and areas of such activity as well as shifts therein over the

---

[4] Wuggenig (2010) arrives at far less flattering conclusions, saying that Heinich produces "a sociology for sociologists […] with profoundly self-referential characteristics, which reaches neither the artistic, nor the intellectual field, nor indeed any other discipline" (Wuggenig 2010: 111; transl. Z. M.). Even if one does not share this estimation, Heinich's statements as to her understanding of scientific pursuits do indeed invite criticism.

[5] Carried out in the summer of 2009, it aimed to investigate the professional development of literary translators in German-speaking countries and resulted, with a 20% response rate, in more than 200 completed questionnaires.

course of time. The second step was an observation of the existence and frequency of various professional contacts and activities (in the widest sense of the term) as indicators of the scope of the respondents' movement within the 'literary field'. A third closely related thematic area was the coming about of translation projects and the literary translators' perspectives on this procurement process.

The interconnectedness of various fields of activity and specific focal points of activity, the latter divided into financial, time-related and conceptual focal points, is particularly characteristic of the world of literary translators. This was already the case long before sociological discussions about a *Bastelbiografie* emerged.[6] One of the characteristics of the 'project-based polity', itself constructed around the principle of activity, therefore seems to be ideally represented here: the lifting of boundaries between "work and non-work, the stable and the unstable, wage-earning class and non-wage-earning class, paid work and voluntary work, that which may be assessed in terms of productivity and that which, not being measurable, eludes calculable assessment" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 109).

In order to obtain statements from literary translators confirming or refuting the explanatory capacity of the 'project-based polity' to describe their everyday working life, their activity profiles cannot be observed in isolation. The crossover between various fields of activity, despite being one of the constitutive elements of the 'project-based polity', is by no means a sufficient reason to assume a shift in the semantics of the translation-related segment of the 'literary field'.

Deeper analysis of the survey data reveals that literary translators' networks are less focussed on external connections and contacts, representation outside the field, or contacts with particularly powerful decision-making agents in the 'literary field'[7] than one might anticipate. Contacts with the group of so-called 'genuine mediators' (literary agents and scouts) similarly play a rather marginal role. A particularly stable factor for a relatively large proportion of the respondents, however, proves to be contacts falling under the umbrella term 'internal contacts'. This grouping together of contacts brings together publishing professionals such as copy-editors and representatives of professional associations, which is to say contacts which are by no means socially improbable. Rather they reflect an emphasis on more inward-looking perspectives regarding professional practice and standing. Taken in itself, this is hardly surprising, but together with the tendencies we saw in relation to the other two groups of contacts described above, it could

---

[6] The expression refers to the patchwork-like character of professional biographies.
[7] The division of protagonists into three groups rests on multivariate statistical analysis. The group includes publishers and editors as the actors sharing the greatest decisive power in the "literary field". Further it comprises media and cultural agents who convey information from the field at regional, national and international levels.

speak for a relatively strong internal connection with a simultaneous seclusion from the outside world.

The participants' work or leisure activities beyond the narrower scope of their career as literary translators are also coherent with the above interpretation regarding the contacts upheld. The role played by directly related and apparently publicity-building activities (such as readings with authors, appearances in the media and radio broadcasts, non-academic talks about translation-related topics, reviews, public statements regarding cultural politics or organising and leading workshops) is not entirely insignificant, but not particularly important either. A second group of activities related to exchange within the professional sphere, which can be seen as a more career-related aspect, is on the whole of greater significance. It includes attending translators' conferences and less formal but regular meetings between translators. Participating in appraisal processes for publishers and the book industry—going hand in hand with a desire to stay well-informed and alert with regard to trends in the international book market, e.g. through visits to international book fairs, also useful for making and keeping up contacts—prove to be particularly meaningful. The latter activities are certainly connected to a constant honing of skills that might well be profitable for agency within a 'project-based logic', but the respondents clearly see and use the activities differently.

This all suggests that the ability to cover great temporal, physical and social distances (a task that translators permanently fulfil on both a mental and a textual level), which was described above as characteristic of project-based logical systems, does not in fact belong to the respondents' central concerns *with regard to their own networking processes*.

These findings become even more plausible when we take into account a further prerequisite for successful agency within a 'project-based polity': the ensuing social structure demands not only mobility and with it the dissolution of personal and material ties, perceived as limiting from the project-based viewpoint (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 122, 124), but also that one renounces the development or maintenance of stable character traits (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 124-125). This seems to be particularly inapplicable to the surveyed literary translators in the light of their answers to a series of interconnected questions: a question about the decisive phase or a given crucial moment in time when the respondents' awareness of literary translation as a *sui generis* activity might have emerged, a question addressing the type of corresponding 'key experience' leading to such a recognition and finally, a question whether an influential person or group of people were involved. Brought together with responses to another different inquiry into the participants' personal aesthetic preferences, these answers tend to support the interpretation suggested above. They are 'presented' with such a high degree

of continuity and conviction, fed by years of experience, that there can be no talk of the kind of navigation that would be typical of a 'project-based polity', which also has its specific and defining requirements for certain potential dynamic shifts with regard to the central notion of enthusiasm. To put it somewhat bluntly: literary translators are 'more authentic' than our polity model would allow. This also means that the stability concerning essential orientations, as it was described above, might be such that it even endures the confrontation with life and working conditions resulting from economic regimes of 'austerity'. Thus, in turn, it might lead to perceiving this challenging conjecture in a rather uncompromising way, i.e. in terms of 'either'/'or'—either sticking to one's professional ethos or else opting for leaving the 'field'.

In terms of content, a 'translation project' can be just about anything, from translating a single poem for a thematic issue of a literary journal to the subsequent translation of an authors' whole life-work; decisive is the specific 'logic' behind it, i.e. the time between projects, the attachment to them etc. Observing the coming into being of such translation projects, it is easy to identify certain patterns. On the one hand there is an approach combining an individual translator's own initiative and the acceptance of translation projects offered to him/her by authors themselves. The participants for whom this type of work acquisition is typical tend not to (be able to) acknowledge much initiative on the part of publishers, which is to say that these two 'methods' of project generation seem to exclude one another: those who rely on the most powerful agents in the literary field do so at the cost of their own personal initiative and vice versa. On the other hand, there is a pattern according to which 'other persons' take the initiative, which can be interpreted in such a way that this type of project acquisition can be seen as a method in its own right, albeit standing somewhat apart from other acquisition methods. Fundamentally, though, projects initiated by publishing houses are, unsurprisingly, by far the most important type of project initiation for the overwhelming majority of the respondents. The personal initiative of literary translators takes second place, followed by other people or institutions (open category: 'other persons'). Authors, according to the experience of almost all respondents, hardly ever initiate translation projects. Another possibility listed, namely that an idea for a translation project might emerge in the course of a (group) discussion so that it is impossible in hindsight to know who initiated it, hardly corresponded to any of the participants' experiences. Far more than half of the participants see their acquisition patterns staying the same over the years.

Thus far, then, it seems that literary translators, in ways of working developed over the course of years and their self-understanding based on this way of working, are comparatively unimpressed or unaffected by the appeals of a shifting

capitalistic system in the sense described above. Despite the high price to be paid regarding financial security, including the challenges of paying into pension funds etc. (cf. Schelepa, Wetzel and Wohlfahrt 2008 on artists in general), they clearly tend to protect their pronounced sense of self. This is also indicated in the highly constant patterns evident in the questionnaires with reference to the (high) ideal value of literary translation.

This does not, of course, mean that literary translators are exempt from the social changes that result not least from 'theoretical effects'. None of the above renders it impossible that literary translators might be 'surrounded' by persons to whom the logic of the 'project-based polity' ascribes a higher value, despite the fact that they have clearly protected their sense of self. This is in clear contrast to the notion of being completely absorbed by the mediating role, which a project-based logic would require in order for them to experience a successful integration in the social structure of the polity. In a study conducted in relation to the specific group of French translators of Hölderlin, Kalinowski (2001) explicitly calls the postulated or actual mediating role of the translator into question and proves it to be inaccurate, although it is an image commonly ascribed to translators and also rife in academic discourse. The notion of a mediating figure whose direction or social purpose is derived from the 'project-based polity' similarly proves to be of little import, but this requires further treatment, taking the perspectives of other persons involved into account, and can only really be illuminated through a comprehensive series of interviews.

A further essential aspect for the topic in question is that of mobility (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 119-120, 122-125),[8] i.e. whether it might have been willingly sought, pragmatically accepted or perceived as externally enforced. At this point the meaningfulness of survey data reaches its outer boundaries as well and calls for the more precise and detailed complementary descriptions that can be derived from interviews, as do a number of further questions: What kind of 'challenges' do literary translators face? Does their everyday working life appear to them to be a trial at all, be it of a regularly occurring nature or in the form of certain incisive moments that pose a serious 'challenge'? What kind of compromises do they make?

---

[8] The authors speak of 'l'exigence de légèreté' in this context. The wording 'imperative of the unbound' (Z.M.) seems to capture the meaning better than 'requirement to be streamlined' (cf. Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 123). It "first of all assumes renouncing stability, rootedness, attachment to the local, the security of longstanding links" (ibid.).

2.2 What interviews reveal about literary translators' (non-) perception of a 'project-based polity'

Before elaborating further on how changes in society as a whole might be reflected in translation work, a short overview of the interview data is given: the interviews with one male and two female literary translators took place in September 2009 in Vienna and Hamburg and were conducted in German. All three interviewees, each of whom described their career development in the course of 30 to 45-minute semi-structured biographical interviews, had been working as literary translators for periods ranging from one to almost four decades; thus they were reporting from an unquestionably rich experience in and with this career.

One of the questions in the course of the interviews, if not already answered in the opening biographical statements, touched on the transition periods between individual translation projects. Asked whether she agreed with the term 'translation project', what the interim phase between such projects looked like and how she acquired translation work, interviewee A[9] responded:

1 I don't really have breaks. It's like this: I know a lot of authors and they […]
2 keep sending me their books. Or, I don't know, there's one author who, as
3 soon as he's written a poem, he sends it to me. But I like him, too, and with him
4 I'm absolutely convinced that I have to translate all his work, because I want
5 to do a book with him. And I'm somehow always working, even if I don't have
6 a commission. So I'm translating things all the time, really, just on a hunch.

Interview excerpt A1; Sequence: 18:36-19:07; (transl. of all excerpts: Z.M.)

The confidence with which she said this is indicative of a certain level of stability within the unstable situation she described; it had, however, to be developed and acquired over an extended period of time during which nothing could be taken for granted and her work was quite literally being shelved ("it took years and years and years. I just didn't give up") without any serious probability that it would be published. Precisely this stamina is indicative of the pronounced lack of dependency on external confirmation that—as we have seen above—generally

---

[9] The interviews were initialled alphabetically according to chronological order. Interview partner A, born in 1957, was a music teacher earlier and has been active as a literary translator since 1998. She learned German, her principal target language, at the age of 33 in a private context. In addition to a number of translators' stipends having made her work possible, she has received numerous top prizes and awards.

characterizes the 'inspired polity'.

Interviewee A goes on to describe her way of working and to talk about the first work she translated, which was rewarded with an important prize and for whose author she has unending respect: "I had already started on the second book before I had the commission for the first, because I thought it's a bit fatter and that probably makes it a bit harder and I need an awful lot of time." She goes on by saying: "It's actually a never-ending task." The uncertainty notwithstanding, she sees this head start as absolutely positive, insofar as it served to improve the overall quality of the translation: "Thank God I started with it on time. […] I had already reworked it so often that when the commission came, I had time to edit it again and again."

She expresses regret that this second book will be the last of her translations of her favourite author ("I don't think I'll ever translate anything more beautiful"), which does not at all accord with a 'project-based' logic in relation to one's own work. She goes on to conjecture:

1 Once that's really done, […], something else will probably come along…
2 *Interviewer:* [absolutely]
3 *Interviewee:* [which will engage me and that I will enjoy doing. I don't
4 know yet.]

Interview excerpt A2; Sequence: 27:59-29:10. Indented passages in square brackets signal overlapping speech sequences.

Not even highly renowned literary translators can enjoy any certainty about mid-term plans, or even be secure about the foreseeable future:

1 So actually I don't know what's going to happen next, after I've sent off the
2 large second volume by [author]. And now I'm working on a non-fiction book
3 about [famous composer]. I've more or less finished that. And I don't know
4 what will come next, I simply don't know.

Interview excerpt A3; Sequence: 31:10-31:33. […] stands for omissions/anonymisation of information.

Interview partner C's[10] method of constantly tackling new areas, often de-

---

[10] Born in 1942, she comes from a well-known acting dynasty and was an actress herself for more than 25 years before she found her way into her career as a literary translator. Her approach to translating is very much marked by her earlier work experience. The process of learning the language she

scribed in the course of the interview, clearly has the status of a general principle of life and seems to be the decisive factor for the way she uses her time between individual projects, even if she does express her appreciation of the development of a certain level of continuity in a given working relationship. She repeatedly refers to instances of good luck that came at just the right moment but does not fail to mention that they could not happen without certain preparatory steps she had (wittingly or unwittingly) undertaken. With regard to the initiative for translations (and other book projects in which she participated to at least some extent as a translator, an issue of great importance to her) and the preparation and post-completion processes of such projects, C describes her current situation and the developments that led to it as follows:

1   And gradually I am coming to understand myself as—to a small extent, of
2   course—but still, a bit like someone who keeps digging things up. So the steps
3   aren't steps at all, things just happen, to some extent out of necessity. So I
4   hardly get any commissions, strangely, hardly any…
5   Interviewer: So it's always your initiative…
6   Interviewee: [but it's more as if they start seeing me
7   like…oh, what for, she does her own things, why should we offer her work…
8   And for a while, of course, I complained quite a lot about that and found it
9   hard, but in the meantime I don't complain anymore and I think: oh well, then
10 I'll just do it! Because I actually find it fantastic that I can say to myself, I want
11 to do that now. And sometimes it takes ages and then it gets quite critical
12 because I can't find anyone who will or can buy into my idea so that's also a lot
13 of work and leads to a lot of disappointment. But actually I find it great…

Interview excerpt C1; Sequence: 37:38-38:49

As lines 11 to 13 demonstrate, the phases between the realisation of various plans and projects can indeed take on the form of a minor or major trial, not least as a challenge to the interviewee's patience. This can hardly be interpreted in terms of a 'project-based logic', however, in view of the translatorial self-image described in the excerpt above and elsewhere, when C characterizes herself as someone who makes '(re)discoveries'.

---

translates most from began relatively late (at the age of 40).

Interview partner B[11] is an established translator of a Nobel Prize winner and as such does not need to concern himself with 'acquisition':

1 So that was my entry into the translators' scene and from that point on it just
2 continued easily because I could always say: yes of course, I am the translator
3 of [author]. He had not yet won the Nobel Prize then. Sometimes I go so far as
4 to joke and say, that was earlier, so that was why it happened. Yes, well, not
5 brief at all, but that's how it was. Thus, with a lot of luck and, yes, a certain
6 amount of talent, one can become a translator.

Interview excerpt B1; Sequence: 12:53-13:29

Furthermore, he belongs to a group referred to in TS as 'also translators', as he is also a university lecturer, simultaneous interpreter, court interpreter and speaker for audio-visual media – an advantage over 'only translators' of which he is well aware.

In the course of the entire interview, the interview partner identifies himself as functioning in a continuous chain of his own writing and various 'literary sources of inspiration'. With reference to the possibility of a failed or unsuccessful translation, he speaks of 'sins against literature'. Free time and literary work merge together and as such his work is best described according to the conceptual construct of the 'inspired polity'. Various statements in the following passage bear witness to this:

1 But then at some point a holiday gets in the way and I'm away somewhere for
2 two weeks and only work on literature. There is no such thing as a holiday for
3 me where I don't take my work with me. That would be terrible and I'd find
4 myself awfully useless and would bite my nails like a madman and try to find
5 some work to do –work, my goodness, what is work?– Yes, if one defines
6 work as that which one must do and does not like doing, then literary
7 translation is not work for me.

Interview excerpt B2; Sequence: 34:59-35:43

The muddled or non-existent boundaries between career-related work and free time is equally typical of the two interview partners who live entirely (A) or primarily (C) from their work as translators. This has nothing to do with a conscious

---

[11] B., born in 1945, has been working as a literary translator since 1998 alongside other work and has received a number of regional and national translation prizes.

effort at professional self-styling as would be expected in a 'project-based world'.

To what extent is the interview partners' mobility, then, indicative of 'project logic'? Here, too, one might postulate that the way in which mobility is experienced has little in common with the 'imperative of the unbound' in the sense of 'project-based polity' values. Interviewee A lets herself be led by her own taste and conviction regarding the literary quality of the authors she translates. This helps her to bridge uncertain phases. The connection to a body of work or, in the case of contemporary authors, her personal contact with the authors she translates is, in its constancy, absolutely contrary to the above 'imperative'. As the only interviewee who was physically uprooted and as a consequence of historical events experienced involuntary mobility, B coped with this forced move on a practical level by becoming absorbed in and taking refuge in literature: despite frequently moving schools he began, in a playful but at once quite serious way, to identify himself in terms of the translations he started doing whilst still at school. These were carried out in a 'square of languages' in which he "felt very comfortable". Describing the "mental baggage […] at the back of his mind" he carried with him, he says: "The authors one has read remain, and even if they only remain as a shadow or as ghostly silhouettes or as memories of memories, even then they are there and they continue to shape the way things happen". For C, mobility (e.g. regarding the language-learning process that led her to spend some time abroad), despite her uncompromising willingness to take risks that might otherwise be interpreted in terms of a 'project-based logic', in fact represents a life-long and continuous, if at times somewhat hesitant, learning process. As such it reveals a kind of continuity absolutely incompatible with the logic of a 'project-based world'.

To summarize, it is evident that the narratives of the three literary translators interviewed primarily correspond to justification models pertaining to an 'inspired polity' with its emphasis on creativity, spontaneity, receptiveness for intuitive processes, etc. Judging from the indications in the survey, this is also true, to a greater or lesser extent, of a considerable proportion of the respondents. At the same time, the individual features of the justification frameworks presented here are, by the very nature of the undertaking, specific to translation, however, and seem to involve more than refractory 'field effects' of the broader 'literary field'. Translators' estimation of the task of translating seems to play an even greater role: when they perceive their work as one of artistic reproduction, as in the case of A who sees an analogy to her earlier work as a piano teacher, the descriptive characteristics of the 'inspired polity' such as 'intuition', 'spontaneity' or 'ingenuity' acquire a different type of accent. She expresses a certain sense of wonder or fascination, particularly with regard to poetry translations, which at the time of the

interview already constituted an important part of her translation work. Thus the way in which she experiences her own intuitive moments demonstrates that she clearly sees herself in a creative artistic process. On the other hand, this is counterbalanced by descriptions of her way of working, which is marked by a high degree of "lovingly honing the text, with gentle care and respect", with endless rounds of editing and exacting research into all the relevant background. B sees his work quite clearly as a literary activity, despite, at one point in the interview, answering a question about "a translator's signature" by asking whether a translator is allowed to have his or her own signature. In his case, the performative element in his way of translating brings to mind the 'inspired polity'. C's emphasis on "happy coincidences", which nonetheless require certain prerequisites on her part to attain their efficacy, are indicative of the applicability of the 'inspired polity' framework. High literary expectations and of oneself nonetheless go hand in hand with a profoundly unpretentious lifestyle, which calls for a differentiation from Boltanski and Thévenot's (1991) description of the latter.

Conversely, it was not possible to establish any sign of a shift towards a 'project-based polity'. This might signify that literary translators are on the whole less impressed by the rhetoric surrounding the new formation of capitalism than other agents in the cultural field (cf. Wuggenig 2004; articles in Raunig and Wuggenig 2007) are.[12]

3. Conclusions in general and for the sociology of translation

To sum up, not only do there seem to be no traces of altered 'in-between states' in the sense that a logic pertaining to the 'project-based polity' has made no impression on the lives of the translators interviewed, but also the term 'in-between state' itself—interpreted in this vein—can be shown to be as inadequate for literary translators as is that of a 'mediator' (*sensu* Kalinowski). While one is wont to agree with Lazzarato when he postulates—criticizing Boltanski and Chiapello—that 'capitalism' has no need for artists to take on a figurative role embodying the ideals of the 'project-based polity', considering that the businessman and -woman occupies precisely that role model (cf. Lazzarato 2007: 196), we can also approach the issue from the other side, which is to say from the assumption that cultural agents are particularly susceptible to such rhetoric. This, however, seems to be less true for literary translators in the light of the empirical data adduced.

It is difficult to ascertain what might become of the 'project-based polity' and

---

[12] For a nuanced account on how self-images entertained by high-ranking literary translators permeate more mundane areas of translation practice cf. Sela-Sheffy 2010.

the rhetoric accompanying it in what has—in all the ambivalence inherent in this label—come to be known as an 'age of austerity'. Will it prolong itself further within this new environment, will its pace be accelerated or has it already broken down and might it even become an object of nostalgia in view of the harshness of working conditions or imminent societal exclusion being a reality? Will literary translators, who seem to be reluctant to embrace a 'project-based' logic, remain so, skipping this phase in the development of cognitive capitalism, when at the same time already affected by the effects of 'austerity' in their working lives? These are all questions which would merit further deliberation.

In addition to the basic perspectives to be drawn from the theoretical foundations laid by Boltanski and Thévenot (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991), to which we return below, this paper has also addressed a no less relevant discussion thread relating to the public sphere: statements about the role of cultural workers recognisable in the context of the development of society as a whole as sketched out here as well as the negotiation of this role, abound (e.g. in the form of debating so-called 'creative industries'). Cultural agents can—and do—in turn accept or reject such definitions for themselves (cf. Wuggenig 2004; cf. also articles in Raunig and Wuggenig 2007). There seems to be an urgent need to react to these social controversies from within translation studies, where they have gone almost unnoticed so far.

The following passages present a series of theoretical and methodological insights to be won from the moral and political sociology for TS in general and the sociology of translation in particular. First and fundamentally it is worth noting that this theory postulates a differentiated and complex society and describes it in terms of the simultaneous existence of various justification frameworks (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 266). It steers the perspective towards uncertainty in relation to the expectable behaviour of individuals and defines this uncertainty as the "conceptually more open and thus more general" case (Wagner 2004: 425, transl. Z. M.; 428-429), and to this extent as the prevailing normality. Thus, if we proceed with Prunč from a fundamental 'arbitrariness' in relation to translation and translation norms (Prunč 2000: 11-12) and their 'versatility' (Prunč 2000: 60), the above aspects of Boltanski and Thévenot's theory allow us to identify a particularly promising connection to TS. The application of various justification frameworks serves to show which frames of reference the individuals involved tend to rely on in concrete, sometimes discordant translation situations.

If it is furthermore true that the authors' contributions to the 'theoretical exoneration' of the concept of the *institution* are so essential that their value cannot be overestimated (cf. Wagner 2004: 426; transl. Z. M.), then it becomes possible to develop differentiated methods of observing and examining processes that, at

different rates and in different ways in various areas within the field of translation, lead to a certain degree of constancy and stability. In *L´Amour et la Justice comme compétences* (Boltanski 1990), which might be read as his response to being criticized for not taking into account the fact that logical justifications are not the only conceivable or decisive way of creating situational models, Boltanski arrives at a differentiation between four elementary types of activity: between justification systems or regimes based on equivalence, i.e. those that are based on dialogue or dispute or those that do not require such opposing positions to exist, in addition to the peaceful repeal of demands for equivalence (love) or the aggressive abrogation of the latter (violence). These types of encounter are to be understood as situations that are greater than their parts, in this case greater than the individuals involved. Thus paths emerge that lead towards a way in which translation might be understood as a social practice rooted in a higher order social context. Boltanski (1990) throws his spotlight on the agents whose everyday work and 'competences' lead to the realisation of these various 'régimes'. The theory also claims to be able to explain sudden and radical changes e.g. between peaceful and violent forms of social relationships. This could provide an important impulse for the topic of 'translation and conflict' (cf. Inghilleri 2012).

Finally, this theoretical blueprint of social activity could be particularly enriching for the sociology of translation insofar as it avoids recourse to ossified distinctions between micro-, meso- and macro-sociological perspectives and has no need for basic categories such as 'social group', 'individual', etc., concentrating instead on situational aspects by considering the 'états-personnes' and 'états-choses' involved (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 11).

Conversely, as an academic field focusing precisely on the notion of a co-presence and its embodiment in the person of the translator (cf. Gouanvic 2007: 88-89), TS might offer a remedy for 'pragmatic sociology's' limited relevance in terms of temporal and spatial conditions, which calls for expansion, as various critics have pointed out (cf. for an overview Wagner 2004; also Negri 2003, Wuggenig 2010: 116).

This article has focussed on a single area of translation practice, literary translation. Justification frameworks might well be entirely different for other areas (academic translation, community interpreting, sign language interpreting etc.). The same can be said for any possible shifts between various polities and compromises between different polities. It is also true of the possibility to withdraw from a given, predefined situation or social model by means of recourse to another, different justification framework (cf. Boltanski and Thévenot 1991: 267-270). Thus TS might indeed avail itself of a descriptive instrument sufficiently complex to be applicable to individual instances of translation practice that reach

beyond the standard tangible typologies and which is also flexible enough to account for shifts between various areas currently perceptible in the field of practice under study.

What ways of looking or analysing might, then, prevail vis-à-vis Bourdieu's *Praxeology*, if we adopt the theoretical model of the 'sociology of critical judgement'? Wuggenig (2010) postulates a fundamental theoretical 'incommensurability' of Boltanski's and Bourdieu's theoretical constructs, claiming that this 'incommensurability' remains in place despite recent developments pointing towards Boltanski's renewed rapprochement to critical sociology. This nonetheless does not prevent him from stating:

This does not mean that there could not be exchange zones in Peter Galison's sense: in that way, the justification orders (Cités) in Boltanski and Thévenot's sense […] could be analysed in a historic or field-theoretical framework. It also makes sense to consider the correspondences between Cités and social positions in the field or in the broader social space. (Wuggenig 2010: 116; transl. Z. M.)

Further research remains to be conducted into such complementary readings, in the first instance on a purely conceptual level. One might investigate the 'correspondences' which—within a translation-related cross-section of the 'literary field'—could exist in the threshold space between relying on a certain justification system on the one hand, and occupying a (more or less voluntarily chosen) position at either the 'autonomous' or the 'heteronomous pole' in the broader field of artistic production (cf. Bourdieu 1977) on the other. It would thus also become possible to analyse discursive shifts and ambiguities connected with such positions. The empirical realisation of this recommendation relies on interviews with three translators who can demonstrably be ascribed with quite a clear position at the 'autonomous pole' and whose description of their career development does not point to any movement towards a possible 'project logic'. If one were to address the same questions to interview candidates who, according to their own narratives, are to be found at the 'heteronomous pole' of the market of symbolic goods as their translation work pertains to certain specific genres or because of their working relationship with a specific publisher, their responses might differ quite markedly.

Gisella M. Vorderobermeier
Department of Translation Studies
University of Graz, Austria
gisella.vorderobermeier@uni-graz.at

Bibliography

Boltanski, Luc (1990). *L´Amour et la Justice comme compétences. Trois essais de sociologie de l´action*. Paris: Éditions Métailié.

---- Thévenot, Laurent (1991). *De la justification. Les économies de la grandeur*. Paris: Gallimard.

---- Chiapello, Ève (2005). *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Gregory Elliott. London/New York: Verso.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977). "La production de la croyance: contribution à une économie des biens symboliques". *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 13, 3-43.

Gouanvic, Jean-Marc (2007). "Objectivation, réflexivité et traduction. Pour une re-lecture bourdieusienne de la traduction". Michaela Wolf & Alexandra Fukari (eds). *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 79-92.

Heinich, Nathalie (2000). *Être écrivain. Création et identité*. Paris: La Découverte.

---- (2008). "Régime vocationnel et pluriactivité chez les écrivains: une perspective compréhensive et ses incompréhensions". *Socio-logos. Revue de l'association française de sociologie* 3 [en ligne], http://socio-logos.revues.org/1793 (accessed July 20, 2013).

Inghilleri, Moira (2012). *Interpreting Justice: Ethics, Politics and Language*. New York: Routledge.

Kalinowski, Isabelle (2001). "Traduction n'est pas médiation. Un regard sociologique sur les traducteurs français de Hölderlin". *Études de lettres* 2, 25-49.

Lazzarato, Maurizio (2007). "Die Missgeschicke der 'Künstlerkritik' und der kulturellen Beschäftigung". Gerald Raunig & Ulf Wuggenig (eds), 190-206.

Negri, Antonio (1994/2003). "Relire Boltanski et Thévenot: sociologie et philosophie politique". *Multitudes*, http://multitudes.samizdat.net/Relire-Boltanski-et-Thevenot.html?var_recherche=boltanski (accessed July 20, 2013]

Prunč, Erich (2000). "Vom Translationsbiedermeier zur Cyber-translation". *TextConText* 14(1), 3-74.

Raunig, Gerald/Wuggenig, Ulf (eds) (2007). *Kritik der Kreativität*. Vienna: Turia & Kant.

Susanne Schelepa, Petra Wetzel & Gerhard Wohlfahrt (2008). *Zur sozialen Lage der Künstler und Künstlerinnen in Österreich. Endbericht*. Unter Mitarbeit von Anna Mostetschnig. Vienna: L&R Sozialforschung.

Sela-Sheffy, Rakefet (2010). "'Stars' or 'Professionals': The Imagined Vocation and Exclusive Knowledge of Translators in Israel". *MonTI* 2: Applied Sociol-

ogy in Translation Studies/Sociologia aplicada a la traducció. Oscar Diaz Fouces & Esther Monzó (eds). Alicante: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 131-152.

Vorderobermeier, Gisella (2010). "Von der erleuchteten zur projektbasierten Polis? TranslatorInnen im 'neuen' Kapitalismus". Nadja Grbić, Gernot Hebenstreit, Michaela Wolf & Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (eds). *Translationskultur revisited. Festschrift für Erich Prun* . Unter Mitarbeit von Beatrice Fischer. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 296-318.

---- (2013). *Translatorische Praktiken aus soziokognitiver Perspektive. Kontextabhängigkeit des übersetzerischen Habitus?* Opladen/Toronto: Budrich UniPress.

Wagner, Peter (2004). "Soziologie der kritischen Urteilskraft und der Rechtfertigung: Die Politik- und Moralsoziologie um Luc Boltanski und Laurent Thévenot". Stephan Moebius & Lothar Peter (eds). *Französische Soziologie der Gegenwart*. Konstanz: UVK, 417-448.

Wuggenig, Ulf (2004). "Den Tod des Autors begraben", http://www.republicart. net/disc/aap/wuggenig03_de.htm (accessed July 20, 2013).

---- (2010). "Paradoxe Kritik". Birgit Mennel, Stefan Nowotny & Gerald Raunig (eds). *Kunst der Kritik*. Vienna: Turia & Kant, 105-124.

Gisella M. Vorderobermeier holds a PhD from Karl-Franzens-University Graz, where she is currently working as assistant professor at the Department for Translation Studies. She is an academically trained translator for Russian and Spanish (University of Leipzig). Her main research interests are in translation sociology and translation and politics. Most recent publication: *Translatorische Praktiken aus soziologischer Sicht. Kontextabhängigkeit des übersetzerischen Habitus?* (2013); an entry on "Sociological Approaches to Translation" appeared in *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (Blackwell-Wiley, 2013).

Translation into a non-native language:
The double life of the native-speakership axiom

Bogusława Whyatt
Tomasz Kościuczuk
Adam Mickiewicz University

Abstract

In this article we ask the question whether translation in the age of austerity is ready to abandon one of its major axioms, namely that professional translating should not be done into the translator's non-native language. We consider the proponents of the belief that translation into one's native language is superior to translation done into one's foreign language. These include powerful theories and institutions, associations and Internet forums. We investigate empirical research devoted to inverse translation and then we look at translation competence models to see if the axiom is reflected in a way which supports the widespread consensus of native-language translation superiority. Finally, we cross-examine the theoretical assumptions and recommendations against the translators' job market and everyday professional practice in the minor-major language combination. The results of a survey conducted among professional translators in Poland, working in Polish-English point to the discrepancy between the reality and the prescriptive assumption that translation into the translator's non-native language should not be practised. The implications following the study point to the need for extensive empirical research to reassess the axiom in the context of the growing demand for translation services in global communication and the impact of austerity on how the services are provided.

Introduction

The conviction that translators should translate into their native language has always been, and still is, widely demonstrated not only by translation theory but also by agencies employing translators. With time, this traditional conviction has become institutionalised in the sense that institutions impose the requirement that professional translation services need to be provided by translators who are natives of the language into which they translate (the target language (TL) of the translation project). Yet, it seems that these recommendations are not feasible for all translators, especially those working in a minor-major pair of languages, which frequently includes English as today's *lingua franca*. Despite the reiterated recommendation that translation should be done into the translator's native language, existing translation competence models (based on empirical research) do not place significant value on the requirement. As a result professional translators may find themselves in an uncomfortable situation. On the one hand, they are told that translating into their non-native language (language B) is

fundamentally wrong, on the other hand they receive commissions to produce translations into their non-native language on an everyday basis. Taking into account their professional context, marked by austerity and the need to survive in an increasingly demanding and competitive market, they regularly accept such commissions. Should their work be perceived as inferior and unethical because it goes against the traditional axiom? Or is there a chance that, faced by austerity and the dynamically changing range of services expected from translators, translation studies as a discipline will reassess the traditional axiom of native-speakership superiority? To prepare the ground for answering these questions we will look at the issue from a variety of vantage points.

1. Supporters of the traditional axiom

According to Pokorn (2005: 25), who has challenged the traditional axiom, the idea that translators should translate only into their native language goes back to Martin Luther who used it to defend his own translation work. The hidden conviction that translators should only work into their mother tongue was also expressed by John Dryden (1997 [1680]) in his preface to Ovid's Epistles (17th c.), Jacques Dellile (1992) and many others (Pokorn 2005: 30). The idea that translation should be done only into the translator's native language turned out to be extremely influential and in consequence affected both theory and practice.

1.1 Translation Studies – the power of theory

Pokorn (2005: x) points to the fact that although the aprioristic conviction about the superiority of texts translated by native speakers of the target language is frequently reiterated, it remains largely unsupported by empirical research. The statements found in theoretical writing on translation range from explicit to implied assumptions. Newmark (1981: 180)—as quoted by Pokorn (2005: 26)—speaks openly about the inferiority of inverse translation due to the fact that a person who has learned a language will always use it in an unnatural way. Duff (1989: 11), on the other hand adheres to the traditional axiom in a rather implicit way:

> One of the most frequent criticisms of translation is that "it doesn't sound natural". This is because the translator's thoughts and choice of words are too strongly moulded by the original text. A good way of shaking off the source language (SL) influence is to set the text aside and translate a few sentences aloud, from memory. This will suggest natural patterns of thought in the first language (L1), which may not come to mind when the eye is fixed on the SL text (Duff 1989: 11).

The same implicit assumption is also present in Venuti's (1995: 2) notion of translator invisibility. As observed by Pokorn (2005: 22), such a pre-supposition or silent consent may be more harmful to the art and business of translation than open statements as they escape the chance of being quoted, reflected upon, or criticised. Still, theoretical assumptions have proved extremely powerful and were taken over by many influential authors and institutions. According to Pokorn (2005: 26), Newmark's writing proved to be extremely influential and his ideas of native language superiority spread to handbooks for translators.

1.2 Directionality in handbooks for translators

The axiom that translators should translate into their native language is also present in various handbooks which are published with a view to preparing aspiring translators to work in the translation industry, or to upgrading the know-how of practising translators. Two popular handbooks written in English and embedded in the American context are used as examples. Chriss (2006) claims that:

> Translators typically work into their native language, that is to say that they translate material that is in their second, acquired language into the language they were born into and educated in. There are exceptions, especially among people who were born, raised and educated bilingually, but in general translators produce their best work when going into their mother tongue (Chriss 2006: 13).

By placing his view on translation directionality in the very beginning of his handbook, the author, a successful freelance translator himself, gives a clear indication of its significance.

Sofer (2009) also highlights the issue of directionality and attempts to explain his view of native language superiority in so far as:

> […] one is usually intimately familiar with one's own native language, while even years of study and experience, do not necessarily enable one to be completely at home with an acquired language. The exceptions to this rule are usually those people who have lived in more than one culture, and have spoken more than one language on a regular basis. Those may be able to translate in both directions. There are also rare gifted individuals who have mastered another language to such a degree that they can go both ways. They are indeed extremely rare (Sofer 2009: 32).

A reservation seems to be in place, however, whether this view of native-language superiority is a feature of authors who represent the world of English and thus the major language into and out of which a substantial volume of translation is produced. The fear of being unable to produce a coherent, well written translation in one's non-native language stands in sharp opposition to numerous successes of bilingual and translingual writers who have shown that writing in one's foreign language and translating into it is possible (cf. De Courtivron 2003; Kellmann 2003). By making the generalisation that all translators should work into their native language, the above mentioned authors contribute to the popularisation of this unfounded axiom which also affects other translation directions, such as major to minor and minor to minor. As a result, what may have been a tacit assumption several decades ago has by now become 'legitimised' by powerful authorities (see also: Belczyk 2002; Samuelsson-Brown 2010).

1.3 The institutionalised axiom

The European Union, as the largest employer of translators and interpreters and outsourcer of translation services, has significantly contributed to the prevailing conviction that translators should work into their native language. The Directorate General for Translation actually puts this conviction into practice[1]. EU translators work in this direction translating EU documents from one of the main European languages—English, French or German—into the so-called languages of restricted distribution such as Polish. In consequence, not only do translators permanently employed in EU institutions work into their native language but translation agencies, which compete for language service procurements launched by the European institutions, restrict their recruitment to native speakers of the target language. This way the preference of the EU spreads to other outsourcers who expect their translation services to be based on 'European quality standards'. Since professionals tend to organize themselves, the axiom of native language superiority has been also adopted in guidelines issued by some associations of translators.

1.4 Associations of professional translators

Throughout the world, professional organisations for translators issue their codes of ethics or professional guidelines for their members to follow. Some of

---

[1] http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/workwithus/staff/profile/index_en.htm;
http://ec.europa.eu /dgs/translation/workwithus/trainee/index_en.htm.

these will include the strong recommendation to work into the translator's native language, e.g.:

(1) The European Code of Ethics for Literary Translators issued by the European Council of Literary Translators' Associations says:

1. Anyone practising the profession of Translator confirms that they have a very sound knowledge of the language from which s/he translates (the source language), and of the language into which s/he is working (the target language). The target language should be their mother tongue, or a language in which they have mother-tongue competence, as any writer must master the language in which s/he writes[2].

(2) The Code of Ethics of the Association of Translators and Interpreters of Alberta advises translators in a similar way:

Members are urged to translate into their mother tongue only or into their language of habitual use, as the case may be, unless special circumstances apply, such as particular knowledge of the Terminology of a specialized field, in which case they shall endeavour to have their work revised by a Member certified in the relevant language combination3.

Notably, although the first quote seems to be more definite about the target language being the native language of the translator, the second quote is more nuanced; both reflect, however, the significance professional associations assign to the fact that translators should work into their native language. Yet, the requirement of being a native speaker of the target language is not explicitly stated in the Translator's Charter drafted by the International Federation of Translators (FIT). In point 6 it says: "The translator shall possess a sound knowledge of the language from which he/she translates and should, in particular, be a master of that into which he/she translates"[4].This phrasing allows one to assume that it is possible to be a master of a language without being its native speaker. Furthermore, it might also imply that the codes of conduct might depend

---

[2] http://www.tradulex.org/Regles/ethics_CEATL.htm.

[3] http://www.atia.ab.ca/index.php/about/code_of_ethics.

[4]http://fit-ift.org.dedi303.nur4.host-h.net/index.php?frontend_action=display_compound_text_content&item_id=980.

on whether the target language is a major or a minor language and whether austerity plays a part.

To illustrate two major associations for professional translators in Poland (TEPIS[5] and the Association of Polish Translators and Interpreters[6]), whose language is of minor distribution, in their codes of ethics do not contain any guidelines which might impose on their members the requirement to work only into Polish. This is an indirect indication of the fact that translation projects into non-native languages make up a significant share of the translation market in Poland. The number of foreign translators who work out of Polish into their native language is, however, very limited. Therefore, due to austerity in most business situations the native-speakership axiom is too impracticable and uneconomical to be sustained. Possibly the same situation occurs in other countries whose native languages are minor, and where the volume of translation into a non-native language exceeds the volume of commissions into the native language.

1.5 Internet communities – Proz.com

Proz.com is possibly the most popular international web portal for translators, translation agencies and clients seeking professional language-service providers. The portal advertises itself as "The Translation Workplace"[7]. In her article, "How to Be a Good Translator", which is among many articles to be found on Proz.com, Rose Newell (2011), a practising German to English translator and an active member of the Proz.com community offers her insight into what makes a good translator. The article is mostly addressed to persons considering starting a career in the translation industry who will learn that:

> You should be able to understand the majority of texts without the aid of a dictionary, to the standard of an educated native-speaker. You do not have to be able to write to the same standard (particularly in terms of grammar, which few non-natives will ever fully master), but you should be able to understand concepts as well as any native[8].

The above quote implies that understanding texts in a foreign language must be easier than producing a text in a foreign language. Yet translation process

---

[5] *Kodeks tłumacza przysięgłego* [the Sworn Translator Code] issued by TEPIS [Polish Society of Sworn and Specialized Translators and Interpreters http://www.tepis.org.pl/towarzystwo/ktp.pdf.
[6] http://www.stp.org.pl/index.php/pl/wspolpraca-z-klientami/karta-tlumacza-polskiego.
[7] http://www.proz.com/?sp=info/index.
[8] http://www.proz.com/translation-articles/articles/3287/.

research has demonstrated that this is not always the case (Dancette 1992: 379). In line with the above quote members may only quote on a job if they are native speakers of the target language. In this way, a large share of translation jobs becomes blocked for translators working out of their native language and is assigned to native speakers of the target language, even if their professional qualifications (e.g., translation expertise and experience) are not equally attractive; there is no guarantee that in effect a client will get a better quality translation product.

Having provided examples of the traditional conviction of the superiority assigned to translations produced by native speakers of the target language encompassing both theory and practice, a question arises: how extensively has the traditional axiom of superiority of translation done into the translator's native language been researched?

2. State of the art in inverse translation studies

Although the issue of translation directionality is often present in the professional literature with the status of a general pre-supposed truth, as such it is hardly ever justified by reference to research into the nature of native-speakership (cf. Pokorn 2005: 8). The findings from related disciplines such as cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics or neurolinguistics have not been, to our knowledge, used to support the traditional axiom. And if they were, most likely according to the prevailing understanding of the mutual interaction between two languages, of one mind, they would not provide supporting evidence (Cook 2003; Herdina and Jessner 2002; Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008). Indeed, while the superiority of translation into the translator's mother tongue is still broadly accepted by theoreticians and practitioners, it tends to be challenged by actors operating in the real-world translation market, especially when the two working languages are entangled in an unequal power relation with the SL being a minor language (e.g. Finnish, Czech, Polish) and the TL being a major language (most notably English). We shall briefly discuss two out of the few accessible scientific insights into the issue of translation directionality (for a review of research see Pavlović 2007: 83): the studies by Pokorn (2005) and Pavlović (2007).

The study described in *Challenging the Traditional Axioms* by Pokorn (2005) investigated the translations of literary works by Ivan Cankar, the most praised and canonised author in Slovenia, who has been translated into English more than once. Pokorn conducted a two-stage analysis.

In stage one, Pokorn (2005: 65-94) analysed the English texts translated by several translators, classified as either native or non-native speakers of the target

language. Initially, the work of some translators, both native and non-native speakers of English, appeared to show stereotypical imperfections assigned to native/non-native translators but overall the stereotypical claims assigned to native and non-native-speakers of the source/target language were not confirmed. This is how Pokorn (2005: 107) concluded the first stage of her research: "The analysis of the translations revealed no particular connection between the mother tongue of the translator and either the quality or the accuracy of his/her translation".

In stage two, Pokorn asked a group of 46 English native speakers to decide whether translation passages presented to them were written by a native or a non-native speaker of English. Although it is assumed that native speakers can intuitively assess the native-speakership of other people, a surprisingly large percentage of respondents gave wrong answers and one native speaker of English was classified as non-native (Pokorn 2005: 112). The general conclusion from Pokorn's work might be that the translator's mother tongue is not "a criterion according to which the quality, acceptability and accuracy of the translation can be assessed" (Pokorn 2005: 123). It seems that the quality of translation will primarily depend on the translator's expertise rather than their mother tongue.

The research into translation directionality conducted by Nataša Pavlović (2007) of the University of Zagreb in Croatia was based on "61 questionnaires received from full-time translators/interpreters whose L1 is Croatian and L2 is English, some of whom also work with a third language and none of whom are natural bilinguals" (2007: 86) by which is meant born in bilingual families and raised in the cultures of their two languages. Although the sample group was not controlled in terms of its composition, the results are considered sufficiently representative to indicate the general tendency among Croatian translators and interpreters working either out of or into English.

Contrary to popular conviction, 73% of respondents admitted that at least half of their workload was into L2 while 32% said they translated into English a minimum of 80% of the time. Only 2 persons claimed they never worked into L2; both were full-time subtitlers. When asked whether they have their translations into English checked by a native speaking reviser, only 12—out of 57 respondents who found this question applicable—admitted they did so either always or most of the time. The remaining translators never outsourced the revision services or only did it sometimes. While, predictably, the largest group of respondents (44%) found working into Croatian easier than out of it, as many as 33% claimed the opposite and the remaining 23% found no difference between the two directions. One of the reasons why translators/interpreters would be more willing to translate

into their L2 is the rate of pay; 45% of the respondents claim they are offered better rates in this direction. The remaining 48% of the translators in the study make the same money irrespective of the direction.

In the context of the above results there was also a surprising score. The respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with Peter Newmark's (1988: 3, quoted in Pavlović 2007: 81) statement that "translat[ing] into your language of habitual use […] is the only way you can translate naturally, accurately and with maximum effectiveness". Most likely interpreting 'language of habitual use' as one's native language, 42% agreed, or strongly agreed with the statement, which Pavlović found to be in contrast with their everyday practice. The translators in the study do not feel comfortable with the discrepancy between the traditional axiom and their market imposed practice and they seemed to have confirmed that the traditional axiom leads a double life. Since both studies tended to conclude that successful translation into a non-native language is feasible and practised, it seems that it is more related to the level of translation competence than to the TL native-speakership. The next issue to investigate is whether the prescriptive axiom is reflected in currently available translation competence models.

3. Directionality and translation competence models

Two of the most up-to-date theoretical models of translation competence will be briefly examined to see whether native-speakership is indeed the translator's prevailing asset.

3.1 The PACTE model

The first model of translation competence to be discussed has been developed by the Spanish research group PACTE, which was formed in 1997 to investigate the acquisition of translation competence in both direct and inverse translation. The updated version of the PACTE group's model of translation competence forms a system of interdependent sub-competences. These include: the strategic sub-competence responsible for the application of all the other sub-competences, the bilingual sub-competence, the extra-linguistic sub-competence, the instrumental sub-competence and the knowledge about translation sub-competence. Additionally, the model also includes psycho-physiological components which consist of "[d]ifferent types of cognitive and attitudinal components and psycho-motor mechanisms" (PACTE 2003: 59) comprising anything from memory and emotion through intellectual curiosity and critical spirit to such abilities as creativity, logical reasoning, etc.

The PACTE group considers translation competence to be expert knowledge, both declarative and procedural, which is accumulated in the process of learning, whether explicit or natural, as a product of translation experience. The translator's native language belongs to the translator's bilingual sub-competence which is a predominantly procedural knowledge of the working languages and includes their pragmatic, socio-linguistic, textual, grammatical and lexical aspects. Since the bilingual sub-competence is a part of translation competence, we naturally infer that the more developed it is, the more competent, or professional, is the work of the translator. Neither the PACTE group's model nor other translation competence models (cf. Pym 2003) assume, however, that native knowledge of the target language is required. On the contrary, the PACTE group postulates that "translation competence is qualitatively different from bilingual competence, the latter being one of the several components that make up translation competence" (PACTE 2003: 47). This consideration further undermines the significance of the translator's native language as obligatorily being the target language and, by inference, the axiomatic belief in the superiority of translation into the translator's native language is not sustained.

3.2 The TransComp – Göpferich's translation competence model

The componential approach in Göpferich's (2009) model is similar to the PACTE group's model in which strategic competence (1) also has the highest status and governs the use of the remaining five competences. These include: communicative competence (2) in at least 2 languages, the 'Domain competence' (3) which enables the translator to understand the source and formulate the target text, the next competence is the 'Tools and research competence' (4), which enables the translator to use efficiently both traditional and electronic aids such as dictionaries, terminology bases, language corpora and a selection of CAT tools. Translation routine activation competence (5) is the translator's ability to use a number of transfer conventions or micro-strategies which typically yield satisfactory results in the target language. Finally, the psycho-motor competence (6) includes the translator's psycho-motor abilities, such as for example typing.

In Göpferich's model three factors control and influence the efficient employment of the six competences:

(1) the translation brief and translation norms; (2) the translator's self-concept/professional ethos, on which the contents conveyed and the methods employed in theoretical and practical translation training courses have an impact and which form the component of my model where aspects of social responsibility

and roles come in (cf. Risku 1998: 90; 2004: 76), and (3) the translator's psycho-physical disposition (intelligence, ambition, perseverance, self-confidence, etc.) (Göpferich 2009: 23).

While Göpferich argues that the translator's competence in the target language determines the quality of translation, she makes no point about the TL native-speakership as an obligatory factor. This, again, undermines the traditionally high status of native-speakership in translation theory and in the translation industry. It seems that the prejudice against inverse translation is not sustained by the currently available translation competence models. In consequence further research is needed to determine its status on the contemporary translation market. To contribute below we present a questionnaire-based study which provides further arguments disclosing the double life of the native-speakership axiom.

4. The Polish study

A general hypothesis was formulated that contrary to the traditional axiom, translation into a non-native language is an acceptable practice among both translators and their clients. Contrary to Pokorn's (2005) study, which focused on the quality of translation, this study checks whether the native-speakership axiom is sustained on the market and therefore the notion of quality is replaced with the notion of acceptability. To test the above hypothesis six research questions were formulated:

(1) Is there significant market demand for translation into English as a non-native language?

(2) Do translators prefer to work out of or into their native language?

(3) Does the translators' linguistic sub-competence develop in the course of their professional career?

(4) Do texts translated into the translator's non-native language get reviewed by a native speaker of the target language?

(5) Do translators get any formal training in translating into the non-native language?

(6) Do translators share the traditional view that professional translation is best done into their native language?

The above research questions were used to formulate a set of eleven questions used in the actual questionnaire. The questionnaire also included six preliminary

questions related to translator details such as experience, whether full-time freelancer or otherwise, monthly output, education and fields of expertise[9]. The answers to these six questions were used to create the statistical profile of the respondents to ensure that they are representative agents of the professional translation market. The invitation to participate stated clearly that only Polish translators working into and out of English were allowed to participate and the risk of the same person responding more than once was minimised by blocking entries from the same Internet Protocol (IP) number. The potential respondents were contacted via the Internet over a period of three months through targeted professional lists. The questionnaire was published online in the web survey service (moje-ankiety.pl) and a hyperlink was posted on the Facebook pages of two groups associating professional translators. The questions were mostly a multiple choice type and each was followed by an invitation to leave comments. The language used for the questionnaire was English. In all, 67 complete questionnaires were received with answers provided to all questions and, optionally, with comments.

4.1 The participants of the study

Based on the details provided by respondents in their answers to the profile questions, the following respondent profile emerged:

- The majority of the respondents are experienced translators who have worked in the translation industry for over five years (f=53 i.e. 79%) with 49% of respondents (f=33) claiming over ten years of experience on the market. Only two translators (3%) may be considered complete newcomers as they are yet to complete their second year in the profession.

- 70% of respondents (f=47) are full-time freelance translators typically working for a number of regular corporate clients and/or translation agencies as well as for individual clients. The remaining 30% are: part-time freelancers (f=14 respondents), in-house translators employed with translation agencies (f=5 respondents) and one translator employed with a pharmaceutical company.

- 36% of respondents (f=24) translate over 160 standard pages per month. Another 39% (f=26) translate 80–160 standard pages per month and only

---

[9] The actual questionnaire used in the study can be obtained from the authors upon request via e-mail.

22% (*f*=15) of respondents, some of whom translate part-time only, translate less than 80 pages per month.

- 61% of respondents (*f*=41) acknowledged having completed an undergraduate or postgraduate university programme in translation. The most common faculties in the study group are: Warsaw University with 13 graduates, and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań with 7 graduates. Interestingly, several respondents completed university programmes abroad: in St. Clair College in Canada, the University of Vienna, a Public Service Interpreting programme in London, the University of Leeds and the University of Warwick.

- For 63% of respondents (*f*=42), providing translation services is their only source of income.

- 54% of participants (*f*=36) work only in their selected fields of expertise. The most popular fields among respondents were: law (*f*=17 indications), medicine (*f*=9), business (*f*=9), literature (*f*=5), finance (*f*=5), technology (*f*=4), marketing (*f*=3), economics (*f*=3), IT (*f*=2). The remaining respondents claimed their work was not restricted to any particular fields of expertise.

In all, an image emerges that the clear majority of the respondents were translators heavily involved in, and committed to their profession rather than occasional translators and that they have had the time to determine their professional views and strategies. This conclusion is important as it adds significance to the results of this study by making them better-grounded, more reliable and the study itself potentially replicable in future research.

4.2 Discussion of the results

Research Question 1: For Research Question one, an overwhelming majority of respondents (*f*=61, i.e. 91%) confirmed that there is significant market demand for translation into their non-native language (English). The demand is either regular (*f*=33, i.e. 49%) or for some translators (*f*=28, i.e. 42%) it constitutes the majority of their commissions. The respondents who received such commissions were requested to declare an estimated percentage of requests for translation from Polish into English in the total volume (word-count) of the translation requests which they receive. The responses varied from 5% to 100% with the arithmetic mean at 42%.

The high demand for translation into their non-native language reported by professional translators is a challenge to the pre-supposed axiom that professional translation should be done into the translator's native language. The possible reasons why clients actually seek translation services into the translator's non-native language may be three-fold:

- Polish translators working into English are easier to recruit than the few English translators working out of Polish and, as can be expected, more competitive rates are offered by non-native translators. In an age of austerity such economic parameters gain significance.
- Translation clients believe that professional translators due to their competence are able to provide translation in either direction.
- Clients prefer to entrust work to their regular translators for reasons of confidentiality and their previous experience.

To illustrate the above reasons one respondent provided the following comment: "I hardly ever accept translations into English. Two exceptions: (1) business correspondence which is confidential and therefore clients wish to have only one translator involved; (2) highly specialized texts which require no fluency of a native speaker, but rather thorough knowledge of specialized vocabulary (ex. balances, profit and loss accounts, etc)".

Research Question 2: With reference to research question (2) about individual preferences concerning directionality, only 21% of respondents (f=14) have a negative attitude towards working into English and 78% of respondents (f=52) bid for and/or accept requests for PL>EN translation. In fact, as many as 19% of respondents (f=13) would actually prefer to work into English when confronted with two translation requests sharing important features such as length, difficulty and profitability: one PL>EN and the other EN>PL.

Comparing the results for language preference with the data obtained from the participants concerning their professional profile some interesting tendencies were observed:

i. Experienced translators (f=53) are slightly more willing to work into English (41/57, i.e. 77%) than those with relatively shorter experience (9/14, i.e. 64%). The borderline between experienced and inexperienced translators was arbitrarily set at 5 years of work in the business.

ii. As many as 19% of respondents (10/52) who translate into English have also worked in the business for over 10 years, which is indicative of the fact that translation services into a non-native language are provided even by the best-established professionals.

iii. The percentage of experienced translators who definitely prefer to work into their native language (31/53, i.e. 58%) is slightly greater than the percentage of inexperienced translators who report choosing this direction (7/14, i.e. 50%). At the same time a significant proportion of both experienced (19/53, i.e. 36%) and inexperienced (3/14, i.e. 21%) translators are not certain about their preferences.

iv. Based on the educational background declared by respondents, the percentage of translators who prefer to work into their non-native language is greater among those who had completed an undergraduate or postgraduate university programme involving translation than those who had not (9/41, i.e. 22% vs. 3/26, i.e. 12%). A greater percentage of translators without any formal training prefer to work into their native language than do translators with training (17/26, 65% vs. 21/41, i.e. 51%).

v. Among the five translators who translate literature, with the exception of one who claimed to be a natural bilingual, the remaining four avoid working into English and, given such an alternative, would always choose a project into their native language. They also all believe that literature should only be translated by native speakers of the target language.

vi. 12/15 (80%) translators who work in the business / economics / e-commerce domains admit to working into English and 5 of them (33%) actually prefer this direction.

Taking the above associations into account it can be tentatively concluded that the preference for directionality is a product of several factors including, among others, work experience, educational background and text type. This, however, does not mean that translating into one's non-native language is not problematic (Korzeniowska and Kuhiwczak 2011: 5). One respondent explains the relation between the target language and the level of confidence:

Both [directions] have pros and cons –when translating into English I (usually and hopefully) fully understand the source text and in translation I choose the structures and words I know in English. But in translating into Polish, my knowledge of the target language is undeniably better, but there is always a threat that I missed something or misunderstood some part of the English text.

Research Question 3: Among the problematic aspects of the English language listed by the participants of the study the following were mentioned more than once: articles (9 references), slang / spoken language (5), prepositions (2) and idioms (2). Answers provided in response to Research Question 3 concerning the translators' linguistic sub-competence showed that the respondents believe that their knowledge of English improves in the course of their professional careers. Only 7 out of 67 respondents (10%) did not share this view. It is therefore possible that one of the reasons why experienced translators successfully translate into their non-native language and why clients rely on their services may be that in the course of their professional career, their bilingual sub-competence, as defined in the PACTE group's model of translation competence, improves at least in the spectrum of skills used by translators for professional purposes (cf. Whyatt 2012: 186 and her notion of a translator as an expert learner).

Research Question 4: As assumed in Research Question 4, to assure high quality translation into one's non-native language, native-speaker proof-readers can be used as revisers. This is also in line with the 'second pair of eyes' requirement imposed by the European Standard 15038 (*Translation Services – Service Requirements*) and with the good practice applied by many translation agencies. The results of the study indicate, however, that working in tandem with a native speaker of the target language is not a prevailing practice. Only 11 respondents (16%) regularly collaborate with a native speaker. Another 30 translators (45%) sometimes get their translation into English revised by a native speaker and 14 (21%) do not feel responsible for ensuring this kind of service. Since, however the respondents receive repeat business from their clients their non-native command of English is not seen as a major disadvantage.

When asked whether, to the best of their knowledge, their clients (either translation agencies or direct clients) require native-speaker revision for texts translated by Polish translators into English, the respondents generally claim that either there is no such requirement at all (31/67, i.e. 46%) or that it only applies to some projects (16/67, i.e. 24%). Only five translators claimed that a majority of clients get English translations revised by a native speaker and one confirmed that a majority of clients require that it is the translator who ensures native speaker revision.

Research Question 5: Despite the prevailing belief that professional translation should be produced by native speakers of the target language, which is often popularised in the academic environment, Research Question five revealed that Polish universities offer extensive training in translation from Polish into English although, naturally, students are most likely native speakers of Polish.

Research Question 6: Finally, for Research Question six—similar to Pavlović (2007)—the questionnaire examined whether respondents subscribed to the traditional belief that translators should work into their native language. An overwhelming majority of practitioners (52/67, i.e. 78%) reject this view. Interestingly, however, when the scope of translation was narrowed down to literary translation, an equally overwhelming majority of translators (52/67, i.e. 78%) agreed that translating into the native language is advised. The explanation of why literary translation is considered so different from other domains in which translators work falls beyond the scope of this analysis but tentatively it may be claimed that the language of *belles-lettres* being of an expressive rather than informative nature places high value on form and other aesthetic aspects. When answering this question, respondents made many comments explaining their views on the role of native-speakership in translation. Two representative comments are quoted below:

> During my university studies I was taught that translators should only translate into their native language. Working as a translator for many years now, I realise that it is not necessarily true. As a person who was consciously studying English (while at university, I was not taught Polish at all!), I must say that now I have a better command of English than of my own language.

> If a book is translated into a foreign language and then proofread and revised by a native speaker of that language, and both the translator and the proof-reader cooperate and are constantly in touch with each other, discussing all doubts and problems, I think that good effects can be achieved too.

To sum up, taking all the results into account, it may be claimed that the traditional conviction that professional translators should only work into their native language is not sustained in the contemporary market of translation involving the language pair Polish-English. Hence, the hypothesis formulated for the study has been confirmed, with the exception of literary translation which appears to be governed by other principles. In all likelihood, this conclusion may be extended to other language pairs consisting of one major language, such as English, German or French, and a language of limited diffusion, such as Finnish, Czech or Slovenian.

5. Concluding remarks and research suggestions

The aim of this article was to argue that the traditional axiom of native-language

superiority has been leading a double life both in theory and in practice. Considering the growing demand for translation into English among minor language communities of the contemporary world (cf. Cronin 2003: 144), it is doubtful whether the axiomatic belief is practically feasible, especially in the age of austerity. The Polish study reported here, similar to the study by Pavlović (2007), shows that inverse translation is an acceptable practice among professional translators and their clients. Further research is needed for a better understanding of the directionality in translation: Are translations into English produced by native speakers of English actually of a far superior quality than those produced by qualified non-native translators? What standards of native-speakership are applied (British English, American English or English as a *lingua franca*)? What does the experience of native-language proof-readers tell us about translation into a non-native language? Since modern translation studies as a discipline long ago rejected a prescriptive attitude towards translation in favour of a descriptive and empirical approach, most TS scholars agree that translation competence underlying professional expertise is much more than linguistic competence, especially in the Chomskyan (1965: 3) sense of an ideal native-speakership. Disclosing the double life of the traditional axiom in practical terms might have implications for translation agencies and other outsourcers on the translation market as well as for universities running translation training programmes.

Bogusława Whyatt
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland
bwhyatt@wa.amu.edu.pl

Tomasz Kościuczuk
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland
tomasz@kosciuczuk.pl

Bibliography

Belczyk, Arkadiusz (2002). *Poradnik tłumacza* [Handbook for translators]. Kraków: Idea.

Chomsky, Noam (1965). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Chriss, Roger (2006). *Translation as a Profession*. Raleigh, NC: Lulu Press Inc.

Cook, Vivian J. (2003). "The changing L1 in the L2 user's mind". Vivian J. Cook (ed.). *Effects of the second language on the first*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1-18.

Dancette, Jeanne (1992). "Measurements of comprehension of the source text: theory and practice". Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Marcel Thelen (eds). *Translation and meaning. Part 2*. Rijkshogeschool Maastricht: Faculty of Translation and Interpreting, 379-386.

De Courtivron, Isabelle (ed.) (2003). *Lives in Translation: Bilingual writers on identity and creativity*. New York: St. Martin Press.

Delille, Jacques (1992). "Preface to his translation of Virgil's Georgics". André Lefevere (ed.). *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge.

Dryden, John. (1997 [1680]). "The Three Types of Translation". Douglas Robinson (ed.). *Western Translation Theory: From Herodotus to Nietzsche.* Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 171-174.

Duff, Alan (1989). *Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Göpferich, Susanne (2009). "Towards a model of translation competence and its acquisition: the longitudinal study 'TransComp'". Susanne Göpferich, Arnt L. Jakobsen & Inge Mees (eds). *Behind the mind: Methods, models and results in translation process research.* Copenhagen: Samfundslitteratur Press, 11-37.

Herdina, Philip & Jessner, Ulrike (2002). *A Dynamic model of multilingualism. Perspectives of change in psycholinguistics*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Jarvis, Scott & Pavlenko, Aneta (2008). *Crosslinguistic influence in language and cognition*. New York: Routledge.

Kellman, Steven G. (ed.) (2003). *Switching languages: Translingual writers reflect on their craft*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Korzeniowska, Aniela & Kuhiwczak, Piotr (2011). *Successful Polish-English translation*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Newell, Rose (2011). "How to be a good translator". (http://www.proz.com/translation-articles/articles/3287/) (accessed November 15, 2012).

Newmark, Peter (1981). *Approaches to translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Newmark, Peter (1988). *A textbook of translation*. London: Prentice Hall.

Pavlović, Nataša (2007). "Directionality in translation and interpreting practice: Report on a questionnaire survey in Croatia". Anthony Pym & Alexander Perekrestenko (eds). *Translation Research Projects 1*. Tarragona: Intercultural Studies Group, 79-96.

Pokorn, Nike K. (2005). *Challenging the Traditional Axioms: Translation into a non-mother tongue*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

PACTE group (2003). "Building a translation competence model". Fabio Alves (ed.). *Triangulating Translation: Perspectives in process oriented research*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 43-66.

Pym, Anthony (2003). "Redefining Translation Competence in an Electronic Age: In Defence of a Minimalist Approach". *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal* 48(4), 481-497.

Samuelsson-Brown, Geoffrey (2010). *A practical guide for translators* [fifth revised edition]. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Sofer, Morry (2009). *The translator's handbook*. Rockville: Schreiber Publishing.

Venuti, Lawrence (1995). *The Translator's Invisibility. A history of translation.* London: Routledge.

Whyatt, Bogusława (2012). *Translation as a human skill. From predisposition to expertise*. Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University Press.

Bogusława Whyatt is an assistant professor at Faculty of English, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. Her research interests focus on translation processes in direct and inverse translation. She is the author of *Translation as a human skill. From predisposition to expertise* published by AMU Press. She is also a practising freelance translator.

Tomasz Kościuczuk is a PhD student at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. His research interests stem from his successful career as a self-employed freelance translator and encompass issues related to inverse translation in minor-major language combinations.

Framing austerity in Greek translated press headlines: the case of *I Kathimerini*

Themis Kaniklidou
Juliane House
Hellenic American University

Abstract

This paper examines the prevailing frames that have circulated in translated headlines of news articles from English into Greek published in the newspaper *I Kathimerini*. Headlines have been selected as "framing devices" (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) that "condense information and offer a 'media package' of an issue" (de Vreese 2005: 53). The choice to involve translation in the analysis of headlines as frame-carrying mechanisms is motivated by the function of translation in the news industry as a key, yet unaddressed, communicative routine often enacted and appropriated by the press. The main theme negotiated in this paper is *austerity* and the *Greek crisis*, which have hit Greek society hard since 2010. The corpus used in this study consists of 50 translated headlines published since February 2010 when discussions of a bailout plan to be agreed with Greece commenced and were followed by the announcement of strict austerity measures by the Greek Government. Preliminary findings suggest that translation rewrites the theme of austerity and the Greek crisis by giving rise to new frames of understanding. More specifically, the analysis shows the Greek crisis to be narrated as *contamination* or to be *game-framed*, while Greece is also relayed in the target version either as a *victim* or as a *key stakeholder* for the future of the Eurozone. Overall, this paper argues that the translated press headlines have the potential to expose, import, carry and construct frames of representation and interpretation of austerity and of the Greek debt crisis.

1. Background

Greece has been in the centre of global attention since 2009 following a financial crisis with hard-hitting impact, both social and economic. From its onset, the Greek financial crisis evolved from a serious domestic issue to a critical European, or even global situation that would gradually make Greece a protagonist of a public discourse surrounding the deep causes of a more extended European debt crisis. Throughout the Eurozone, discourses gradually emerged that favoured dichotomies and the construction of a polar *Other* such as North *vs* South, central Europe *vs* periphery, reinforcing all kinds of associations about the positions of financially healthy economies. It was the growing lack of financial credibility and trustworthiness that gave rise to a spiral of downgrades of Greece's credit rating by financial houses increasing the feeling of instability about the Greek economy and its sustainability. In the first months of 2010 uncertainty over the Greek economy increased significantly, a situation which was exacerbated both by the absence of support statements by European leaders and the co-presence of ambivalent ones by Greek politicians; markedly enough the then

Prime Minister, Mr George Papandreou, publicly stated that the country was one step from 'falling over a cliff' (Address Feb 2nd 2010). Talks surrounding a rescue mechanism then started to circulate and in May 2010 a bailout plan of 110 billion euros was agreed for Greece followed by the announcement of strict austerity measures by the Greek Government. Austerity measures, in turn, spurred a wave of domestic protests, while in the months that followed, pressures about privatizations and long awaited structural reforms coupled with liquidity injections would dominate the public financial sphere.

It is against this background that the global press put Greece under the spotlight[1] and it is in this context that various public discourses emerged, and narrations circulated and steadily proliferated. The media, including the press, have been present in the intense public discussion of the financial crisis; during the years of the crisis several debates have broken out and found their way into the press such as whether the crisis was a Greek, European or even a systemic international phenomenon. Regardless of the nature of the debate, it has been frequently interwoven with and supplemented by discourses that were often based on stereotypes that challenged the "identity formations" (Christodoulou 2010: 4) of and about Greece. Specifically, Greece was often seen as "the sick man of Europe" that needs to be cured (Malkoutzis 2011) or as Nouriel Roubini stated, "Greece is just the tip of the iceberg" (Anon. 2010). Common descriptions also included metaphors of disease or led to "emotional discourses" (Ludz and Abulughod 1990) that were the result of a narrative of shame and blame pinned on Greece which mirrored a corrupt and dysfunctional political and financial system. Interestingly enough, although Greece was losing ground—particularly *vis-à-vis* its Eurozone partners—and although it was being stripped of its credibility, it has also been gaining increased potential as a country that might have a significant impact on other economies in the future. This will be further illustrated in our findings section through examples of translated headlines.

Apart from the international press, Greek newspapers also picked up the thread of austerity and the economic crisis and routinely hosted news articles on the crisis, the overhang debt and experiences of austerity both in the domestic and the European sphere. This means that the Greek press has been assuming the role of "agenda setter" (Lang and Lang 1983: 59) and narrator of the economic crisis and the era of austerity. Yet, as we argue and show below, this narrating has been taking place not only via monolingual discourse but also through translated news

---

[1] Studies (e.g. Antoniades 2012) have shown that from September 2009 to October 2010 the press – including newspapers such as *The New York Times, Le Figaro, the Korean Times, The Times of India* – spread stories that orbited around the Greek debt crisis in more than 1500 articles.

discourse which has recently attracted scholarly attention (Cronin 2003; Pym 2004; Bassnett 2005; Bielsa 2007; Doorslaer 2010). It is this translated discourse that has infiltrated the press and constitutes the core of our analysis and guides our particular focus on translated news headlines. In section 2 below we provide a framework for understanding the concept of framing used to comprehend how the media narrate the Greek crisis to the public, sketch out the use of framing in news and explain the role of translation in the press before moving on to present our methodology in section 3, and to present, analyse and discuss our findings that touch upon translated news headlines in section 4.

2. Framing

Framing has often been described as belonging to a very fragmented field of research characterized by "scattered conceptualization" (Entman 1993: 51). This means that framing suffers from a plethora of definitions, uses and readings in a confusing and fuzzy territory 'courted' by more than one discipline including mass communication (Scheufele 1999), sociology (Goffman 1974; Gitlin 1980) and psychology (Fiske and Taylor 1991). If we want to use framing as a meaningful device for understanding how news messages are constructed and disseminated, and for weighing assumed interpretations by recipients, we must first acknowledge that "mass media communication is based on the premise that the media have significant effects" (McQuail 1994: 327). This constructionist view of framing is not without importance; on the one hand it foregrounds the connection that the packaging of a message shares with its source of production, while on the other it creates strong links with how a message is received, processed and understood by the recipients making assumptions about their cognitive backgrounds. It is framing, then, that marks the significance of the interactiveness in what we understand as co-construction of messages.

One of the first domains to account for framing as a process and concept has been sociology, and it was Goffman who first classified frames as "schemata of interpretation" through which we "locate, perceive, identify and label" (1974: 21) experience. Along the same lines of looking at frames as a sense-making or interpretation device, Gitlin identifies frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse" (1980: 7). Although this definition highlights the parameter of persistence and low-tolerance to change, yet it is meaningful as it does not explain away those who have the means and the power to handle discourse, in our case newspapers. In addition to the sociological perspective, there is also a psychological or cognitive dimension attached to, and

attracted by, framing. According to this view, the structuredness of messages alone cannot guarantee the effectiveness of their reception. On the contrary, it is also the individual's own resources and own scripts or schemata (Fiske and Taylor 1991) which form the cognitive basis for understanding and processing messages and information. Communication studies have had their take on the concept of framing as well. Particularly, framing has been used to investigate how the media mediate in political life and has been often used interchangeably, or in connection with, agenda setting (Lang and Lang 1983) or agenda building (Berkowitz and Adams 1990), a concept that relates to the issues or macro topics that media outlets select and prioritize to repeatedly feed the audience with.

Framing therefore has two strands as it relates to both "internal structures of the mind" and to "devices embedded in political discourse" (Kinder and Sanders 1990: 74). The first approach leads researchers to consider the relationship between framing, those who use it and the audience. This approach then becomes largely audience-centered and overlaps with or needs reception studies (Philo 1993), acknowledging that discourse or the text alone cannot be meaningful without audience participation and interaction with audience cognition. The second approach organizes framing around the construction of discourse with an aim to produce certain effects. Although it does not ignore the role of audience in the communication loop, yet it mainly emphasizes *how* a message is constructed, which in turn affects the "'window' through which a story is 'seen'" (Pan and Kosicki 1993: 59). In this paper we align ourselves with the second approach, which deploys its full potential through press headlines, in our case translated ones.

2.1. Framing, News Discourse and Headlines

It seems, therefore, that framing has not been the property of one territory or another, but has rather been appropriated as a tool and resource of understanding by more than one disciplinary domain to explain how messages are constructed and understood. News discourse, for its part, is a territory of interaction which provides a bridge between these approaches and allows their integration. This interactionist potential of news discourse has not gone unnoticed by researchers, who explain that "news discourse is conceived as a sociocognitive process involving all three players: sources, journalists, and audience members operating in the universe of shared culture and on the basis of socially defined roles" (Pan and Kosicki 1993: 55). Suffice it to say that the fact that news discourse integrates and engages, at various stages, different players in its communicative loops makes it a rich locus of investigation in regard to framing. Messages that find their way

through the often complicated series of gatekeeping functions (Vuorinen 1995) and infiltrate the textual space of a newspaper are then open to skilful transformations, lexical and syntactical configurations that sway readers in shaping an understanding of the message. When these packaged messages reach their audiences then they "have the effect of constructing some of the limits and parameters within which decodings will operate" (Hall 1980: 135). This illustrates that news "is not a mirror of reality. It is a representation of the world and all representations are selective" (Schudson 2003: 33).

Headlines form an important part of news discourse as they are amongst the first items which readers come into contact with. Often, they can be more important than the news story itself as they reach a considerably wider audience than the main text and have a better framing potential of the event as they "encapsulate not only the content but the orientation" (Abastado 1980: 149). The traditional view has been that they function and form summaries of their news items (Dor 2002). This seems to be quite a narrow view as it is not only the informational load that is captured in a headline; a hierarchy or prioritization of themes and representations offered to the public is also imposed. According to Bell, news headlines have two goals as they summarize news events and "attempt to attract the reader" (1991: 189-90), using devices such as "alliteration or punning" (1991: 189). In discussing framing and headlines, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify in headlines 'framing devices' that condense information and offer a 'media package' of an issue. Also, Tankard (2001) offers a holistic outlining of the framing devices and lists headlines first amongst 11 "framing mechanism or focal points for identifying and measuring news frames" (de Vreese 2005: 55). Headlines, then, have the power to carry the significance of the message about news and for this they are assigned a "privileged position" (Baicchi 2003 as cited in White 2011: 96).

2.2 Translation and Headline Framing

While research has not ignored the important discursive role of headlines in the press, it has been fairly slow in discussing how translation is often interwoven with the process of news discourse. There are some exceptions, however, as some scholars (Darwish 2005; Clausen 2003) have introduced a translation perspective into the study of news, and others (Cronin 2003; Pym 2004; Bassnett 2005) have looked into the general dynamics that govern the international news distribution, taking into account translation, while others (Vuorinen 1995, 1996) have paid more close attention to gatekeeping functions in the translation of global news across institutions, without devaluing the product of these processes, i.e. the

translated text itself. Also, Valdeón (2005; 2007a) has been informative in discussing the effects of translated news discourse. So although translation-mediated news discourse has been under-researched, it remains a key parameter in today's globalized news media setting with its intertraffic between information, sources and messages.

As discussed above, headlines are a key feature of news discourse and an integral part of the news story. However, when one leaves the territory of monolingual discourse to look at translated discourse, things take a different turn. This happens because as Valdeón (2007b) maintains, analysis of the discourse of translation resides in both the "primary and secondary discourses understood as source texts (ST)s and target texts (TT)s" (2007b: 100). Target texts are then for Valdeón secondary texts in the sense that they are not created from scratch but are rather deeply grounded in the meaning intended by the ST, from which they cannot escape, and in that sense constantly interact with the latter. Similarly, House (1997; 2009) has stressed the double-bind nature of translation, constrained by both its original and the communicative conditions of the new addressees. The idea of translation as a dependent, secondary discourse or communication has seeped into the discipline, introduced by other scholars who have described the translated text as a "metatext" (Hermans 2007: 68) since it "reports on other texts rather than speaking directly about the world" (*ibid*.). Along the same interpretative lines, Chesterman talks about translation as a performance of "relevant resemblance" (1996: 160) and explains how the translated text cannot disengage from its parent text. If translation is bounded by the source text, and if it is doomed to come to life only after its preceding source equivalent, what sort of an analysis needs to take place? What we argue here is that the interaction between the source and target text is not a seamless one; rather there are traces of a transition from one linguistic and cultural environment to another (cf. here also House's [1977; 1997] concept of a "cultural filter" which the translator employs in his/her path from source to target). It is these traces that we shall try to identify and retrieve in our analysis of findings below in section 4.

Like non-translated headlines, translated ones have the same function of prioritizing the most important aspects of a news item and introducing the most important topic of a news story. As we will see below, translated headlines in Greek are frame-carrying rhetorical devices strategically used by newspapers to package news item in such a way as to facilitate a cognitive/interpretative window for readers. Thus, translated news headlines are the product of re-capturing, re-framing and re-narrating a news story originally belonging to a different narrative and textual space.

3. Methodology and Corpus

The working hypothesis underlying the current study is the following: by looking at how translated headlines about austerity and the Greek crisis are constructed we may understand which frames or windows of interpretation newspapers open or close for readers. Consequently, we assume that translated news headlines are the product of framing that relates to a mediated reconstruction of reality by presenting the news through specific frames and thus potentially orienting readers towards specific understanding of the news. Also, we understand and analyse headlines as discourse 'chunks' that can be interpreted as independent textual units without paying attention to the main text.

To observe and explore how the Greek press has discursively framed the age of austerity and the Greek crisis, we take as a starting point the assumption that the news text is a text bracketed in the institutional and hence ideological space of the newspaper that accommodates it. It seems that newspapers do not simply provide information and facts about the world, but that the news media also "construct interpretive frameworks or "frames" through which certain issues or events are to be understood" (Prosser 2010: 54). In this sense, this paper treats translated news discourse as *institutional*. In doing this, we assume an embeddedness of translated language in a specific format, textual space and socioeconomic habitat that accommodates it, directs it and gives it significance. Translated news language then is not an object *in vacuo*, but is rather correlated with and dependent on its context, the newspaper itself, as a medium of hosting events and opinions (Trew 1979).

We will keep in play two levels of analysis which are not mutually exclusive but rather equally supportive: a textual, micro or 'thin' level to identify the discursive structures appropriated by newspapers in the translation of headlines, and a macro or 'thick' level to examine the effects or assumed impact(s) of a translated headline. We take an issue-specific approach (de Vresse 2005), which means that we seek to identify the frames that have infiltrated the translated Greek news headlines in terms of austerity and the Greek crisis. We also adopt an "interactive approach to the construction of reality" (Scheufele 1999: 106) which posits that journalists "package information for efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin 1980: 7), while audiences "rely on a version of reality built from personal experience, interaction with peers and interpreted selection from the mass media" (Neuman *et al*. 1992: 120) to make sense of media packaged information. Our corpus is a parallel one consisting of 50 pairs of original headlines and their translations into Greek which have been published in the Greek mass circulation newspaper *I Kathimerini* which has been also characterised as a quality or elite

newspaper (Dimitrakopoulou and Siapera 2005). In terms of the newspaper's ideological positioning *I Kathimerini* is a moderate right-wing newspaper (Halkias 2004). Although not all articles acknowledge the original source, the selection made has ensured that the articles included had a matching source pair. Headlines retrieved and identified as target headlines had been posted on the Internet which, as Fletcher (2004: 191) notes, offers "a freshness and topicality unmatched by fixed corpora".

4. Analysis and Findings

Five dominant nested frames were identified during the analysis of translated headlines on austerity and the Greek crisis. The first frame narrates the Greek crisis as *contamination*[2] also talking about Greece as a *sick person* in need of a cure, thus victimizing it. The second frame provides a *game-frame* perspectivization to the era of austerity. In the third frame, Greece is narrated as a *victim* in need of rescue, and in the fourth frame it is seen as an *important or key player* who could potentially shape the future of the Eurozone. The fifth dominant frame identified relates to a binary construction of the Greek condition. In what follows we offer an analysis of each of the frames recognized through cross-textual examples.

4.1. The Greek crisis as contamination

Concerns over the impact of the Greek crisis, austerity and the effects it may have for the entire Eurozone have been voiced through translation in headlines. This voicing constructs the Greek crisis as a problem, as a fear-bearing issue with not only local impact but also with larger-scale implications. The *contamination* frame hence offers a link between Greece as a country struck by the financial crisis and the other countries of the Eurozone, mainly those with similar debt problems. This representation has been enacted mainly by means of lexical additions in the target text headline.

In example (1) below the source headline talks about fears about the heavy *deficit* that threatens Spain and Portugal, while the target headline overtly makes reference to a potential spill-over of the crisis. What is more, there seems to be an underlying difference in the impact of the conceptualization as the lexical item *hit* implies a sudden and violent act, while the word   (*spread*) triggers a slow developing action; the Greek newspaper, therefore, downplays the intensity

---

[2] The concept of contagion/contamination has occurred in the financial literature (Calvo and Mendoza 2000) and is linked to spillovers and interdependencies of the global economies.

of the narration by neutralizing it. Interestingly, the target text also includes an omission (*deficit*); despite its high informational load, the word is left out from the target text version which, then, weighs low in specificity and terminological value. Although this may not hinder the perception of readers, it could also mean a strengthening of the image/representation relayed by the target headline. When paying attention to similarities between the two headlines, it seems that both share a verbless structuring which seems to often act as a distance-creating mechanism (Sidiropoulou 2004).

(1) **ST**: Deficit fears hit Spain and Portugal. *Bloomberg, Reuters*.
   TT: Φόβοι για εξάπλωση της κρίσης στην Ισπανία και την Πορτογαλία. *I Kathimerini*, May 6th 2010.
   [= Back Translation: Fears for a crisis spread to Spain and Portugal].

In example (2) below the translated headline upgrades the representation of fear and also adds the representation of a contagion or spill-over of the Greek crisis by means of introducing the lexical item *μ   (contagion)*. This representation increases the levels of uncertainty and anxiety introduced to the Greek audience which has been found (Hofstede and Bond 1984; Sidiropoulou 2008) to be embedded in a culture that favours low tolerance for uncertainty and risk.

(2) **ST**: Fear of fear itself. *The Economist*.
   TT: Ο φόβος του ... φόβου μετάδοσης της ελληνικής κρίσης. *I Kathimerini*, June 24th 2011.
   [=Back Translation: Fear of the … fear of a contagion of the Greek crisis].

In example (3) a negative reference to Greece has been appropriated by the Greek target text as it includes a reference to the "Greek virus", which poses an imminent threat to Spain and Portugal ready to spread like an epidemic to equally shaky countries.

(3) **ST**: Greece: Threat for Spain and Portugal. *Financial Times*.
   TT: Ο ελληνικός … ιός απειλεί Ισπανία και Πορτογαλία. *I Kathimerini*, March 3rd 2010.

[= Back Translation: The Greek … virus threatens Spain and Portugal].

An associated frame to that of the Greek crisis as *contagion* is one that constructs the Greek economy as suffering from an *illness*. As noted above, Greece has been portrayed as "the sick man of Europe" (Malkoutzis 2011), suffering from the consequences of a financial crisis. This frame is not independent of the one relating to contamination, illustrated in the examples above. The difference, however, lies in the interpretation(s) it enacts. First of all, as Fuchs and Graf (2010) mention, the metaphor of sickness/illness relating to economies implies that a cure is needed, which may legitimize intervention and open the way to a course of action to save countries from the crisis.

In example (4) the two framings intersect in the translated headline as it makes reference to a *disease* that is about to spread (*contamination* frame) and take over Cyprus as well.

(4) ST: Cyprus after Greece. *Reuters.*

TT: Η ελληνική ασθένεια στην Κύπρο. *I Kathimerini*, June 1st 2011.

[= Back Translation: The Greek disease in Cyprus].

Unlike example (4), example (5) is foregrounding the dire condition of the Greek economy alone, adopting the reference in its source counterpart to an economy that is dying. Interestingly, the target version changes the conceptualization by appropriating a more extended time expression (*slowly dying*), versus a sudden and *ad hoc* death of the Greek economy expressed in the source headline.

(5) ST: Moody's: The Greek economy is dying. *Bloomberg.*

TT: Η ελληνική οικονομία αργοπεθαίνει, λέει η Moody's. *I Kathimerini*, January 14th 2010.

[= Back Translation: The Greek economy is slowly dying, says Moody's].

4.2. Game-framing

The second dominant frame that is reflected in our findings narrates the Greek crisis as a *game*. Researchers have found that game frames are ubiquitous in the news industry as they provide a good mass entertainment feature (Brewer and Sigelman 2002) and for this they are often recruited by the media industry to

sustain the attention of the readers. Moreover, this "game frame" (Hollander 2006: 569) offers a variant description of the political and financial situation in the Greek environment often downplaying its severity and critical condition. This representation, enacted mainly through lexical choices in translated headlines, represents the economic crisis as a game and Greece engaged in it. In example (6) below, Greece is portrayed as a player in a game that is about to end, thus foregrounding the seriousness of the situation. The reference to a game that is about to end in Greece (target version) is significantly more negative than the representation enacted in the source version. What is more, this game framing in certain cases contributes to building a tension-rich atmosphere serving to attract more reader attention.

(6) **ST**: How Reversible Is The Euro? *The New York Times.*

   TT: Τέλος παιγνιδιού για την Ελλάδα. *I Kathimerini*, May 7th 2010.

   [= Back Translation: End of Game for Greece].

Whereas in the above example the translated headline is making reference to a game that is close to its end, the following headline recruits the metaphor of a bargain that is under way. This representation dovetails the "politics-as-game" (Patterson 1993) framework that presupposes that there is a battle to win and a game to play. This frame therefore sets the context and provides readers with a cognitive schema through which they will most likely go on to interpret the message inscribed.

(7) **ST**: Negotiating the austerity measures for 2011. *The Guardian*

   TT: Σκληρό παζάρι με την τρόικα για τα μέτρα του 2011. *I Kathimerini*, November 11th 2010.

   [= Back Translation: Hard bargain with Troika for the 2011 austerity measures].

While in examples (6) and (7), the game frame limits itself to portraying a situation for Greece, example (8) illustrates the seriousness of the situation in relation to Europe, accentuating the awareness of fear and risk-taking. The target headline makes reference to an imminent domino effect that is threatening Europe as a whole. Fear of a Europe-wide economic collapse is reflected in the lexical item   μ   (*domino*) that puts high pressure not only on Greece but on other countries of the Eurozone as well. Clearly, there is a correlation of this domino-

framing with the contamination frame identified above. In other words, the metaphor of contamination also implies an analogy with a representation of erratic, uncontrollable, often spontaneous—and hence dangerous—spread of a malfunctioning economy. This analogy is consistent with the effect of domino-framing where readers are landed with an image of an unstoppable, tsunami-like collapse of the economy.

(8) **ST**: EU debt crisis: Greece granted €110bn aid to avert meltdown. *The Guardian.*

TT: Ο κίνδυνος για ντόμινο της Ευρώπης. *I Kathimerini*, May 5th 2010.

[= Back Translation: Risk for a European Domino]

The persistence of the reference to a domino is highlighted through its reoccurrence in translated headlines that appropriate the reference of the source headline, as indicated in example (9) below.

(9) **ST**: Lack of cash, fears of domino. *Reuters.*

TT: Απειλή-ντόμινο για την αγορά λόγω έλλειψης ρευστότητας. *I Kathimerini*, January 24th 2010.

[= Back Translation: Domino-threat for the market due to lack of liquidity]

4.3. Greece as victim

Uncertainty and fear surrounding crisis-ridden Greece has also been portrayed through a representation of Greece as a *victim* in need of help and a cure. Since the outbreak of the crisis Greece has been listed among the PIGS[3] and has emerged as a prototype victim both of free-market fundamentalism (Krugman 2010) and its own suicidal past of excessive spending. In the following examples the translated version of the source headlines depicts the Greek economy as an economy in need of rescue, as a helpless victim that needs to be supported.

In example (10) the lexical item *rescue* appropriated in the target version is a clear indication of this frame.

(10) ST: Greece's Newest Odyssey. *The New York Times.*

---

[3] Reference to Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain as the four problematic economies.

TT: Τρεις τρόποι σωτηρίας για την Ελλάδα. *I Kathimerini*, May 8th 2010.

[= Back Translation: Three ways to rescue Greece]

Example (11) retains the metaphor of a remedy/cure while adding a reference to the International Monetary Fund, which in the target version is represented as the entity responsible for rescuing Greece. The Greek version, moreover, implies a sense of disbelief as to the outcome of the remedy by emphasizing the temporal item *now*, and thus creating an end-weighted sentence. Also, by dismissing altogether the expression *In search of,* the target version softens the connotation of unpredictability and risk-taking associated with the noun *search*.

(11) ST: In search of a new remedy. *The New York Times.*

TT: Ποια θεραπεία προτείνει τώρα το Ταμείο. *I Kathimerini*, May 25th 2010.

[= Back Translation: What cure proposes the Fund now]

In example (12) the target headline distances itself from the verbless structuring of its anglophone equivalent which only makes reference to a vision that is required for the Greek economy. The target version does not mute the concept of vision, but supplements this with a reference to a *rescue* which activates a representation of a victimized country.

(12) ST: In need of a vision. *Bloomberg.*

TT: Μετά τη διάσωση, χρειάζεται και όραμα. *I Kathimerini*, May 8th 2010.

[= Back Translation: After the rescue, vision is required]

The translation choices in example (13) below drastically change the articulation embedded in the source counterpart. The target version includes the negatively valued characteristic (*junk*), a dramatic reference to the rating of the Greek economy at the time. The overtones of victimization that penetrate the target headline are instantiated by the verb , which assigns the responsibility for the Greek situation to an exterior force and reveals a growing antipathy to the rating houses.

(13) ST: Economic meltdown. *The Economist.*

TT: «Σκουπίδι»... κατήντησαν την ελληνική οικονομία. *I Kathimerini*, January 16th 2011.

[= Back Translation: "Junk"…is what they made of the Greek economy]

4.4. Greece as an important stakeholder for Europe

Although Greece is a peripheral country, it has often been represented by the media as a key actor for European finances, as an economy that has the power to shake the economies of the heartland[4]. This articulation is in contrast to the one explained in section 4.2 above that represents Greece as a victim. In the examples listed below Greece's articulated role is an upgraded one, as it presents a systemic risk for entire economies and potentially threatens the cohesion of the Eurozone itself.

Example (14) silences the reference to fear inscribed in the source headline and introduces the concept of threat that is explicitly attributed to Greece that constitutes a menace to the entire European banking sector.

(14) ST: Fears for systemic collapse. *Reuters.*

TT: Γιατί η Ελλάδα απειλεί το ευρωπαϊκό τραπεζικό σύστημα. *I Kathimerini*, January 16th 2011.

[= Back Translation: Why is Greece threatening the European banking system]

This explicit responsibility attributed to Greece becomes vividly present in example (15) where *Athens* is narrated as being able to destroy the euro; the shift then from *Greek* (ST) to   (*Athens*) (TT) seems to effect a shift of responsibility as the national capital of the country stands for the government. Also, as with examples listed above, here too Greece is under the spotlight but from a different perspective through the more localized item *Athens* (in comparison to *Greece*) and by the verb   (*set on fire*).

(15) ST: Merkel pledges faster Greek aid as pain spreads to Spain. *Reuters, AP, AFP*

---

[4] References from other newspapers also confirm this frame: Another mass circulation newspaper , i.e. *To Ethnos,* for example, has written that "Στο κέντρο του κόσμου βρίσκεται ξανά η Ελλάδα" (Greece is again at the centre of the world) (May 25th 2010).

TT: Η Αθήνα «πυρπολεί» το ευρώ. *I Kathimerini*, May 7th 2010.

[= Back Translation: Athens is setting the euro on fire]

Similarly, example (16) rewrites the source headline by placing Greece in the powerful position of being able to determine and define Europe's future. The comparison of Greece to a *μ μ* (*midwife*) works as an empowering reference to a country which has been also undermining the strength of the common currency.

(16) ST: The Silver Lining to Greece's Woes. The New York Times.

TT: Μαμή της ευρωπαϊκής ολοκλήρωσης η Ελλάδα. I Kathimerini, March 2nd 2010.

[= Back Translation: Greece: The midwife of European Integration]

4.5. A binary construction of Greece

The fifth frame identified in our sample corpus relates to a binary construction of reality that narrates Greece in contrast to its various polar *Others*. It also seems that the debt crisis, as "a disruptive moment of history" (Risse 2010: 2), has formed a communicative opportunity for the media to continue in the line of a tradition[5] of 'Othering' and from there to promote or foreclose certain identifications, often resulting in the emergence of stereotype-congruent representations. The concept of *Otherness* or *Othering* relates here to the "concepts of ingroup favouritism and outgroup bias" (Critchfield 2010: 520). It is a process that allows individuals to construct relationships of sameness and difference and to construct their own identity. Examples show the tendency of newspapers to appropriate binary discourse, to create juxtapositions and amplify contrastiveness in translated headlines. This preference is of strategic significance and relates directly to the framing potential inherent in headlines. Headlines mainly provide a lead-in and are forerunners to the main story that follows and can influence the interpretation of the text. In terms of the binary constructions, these are omnipresent, particularly as a feature of institutional discourse. This deep-seated tendency in Greek culture for creating binary associations and constructions of 'Otherness' has been verified by Itzkowitz as a historically-driven trait. Itzkowitz talks about "stereotyping as a means of otherizing and the

---

[5] For example, during the Cold War, Russia served as a good *Other* to the European Self (Neumann 1999) while Islam has also emerged as a strong polar end to the West (Said 1993) and discourses that appeared favoured dichotomies and stressed exaggerations in terms of '*Westerness'* or '*Europeaness'*.

ego of victimization" (1996: 36) when analysing the embeddedness of the Greek nation in an imaginary fight with the opposite 'Other', i.e. Turks. Also, enemy-making has been attested by psychoanalytic approaches (Rieber and Kelly 1991), according to which the construction of a polar 'Other' legitimizes and gives meaning to the Self.

This contrast-creating intention seems to be ubiquitous in Greek translated discourse as well. Contrastiveness and polarity seem to share a connection to *binary thinking* which relates to the degree that the Greek society is enmeshed in a context of binary oppositions and adversarial ideology. It reveals itself as a tendency to create one's image by drawing on and comparing oneself to a real or imaginary 'Other'. This preference for drawing on oppositions in news discourses has been found in English-Greek translation research (Sidiropoulou 2008), as binary and confrontational conceptualizations were shown to be preferred in Greek versions of texts.

Example (17) below is indicative of the polar, manichaeistic discourse appropriated by headlines. While the ST does not include any binary structure, the TT frames the story through a polar juxtaposition comparing Us (Greeks) to the Foreigners. This is an explicit contrastive rhetoric device to guide the readership towards reading the story through an *Us versus Them* lens of understanding.

> **(17) ST**: Being Foreign. *The Economist.*
>
> **TT**: Εμείς (και) οι Ξένοι. *I Kathimerini*, January 10th 2010.
>
> [= Back Translation: Us (and) the Foreigners]

While example (17) frames the story through a clear opposition, the following example (18) juxtaposes Greece with Globalization. This discursive choice does not echo a direct juxtaposition of Greece vis-à-vis a distant *Other*. On the contrary, the binary structuring here is encapsulated in the implicit signification and contrast of Greece (local) with Globalization (global). The binary nature of this example becomes evident through the associations that the lexical items (*Greece*) and μ (*Globalization*) carry: it is through the pairing of 'Globalization' with 'Greece' that the reader can interpret 'Greece' as local.

> **(18) ST**: The Greek condition. *Reuters.*
>
> **TT**: Ελλάδα και παγκοσμιοποίηση. *I Kathimerini*, January 31st 2010.
>
> [= Back Translation: Greece and Globalization]

While in the example above the binary opposition is implicit, in the following example the construction of an enemy-Other is highlighted as the European economy is directly contrasted to the Greek austerity. The lexical item *versus* increases the tension between the 'Self' and the 'Other', the familiar and the alien.

(19) **ST**: Greeks facing austerity. *Bloomberg.*

TT: Η ευρωπαϊκή οικονομία απέναντι στην ελληνική λιτότητα. *I Kathimerini*, June 3rd 2010.

[= Back Translation: The European economy versus Greek austerity]

Like example (17) above, example (20) triggers a direct polar distinction between Us and Them, also drawing on the indexical items *here* and *there* which are also in contrast with each other.

(20) **ST**: What they say about us. *Reuters.*

TT: Εμείς εδώ, αυτοί εκεί. *I Kathimerini*, March 2nd 2010.

[= Back Translation: Us here, them there]

What the appropriation of binary constructions in translated headlines reveals is a tendency of the media institution (newspaper) to take up the role of contrast creator or contradictor. The importance of *Othering* in making sense of the *Self* has been highlighted by researchers and identified as leading to the construction of identities. It also links discourse and language choices to an identity, macro or "thick" level (cf. Hansen [2006] who shows that identity is discursive, political and social). Identifying identity as the output of discursive processes thus means that the latter cannot be stripped of the communicative practices within which these are enacted (Risse 2010).

4.6. Summary

The nexus of frames that results from an examination of selected translated news headlines about the financial crisis and the era of austerity can be summed up in the following tables, which display the distribution of dominant frames across the TTs following their comparison to the STs. Overall, out of the 50 translated headlines studied, 15 presented no significant shift away from the frame of the source anglophone headline. These 15 headlines reflect a non-discourse significant frame, making overt reference to the exit scenarios from the Eurozone

(*f*=6), to uncertainty surrounding the Greek economy (*f*=6) and to the rescue mechanism that had been agreed (*f*=3). None of the 15 instances described above manifests a discourse-related shift from the ST frame (see Table 1 below). Table 2 presents the remaining 35 frame-relevant translated headlines. It illustrates: i) the overall frequency of a given frame in our corpus, including headlines that presented no significant shift from the ST, i.e. translations that retained the ST frame in the TT; ii) the frequency and percentage of those frames that were introduced in the TT following a shift from the ST. We identified the unforced translation shifts that emerged in our examples as useful and meaningful discursive traces of that transition of meaning—or separation from the ST—as evidence of the far from seamless process of news translation. These shifts were predominately linked to lexical choices that were appropriated by the Greek newspaper and triggered specific representations of Greece both in relation to itself and to Europe.

Frame in ST	Overall Frequency in ST corpus	Frame introduced in the TT after a shift from the ST
Exit scenarios from the Eurozone	6	0
Uncertainty surrounding the Greek economy	6	0
Agreed rescue mechanism	3	0
Total	15	

Table 1: Distribution of frames in ST headlines showing no shift between ST and TT

Frame	Overall Frequency in ST and TT corpus	Frequency in ST	Frame introduced in the TT after a shift from the ST
The Greek crisis as contamination	8	5	3
Game-framing	5	1	4
Greece as victim	7	3	4
Greece as an important stakeholder for Europe	7	4	3
Binary constructions	8	4	4
Total	35	17	18

Table 2: Distribution of dominant frames in TT headlines showing shifts between ST and TT

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper has looked at the discursive construction of the Greek crisis and the era of austerity in Greek translated headlines. Our data are taken from the context of a highly tense economic *milieu,* which is reflected in the construction of news discourse. Paying attention to how discourse is used, fabricated and manipulated through and by newspapers in relation to the crisis is in alignment with one of the key postulates of media communication theory: that the media, through discourse, construct and mirror the social fabric and social reality. This paper has gone one step further, seeking to analyse translated language. Viewing translated language as a locus for meaning-making reveals that translation is not perspective-free but rather has the power to sustain, streamline, distil and renegotiate meaning. As this paper has investigated translation within the institutionalized context of newspapers particularly by looking at *translated* headlines, it inevitably elaborates on the stories of austerity and the crisis as texts which are in a sense 'second hand' and do not account for first-person stories; instead they are mediated by a) the newspaper that hosts them, and b) the translation decisions to which they are subjected.

To arrive at conclusions we analysed translated language through the use of frames, understood here as central organizing concepts potentially affecting and guiding public perception. These organizing units are not looked upon as established, fixed representations, but rather as constructs fabricated and negotiated by the media whose role is neither trivial nor decisive (Gamson and Modigliani 1989).

Our findings show a re-packaging of many of the news stories presented in our corpus of translated headlines. Although no serious information asymmetry is identified when comparing headline pairs, the target versions seem to increase emphasis in relation to the frames identified in our analysis. The analysis of translated headlines shows that the target headline often breaks away from its source counterpart in the sense that it is not translated closely. This tallies with findings from Valdeón (2007a) who finds some irregularity in Spanish translated headline structuring although it contradicts Bell, who states that "headline structures appear to be very regular across languages" (1991: 189).

Five dominant frames through which the readership was challenged to understand and interpret the Greek crisis and austerity era were identified. The first concerned the Greek crisis as contamination, introducing a threatening perspective for other countries as well. The second identified game frames around Greece, thereby seriously undermining the severity of the situation. Interestingly, the two following frames oscillate between opposing representations as they tell the story of the Greek crisis through conflicting frames: one representing Greece

as victim/patient, the other awarding Greece the more crucial role of a key player in the future of the Eurozone that could cause substantial problems to the core of the European economy. Also, Greece has been offered a discourse of significant *Other*, of a polar distant to what the core of Europe has been representing. So by constructing an identity of Greece, the media also create an identifiable *Other* to Europe. This is brought forward by means of juxtapositions and binary constructions that relate to the fifth frame identified.

The analysis of our small corpus shows that across the thematic thread of austerity and the Greek crisis, representations of Greece vary. This means that these representations are not caught in a 'stand still' but rather evolve, influenced by the intensity of financial events and news. Newspapers, for their part, partake in the communicative setup, which is a tripartite one involving the media who use discourse to create or echo identities, the recipients of news messages who are exposed to elusive, stereotyped and repeated representations and the object of discursive construction, in this case Greece.

Themis Kaniklidou
Hellenic American University, Greece
tkaniklidou@hauniv.us

Juliane House
Hellenic American University, Greece
jhouse@hauniv.us

Bibliography

Abastado, Claude (1980). *Messages des Medias.* Paris: CEDIC

Anon. (2010). "Greece is just the 'tip of the iceberg', Nouriel Roubini warns." Telegraph.co.uk http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/7648775/Greece-is-just-the-tip-of-the-iceberg-Nouriel-Roubini-warns.html (last accessed August 3rd 2013).

Antoniades, Antonis (2012). "At the eye of the cyclone: the Greek crisis in global media", http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/hellenicObservatory/CMS%20pdf/Research/Greek_Econ_Crisis_in_the_International_Press%5Ben%5D.pdf (last accessed August 3rd 2013).

Baicchi, Annalisa (2003). "Relational complexity of titles and texts: a semiotic taxonomy". Lavinia Merlini Barbaresi (ed.). *Complexity in Language and Text*. Pisa: Edizione Plus-Universidad de Pisa. 319-341.

Bassnett, Susan (2005). "Bringing News Back Home: Strategies of Acculturation and Foreignisation". *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 5(2), 120-130.

Bell, Allan (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Berkowitz, Dan & Adams, Douglas B. (1990). "Information subsidy and agenda-building in local television news". *Journalism Quarterly*, 67(4), 723-731.

Bielsa, Esperança (2007). "Translation in global news agencies". *Target*, 19(1), 135-155.

Brewer, Paul R. & Sigelman, Lee (2002). "Political Scientists as Color Commentators: Framing and Expert Commentary in Media Campaign Coverage." *Press/Politics*, 7, 23-35.

Calvo, Guillermo A. & Mendoza, Enrique (2000). "Rational Contagion and the Globalization of Securities Markets". *Journal of International Economics*, 51, 79-113.

Cappella, Joseph. N. & Jamieson, Kathleen H. (1997). *Spiral of cynicism. The press and the public good*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chesterman, Andrew (1996). 'On Similarity'. *Target*, 8(1), 159-164.

Clausen, Lisbeth (2003). *Global News Production*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Christodoulou, Eleni (2010). "Greek Politics and Passion(s): Reconstructing National Identity in the Midst of Financial Crisis". PPSG, Working Paper #10. http://www.gpsg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Working_Paper_10.pdf (last accessed January 15th 2014).

Critchfield, Andrew J. (2010). "The Process of Othering". Jackson Ronald (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Identity*. London: Sage Publications, 520-526.

Cronin, Michael (2003). *Translation and Globalization*. London and New York: Routledge.

Darwish, Ali (2005). *Language, Translation and Identity in the Age of the Internet, Satellite Television and Directed Media*. Melbourne. Writescope.

de Vreese, Claes H. (2005). "News framing: theory and typology". *Information Design Journal*, 13(1), 51-62.

Dimitrakopoulou, Dimitra & Siapera, Eugenia (2005). "Greece: identical contents, lack of sophistication". Richard van der Wurff & Edmund Lauf (eds). *Print and online newspapers in Europe. A comparative analysis in 16 countries*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 145-158.

Dor, Daniel (2002). "On Newspaper headlines as relevance optimizers". *Journal of Pragmatics,* 35(5), 695-721.

Doorslaer, Luc V. (2010). "Journalism in translation". Gambier Yves & Luc van Doorslaer (ed.). *Handbook of Translation Studies, Volume 1*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co, 180-184.

Entman, Robert (1993). "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm". *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

Fiske, Susan.T. & Taylor, Shelley.E (1991). *Social Cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fletcher, William H. (2004). "Making the Web More Useful as a Source for Linguistic Corpora". Ulla Connor & Thomas A. Upton (eds). *Applied Corpus Linguistics: A Multidimesional Perspective*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 191-206.

Fuchs, Doris & Antonia Graf (2010). *The Financial Crisis in Discourse: Banks, Financial Markets and Political Responses*.Conference Paper, Munster: Institute of Political Science, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. http://stockholm.sgir.eu/uploads/Crisis-in-Discourse_Fuchs_Graf.pdf (last accessed January 15th 2014).

Gamson, William A. & Modigliani, Andre (1989). "Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach". *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1-37.

Gitlin, Todd (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Goffman, Erving (1974). *Frame Analysis: An essay on organization of experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

Halkias, Alexandra (2004). *The Empty Cradle of Democracy: Sex, Abortion and Nationalism in Modern Greece*. NC and London: Duke University Press.

Hall, Stuart (1980). "Encoding/decoding". Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis (eds). *Culture, Media, Language*. New York: Routledge, 128-138.

Hansen, Lene (2006). *Security as Practice. Discourse Analysis and the BosnianWar*. London: Routledge.

Hermans, Theo (2007). "Translation, Irritation and Resonance". Michaela Wolf & Alexandra Fukari (eds). *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 57-75.

Hofstede, Geert & Bond, Michael Harris (1984). "Hofstede's Culture Dimensions: An Independent Validation Using Rokeach's Value Survey". *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,* 15(4), 417-433.

Hollander, Robyn (2006). "Elections, Policy and the Media: Tasmania's Forests and the 2004 Federal Election". *Australian Journal of Political Science,* 41(4), 569-584.

House, Juliane (1977). *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment*. Tübingen: Narr.

--- (1997). *Translation Quality Assessment: A model Revisited*. Tübingen: Narr.

--- (2005). *Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Itzkowitz, Norman (1996). "The Problem of Perceptions". L. Carl Brown (ed.). *Imperial Legacy*: *The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East.* New York: Columbia University Press, 30-43.

Kinder, Donald. R. & Sanders, Lynn M. (1990). "Mimicking political debate with survey questions: The case of white opinion on affirmative action for blacks". *Social Cognition*, 8, 73-103.

Krugman, Paul (2010). "An Irish Mirror." http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/08/ opinion/08krugman.html (accessed July 31st 2013).

Malkoutzis, Nick (2011). "Privatization, a very Public Matter". *I Kathimerini*. https://insidegreece.wordpress.com/tag/greece-state-assets/ (last accessed August 5th 2013).

Lang, Gladys & Lang, Kurt (1983). *The battle for public opinion. The President, the Press and the Polls during Watergate*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lutz, Catherine & Abu-Lunghod, Lila (eds) (1990). *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McQuail, Dennis (1994). *Mass communication theory: An introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Neuman, Russell, Just, Marion & Cringler, Ann (1992). *Common Knowledge. News and the construction of political meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Neumann, Iver (1999). *Uses of the other: the "East" in European identity formation*. University of Minesota Press.

Pan, Zhongdang & Kosicki, Gerald M. (1993). "Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse". *Political Communication*, 10(1), 55-75.

Patterson, Thomas E. (1993).*Out of Order*. New York: Vintage.

Philo, Greg (1993). "Getting the message: audience research in the Glasgow University Media Group". John Eldridge (ed.). *Getting the message: news, truth and power*. London: Routledge.

Prosser, Helen (2010). "Marvelous medicines and dangerous drugs: the representation of prescription medicine in the UK newsprint media". *Public Understanding of Science,* 19(1), 52-69.

Pym, Anthony (2004). *The Moving Text. Localization, Translation, and Distribution.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Rieber, Robert W. & Kelly, Robert J. (1991). "Substance and Shadow: Images of the Enemy". Robert W. Rieber (ed.). *The Psychology of War and Peace*. New York: Plemum Press, 3-40.

Risse, Thomas (2010). *A community of Europeans? Translational Identities and Public Spheres*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Said, Edward (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Scheufele, Dietram A. (1999). "Framing as a theory of media effects". *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103-122.

Schudson, Michael (2003). *The Sociology of News*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Sidiropoulou, Maria (2004). *Linguistic Identities through Translation*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.

--- (2008). "Cultural Encounters in Advertisement Translation". *Journal of Modern Studies*. 26(2), 337-362.

Tankard, James W. (2001). "The empirical approach to the study of media framing". Stephen Reese, Oscar Gandy & August Grant (eds). *Framing public life*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 95-106.

Trew, Tony (1979). "What the Papers Say: Linguistic Variation and Ideological Difference". Roger Fowler, Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress & Tony Trew (eds). *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 117-157.

Valdeón, Roberto (2005). "The Translated Spanish Service of the BBC". *Across Languages and Cultures*, 6(2), 195-220.

--- (2007a). "Translating news from the inner circle: Imposing regularity across languages". *Quaderns. Rev*. *Trad*. 14, 155-167.

--- (2007b). "Ideological Independence or Negative Mediation: BBCMundo and CNNEspanol (translated) Reporting of Madrid's Terrorist Attacks". Myriam Salama-Carr (ed.). *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi. 99-118.

Vuorinen, Erka (1995). "News translation as gatekeeping". Mary Snell-Hornby, Zuzana Jettmarová & Klaus Kaindl (eds). *Translation as Intercultural Communication.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co, 161-172.

--- (1996). *Crossing Cultural Boundaries in International News Transmission – Translational Approach*. Unpublished Licentiate Thesis. University of Tampere, Department of Translation Studies.

Themis Kaniklidou is faculty member at Hellenic American University where she teaches translation and interpreting. She earned her PhD from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens having worked on Narrative Theory and News Translation. Her research interests lie in translation theory, narrative theory, discourse analysis and interpreting.

Juliane House is Professor Emeritus of Applied Linguistics at the University of Hamburg and Director of Programs in Arts and Sciences at Hellenic American University. Her research interests include English as a lingua franca, contrastive pragmatics, discourse analysis, politeness theory, intercultural communication, and translation theory.

BOOK REVIEWS

Translation Theory and Development Studies: A Complexity Theory Approach. Kobus Marais. London: Routledge, 2013. 232 pp. Hb. ISBN: 978-0-415-84035-4. £ 80.00.

In recent years there have been a lot of calls in translation studies to rethink the discipline. Kobus Marais's new book demonstrates a way to do so by building a theory of translation that draws on complexity theory. This theory "does not try to reduce either the one into the many or the many into the one" (p.22). It posits that complex systems exist that may not be reduced to any one way or other of understanding them: rather than 'either/or', complexity theory privileges 'and/both'. Complexity offers a way beyond dualisms and Marais sees in it a way beyond thinking of translation in terms of other actions (e.g. transfer, rewriting and other common metaphors). In addition to the theoretical work on translation as a complex phenomenon, the author also investigates translation in development contexts, analysing how policy documents are translated by and for different groups, the role of the 'knowledge economy' in development and translation in the informal economy. This empirical research questions many of the suppositions of translation studies and sheds light on many areas of translational activity that are often overlooked. The book explicitly has two halves: the first centred on complexity theory, the second on development.

Chapters 1 to 3 form part one. From the outset, Marais makes no claims to be a complexity theorist and focuses rather on explaining how the theory works, especially the idea of complex adaptive systems. Fourteen key points (based on the model of complexity theory developed at the Santa Fe Institute) are articulately described and connected to translation. One of the central drawing points of complexity theory is its capacity to "hold on to both parts of what have traditionally been thought of as paradoxical or logically exclusive positions, such as local and global" (p.46)—oppositions that are often brought together in translation. Marais argues that translation is a complex adaptive system, which is therefore interconnected with other complex adaptive systems (e.g. medicine, literature, technical writing and so on) but may not be reduced to any one of them. Chapter 2 tackles the concept of 'emergent semiotics.' 'Emergence', following Marais's reading of complexity theory, means that wholes are not reducible to their parts; complex systems may emerge out of simpler elements (for example, life emerges from chemical elements, society emerges from individuals).

Therefore, semiotics, and consequently also translation, become central to the emergence and development of societies (p.67). This preparative work on complexity theory comes to fruition in the third chapter, which entails a full rethinking of translation as a concept. Marais argues that translation should be thought of as any 'inter-systemic relationship' (p.97)—which would necessarily mean going beyond translation as a purely linguistic or semiotic process. He then posits that "translation [is] a phenomenon of, primarily, change based on stability, that is, stability based on change" (p.99) and goes on to explain how this conceptualisation affects the concept of agency.

The second part of the book focuses on the role of translation in development contexts. Marais's analysis proceeds from development studies, which focuses on how societies interact and how quality of life is improved (or not) through various forms of intervention. Marais conscientiously explains the problems in the term and possible actions taken relating to it in the fourth chapter: the entire concept of development highlights the differing power relations between countries, with 'less-developed' or 'under-developed' countries being less powerful (and rich) than their 'more-developed' counterparts. More specifically, the author proceeds to demonstrate that this is significant for the South African context in which he works, where people and translators may have less ability to change things than in richer countries.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present case studies. The first of these examines how development plans and governmental policies are translated for different audiences. In a multilingual country such as South Africa, this means both interlingual translations between English, Afrikaans and the other nine official language of South Africa, including Sesotho, isiXhosa and isiZulu, and also intralingual translations for different audiences. Chapter 6 focuses on translation in what is called the 'knowledge economy', with a particular focus on agricultural development. Again, translation in this situation is both intralingual and interlingual: the description of the project for purposes of funding must differ from the dissemination of the results among farmers (p.180), who often speak other languages than the researchers. Chapter 7 analyses incidences of translation and language brokering in the informal economy, i.e. the non-official, non-tax-paying economy which accounts for approximately 35% of jobs in South Africa and considerably more elsewhere in the continent (p.195). All of the case studies rely on interview data and contextualise translation in its social setting.

This is a very rich book with much to recommend it. Its philosophical approach to translation in part 1 is rigorous and deserves serious contemplation by the translation studies community. The first half of the book is quite dense and may perhaps put some readers off, but the case studies in the second half are

easier to assimilate and offer ways of studying more ephemeral forms of translation in situations that have, so far, fallen under the radar of much research work in translation studies. *Translation Theory and Development Studies* is clearly a book of two halves and while there are connections between the two parts, each feels like it could be read separately. Equally, each could perhaps be further developed through additional case studies or more detailed examination of the same data. In spite of this, it still remains an important and timely publication that provides both a rigorous theory of translation and some very interesting case studies about the workings of translation in development contexts.

Jonathan Evans
School of Languages and Area Studies
University of Portsmouth, UK
jonathan.evans@port.ac.uk

Translation/Interpreting and Social Activism. Compromiso Social y Traducción/Interpretación. Edited by Julie Boéri and Carol Maier. Granada: ECOS Traductores e Intérpretes por la Solidaridad, 2010. 389 pp. Pb. ISBN: 978-84-613-1759-2 £ 30.00.

Born out of need or conviction and ranging from political or revolutionary action to social engagement drawing on the ethics of belief, activism is associated with a heightened sense of civic duty. To be sure, in the more narrowly defined world of translation and interpreting, a 'day in the office' for an interpreter in Granada would not entail the same risk of losing life or limb as for her colleague in Falouja. And yet, according to this volume's 'call to arms', both interpreters should be equally aware of, and active about, world affairs.

A flurry of publications around such concerns certainly points to a shift in academic attention to social engagement, as a core concern to the field. Watershed monographs such as Mona Baker's *Translation and Conflict* (2006) coincide with scholarly investment in the forms that activism can take. And although it is still early days, we may well surmise that such statements refocus socio-political anxieties over the consequences of geopolitical changes at the turn of the century, on the fate of peoples. As with the transformative effects of the Cold War on mainstream academic discourse, the current intensification of geopolitical strife through extending the 'war on terror' to cover global discourse and inter- and

intra-state relations alike could not but lead to a decisive re-tuning of the social positioning of academia.

This book edited by Carol Maier and Julie Boéri is largely dedicated to innovative practices in translation and interpreting aimed precisely towards social equality, justice and the extension of 'language hospitality'. For the purpose of understanding how a multifaceted, multi-agent movement articulates itself, let us look into the strands of translator and interpreter activism which each chapter considers separately. Under the key notions of 'engagement' and 'reflection', the volume offers sections on: policy-affecting activist praxis in general, as for instance the chapter on the establishment of ECOS, Manuel Talens' account of setting up Tlaxcala, the chapters by Ileana Dimitriu, Richard Jacquemond, Anastasia Lampropoulou; on professional practices, whether translation analysis (Marta Ortega Sáez, Christina Delistathi), interpreting (Lampropoulou again; Anne Martin and Mustapha Taibi) or translation as a feminist intervention (Olga Castro Vázquez, María López Ponz); and, finally, on practices pertaining to teaching/translator training (Rosalind M. Gill and María Constanza Guzmán, Jesús de Manuel Jerez) and research (Mona Baker, Martha P. Y. Cheung). Although elements of self-reflection reverberate throughout, the culmination of the volume's theme is a section focusing on social critique (this includes more essays by Cheung, Gill and Guzmán, Jerez, as well as Moira Inghilleri); this section of the book is particularly effective. The apparent subjectivity in the structuring of the volume reflects the significance of—unavoidably—messy processes and forms of collective action ultimately affecting the field's self-perception: any change in mainstream attitudes to providing services, training students, designing research and engaging politically involves a serious amount of unlearning. To this end, as several contributors here advise, it is best to assume novel practices in settings as varied as the classroom, the community, the desktop, the management of professional bodies or scholarly analysis.

In their fine introduction, the editors argue that this book is about a clear, nuanced 'commitment to social change' (p.5), aiming to provide 'insights' and 'guidance' for professionals, activists and academics. They proceed with gusto and discernment in pulling and weaving together a tapestry of differently accented narratives on various key aspects of social activism. Whether cool and lucid, or enmeshed in the Byzantine logistics of grassroot activism and expressing frustration at the stubbornly esoteric disposition of the profession, the variety of experiences and insights sampled here cannot be overstated.

Obvious teething troubles aside—revisited in the essays by Talens and Lampropoulou, as well as the collaborative ECOS account—the volume invites reflection on how theoretical discourse and advocacy can best support one

another, thus 'catalysing change' in Cheung's apt phrase (104). Although Translation and Interpreting Studies, alongside most branches of the Humanities, embraced the Gramscian notion that to understand praxis is to exit it, here the very thing that spurs engagement and paradigm innovation is, indeed, practice. Not surprisingly, it is interpreting—an embodied skill and 'an early example of a global profession' for Franz Pöchhacker (2004)—that deserves more credit in this respect: not only in the establishment of activist associations and fora but also in the far-reaching contributions by activists in teaching-as-critique.

Considerations of agency run throughout this book. More specifically, the primarily *accidental* contiguity which underpins professional contexts of translation and interpreting becomes here a force which repairs the dehumanisation that is part of the profession's instrumentality within a globalised economy. In their contributions to the volume, Gill and Guzmán as well as Jerez rightly take issue with instrumentality which, in effect, consolidates dominant structures while securely blocking off critique—a state of affairs experienced in the context of translation research too (see also Mona Baker's contribution, 'Resisting State Terror: Theorising Communities of Activist Translators and Interpreters', pp.25-27). Social activism affords certain clarity in equating training with critique. According to Gill and Guzmán, it may also foster views of academia as a positive force in 'developing reciprocity with social practices'; an example would be interpreting for vulnerable parts of the population (p.124).

By treating interpreter training as a 'fundamentally social engagement' and enlarging its domain to include non- or semi-professional interpreters active in their local communities, participants in this volume are able to point to the elephant in the room: namely, the vulnerability of translators and interpreters— and not just in terms of professional recognition, status and privileges. Providing quality service in community, court or health settings while leaving the marginalised group or individual's claims and rights mostly unaffected is bound to affect professional and personal perception. The tension that exists around professional standards in civil society interpreting speaks volumes in favour of striving for radical curriculum change (see especially pp.33-4 of Lampropoulou's account of 'Babel's Interpreting Policy in the Athens European Forum').

Insights gained through the valorisation of alternative training protocols are matched by Jerez' policy discussion. He calls for true democratisation through a detailed critique of the restrictive monopoly imposed on the interpreting market through the 'minority association' that is the International Association of Conference Interpreters (p.137). The need for privilege-busting, decentralised and truly representational reform, as the essays in this volume collectively suggest, is a very real one in re-conceiving the social role of translation and interpreting.

When the premise of activism is the reality of the need, as was the case with the 2006 European Social Forum, then more concrete examples emerge out of a re-imagined practice: when the Athens organisers decided to pay more than lip service to the commitment of the Babels' Network of Volunteer Translators and Interpreters to enhancing participation through the inclusion of minority languages, the results were as mind-boggling, Lampropoulou tells us, as they were revelatory of 'change-inducing' models (p.28).

However, to suggest that the movement's many sources represent a problem rather than an asset somehow strikes the wrong cord. For instance, in her 'Afterword' Inghilleri discusses what presumably stands in the way of a 'united perspective' on the translator/interpreter's ethical responsiveness. She appears to consider the manifold contexts where this is negotiated rather negatively; at the same time, the indeterminacy of the ethical task of communication as the very source for the political empowerment of translators (p.153) should perhaps be stressed more strongly. Inghilleri's conclusion that dialogue and justice define ethics is barely adequate: what should be highlighted instead is the terms under which justice is to be championed by intercultural communicators; they are already implicated in its distortion by the very nature of their role. To my mind, if meant to inspire solidarity and to mobilize, *Translation/Interpreting and Social Activism* should simply focus on empowering practitioners to take sides.

One is puzzled to find in the volume a discord between ethical responsibility as embraced by activism on the one hand, and 'standard' translating and interpreting practice on the other, conventionally associated with neutrality, linguistic objectivity, fidelity and so on. I contend that such a discord is not only unnecessary for activism's cause but, also, inaccurate. The schematic representation of the field not only plays down great strides in its critique as a discipline, it may also further delay the potential for changes that activist practices carry for the discipline, as well as for the socio-political stage. As a rule, discussions of agency begin from the standard assumption that academia and academic discourses are implicated in global injustice. It would be simply disingenuous to claim that there is an external position from which the subject could point at the picture that contains her. Action springs out of our historical and institutional implication in the dominant structures we may seek to readjust or reform. This position is fairly standard in academia today.

The true extent of what is possible through the activist position is shown by Martha Cheung—an exceptional scholar the discipline has sadly lost recently. Her essay is a sure-handed shot that hits more than one target. First and foremost, she reclaims the very term 'activism' for the purposes of a decentralised criticism, one that is both spatially and temporally described. Cheung deploys the notion with all

the zestiness of an apparent anachronism and, thus, succeeds in infusing her subject matter with insights while at the same time shedding the Eurocentric character of this analytical category. What more evidence would one require in favour of activism's revisionary potential?

Maria Filippakopoulou
University of Edinburgh, Scotland
Maria.Filippakopoulou@ed.ac.uk

Bibliography

Baker, Mona (2006). *Translation and Conflict.* London and New York: Routledge.

Pöchhacker, Franz (2004). *Introducing Interpreting Studies.* London and New York: Routledge